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[1] PREFACE In a bid to standardize higher education in the country, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has introduced Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) based on five types of courses viz. core, discipline specific / generic elective, ability and skill enhancement for graduate students of all programmes at Honours level. This brings in the semester pattern, which finds efficacy in sync with credit system, credit transfer, comprehensive and continuous assessments and a graded pattern of evaluation. The objective is to offer learners ample flexibility to choose from a wide gamut of courses, as also to provide them lateral mobility between various educational institutions in the country where they can carry their acquired credits. I am happy to note that the University has been recently accredited by National Assessment and Accreditation Council of India (NAAC) with grade "A". UGC (Open and Distance Learning Programmes and Online Programmes) Regulations, 2020 have mandated compliance with CBCS for U.G. programmes of all the HEIs in this mode. Welcoming this paradigm shift in higher education, Netaji Subhas Open University (NSOU) has resolved to adopt CBCS from the academic session 2021-22 at the Under Graduate Degree Programme level. The present syllabus, framed in the spirit of syllabi recommended by UGC, lays due stress on all aspects envisaged in the curricular framework of the apex body on higher education. It will be imparted to learners over the six semesters of the Programme. Self Learning Materials (SLMs) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. From a logistic point of view, NSOU has embarked upon CBCS presently with SLMs in English / Bengali. Eventually, the English version SLMs will be translated into Bengali too, for the benefit of learners. As always, all of our teaching faculties contributed in this process. In addition to this, we have also requisitioned the services of best academics in each domain in preparation of the new SLMs. I am sure they will be of commendable academic support. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stakeholders who will participate in the teaching-learning based on these study materials. It has been a very challenging task well executed, and I congratulate all concerned in the preparation of these SLMs. I wish the venture a grand success. Prof. (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar Vice-Chancellor
[2] Printed in accordance with the regulations of the Distance Education Bureau of the University Grants Commission. First Print : December, 2021 Netaji Subhas Open University Under Graduate Degree Programme Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) Subject : Honours in Sociology (HSO) Core Course : Introductory Sociology – 01 Course Code : CC-SO-01
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[5] Netaji Subhas Open University UG : Sociology (HSO) Module I–Sociology : Discipline and Perspective Unit 1 Thinking Sociologically 7 – 20 Unit 2 Emergence of Sociology 21 – 29 Unit 3 Emergence of Social Anthropology 30 – 43 Unit 4 Sociology as a Science 44 – 52 Unit 5 Sociological Imagination 53 – 69 Unit 6 Sociology and Common Sense 70 – 88 Unit 7 Applied Sociology 89 – 102 Module II-

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Unit 1 Thinking Sociologically Structure 1.1 Objectives 1.2 Introduction 1.3 The classical traditional perspectives of sociology 1.4 The Sociological Imagination 1.5

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Emergence of Sociology 1.5.1 Background to the emergence of sociology 1.5.2 The Enlightenment Period 1.5.3 The

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Sociology and common sense 1.8 Sociology as science 1.9 Applied sociology 1.10 Summary 1.11 Questions 1.12 Suggested Readings 1.1. Objectives This unit focuses upon the following points: ? Sociological way of looking at reality of everyday life. ? It will give you an understanding of the classical ways of thinking about society ? Help us understand how these perspectives are being modified and challenged by arrival of new perspectives.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 8 ? This chapter will discuss the wide ranging and developing theories to help us make sense of this world. ? To understand various sociological methods. 1.2 Introduction Sociology is best seen as multi-paradigmatic and suggests a range of perspectives. The key challenge for a sociology is to search for general ways of understanding and interpreting social life. Sociology helps to demonstrate the social forces that organize society in very, very different ways and demonstrate it in time and space. You are able to see the trajectory from the past societies to the present societies. "The first wisdom of sociology is this: things are not what they seem" —Peter Berger The sociological perspective reminds us of the varied differences in the world. Various theoretical perspectives guide sociologists as they construct theories. Newer developments in sociological theory have highlighted how all sociology must work from perspectives or different voices. It is thus multi-paradigmatic. The emergence of sociology as a distinct discipline dates back to eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe. The multiple phases and changes during that period helped shaped this subject culminating into newer ideas from time to time which has been described exhaustively in this chapter. 1.3 The classical traditional perspectives of sociology Broadly three perspectives dominated sociological thinking for a long while, which we will discuss in this segment. The three perspectives which will be briefly described are functionalism, conflict and action theory. (a) The functionalist perspective : Functionalism is a framework for building theory that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together and interconnect, often to promote solidarity and stability. This perspective implies that our lives are guided by social structure which means stable patterns of social behaviour. Secondly this perspective leads us to understand social structure in terms of its social functions, or consequences for the operation of society. Functionalism owes much to the ideas of August Comte, Herbert Spencer, etc.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 9 (b) The conflict perspective : The conflict perspective is a framework for building theory that sees society as an arena of differences and inequalities that generate conflict and change. This approach complements the functional perspective by highlighting not solidarity but division based on different interest and potential inequality. Karl Marx whose ideas underlie the conflict perspective. (c) The social action perspective : Action theory starts with the ways in which people (or actors) orient themselves to each other, and how they do so on the basis of meanings. This provides a micro-level orientation, meaning a focus on the emerging meanings of social interaction in specific situations. The major proponent of this approach is highly influential Max Weber (1864-1920), a German sociologist who emphasized the need to understand a setting from the point of view of the people in it. (d) Contemporary perspectives in sociology : Although functionalism, conflict theory and action sociology are important and common positions in sociology, there are multiple other perspectives for looking at social life that have emerged over the past decades. As society changes, so do different approaches are adopted within it. For instance, conversational analysis is an approach that focus on different aspects of action, such as language and conversation. 'There is no absolutely 'objective' scientific analysis of culture or ...of 'social phenomena' independent of social and 'one-sided' viewpoints according to which...they are selected, analyzed and organized.' – (Weber,1949:72) Different perspectives, different cultures, points of view or standpoints from which analysis proceeds has become more and more important for modern sociology. 1.4 The sociological imagination Sociological imagination is "the vivid awareness of the relationship between experience and the wider society" —C. Wright Mills The sociological imagination is the ability to see things socially and how they interact and influence each other. To have a sociological imagination, a person must be able to pull away from the situation and think from an alternative point of view. This ability is central to one's development of a sociological perspective on the world. As sociology is a discipline of broad scope: virtually no topic be it gender, race, religion, politics, education, health care, drug abuse, pornography, group behavior, conformity—is taboo for sociological examination and interpretation. Sociologists typically focus their studies on how people and society influence other people, because

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 10 external, or social, forces shape most personal experiences. These social forces exist in the form of interpersonal relationships among family and friends, as well as among the people encountered in academic, religious, political, economic, and other types of social institutions. In 1959, sociologist C. Wright Mills defined sociological imagination as the ability to see the impact of social forces on individuals' private and public lives. Sociological imagination, then, plays a central role in the sociological perspective. His book "The Sociological Imagination" covers the history of sociology as a field of study relating to society and people's lives in it. For now, Mills outlines three types of questions that sociologists tend to ask. First, what is the structure of society? This question wants to know how different groups in a society are related. Second, what is the place of society in history? This question wants to figure out how societies change across time and how our society today is related to societies of the past. Third, what kinds of people does society produce? This question seeks to describe how people's personalities and moods— their beliefs and values—are also shaped by the social world in which they live. Mills details the "promise" of this imagination: why he thinks it's important to ask these questions and what he thinks they help us understand. For a lay man person, a sociological imagination is able to shuttle between the personal and historical. In the case of the contemporary man who feels trapped and powerless, sociological study explains how these feelings are produced by something larger than an individual's life. Such study can show him how his personal life is also shaped by the society in which he lives and the historical period to which he belongs. Sociology connects the personal and the historical by recasting personal problems as historical ones and historical problems as personal ones. Personally, an individual feels trapped; sociology asks, what is going on in history that produces this feeling? Or, historically, the world is in a Cold War; sociology asks, how does this global situation get played out in how people feel and think in their private lives? Another aspect to the sociological imagination on which Mills laid the most emphasis was our possibilities for the future. He argued that sociology not only helps us to analyze current and existing patterns of social life, but it also helps us to see some of the possible future open to us. Through the sociological imagination, we can see not only what is real, but also what could become real that we should desire to make it that way. 1.5 Emergence of Sociology In this segment we

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will trace the relationship between the emergence of NSOU ? CC-SO-01 11 sociology and the social and intellectual conditions of eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe.

The reason we need to discuss this is because sociology as a subject or discipline that we study today, emerged first in Europe. Two very important

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events of the period, the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution which followed the Commercial Revolution and the Scientific Revolution in Europe leaving a lasting impact on the main themes of sociology. 1.5.1

Background to the emergence of sociology

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There is always a connection between the social conditions of a period and the ideas, which arise and are dominant in that period.

During the British raj,

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the Indian middle class emerged as a product of the economic policies of colonialism.

Disturbed by the ongoing exploitation of colonialism, they started writing, campaigning, building movements for free India. Culture, theater, songs, literature etc was also later serialized in television which depicts changes of that time and how that ideas are normally rooted in their social context. Now we shall study the different phases and important factors which led to the emergence of sociology. 1.5.2 The Enlightenment Period

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The emergence of sociology as a scientific discipline dates back to that period of European history, which saw such tremendous social, political and economic changes as embodied in the French revolution and Industrial revolution

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as it embodies the spirit of new awakening in the eighteenth century. This period marked radical

changes and

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introduced the new way of thinking and looking at reality. Individuals started questioning each and every aspect of life.

Classes were recognized, old classes were overthrown, new classes arose, religion was questioned, position of women changed, etc. Sociology emerged as a distinct science in nineteenth century Europe, when the, passed through immense changes set in the French and Industrial revolutions. Therefore it can be said that sociology is a science of the new industrial society. 1.5.3

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The French Revolution The French revolution started in 1789 which marked a turning point in the history of human struggle for freedom and equality. It

ushered new order of society and an end to feudalism, bring about far reaching changes throughout not only Europe but also in
other countries like India. Ideas of liberty, fraternity and equality were

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the ideas generated during this period which now form a part of the preamble to the constitution of India.

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Basic feature of French society The French society was divided into feudal ‘estates’. Estates are defined as a system of stratification found in feudal European societies whereby one section or estate is distinguished from the other in terms of status, privileges and restrictions accorded to that estate. The First Estate consisted of the clergy, which was stratified into higher clergy

who

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lived a life of luxury and gave little attention to religion.

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The Second Estate consisted of the nobility, nobles of the sword(big landlords) and nobles of the robe(

not by birth by title such as magistrates and judges).

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The Third Estate comprised the rest of the society and included the peasants, the merchants, the artisans, and others.

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France like some other European countries during the eighteenth century, had entered into the age of reason and rationalism. Some of the major philosophers, whose ideas influenced the French people, were rationalists,

like Montesquieu (1689- 1755), Locke (1632-1704). 1.5.4

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The Industrial Revolution The industrial revolution began around 1760 A.D. in England. It brought about great changes in the social and economic life of the people first in England then in the other

continents.

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During Industrial revolution, new tools and techniques were invented, which could produce goods on a larger scale. A

change in the economy from feudal to capitalist system of production developed.

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Due to this revolution society moved from the old age of hand made goods to the new age of machine made goods. This shift heralded the emergence of industrial revolution.

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The traditional emphasis on land lost its value while money or capital became important during

this period. Urbanization was a necessary corollary of the industrial revolution.

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Technology and the factory system has been the subject of countless writings in the nineteenth century. In the

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Marxist terms the worker became alienated from the product of his/her labour.

Thus we can infer that

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sociology emerged as a response to the forces of change, which took place during

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe. The ideas and the sociological writings that we discuss today are essentially ideas of that period.

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A scientific approach to the study of society dates back to the tradition of Enlightenment.

All of

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the intellectual influences such as the philosophy of history, biological theories of evolution ad surveys of social conditions, which affected the emergence of sociology in Europe.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 13 1.6

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Emergence of social anthropology The subject matter of anthropology and its academic profession began as an intersection of natural science and humanities. Social anthropology being part of anthropology, its emergence has been historically linked with the development of other components of anthropology. The emergence of social anthropology has also been closely linked with other disciplines of the social sciences, such as sociology, philosophy, ethno-history, history, psychology (social psychology), political science, and economics. But the closest discipline of social anthropology is sociology.

Like sociology, the emergence and development of anthropology is said to be directly linked to the scientific development in the western world.

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Anthropology is a word which the ancient Greeks had also used. To them Anthropologia occurs in 1595. Immanuel Kant published a book in 1798 entitled Anthropologie in

Pragmatischer Hinsicht" (Sarana 1983:3). 1.6.1

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First phase of development By 18th century A.D. after the experience and influence of the renaissance in Europe, there were many eminent philosophers who have made immense contributions to the understanding of society, including Rousseau, Vico, Baron de Montesquieu and John Locke who dealt with the social phenomena of the time. These earlier works certainly laid the philosophical foundation for the development of the social sciences and the science of human society including. sociology and anthropology. The contribution of the earlier philosophers and scholars have certainly contributed to the emergence and development of anthropology although they cannot be called anthropology per se.

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On the nature of social anthropology, he states that "there is a broad division of opinion between those who regard social anthropology as a natural science and those, like myself [Evans-Pritchard], who regards it as one of the humanities. This division is perhaps at its sharpest when relations between anthropology and history are being discussed" (Evans-Pritchard, 1951:7). 1.6.2 Second Phase of development In the second phase (1840-1890) there was "transition in the natural sciences from a static equilibrium model to a dynamic model. Its culmination came with the introduction of thermodynamic and Darwinian evolutionary theory" (Voget, 1975:42).

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This period marks the emergence of anthropology into an academic discipline. It is through the inspiration of the "triumphs of the scientific method in the physical NSOU ? CC-SO-01 14 and organic domain, nineteenthcentury anthropologists believed that socio-cultural phenomena were discoverable lawful principles. This conviction joined their interests with the aspiration of a still earlier period, extending back before the social sciences had been named, to the epochal stirrings of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and the vision of a universal history of mankind" (Harris 1979:1). However, it emerged as an academic discipline only in the nineteenth century. The significant factors for the emergence of the discipline is however attributed to the various intellectual and socio-political changes taking place in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. Some of the important influences include the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in Europe.

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Historic and evolutionary processes had been at work in the emergence of the anthropological scientific institution" (Voget 1975:89). Marvin Harris, a historian of anthropological development, also views that anthropology "began as the science of history" (1979:1). 1.6.3 Emergence of modern anthropology The emergence of modern social anthropology emerged mainly with the contribution of Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliff-Brown. Marcel Mauss is also generally considered as the pioneer of modern social anthropology in France. Bronislaw Malinowski is one of the most well-known social anthropologists. In fact, he is generally regarded as the founder of modern social anthropology. His main contributions to modern social anthropology was the introduction of ethnographic method with participant method and/or technique, and founding of the theory of functionalism departing from the earlier approaches, particularly, evolutionary, and historical approaches. His significant works include Argonauts of the Western Pacific (1922), Crime and Custom in Savage Society (1926), A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays (1944).

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Along these pioneers in social anthropology in varied areas, one can include Levi Strauss into the list for founding the theory of structuralism and structural anthropology. He is also regarded as one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th century about myth, culture, religion, and social organization. His significant works include The Elementary Structures of Kinship (1949), Tristes Tropiques (1955), and Structural Anthropology (1963).There are also many anthropologists who contributed to the development of modern social anthropology, but they come either later or of lower stature. The emergence of anthropology (social anthropology) as a discipline can also be reckoned through the formation of professional associations. The aborigines Protection Society formed in 1837 was the first anthropological association to be established (cf. Sarana 1983:4).

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In the Indian context, there is no consensus that the emergence of anthropology (including social anthropology) coincides with the formation of Asiatic Society. of Bengal as some would claim. Saranais of the view that Indian anthropology did not emerge in the 18th century.

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The generally recognized anthropological works in India were written by the British administrators like Blunt, Crook, Dalton, Grierson, Ibbetson, Mills, Nesfield, O'Malley, Risley, Russel, Senart and Thurston. 1.7

Sociology and common sense Common sense knowledge refers to that knowledge which is routinely used in the conduct of everyday life. It is practical, experimental and cririca l but also fragmentary and incoherent in nature. Common sense views rely on perceptions formed without any reference to scientific methods of casuality. On the other hand natural sciences and social sciences give more attention to the underlying casuality rather than superficial resemblances or lack of resemblances. However according to Andre Beteille , sociology is distinct from common sense. Sociological knowledge aims to be general,if not universal, whereas common sense is particular and localized. An important contribution of sociology has been to show that common sense is highly variable,subject to constraints of time and place, as well as others, more specifically social constraints. Interpretative sociologists like Dilthey, Max Weber and Symbolic interactionists like G.H Mead and G.Cooley use common sense knowledge to some extent. The concept of common sense knowledge is cetral to Alfred schutz's Phenomenological approach. Common sense knowledge also forms the basis of Peter Berger and Gluckman's general theory of society in the book, "Social construction of Reality". Ethnomethodologists like Harold Garfinkle, make use of common sense knowledge in their study of people's method in the construction of social reality. Anthony Giddens has also focused on common sense knowledge nin his theory "theory of structuration". "Sociology is anti-utopian in its central preoccupation with the disjunction between ideal and reality , between what human beings consider right, proper and desirable, and their actual conditions of existence, not in this or that particular so ciety, but in human societies as such. Sociology is also anti-fatalistic in its orientation. It does not accept the particular constraints taken for granted by common sense as eternal or immutable. It provides a clearer awareness than common sense of the range of alternative arrangements that have been or may be devised for the attainment of broadly the same ends". (Beteillei: 1996)
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Common sense is unreflective since it does not question its own origins

or ask itself 'why do I hold this view? Socoiologists on the other hand, must be ready to ask, "Is this really so?". Both

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the systematic and questioning approach of sociology is derived from a broader tradition of scientific investigation.

In this way sociology is more rigorous than common sense. Sociology has to be distinguished from common sense which is limited in its reach, and uses many unexamined assumptions for interpreting and explaining everyday phenomena. Sociology should not go against common sense but must go beyond it to reach a broader and deeper view of the operation of society. The subject matter of sociology is such that it is far more difficult to insulate it from the assumptions and judgments of common sense than, say, particle physics or molecular biology. Again, while current affairs may be grist to the sociologist's mill, the sociologist differs in his orientation to current affairs from the journalist. (vocation betellei) 1.8 Sociology as Science Sociology can be termed a science because it fulfills the basic requirements of objective and rational knowledge of social reality. Sociologists apply science to their study in the same way that natural scientists investigate the natural world. To analyze whether sociology is a science following points needs to be understood: ? Sociology can be considered as a science to the extent that it uses scientific methods to study from selecting a topic to choosing a research method and analyzing the results. ? Sociologists can make generalizations on the basis of micro studies and also these sociological studies are based on evidence, observations and explanations. Sociological theories are built upon one another, extending and refining the older ones and producing new ones. Comte concentrated his efforts to determine the nature of human society and the laws and principles underlying its growth and development. He also tried to establish the methods to be employed in studying social phenomena. Comte argued that social phenomena can be like physical phenomena copying the methods of natural sciences. He thought that it was time for inquiries into social problems and social phenomena to enter into this last stage. So, he recommended that the study of society be called the science of society, i. e. 'sociology'.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 17 Positivist approach Positivists believe that sociology can and should use the same methods and approaches to study the social world that "natural" sciences such as biology and physics use to investigate the physical world. By adopting "scientific" techniques sociologists should be able, eventually, to uncover the laws that govern societies and social behaviour just as scientists have discovered the laws that govern the physical world. Positivists believe that good, scientific research should reveal objective truths about the causes of social action – science tells us that water boils at 100 degrees and this is true irrespective of what the researcher thinks – good social research should tell us similar things about social action. Because positivists want to uncover the general laws that shape human behaviour, they are interested in looking at society as a whole. They are interested in explaining patterns of human behaviour or general social trends. In other words, they are interested in getting to the 'bigger picture'. To do this, positivists use quantitative methods such as official statistics, structured questionnaires and social surveys. Statistical, numerical data is crucial to Positivist research. Positivists need to collect statistical information in order to make comparisons. And in order to uncover general social trends. It is much more difficult to make comparisons and uncover social trends with qualitative data. These methods also allow the researcher to remain relatively detached from the research process – this way, the values of the researcher should not interfere with the results of the research and knowledge should be objective While Durkheim rejected much of the details of Comte's philosophy "positivism", he retained and refined its method. Durkheim believed that sociology should be able to predict accurately the effect of particular changes in social organisation such as an increase in unemployment or a change in the education system. Durkheim believed the primary means of researching society should be the Comparative Method which involves comparing groups and looking for correlations or relationships between 2 or more variables. This method essentially seeks to establish the cause and effect relationships in society by comparing variables. Durkheim chose to study suicide because he thought that if he could prove that suicide, a very personal act, could be explained through social factors, then surely any action could be examined in such a way. The starting-point for Durkheim was a close analysis of the available official statistics, which showed that rates of suicide varied.
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Robert
Bierstedt in his book The Social Order mentioned the following characteristics of the
nature of sociology: ? Sociology is a social science, not a natural science ? Sociology is a categorical or positive and not

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a normative science. ? Sociology is a pure or theoretical science and not an applied science. ? Sociology is an abstract science and not a concrete one. ? Sociology is a generalizing science and not a particularizing science. ? Sociology is both a rational and an empirical science.

One of the key debates in the study of sociological theory is whether sociology could be considered to be a science or not. The founding fathers of sociology, Like Auguste Comte, and other sociologists like Emile Durkheim, certainly saw their subject as scientific. These positivists believed that sociology could use scientific method to establish social facts and prove universal laws, exactly like the natural sciences. However, interpretative sociologist argue that sociology is not a science and nor should it attempt to be, as humans have agency and will not simply conform to universal laws or predictable patterns and developments like natural phenomena. 1.9 Applied Sociology The term 'applied sociology' refers to a diverse group of practitioners all using sociology to 'understand, intervene, or enhance human social life'. Many different approaches to sociological application exist. We use the term 'sociological practice' or 'practitioner' to inclusively refer to applied, clinical, and public sociologists, as well as those who identify more with methods used across the social sciences: community-based researchers, participatory-action researchers, and translational researchers. With their work, all of these sociologists intend to impact groups of people in the present day. Applied sociology is using the sociological tools to "understand, intervene, or enhance human social life" (Steele and Price, 2004: p. 4). People apply sociology when they use sociological methods, theories, concepts, or perspectives (tools) to address a social problem or issue (Steele and Price, 2008). Lots of social scientists 'use' sociological tools in their teaching or in their research. But only a subset uses those tools to plan or engage in direct, concurrent social intervention or enhancement. We generally refer to those that do as applied sociologists. Many different approaches to sociological application exist. We use the term 'sociological practice' or

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 19 'practitioner' to inclusively refer to applied, clinical, and public sociologists, as well as those who identify more with methodology used across the social sciences: community-based researchers, participatory-action researchers, and translational researchers (Weinstein and Goldman Schuyler, 2008). 1.10 Summary As discussed in this chapter, it is now easy to decipher the vast broad discipline of sociology. Sociology is therefore multi-paradigmatic with wide range of perspectives , ideas and theories. The origin of sociology trace back to the early nineteenth century Western Europe. Revolutionary changes in preceeding three centuries paved the way for sociology that initiated the process of thinking about society and the consequences of revolutionary happenings. Sociology as a subject helps us look at varied issues from a different perspective, what Mills defined a sociological imagination, i.e, the ability to see things socially and how they interact and influence each other. Usage of various methods and techniques in the research area makes no less or different from natural sciences. It uses both qualitative and quantitative methods in the field.Sociology is also related to other social sciences which shall be discussed in the later chapters. 1.11 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) Discuss the Positivist approach in sociology? (b) What is Sociological imagination? Give examples. (c) Describe sociology as a science? (d) What is Applied sociology? (e) How is sociology and common sense related? 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) Discuss the emergence of Sociology as a distinct discipline. (b) Elucidate the classical traditional perspectives of sociology. (c) Discuss the emergence of social anthropology. (d) Elaborate modern social anthropology. (e) Can sociology be considered as a science? Discuss. NSOU ? CC-SO-01 20 (f) Sociology and common sense (g) Origin of Sociology (h) Perspectives of Sociology 1.12 Suggested Readings 1)

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Berger,P. 1963, Invitaion to Sociology A Humanistic Perspective, anchor Books Double Day & Company, Inc.: New York 2) Bottomore, T B. 1962, Sociology A Guide to Problems and Literature, George Allen & Unwin Ltd: London 3) Inkeles, A. 1975, What is Sociology? Prentice- Hall: New Delhi 4)

Gerth, H. and Mills, C.W. (eds) (1970). From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 5) Giddens, A. (2001). Sociology, fourth edn Cambridge: Polity. 6) https://globaldialogue.isa-sociology.org/the-vocation-of-sociology-%E2%80%93-a- pragmatic-view/ 7) Mills, C.W. (1970). The Sociological Imagination. Harmondsworth: Penguin; originally published in 1959. 8) Williams, M. (2000). Science and Social Science: An Introduction. London and New York: Routledge. Unit 2 Emergence of Sociology Structure 2.1 Objectives 2.2 Introduction 2.3 Intellectual and Social Forces in the Development of Sociology 2.3.1 Intellectual Revolution 2.3.2 The Enlightenment 2.3.3 Political Revolutions 2.3.4 Industrial Revolution and the Rise of Capitalism 2.3.5 The Rise of Socialism 2.3.6 Urbanization 2.3.7 Religious Changes 2.3.8 Growth of Science 2.4 Summary 2.5 Questions 2.6 Suggested Readings 2.1 Objectives This unit focuses upon the following points: ? To learn about the historical sketch of sociology ? To learn about the phases of development of sociology ? To learn about the factors for emergence of sociology ? To learn about the challenges to development and growth of sociology 2.2 Introduction Presenting a history of sociological theory is an important task, according to S. Turner (1998). The theories and its related ideas treated in this discussion have a wide range of application, deal with centrally important social issues, and have stood the task of time. These criteria constitute our definition of sociological theory.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 22 The focus is on the important theoretical works of sociologists, or the work done by those in other fields that has come to be defined as important in sociology. To put it succinctly, this is a book about the 'big ideas' in sociology that have stood in the task of time, idea systems that deal with major social issues and that are far-reaching in scope. One cannot establish the precise date and time when and where sociological theories began. People have been thinking about, and developing theories of, social life since early historical times of the Greek or Roman or even to the Middle Ages. But we will not go to the Seventeenth Century, although Olson (1993) has traced the sociological tradition to the mid-1600s and the work of James Harrington on the relationship between economy and polity. This is not because people in these epochs did not have sociologically relevant ideas, but the return on our investment in time would be small; we would spend a lot of time getting very ideas that are relevant to modern sociology. In any case, none of thinkers associated with those eras thought of themselves, and few are now thought of, as sociologists. It is only in the 1800s and we began to fight thinkers who can be clearly identified as sociologists. These are the classical sociological thinkers we shall be treated in and we began by examining the main social and intellectual forces that shaped their ideas. He became the toast of Europe in 1830. He announced that he would now engage in "cerebral hygiene" and no longer read the works of those whom he felt were his intellectual inferiors. He proclaimed himself to be "the Great Priest of Humanity" and the founder of the "Universal Religion". The final volume of his great multivolume work- the same work that had made him famous in Europe in 1830- did not received a single review in the French press in 1842. Who was this pathetic figure? He was none other than the titular founder of sociology, Auguste Comte. Perhaps it is somewhat embarrassing to have the founder of sociology be a person who clearly went a bit insane. Comte wanted to call this new discipline "social physics" because the term 'physics' in his time went to 'study the fundamental nature of phenomena'; and so the new discipline would study the fundamental nature of social phenomena. To Comte's dismay, the label 'social physics' had been previously used by a Belgian statistician, with the result that he constructed the Latin and Greek hybrid: 'Sociology'. He did not like this name, but he felt that he did not have a choice. Still, the first volume of his Course in Positive Philosophy (1830) - the volume that made him famous- was a brilliant analysis of how science had advanced to the point where the social universe could be systematically studied. Sociology could not emerge, Comte argued, until the other sciences had

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 23 advanced and until science in general had become widely accepted as a legitimate mode of enquiry. With the pervasiveness of science today, it is perhaps hard to recognize that science has to fight its way into the intellectual arena because it represented a challenge to the dominance of religion. Indeed, early in the growth of science in Europe, even Galileo had to renounce his views and suffer legal persecution for the insight that the earth was not the centre of the universe, nor was the earth the centre of our solar system. It is because the science itself was still not on a secure footing at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century; and as the controversy over Charles Darwin's theory of biotic evolution documented, science still had to fight for its place as the final arbiter of knowledge about the natural world. Thus, what Comte tried to accomplish in the first volume of Course of Positive Philosophy was monumental, and perhaps even risky. In giving the systematic study of social phenomena a name- albeit a second-choice name– and it legitimating a science of the social realm, Comte accomplished a great deal. Few read Comte today, but his arguments were hugely legitimating for a new discipline that had to fight its way into academia and science more generally. Long before Comte, of course, humans had thought about the universe around them, even the social universe built up from people activities of adapting to their environments. Indeed, people had always been "folk sociologists", just as most people are today when they make a pronouncement on the course of some social event, or when they assert what should be done to resolve some problematic social condition. So sociology has existed in one form or another for a long as we have been human, but Comte gave this activity a name and tried to make it a science like any other natural science. 2.3 Intellectual and Social Forces in the Development of Sociology

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All intellectual fields are profoundly shaped by their social settings. This is particularly true of sociology, which is not only derived from

that setting but takes the social setting as its basic subject matter. We will focus briefly on a few of the most important social conditions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, conditions that were of the utmost significance in the development of sociology. 2.3.1 The Intellectual Revolution: When the Roman Empire finally collapsed, there followed a period often termed the dark ages. Much of the learning of Romans and, more important, of Greeks, Arabs, Persians, and Egyptians was lost; only the faithful scribes of medieval monasteries kept the Eastern and Western intellectual traditions alive. The label, the Enlightenment, is

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 24 obviously mean to connote a lighting of the dark, but in fact, the Dark Ages were not stagnant; after the initial decline in Western civilization when the Roman Empire finally collapsed, living conditions for most people were miserable; and yet new inventions and new ideas were slowly accumulating, despite the oppressive poverty of the masses the constant warfare among the feudal lords; and the rigid dogma of religion. New forms and experiments in commerce, politics, economics, religion, arts, music, crafts, and thinking were slowly emerging. As these elements of 'the great awakening'were accumulating between the fifth and thirteenth centuries, a critical threshold was finally reached. Change came more rapidly as these innovations fed off each other. As social structure and culture changed, so did human thinking about the world. Much of what had been lost from the Greeks and Romans, as well as from the civilization of the Middle East, was found, rediscovered, and often improved on. Nowhere is this more evident than in how scholars viewed science as a way of understanding the universe. Francis Bacon (1561-1626) was the first to clearly articulate the new mode of enquiry: Conceptualizations of the nature of the universe should always be viewed with scepticism and tested against observable facts. Though this sound like scientific common sense today, but was a radical idea at the time. In the sixteenth- and-seventeenth-century astronomy, including Isaac Newton's famous laws of gravity were great achievements. Thinking about the universe was now becoming systematic, but equally important, it was becoming abstract and yet empirical. The goat was to articulate fundamental relationships in the universe that could explain the many varied ways that these relationships can be expressed in the empirical world. To explain events thus required systematic and abstract thinking- in a word, it required theory. And this way of thinking literally transformed the world. The Enlightenment was thus an intellectual revolution because it changed how we are to explain the universe, and increasingly, it held out the vision that knowledge about how the universe operates can also be used to better the human condition. In fact, progress was not only possible but inevitable once science and rational thinking dominate how to explain the world, including the social world of our own creation. 2.3.2 The Enlightenment: It is the view of many observers that the Enlightenment constitutes a critical development in terms of the later evolution
of sociology.

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The enlightenment was a period of remarkable intellectual development and change in philosophical thought. A numbers of long-standing ideas and beliefs-

many of which related to social life- were overthrown and replaced during the enlightenment.

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The most prominent thinkers associated with the Enlightenment were the French Philosophers Charles Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778).

The influence of the Enlightenment on the sociological theory, however, was more indirect and
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 25 negative than it was direct and positive. As Irving Zeitlin puts it "Early sociology developed as a reaction to the Enlightenment" (1981:10). The seventeenth century philosophers such as Rene Descartes, Thomas Hobbes, and John Locke, emphasized was on producing grand, general, and very abstract system ideas that made rational sense. But the later thinkers though did not reject the ideas system of rational sense, but they did greater effort to drive their ideas from the real world and to test them there. In other words, they wanted to combine empirical research with reason. The model for this was science, especially Newtonian physics. At this point, we see the emergence of application of the scientific method to social issues. Substantially, the Enlightenment was characterised by the belief that people could comprehend and control the universe by means of reason and empirical research. The view was that because the physical world was dominated by natural laws, it was likely that the social world was too. Once they understand how the social world worked, the Enlightenment thinkers had a practical goal- the creation of a "better", more rational world. The world was no longer the province of the supernatural; it was the domain of the natural, and its complexity could now be understood by the combination of the reason and facts. And gradually, the social universe was included in domains that science should explain. This gradual inclusion was a radical break from the past where the social has been considered the domain of morals, ethnics, and religion. The goal was to emancipate social thought from any religious and traditional speculation. Their work was soon as a radical attack on established authority in both the state and the church. They found traditional beliefs, values, and institutions to be irrational and contrary to human nature and inhibitive of human growth and development. The Enlightenment was thus more than an intellectual revolution; its emergence was a response to changes in patterns of social organization generated by new political and economic formations. 2.3.3 Political Revolutions: New ideas of thought do not appear only from heavy intellectual debates; new ideas almost always reflect more fundamental transformations in the organization of polity and production. The Enlightenment was thus more than an intellectual revolution; its emergence was a response to changes in patterns of social organization generated by new political and economic formations.

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The long series of political revolutions ushered in by the French Revolution in 1789 and carrying over through the nineteenth century was the most immediate factor in the rise of sociological theorizing. The impact of these revolutions on many societies was enormous, many positive changes resulted. However, what attracted the attention of many early theories were not the positive responses, but NSOU ? CC-SO-01 26 the negative effects of such changes. These writers were particularly distributed by the resulting chaos and disorder, especially in France.

They were united in a desire

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to restore order to society. Some of the most extreme thinkers of this period literally wanted a return to the peaceful and relatively orderly days of the Middle Ages. The more sophisticated thinkers recognized that social change made such a return impossible. Thus, they sought instead to find new bases of order in societies that had been overturned by the political revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. 2.3.4

Industrial Revolution and the Rise of Capitalism: Industrial Revolution, as important as political revolution in the shaping the sociological theory,
which swept through many Western societies, mainly

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in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The industrial revolution was not a single event but many inter-related developments that culminated in the transformation of the Western world from a largely agricultural to an overwhelmingly industrial system. Large numbers of people left farms and agricultural work for the industrial

occupations. The factories themselves were transformed by a long series of technological improvements. In this economy, the ideal was a free marketplace where the many products of an industrial system could be exchanged.

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Within this system, a few profited greatly while the majority worked long hours

foe low wages. A reaction against the industrial system and against capitalism in general followed and led to the labour movement as well as to various radical movements aimed at overthrowing the capitalist system.

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Four major figures in the early history of sociological theory- Karl Marx, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, and George Simmel- were

preoccupied. They spent their lives studying these problems, and in many cases, they endeavoured to develop programs that would help to solve them. 2.3.5 The Rise of Socialism: One set of changes aimed at copying with the excesses of the industrial system and capitalism, can be combined under the heading “Socialism”. Although some sociologists favoured socialism as a solution to industrial problems, most were personally and intellectually opposed to it. On the one side Karl Marx was an active supporter of the overthrow of capitalist system and its replacement by a socialist system. However, most of the early theorists, such as Weber, Durkheim, were opposed to socialism. They feared socialism more than they did capitalism. In fact, in many cases sociological theory developed in reaction against Marxism and, more generally, socialist theory.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 27 2.3.6 Urbanization: Partly as outcome of the Industrial Revolution, large numbers of people in nineteenth and twentieth centuries were uprooted from their rural homes and move to urban settings. This massive migration was caused largely by the jobs that created by the industrial system in urban areas. But it represented many difficulties for those who had to adjust to urban life, such as overcrowding, pollution, noise, traffic and so forth. The nature of urban life and its problem attracted to the attention of many early sociologists like, Max Weber, Simmel. 2.3.7 Religious Changes: Social changes brought on by political revolutions, the industrial revolutions, and urbanization had a profound effect on religiosity. Many early sociologists came from religious backgrounds and were actively involved in religion. They brought to sociology the same objectives as they had in their religious lives. For some, thinhers, such as Comte, sociology was transformed into a religion. Durkheim wrote one of his major works on religion, a large portion of Weber's work devoted to the religions of the world, and Marx too had an imprint interest in religiosity for critical analysis. 2.3.8 Growth of Science: As sociological theory was being developed, there was as increasing emphasis on science, not only in academic interests but in society as a whole. The technological products of science were permeating every sector of life, and science was acquiring enormous prestige. Sociologists like Comte and Durkheim, from the beginning were preoccupied with science. However, a debate soon developed between those who wholeheartedly accepted the scientific model and those such as Weber, who thought that distinctive characteristics of social life made a wholesale adoption of a scientific model difficult and unwise. 2.4 Summary The emergence of sociology and, hence sociological theory was inevitable. If Comte had not been born, someone else would have articulated a name for the systematic and even scientific study of the social universe. Herbert Spencer's The Study of Sociology might have become the new manifesto for the discipline, but the only problem was that sociology's official arrival might have been delayed for decades. The emergence of sociology was the culmination of not only a very long history of human thinking about their creations- the social world- but of broader
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 28 social and intellectual movements that began to bring Europe out of the its "Dark Ages" after the collapse of the Roman Empire. This Renaissance also included new ways of thinking, which collectively are sometimes termed the Enlightenment. Once these new ways of thinking began to gain traction, it was inevitable that someone like Comte come along to give a name of new ways thinking about the social world. We should, therefore, briefly pause to see what the Enlightenment accomplished and why it set the stage for sociology to make it grand entrance before an often skeptical audience. 2.5 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) Elucidate briefly the key challenges to growth of sociology. (b) Briefly discuss about the influence of the Enlightenment on development of sociology. (c) Why sociology becomes inevitable to emerge? (d) Why intellectual revolution was crucial for the emergence of sociology. (e) What is sociology? (f) Who is the founding father of sociology? (g) Who are considered to be sociologists? (h) What is urbanization? 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) Discuss about the factors that are responsible for the emergence of sociology. (b) Explain in brief about the phases of development of sociology as a discipline. (c) Explain the challenges to development and growth of sociology as a subject. (d) Explain in brief about the historicity of sociology as a discipline.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 29 2.6 Suggested Readings Haralambos, M.(1998). Sociology: Themes and Perspectives,OUP. Jayaram, N. (1998). Introductory Sociology, Macmillan India. Oommen, T.K. & Venugopal, C.N. (1993). Sociology,Eastern Book Co. Rao, C.N. (Ed.).Sociology:Principles of Sociology with an Introduction to Sociological Thought, S.Chand,New Delhi. Ritzer,George. (2015).Sociological Theory,McGraw Hill Education (India) Private Limited, New Delhi. Beteille,Andre.(2002).Sociology: Essays on Approach &Method,Oxford University Press. Woodard,James W.(1932).Critical Notes on the Nature of Sociology as a Science,SocialForces,Vol. 11,No. 1(Oct.,1932),pp. 28-43,Oxford University Press. Giddings,Franklin. H.(1927).Sociology as Science,The Scientific Monthly,Vol. 25,No. 4(Oct.,1927),pp. 343-346,American Association for the Advancement of Science. Sorokin,Pitirim. A.(1931).Sociology as a Science,SocialForces,Vol. 10,No. 1(Oct.,1931),pp.21- 27,Oxford University Press.
Unit 3 Emergence of Social Anthropology Structure 3.1 Objectives 3.2 Introduction Objective and Purpose of the Unit 3.3 What is Social Anthropology? 3.4 Emergence of Anthropology 3.5 Birth and Growth of Social Anthropology 3.6 Growth of Social Anthropology in India 3.6.1 The Formative Phase (1774-1919) 3.6.2 The Constructive Phase (1920- 1949) 3.6.3 The Analytical Phase. 3.6.4 The Evaluative Phase (1990 -) 3.7 Summary 3.8 Questions 3.9 Suggested Readings 3.1 Objectives This unit focuses upon the following points: ? To understand the nature of Social anthropology ? To understand its emergence and scope ? To understand the various stages of its growth 3.2 Introduction Anthropology is the study of man. Though the discipline is not very old, originating only in the nineteenth century, the name of the discipline was coined by the great philosopher Aristotle who used the term 'Anthropologist 'for the first time, though he used the word in somewhat different sense. The term 'Anthropology' is a combination of the two Greek words, 'anthropos' meaning humans and 'logos'

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 31 meaning science. Thus, anthropology becomes the science of man. Over the years, the term 'anthropology' has acquired a number of definitions ; for example, the Concise Oxford Dictionary defines it the study of mankind especially of the societies and customs. The study of structure and evolution of man. According to Kroeber. Anthropology is the science of groups of men and their behavior and production. Therefore, it studies everything about man including human evolution and culture from the prehistoric stage to the present days from the physical, cultural, and social points of view. The subject-matter of anthropology can be divided broadly into four major branches, namely, Biological, or physical anthropology, Archeological anthropology, Linguistic anthropology, and Social-cultural anthropology. Man's physical emergence, evolution and growth is studied by physical anthropology; his social evolution as a prehistoric person is studied by Pre-history and as a historic person is studied by cultural or social anthropology. However, there is a shift in interest in social anthropology in the last several decades and its dominant interest stands out to be the social and cultural life of simple, pre-literate, pre-urban people. To understand the relevance and significance of Social Anthropology we need to discuss the process of its emergence in detail. Objective and purpose of the unit: The objective of this unit is to trace the emergence and growth of social anthropology as an important branch of Anthropology, to examine the historical relevance of social anthropology and how does it differ from sociology. Social anthropology, today, occupies a place of importance in the study of human society and culture; it has undergone several stages of development to reach its current status. Many serious and never-to-be –resolved debates have come up regarding the nature and scope of the discipline. Therefore, the unit also has the objective to know the history of the debates. Another important objective is to examine and understand the discipline's relations with sociology; how the two differ and how do they share the same points of interests. By making students aware of such details, the unit attempts to give the students a wholesome knowledge about the emergence and nature of the twin discipline of sociology. 3.3 What is Social Anthropology? As the name suggests, social anthropology is all about the social life of man. So, its study includes social organizations and social institutions. Man is a social animal, but his social nature depends on the cultural environment within which he lives and in different societies social and cultural norms vary. For example, social-cultural norms differ in primitive, rural and urban societies. Social anthropology examines all these aspects of human existence with reference to cultural, political and socio-economic aspects, religion, language, art, knowledge of the group under NSOU ? CC-SO-01 32 the lenses. Firth has defined it broadly as the study of human social processes in a comparative manner. As a discipline, social anthropology means different things in different countries. In England and other European countries it refers to ethnology or sociology; whereas in the USA it has a much wider meaning to encourage the study of man as both social and cultural being. In the nineteenth century , during the heyday of the British colonialism social-cultural anthropology was known as 'ethnology'; it is a combination of two Greek words, 'ethos' and 'logia' meaning race and study respectively. Thus, ethnology means the study of races and their diverse behavior pattern. It also includes among other things, cultural diversity, cultural change, social relationships, family, kinship, age groups, law ,political organizations, economic activities, etc. Social anthropologists, too, study all these things. However, the name 'social anthropology' came into use about sixty years ago to distinguish the subject from ethnology. Noted British anthropologist A. R. Radcliffe-Brown had omitted historical studies from the scope of anthropology, while ethnology is historical in outlook. Respecting Radcliffe-Brown's views, The British school of social anthropology has made social anthropology non-historical. Majumdar and Madan observe that following the British School, social anthropology is known as the study of social structure and social organization of man. The British social anthropologist Edmond Leach once (1982) described it as comparative micro- sociology. However, in the USA anthropologists give more emphasis on cultural orientations and practices while studying social aspects of man. Social anthropology, over the years, has been defined in a number of ways. We need to look into these definitions to understand the scope of the discipline. According to Piddington, "Social anthropologists study cultures of contemporary primitive communities". This definition gives a narrow vision of the discipline because social anthropologists today study modern culture as well. In contrast, S.C. Dube has given a much more appropriate definition by saying, "Social anthropology is that part of cultural anthropology which devotes its primary attention to the study of social structure and religion rather than material aspects of culture." The definition given by M.N.Srinivas is quite comprehensive. He defines social anthropology as " ...a comparative study of human societies. Ideally it includes all societies , primitive, civilized and historic." The discipline applies the inductive method of natural sciences to the study of human society, its evolution and social institutions. Social anthropology has changed its nature and scope to a great extent since the late- nineteenth century when it was concerned more with speculation over origins of religion and of various practices like exogamy, totemism and the likes. Today social anthropology is more concerned with experimental studies, observation and analysis of social systems, systematic comparison of different types of social system , and many such things. It also studies social behavior , social forms and institutions, in a systematic comparative manner.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 33 3.4 Emergence of Anthropology As the discipline of social anthropology has been recognized as an offshoot of Anthropology, we need to know about the origin of the mother discipline first. From a very ancient time, there was a concern about man and his surroundings; in fact, this concern has led to the birth of a number of distinct disciplines of knowledge. Since the fifth century B.C., classical Greek scholars like Herodotus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and many others had expressed their concern about man and his affairs in the society. Herodotus is known as the 'father of Anthropology' because he not only recorded everything he saw what he heard from people about the distant shores of the Mediterranean, he also raised questions and issues which today have turned out to be the subject matter of social anthropology. Over centuries, such concerns from scholarly minds have contributed to the establishment of a systematic body of knowledge about man and universe. Compared to various scientific disciplines, anthropology has a late entry in the world of knowledge. Its emergence could be traced in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and most of its fields was formed by the late eighteenth century, though the real interests in the subject emerged in the nineteenth century only. It was not that the first anthropologists had to start from scratch, the pioneers could observe and record the traditions of social life with the help of various sources. Western political philosophers were eager to look out for evidence in support of their theory of' state of nature', the social- political condition that prevailed before the formal emergence of state as a political agency. So these political thinkers and philosophers had studied primitive institutions with a political yet scholarly objective in mind. There were also chronicles of primitive social institutions and lifestyles of 'exotic' people in the writings of travelers and explorers, recorded out of curiosity in their untrained hands; therefore, these were not always fit as scientific materials. However, as a distinct discipline anthropology emerged in the nineteenth century only, though Sydney Slotkin has mentioned in his book Readings in Early Anthropology (1963)that some of its sub-divisions had started arrive in the seventeenth –eighteenth centuries. Though most of the subject –matter of the discipline was already there by the end of the eighteenth century, professional interested in the subject flourished only in the nineteenth century. Since the fifteenth century, naval exploration of unknown, distant shores became popular among the Europeans. The different culture practiced by the people of these unknown lands evoked huge interests among the explorers and In Paris, the union of naturalists and doctors established a society named as 'Observers of Man' in the year 1800 for the promotion of the study of natural history and to provide guidance to voyagers and explorers of distant shores. However due to Napoleonic wars and political turbulence the Society could not survive for long. In 1838, a society for the protection of aborigines was established in
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 34 London by eminent scholars; but the purpose of the society was primarily social and political and not scientific enough. As the need for scientific queries was being felt, the Ethnological Society came up in Berlin in 1839 under the leadership of the eminent naturalist, Milne-Edwards. Two years later, in 1841 The British Anthropological Society was established in London and in 1842 in New York the third Ethnological Society was born. The birth of three Ethnological Societies in quick succession heralded the emergence of anthropology. Thus, anthropology became the child of scientific inquisitiveness of men about the 'unusual people' of the unknown world. Charles Darwin's Origin of Species was published in 1859 to explain life's natural evolution through ages. His path-breaking explanation had boosted new researches in various scientific disciplines and encouraged socio-cultural studies of human species. Thinkers with scientific vision, like Herbert Spencer, Morgan and Tylor came to believe that evolution not only affected the physical appearance of mankind, but also the cultural life. Looking at these developments, the year 1859 can be counted as the year of birth of anthropology and it has been labeled as the ' child of Darwin' in 1912 by R.R.Marret. In the birth year of anthropology Paul Broca, an anatomist and human biologist, established an Anthropological Society in Paris. He believed that for securing a true understanding of man a discipline of general biology should be formed by combining all specialized studies together. Following Broca's recommendations anthropology made a significant progress in the US. By the beginning of the 1860s the British Anthropological Society had started to face serious problems over policies and in 1863 James Hunt and several other dissenting members left it to form the Anthropological Society in London for the service of 'a whole science of man' and to enquire into the origin and development of humanity. In 1868, Thomas Huxley, the noted scientist and a member of the Ethnological Society, was elected the President of the Society ; soon, the two societies merged together for all practical purposes, though the difference was maintained in names. One interesting fact is that, starting from 1840 till 1870, the debate over the name of the science of man continued, whether it should be ethnology or anthropology that was the moot point. By that time anthropology earned a huge popularity all over Europe, especially in France, Germany and Italy. In three successive years of 1866,1867 and 1868, International Congresses of Anthropology and Pre-historic Archeology were held in different parts of Europe. In 1871, the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland was established, but in 1873, the Institute saw a split to form a new organization named London Anthropological Society for making international communication, research and publications. It also started to publish the journal 'Anthropologia'. By this time of late nineteenth century, the related terms like ethnology, ethnography, archeology, prehistory, philology and linguistics had received wide recognition side by side with 'anthroplogy'.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 35 Paul Broca, the noted French physician, anatomist and anthropologist, had said in his address on 'The Progress of Anthropology in 1869 that anatomy and biology together formed the base of anthropology and the core ideas of general anthropology could be found only with the synthesis of these two. Soon, within a few years, anthropology's synthetic character earned wide recognition in both Europe and America. In Europe, till this day, the subject is known by multiple names like anthropology, ethnology, pre-history and linguistics as each of these compliment the others to cover all aspects of man as the discipline's subject-matter. But in America and in many parts of area the name 'Anthropology' is sufficient to include various aspects of the study of man. It is often said that while the Europeans provided the tradition of scholarship, books and theories in anthropology, the Americans, with their aborigines, provided a laboratory for the discipline. Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), the noted American ethnologist and one of the founders of scientific anthropology, had combined field work in a native culture with comparative work and general theory to produce a global perspective that was quite different from the observations of others like Christian missionaries of his time, who too published many papers on the aborigine life and culture of America. Through his comparative analysis of family and kinship structure emerged the branch of social -cultural anthropology of the discipline. In the second half of the nineteenth century anthropologists had shown increasing interests in the study of racial stock and biological evolution of human species. As a consequence a good number of influences had enriched the subject; for example, France contributed largely in pre-history and physical anthropology whereas Germany's contribution was psychological and geographical traditions in cultural anthropology. Theodore Waitz initiated physical anthropology and Adolf Bastain, on the basis of his worldwide survey of people's culture, could infer about the basic psychological configuration in man . Friedrich Ratzel combined geography with anthropology to create a new branch of anthropogeography. But all these remained highly acclaimed book 'Primitive informal scholarly exercises until Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) ,the father of modern anthropology, established anthropology as an academic discipline in Europe. The two world wars brought in massive changes in the outlook of anthropology; Branislaw Malinowski (1884- 1942) broke the trend of arm-chair approach of the 19 th century anthropologists who used to depend on the unverified data collected by non-anthropologists and introduced field-study to stop speculation about the primitive people. Post the Second world war , the discipline was enriched by contributions from scholars like Claude Levi- Strauss who put emphasis on the formal aspect of culture. Meanwhile, through the works of British anthropologists social anthropology earned global recognition.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 36 3.5 Birth and Growth of Social Anthropology As we have already noted, the discipline of anthropology has several branches and social anthropology is one of them. Social anthropology is intimately associated with man's inherent urge to know the unknown, to observe the life-style, habitats, dresses, food, language, cultural and religious rituals ,etc. of the unknown people from distant lands.The white people of Europe, having knowledge of their own Christian lifestyle and values set the standard of behavior and culture for others. So,the travelers of the yore maintained diaries, notes and other accounts of their travels to tell others about the 'strangeness' of those people. In the sixteenth century, the French author Montaigne became interested in the differences between the customs of his people and of others. In general, there were theoretical questions on the lineage and heritage of the colored people who wore no clothes at all. Rousseau described the Indians as "noble savage', while the Spanish missionaries of the eighteenth century described them as people without souls. Hobbes, too, in the seventeenth century came to believe that the American Indian aborigines were living in a lawless' state of nature' where man's life was chaotic, insecure and full of uncertainties. In such an environment, the chronicles of explorers and missionaries were not only treated as awe-inspiring tales of 'strange' people from 'strange' land, but also as basic data for knowing these people. In 1724, a Jesuit missionary, Lifitau and several other writers together published a book on a comparative ethnographical analysis of American Indian customs and ancient Greek and Roman culture. During the same period, noted French writer Charles de Brosses made comparisons between ancient Egyptian religion and that of West Africa. In 1748, Montesquieu established himself as the first theorist of social anthropology when he published his famous book, Spirit of the Laws (Esprit des Lois) based on readings about different countries. Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson also based their theories of social and political evolution , following Darwin's theory of evolution of biological species. Before them, social philosophers and thinkers St. Simon, August Comte, and Herbert Spencer had discussed the concept of evolution from a philosophical point of view, without the support of any empirical evidence. Many historians argue that the origin of social anthropology can be traced back to the philosophy of David Hume and Immanuel Kant ; many others think Herodotus is the father of anthropology. At the same time, it is also believed that the systematic birth of social anthropology should be rightly counted from Henry Maine and Lewis Henry Morgan; and these two have formulated their deductions following the writings of travelers and missionaries. Darwin's ideas about the evolution of species had greatly influenced the thinkers of the nineteenth century and social anthropologists were no exceptions. Following the logic of Darwin, they

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 37 examined the origin of social institutions; for this reason, they became known as Social Darwinists. The foundation of social anthropology was laid by Henry Maine's Ancient Law (1861) and Lewis Henry Morgan's books like Ancient Society(1877). Maine was a senior imperial administrator posted in India. . He made a distinction between status-based or traditional societies and contractual or modern ,liberated societies like Britain .He observed that in traditional, status-based societies, one's status was to be determined by one's position within the kinship structure; whereas in a contract-based society the individual's personal achievements would determine his social positions. Morgan's contribution to early anthropology forms the background of evolutionary theory that suggests that human society has passed through the stages of savagery, barbarism and civilization, each stage characterized by certain type of economy. For example, savagery is supported by economy of subsistence based on livelihood through hunting and food gathering The stage of barbarism is characterized by the economy of agriculture and animal husbandry; and the stage of civilization has higher level of literacy, technology, industry and political organization like state. This theory of Morgan has encouraged other scholars to build their theories. Finnish philosopher and anthropologist Edward Westermarck presented The History of Human Marriage (1891) and Robert Briffault an English surgeon, anthropologist and author established that women ,in all animal species, determine the conditions of the animal family. Tylor produced the evolutionary theory of religion and other evolutionists like W.H.R.Rivers, Sir James Frazer, A.C.Haddon and Charles Seligman contributed immensely for the development of social anthropology as a science of social evolution. It was not that evolutionary theory was the only line of thought in the field of social anthropology; there were other opposite schools of thought like the structural- functional school of anthropology presented by the British anthropologist A.R. Radcliffe-Brown. There was also the Diffusionist School to reject the evolutionary ideas of unilineal progress and development of society because, society not only develops, but also degenerates. The diffusionsts also believe that man is basically uninventive and so once an invention is made in any part of the world, it migrates to other parts through borrowing or initiation. The diffusionist ideas are shared by three distinct schools , the British, the German and the American ones, with supports from Smith, W.J.Perry, Rivers, Franz Boas, Clerk Wissler, Kroeber and others. Franz Boa and Bronislaw Malinowski, the leading modern anthropologists had great regard for field-studies. Boa collected empirical data and did extensive field-research in the US to study American Indians in the 1880s.He initiated the study of modern cultural anthropology in America and studied the mutual connection between culture and personality. Among his fellow cultural anthropologists we can name Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Linton, Kardiner and Cora Du Bois.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 38 The two branches of anthropology, one based on culture studies and another on the studies of society have developed side by side. Among the American anthropologists there is a trend of cultural analysis following Tylor, a British, on the other hand British anthropologists side with social anthropology of Morgan, an American. American anthropologists believe that there is not much difference between the two areas, only culture study has a much wider scope than the study of social life. In fact, they believe, social anthropology is contained within cultural anthropology. Yet, there are many who contest that view and claim that the two are completely different in concepts and methods. Radcliffe-Brown has commented that while doing fieldwork in any society, one apparently does not meet the culture, but experiences social relations. As all social relations are not equally important, they may be excluded from study. Only the relatively permanent and repetitive forms of social relations constitute social structure and by studying social structure the nature of social life and its continuity can be understood. Raymond Firth and Radcliffe- Brown have distinguished the concept of social organization from social structure. According to them, people make choices between alternatives within the broad framework of social structure. The social structure created by the choice-making persons is the social organization. With the help of these notions of social structure and social organizations,, British social anthropologists have made comparative analysis of human behavior in institutionalized form. Claude Levi-Strauss predicted that the future of social anthropology would be in communication studies; that is, in the study of inter-communications between persons and groups through words and symbols; and from this there would appear several other sub- branches of social anthropology. In this way, many new ideas are entering in the field of social anthropology and its scope is increasing day by day in terms of theory and practice. 3.6 Growth of Social Anthropology in India Anthropology in India has appeared much later compared to other countries of the world, it was only in the latter half of the nineteenth century when anthropological study via the ethnographic materials compiled by the colonial administrators. Andre Betille (1996) has used the term 'Indian Anthropology 'to mean the study of society and culture in India by anthropologists, irrespective of their race and nationality. D.N. Dhanagare has rightly observed that the development of social sciences ,in general, is closely associated with the development of modern capitalism in the West. It was neither accidental nor coincidental that the growth of social sciences has remained linked to dynamics of power; the theories, researches and findings

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 39 have often been used to justify and sustain either to support the power- relations or to oppose them. Ideas. Concepts, ideas and theories of a given time are born and nurtured within the social environment of that period. This has happened to all areas of social science and more so in the field of sociology and social anthropology as academic disciplines and professions. In India both these two disciplines are children of British colonialism and both, in their initial years at least , reflected the colonial understanding of Indian social life. British colonial rule had affected the social, political and economic life in India drastically. For the colonial administrators too, India was a unique experience. After the devastating mutiny of 1857 the representatives of the Imperial authority had started to conduct ethnographic surveys to collect even the minutest details about each and every aspect of people's life. The main objective of these surveys was to ensure more control and power over the people of this land. The caste system, the rituals and beliefs of the religious sects, the tribal communities, hundreds of languages and their innumerable dialects, the land tenurial system and village social structure, all these intrigued the British. Their initial failure to understand the intricacies of India's social and economic life had led to a number of problems like agrarian disturbances and revolts. To prevent further problems in future and also to impose the iron grip over the land and its people, methods of sociology and social anthropology were utilized as tool of colonial domination. Joan Vincent (1990) has revealed that from its very beginning, British anthropology was used as a power- tool of the colonizers. The same is also true for early-American anthropology. Talal Asad (1973) has categorically stated that 'anthropology is rooted in an unequal power encounter between the West and the Third World'. The ethnographic and historic knowledge of the colonized country had helped colonial authority to know and control those lands better. European missionaries who came to preach Christianity also collected some data with a religious motive. Colonial administrators like Risley, Dalton, Thurston, O'malley, Russel, Crook, Mills and many others had compiled huge data on tribes and castes of the land. Around this time, some trained British anthropologists like Rivers, Seligman, Radcliffe-Brown, Hutton came to India to conduct field-studies. Most of those scholar-administrators focused more on the cultural diversity of India and floated a 'mosaic theory' to describe India's culture and society, more than the nature of its unity. They also created certain categories based on foreign idioms, principles and western understanding of the country. In the process , they started indiscriminate use of western ideas, concepts and theories to describe India's social life and culture. Unfortunately, such efforts proved to be counterproductive. Borrowing ideas, frameworks and methodology from western anthropologists to practice self-study or study of indigenous culture instead of studying 'other culture'. The path of growth for Indian anthropology has been

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 40 scrutinized regularly by both Indian and foreign scholars and following Vidyarthi's and Sinha's observations it can be divided into four distinct phases, namely, the Formative phase, the Constructive phase,the Analytical Phase and the Evaluative phase. We need to discuss those phases more elaborately. 3.6.1. The Formative Phase (1774-1919) Many believe that, anthropology as the scientific study of man began in 1774 with the establishment of Asiatic Society in Bengal. Its founder –President Sir William Jones had initiated a good number of anthropological studies. The Society's journal regularly published scholarly papers on the diversity of Indian life and customs. Information on rural life and tribal culture , collected by British administrators, missionaries, travelers and others. Following the footsteps of that journal, other scholarly journals like the Journal of Indian Antiquary(1872), Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1915) and Man in India(1921) saw the light of the day. But there are other who think that the study of anthropology did start in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The journey of anthropology here thus began with anthropological mapping. The Imperial administrators made extensive use of their official machinery to collect information about social and economic conditions, religious beliefs and practices of the native Indians divided into castes and tribes. In its formative phase the inspirations were drawn from the British anthropologists who came to India to do their researches; as for example ,W.H.R. Rivers studied the Todas of Nilgiri Hills, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown dealt with the Andaman Islanders, G.H. and B.H.Seligman collected information on the Veddas of Ceylon(present-day Srilanka). 3.6.2. The Constructive Phase (1920-1949) This phase can be described as the phase of institutionalization of anthropology as an academic discipline. In 1918, social anthropology started its formal academic journey as a subsidiary subject at the under graduate level, but it became part of the Post-Graduate curriculum of the University of Calcutta two years later in 1920. K.P.Chattopadhyay, trained at Cambridge University by the likes of W.H.R.Rivers and A.C.Haddon , was the first Professor in Anthropology at Calcutta University and R.P. Chanda was its first Lecturer. After independence, Universities of Delhi, Lucknow and Guwahati were established in 1947, 1950 and 1952 respectively. Within a short period, several other Universities like Saugarh, Madras, Puna, Ranchi, Dibrugarh, Utkal, Ravishankar (Raigarh, M.P/Chhatisgarh), Karnataka, North Bengal and North-East Hills started their departments of Anthropology.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 41 3.6.3. The Analytical Phase (1950-1990) The end of Second World War and India's Independence happened in quick succession. Since then, contacts between Indian and American anthropologists started in an increasing manner. On the one hand, D. N. Majumdar, M.N. Srinibas and S, C, Dube made important contributions in village and community studies; on the other, American anthropologists like R. Redfield, M. Singer, M. Marriott and Bernard S Cohn studied different dimensions of Indian tradition. Redfield's ideas of 'Great traditions and Little traditions' and 'Folk-urban Continuum' were widely acclaimed; while K. Gough, E. Leach , N.K. Bose and A. Beteille dealt with the socio-economic basis of Indian society. The Anthropological Survey of India ,too, conducted a number of surveys. This period also witnessed a tendency among Indian researchers to be free from western theoretical biases and number of in-depth, bias-free analytical studies on various communities were thus conducted. This phase has been enriched by the contributions of eminent social anthropologists like B.K.Roy Burman, A.K.Das, by publication of new journals and bulletins , proliferation of research centers till the last decades of the 20 th century. 3.6.4. The Evaluative Phase : (1990—) It was quite clear by this time that western anthropological ideas could not explain the complexities of Indian society; therefore a new approach was needed to fit the Indian situation. Therefore, Indian anthropologists developed and depended on indigenous models firstly to overcome the barriers of intellectual colonialism and neo- colonialism; and secondly to acquire an active, humanistic and critical outlook. Presently anthropology in India employs new types of data, concepts, approaches, methods and theories. The relationship between social anthropology and sociology was quite close quite close before; now they have come further closer as both the disciplines deal with tribal, agrarian and industrial socio-cultural issues. Renowned anthropologists like Srinivas and Dube have undertaken sociological investigations and thus have brought the two disciplines closer. 3.7 Summary From our discussion above it can be concluded that In India social-cultural anthropology is a major sub-division of anthropology. Due to its subject-matter it also has close affiliation with sociology, the difference between the is only artificial as once it was believed that sociology should study the society and culture of 'civilized' section of population and social anthropology should examine those of the 'primitive' people. Both the branched of knowledge have come out of such
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 42 narrow boundaries and expanded their scopes of analyses. Being nurtured in the cradle of the colonial ideology , for a prolonged period of time the subject –matter of social anthropology used to be affected by the colonial machinations of the west ;India was no exception. However, after the end of the colonial rule, social anthropology in India has not only come out of that kind of influence, but Post- globalization, also built up an approach of its own to help in the task of nation- building. Post- globalization, social anthropology in India is focusing on the new challenges that are rocking the society in many ways. 3.8 Questions 1. Answer in Short. 5 Marks. (a) What is Social Anthropology? (b) Why did anthropology in India emerge in the colonial period? (c) Which period is known as the formative phase of social anthropology in India and Why? (d) What is the constructive phase of social anthropology in India? (e) Write a short note on the analytical phase of social anthropology. (f) Write a short note on the evaluative phase of social anthropology in India? 2. Answer in Detail. 10 Marks. (a) Critically examine the birth and path of growth for sociology in India. (b) What is social anthropology? Describe the emergence and growth of social anthropology in India. (c) Discuss the different phases of growth for social anthropology in India. 3.9 Suggested Readings Bidney, D. 1953.Theoretical Anthropology. Columbia: Columbia University Press. Beattie, J. 1964. Other Cultures: Aims, Methods and Achievements in Social Anthropology. London. Routledge Keegan Paul. Bose,N.K.1963. ' Fifty Years of Science in India: Progress of Anthropology and Archeology'. Indian Science Congress Association. Dhanagare,D.N. 1993.Themes and Perspectives in Indian Sociology. Jaipur. Rawat Publications. Dube, S.C. 1962.'Anthropology in India' in Indian Anthropology: Essays in
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Unit 4 Sociology as a Science Structure 4.1 Objectives 4.2 Introduction 4.3 What is Science? 4.4 Sociology as a Science 4.5 The Balance View 4.6 Summary 4.7 Key Words 4.8 Questions 4.9 Suggested Readings 4.1 Objectives After reading this unit learners will be able to learn about: ? the conceptual understanding of sociology ? the conceptual understanding of science ? the scientific justification

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of sociology as a discipline 4.2 Introduction There exists a great controversy about the exact nature of sociology,

particularly about the question of whether sociology is a science or not.
Perhaps due to these sociologists got divided among themselves into two opposite groups. As a result,

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two opposite views are available on the nature of sociology. For one group

of sociologists, Sociology as a subject is a science because sociology

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adopts and applies the scientific methods. The founding fathers of sociology, Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, and others subscribe to this view.

Others hold different views and opine that sociology is not a science. German sociologists like Max Weber do not accept sociology as a science. Others also assert that sociology is as much a science like Political Science, Economics, and Psychology are. But before any decision on whether sociology is a science or not, we must understand first what science does imply.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 45 And if sociology is a science then how far or in what degree sociology does conform to the notion of science in our academic concern for it. 4.3 What is Science? Before we settle on the question whether sociology is a science or not, first we need to know what science is, otherwise the question does not make much sense. Science, to say it precisely, is nothing but the

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body of systematic knowledge. It relies on reason and evidences. A science is a branch of knowledge or study dealing with a body of facts that are systematically arranged and showing the operation of general laws. Science collects facts and links them together in their causal sequence to draw valid inferences

which are verifiable. A researcher or scholar,to make science, must adopt scientific methods and acquire scientific knowledge through the very process of observation, experimentation, generalization etc. The basis of science is objective knowledge and cause and effect relationship among facts. Literally, current philosophical views on the nature of science are diverse, and largely liberalized from previous views. Firstly,they no longer accept strong criteria of falsification as a scientific method. There are several ways to formulate falsification. Secondly, new movements in philosophy attack the notion of universal laws. Cartwright (1983) argued that seemingly universal philosophical laws are not really universal in nature, from logical point of view. This and other reasons led Cartwright (1983) and Hacking (1983) to present a new view of science in which piecemeal "models", instead of universal laws and theories, play the central role of scientific investigation. Here "models" means oversimplified mental pictures of structure. 4.4 Sociology as a Science With the analysis of science in the previous discussion, let us turn to sociology as a concept itself. According to James W. Woodard, the conception of sociology is basically 'the study of those uniformities which are group-situational emergents, that is, uniformities for which there is a necessity, or toward which there are tendencies, arising out of the nature of group situations, letting "group" represent here any social situation of more than one individual.' He states 'Out of the group- ness of this situation emerge vested interests; so also emerge of situational necessity group-wide uniformities of behaviour, and yet another tendency toward change. Sociology in the broad sense is the study of all these uniformities, uniformities which are the situational emergents (in the group situation) of the incidence upon

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 46 each other of men's nature (as it is made up), of the physical environment (as it is made up), and of the products (in culture cumulation) of the past incidence of these factors.' Early sociologists tried to establish sociology as a science and their arguments are mainly on the methodology of sociology. Comte claimed that sociology uses four different kinds of methodologies, namely observation, experiment, comparison and historical research as a special case of companion. These are the methodology used in several other scientific fields, especially in biology. But actually, he never did empirical research, so we cannot take him at the face value. But his argument influenced other sociologists, especially Durkheim. For him, sociology is a study of social facts. According to him, a social fact is "a thing that is external to, and coercive of, the actor." Because they are external, social facts cannot be investigated by introspection. We should use empirical research. Durkheim used statistics on suicide rate to establish his arguments that suicide is a social phenomenon. This is an admirable attempt of empirical research on society, but there are several problems, especially his rigid rejection of introspection as a sociological method. It was probably Weber's methodology that provides an answer to these concerning problems. His key word is 'verstehen', a German term for 'understanding' or 'interpretation'. According to him, we can 'understand' other people's motivation through introspection of our own intentions, and this kind of knowledge is necessary for sociology. This is exactly what Durkheim denied as a method of sociology. But, of course, the problem would lie in the fact if this method is permissible as a scientific method of investigation, strong falsification of a theory has to become almost impossible by such 'interpreted' facts. Before we proceed further, we will be urged to make a brief remark one would like to make a brief remark on the use of models in sociology as a discipline. One of the reason people may argue against sociology as a science is the lack of uniformities of the sociological theory. We have lots of theories in sociology such as Marxist theory, Durkheim's theory, Weberian theory and so on, but none of them are shared or taken as valid by all sociologists. This seems to make a strong contrast with other fields of science where scientists agree on the basic theories. 4.5 The balance View According to David V. McQueen, when writing about a subject of a social- philosophical matter, it is absolutely essential to notify the reader of one's underlying

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 47 biases so that he may come to the piece with the appropriate mind-set. Such a notion is probably the first point of awareness that 'social sciences are, after all, not altogether similar to the so-called "hard" sciences'. In reference to the question of whether sociology is a form of scientific pursuit or not, the conclusion is drawn that sociology barely meets any of the rigid criteria traditionally associated with the natural sciences. Social scientists look at problem much like engineers; they do not spend much time on theory. As Pitirim Sorokin (1931) mentioned that sociology studies a set of social phenomena either not studied systematically by any other social sciences or studied by sociology from a point of view different from that of the other social sciences. And secondly, that the class of phenomena studied and the standpoints from which they are studied are basically consistent and scientifically important. The first standpoint is individualizing, that concerned predominantly with a description of the unique- unrepeated- phenomena and relationships. The second is generalizing, that is with a description of uniformities and formulations of laws, that is, the set of relationships repeated either in time-series, or in space or in both. Franklin H. Giddings (1927), in so far, a science is a distinct part of science viewed as an indivisible whole it has become such by concentrating inquiry and perfecting a technical method. Because of the distinctiveness of facts, sociology can be more than an assembling and ordering of checked observations- but it cannot become like chemistry or astronomy a prediction of certainties. It can become a forecast and a measurement of possibilities, including contingencies of kind and correlations of size, in the field of those human relations which constitute normal society. Here normal society indicates that society is made up of the most frequently recurring combinations of societal components and attributes. The Debate between the objective and the subjective Sociologists, like all humans, have their own values, beliefs, and even pre- conceived notions of what they might do in their research. Even sociologists are not immune to the urge of making changes in the world, two approaches to sociological investigation have appeared. By far the most apparent is the objective approach advocated by Max Weber. Weber understood that social scientists have opinions, but vehemently argued against the expression of non-professional or non-scientific opinions in the analysis. Weber took this position for several reasons, but the major ones outlined in his discussion of Science as Vocation are many. He firmly believed it is wrong for a person in a position of authority (a professor) to compel his/her students to accept his/her opinions in order for them to qualify the exam. Weber argued that it was acceptable for social scientists to communicate wide ranging

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 48 opinions outside of the classroom. He advocated for social scientists to be involved in politics and other social activism. The objective approach to social science remains very popular in sociological research and academic journals because it refuses to pin down on social issues at the level of opinions only and instead focuses deeply on data and theories. The Objective Approach: The objective approach is contrasted with the critical approach, which has its origins in Karl Marx's work on economic structures. If you are familiar with Marxist theory, you will recognize that Marx went beyond describing society to advocating for change. Marx disliked capitalism and his analysis of that economic system included the initiation for change. This approach to sociology is often referred to today as critical sociology. Some sociological often focus on this branch of critical sociology and some sociological approaches are inherently critical for e.g., feminism, black feminist thought. Building on these early prognosis, the rise of Feminist methods and theories in the 1970's called for an ongoing debate concerning critical as against the objective realities. Drawing on early Feminist writings by several social advocates which included Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Alice Paul, Ida Wells Barnett, Betty Friedan, and sociological theorists such as Dorothy Smith, Joan Acker, and Patricia Yancey Martin, Feminist sociologists argued that "objective" traditions are often unrealistic and unscientific in practice. Specifically, they - along with other critical theorists like Michel Foucault, Bell hooks, and Patricia Hill Collins debated that since all science was conducted and all data was mediated by human beings and all human beings have beliefs, values, and biases that they are often unaware of and that shape their conception of reality objectivity only existed within their gamut of beliefs and values of the people that presented it. We can state it another way and claim that since human beings are responsible for scientific knowledge, this is despite the fact that human beings cannot be conscious of all the potential biases, beliefs, and values they use to do their science. That is to select their topics, construct measurements, and interpret data, "objective" or "value free" science are never possible. Rather, these theorists argued that the personal is often the political. This is because our personal decisions however small they are, are ultimately impacted by the political context of our lives and they will finally shape the personal and political realities of the. This happen irrespective of whether or not we are aware of these consequences. As a result, every scientist, regardless of their intentions or awareness - may often seek to follow Weber's recommendations concerning objective teaching and research. Though at the same
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 49 time he was aware that he will ultimately fail to achieve this ideal. Whether or not scientists explicitly express their personal opinions in their teaching and research, every decision scientists must make will ultimately relies upon – and to an extent demonstrate to varying degrees - their subjective realities. As a result, current debates that emerge, typically center around objective versus subjective interpretations of science. While scholars continue to debate the merits and limitations of subjective/ objective versus critical approaches, science go on taking its destined path. Some examples from the subjective basis of both "objective" and "critical" sociology may help illustrate this point. First, we may examine the research process for both objective and critical sociologists while paying our attention to the many decisions people must make to inculcate in any study from either of the perspectives. These decisions include: ? The selection of a research topic (this selection reveals something the author believes is important whether or not it is) ? The selection of data (this selection reveals data the author believes is reliable whether or not it is) ? If the researcher decides to collect their own data, then they must: ? Decide where to collect data ? Decide who to collect data from ? Decide what questions to ask (which ones they believe will answer the question) and how to ask these questions (which forms of talk they believe are best for getting the answers they want) ? Decide how much data to collect ? Decide how to analyze the data collected (if mathematically, which protocols will be used and which software program, and if qualitatively which themes will ze look for and / or what software program) ? Decide how to measure or categorize the data (if mathematically, what set of parameters counts as a good measure, and if qualitatively what must a category contain) ? Decide how to interpret the measurements or categories (if mathematically, what exactly do the numbers mean socially, and if qualitatively what do the categories say about society) ? Decide how to discuss the interpretation (which theories should be used and which ones should be ignored) ? If the researcher decides to use secondary data, this becomes even more

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 50 complicated. While they will have to do the final four items listed above, they must also: ? Trust that the data collection occurred properly ? Trust that the data was organized properly ? Trust that the questions were answered properly ? Trust that the sample is appropriate As you can understand, the research process itself is full of decisions that each researcher must make. As a result, while the researchers may try to conduct objective studies, attempting so may not be possible given the fact that doing research requires them to use their personal experiences and opinions. These may arise from personal life, the advice of the people that taught them to do research methods, or the books they must have read that were ultimately placed before the same subjective actions without trying to be fully objective throughout the process. As a result, researchers can attempt to be as objective as possible, but they can never actually reach the absolute level of objectivity. This same problem was seen in Weber's initial description of teaching. For someone to teach any course, for example, they must make a series of decisions including but not limited to: ? Deciding what subjects to cover within the overall course ? Deciding which readings to use to convey information ? Deciding what measures of learning will be used and what measures will be left out of the course ? Deciding what counts as an appropriate or inappropriate answer on any and all measures used in the course As a result, we can say that Weber's objectivity is an ideal that can't be fully realized. Whether or not the teacher (or researcher) explicitly takes a political, religious, or social stance, he or she will ultimately present their personal stances, beliefs, values, and biases implicitly throughout the course. Thus we recognize that all sciences are ultimately subjective to varying degrees, it is fairly well established at this point, the question of whether or not scientists should embrace this subjectivity remains an open question. Further, there are many scientists both in sociology and other sciences who propagate the idea that scholars should attempt to be as objective as possible, and often project this ideal in their teaching, research, and peer review activities. As a result, the argument within the field continues without any finality, and this will likely be an important part of scientific knowledge and scholarship for time to come 1 .
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 51 4.6 Summary Auguste Comte, the founding father of sociology, has presented the discipline as a science; other eminent thinkers like Durkheim also consider it a science because the discipline adopts and applies scientific methods in the study of its subject-matter. Even without the use of any laboratory, it adopts scientific methods like case-study, interview, sociometry scales for examining and understanding social phenomena. It also makes use of the technique of scientific observation. Like disciplines of natural sciences, it adopts objective analysis, examines the cause-effect relationship of social phenomena, attempts to make accurate prediction, tries to measure social relationships accurately, tries to frame laws for objective analysis of issues and also tries to make generalization of the matters it studies. On the basis of all these we can come to the conclusion that

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sociology is science. However, there are several other sociologists like Max Weber who deny the status of science to

it. The main reasons for their objection are: lack of pure objectivity in its study; lack of experimentation, failure to make accurate prediction, lack of flawless measurement, failure to make proper generalisation, etc. Considering its limitations to emerge as a 'pure' or natural science discipline due to the difference of its subject-matter with that of natural sciences, we can definitely identify sociology as a social science. It has brought in multiple new ways of examining and observing the society and its various aspects in as much positivist way as possible. 4.7 Key Words Sociology. Science. Observation. Experimentation. Natural Science. 4.8 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) Demonstrate your opinion about the scientific justification of sociology as a discipline (b) Explain in brief about sociology as a subject. (c) Briefly explain the challenges to consider sociology as a science. (d) Explain in brief about the relationship between science and sociology. (e) Elucidate briefly the key challenges to sociology as a scientific discipline. (f) Briefly discuss about the influence of science on the emergence of sociology. (g) Discuss the nature of sociology. (h) Why sociology is a science?
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 52 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) What is sociology? (b) Who is science? (c) What are the subject matters of sociology? (d) What is social fact? 4.9 Suggested Readings Haralambos, M.(1998). Sociology: Themes and Perspectives,OUP. Jayaram, N.(1998). Introductory Sociology, Macmillan India. Oommen, T.K. & Venugopal, C.N. (1993). Sociology,Eastern Book Co. Rao, C.N. (Ed.).Sociology:Principles of Sociology with an Introduction to Sociological Thought, S.Chand,New Delhi. Ritzer,George.(2015).Sociological Theory,McGraw Hill Education (India) Private Limited, New Delhi. Beteille,Andre. (2002).Sociology: Essays on Approach &Method,Oxford University Press. Woodard,James W.(1932).Critical Notes on the Nature of Sociology as a Science,SocialForces,Vol. 11,No. 1(Oct.,1932),pp. 28-43,Oxford University Press. Giddings,Franklin. H. (1927).Sociology as Science,The Scientific Monthly,Vol. 25,No. 4(Oct.,1927),pp. 343-346,American Association for the Advancement of Science. Sorokin,Pitirim. A.(1931).Sociology as a Science,SocialForces,Vol. 10,No. 1(Oct.,1931),pp.21-27,Oxford University Press.

Unit 5 Sociological Imagination Structure 5..1 Objectives 5.2 Introduction 5.3 A Short Biographical Profile of C. Wright Mills 5.4 Sociological Imagination: The Promise it made 5.4.1 The Three Basic Questions of Mills 5.4.2 The Distinction between 'Personal Troubles' and 'Public Issues 5.4.3 Some Illustrations 5.4.4 Formulating the Issues and Troubles 5.5 The Task of the Social Scientists 5.6 Conclusion 5.7 Summary 5.8 Questions 5.9 Suggested Readings 5.10 Glossary 5.1 Objectives After reading this unit learners will be able to learn about: ? To understand the concept of sociological imagination. ? To understand the difference between the public and the private ? To understand its scope in constituting the essence of sociology ? To understand its relevance in the present context. 5.2 Introduction The term "sociological imagination" was coined by the American sociologist C. Wright Mills in his 1959 book The Sociological Imagination to describe the type of insights and perspectives offered by the very discipline of sociology. The term is used in introductory textbooks in sociology to explain the nature of sociology and

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 54 its relevance in daily life. The sociological imagination enables its possessor to understand the larger historical background in terms of its meaning. This affects the inner life and the extraneous career of a variety of individuals. It enables us to take into account how individuals, as they go through their daily experience, misinterpret their social positions. Within this maze, the order of modern society is organized and it is within this framework that the mental makeup of a variety of men and women is also sketched. In this way, the personal troubles of individuals are focused upon their external troubles and therefore the indifference of the public is translated into their involvement with public issues.

https://www.slideshare.net/trisnaalient/c-wright-mills-the-sociological- imagination-3sn Picture Credit: Sociological imagination ensures that the individual can understand his own experience and evaluate his own fate by locating himself within his period. It is only by placing him in that context can he know his own chances in life and become aware of those of other individuals like him in similar circumstances. C. Wright Mills made it clear that the crux of social understanding can only develop if we get to bridge the gap between our personal troubles and public problems. Mills remained a very prominent sociologist of the 1960s and his ideas helped shape the substance of sociological imagination which remained crucial to our understanding of the

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 55 sociological perspective in general and the public-private ridge in particular. Do you know who in real life, Mills was? Picture : C. Wright Mills https://canadiandimension.com/articles/view/

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dissenting-big-time-e.p.-thompson- c.-wright-mills-and-making-the-first-new (

Picture Credit) C. Wright Mills was a formidable sociologist, social commentator, and critic. Both his writings and character aroused considerable debate. He had been described as an 'American Utopian' – committed to social change. He was quickly angered by the oppression he saw around him and immediately protested. He was very critical of what passed for contemporary sociology. He believed that knowledge when used properly, could bring about the desired society through social change. C. Wright Mills further argued that if the society that was desired was not yet here, it was primarily because of the fault of the intellectuals, i.e the people who possessed the knowledge. Therefore, the discipline, he felt, required a thorough make-over. Mills had spent his life in re-designing the discipline of sociology for he felt the subject would require a fine-tuning in the post-war years that must necessarily be accomplished. In the next section, we shall get a short biography of Mills to have a

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 56 clear idea of the sociological imagination and its under-currents. This will help us to better understand the concept of the sociological imagination and what propelled Mills to conceptualize such an idea. Probably a short peek into his biographical profile will better locate him and his vision of social science. 5.3 A Short Biographical Profile of C.Wright Mills C. Wright Mills was born in Waco, a city in Central Texas on August 28th, 1916. His father was an insurance agent hailing from Florida and his mother – Frances Wright Mills – was a lady born and bred in Texas. In the 1920s, the family shifted to Dallas, with Mills graduating from Dallas High School in 1934. He then went on to Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College but soon changed his stream. He went over to the University of Texas at Austin (in 1935) to major in sociology. At the prime of his life he met and married (in 1937) Dorothy Helen Smith. Dorothy at that time was studying post-graduation in literature. However, she left her studies mid-way on getting married and was soon engaged with some work at Women's Residence Hall to eke out a decent living for both of them.

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Dorothy Helen Smith (Freya) at age eighteen, in Anadarko, Oklahoma, 1931, about five years before she met Mills, whom she would marry in Austin, Texas, in 1937. (Photo courtesy of Freya James.)

https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms; chunk.id=0;doc.view=print (Picture and Text Credit) At the University of Austin Mills quickly showed his ability to stand out. He soon turned out to be a daredevil and outspoken. This robustness went against him in the sociology department as he struggled hard to earn a graduate assistantship. He pursued his MA in philosophy and this brought him close to the work of George H. Mead, John Dewey and Charles Sanders Pierce (Tilman 1984: 7). In 1939 Mills left Austin for Madison where he had gained a scholarship to enroll himself in a Ph.D. program in sociology at the University of Wisconsin. After some time, the
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 57 relationship between Freya and C. Wright Mills became unsettled. They were finally divorced in 1940 and Mills remarried in 1941. In 1943 they had a baby girl – Pamela.

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Mills and Pam in Greenbelt, Maryland, in 1944, when Mills was an associate professor of sociology at the University of Maryland. (Mills family photo.)

https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms; chunk.id=0;doc.view=print (Picture and Text Credit) C. Wright Mills gained his Ph.D. in 1942 for

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his thesis 'A Sociological Account of Pragmatism: An essay on the sociology of knowledge' (

which was published after his death in 1964). He gained a position in 1941 as an associate professor at the University of Maryland before moving very soon to Columbia University in 1945. Mill's very first academic association was to work as a research associate in the Bureau of Applied Social Research and then the following year he served as an assistant professor of sociology (Mills and Mills 2000: 344). Freya and C. Wright divorced again in 1947 with Charles moving to a separate apartment on the outskirts of Greenwich Village in New York City. This kind of life to which Mills was getting accustomed was both light and enjoyable and therefore, he tried relaxing as much as possible.

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Freya and Mills in Madison, Wisconsin, in March 1941, when they remarried. (Photo courtesy Freya James.)

https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms; chunk.id=0;doc.view=print (Photo and Text Credit) Like his personal life, he did not gel well with his colleagues in the department. The members of the Department of Sociology at Columbia of US sociology during the 1950s and 1950s consisted of many luminaries like Daniel Bell, Paul Lazarsfeld, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Robert Merton. It would be wrong to say that they did not, on the whole, get along with Mills. To an extent, it might be personal but it mainly flowed from his methodological and ideological orientations. The feeling appears to have been somewhat mutual. However, there were others whom he looked up with respect including Robert Lynd and a few others who however were not from his department like Jacques Barzun and Meyer Schapiro (an art historian and radical who had a particular thrust upon style as a craft – Horowitz 1983: 88).
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 58 Do you know? Mills went to the University of Wisconsin in 1939. He was considered as extremely arrogant and overly ambitious. His professional relationships were intensely argumentative and unfavorable. At the oral defense of his dissertation, he declined to make the necessary revisions that his committee had clearly asked for. The defense was quietly accepted without ever being formally approved by the committee. In 1947 C. Wright Mills married Ruth Harper (who was a researcher on the project that later on became White Collar). Around four years later, their daughter Kathryn was born (1955). Ruth and C. Wright Mills were separated in 1957.

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Ruth Harper at age twenty-four, in a photo she gave Mills several months before their marriage in July 1947. They met when Mills used some of his Guggenheim funding to hire her to do research for White Collar. (Photo by Blackstone Studios, New York, New York.)

https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms; chunk.id=0;doc.view=print (Photo and Text Credit) In the mid-1950s Mills traveled extensively in Europe and he was, for a span of time, a Fulbright lecturer at the University of Copenhagen. He had begun to develop his interest in Marxism (which resulted in The Marxist published quite shortly after his death in 1962). He also developed acquaintance with a number of key UK figures on the left including Tom Bottomore (1920-92), Ralph Miliband (1924-94) and E. P. Thompson (1924-93). It was during these travels that he wrote much of The Sociological Imagination (1959). Irving Louis Horowitz (1983: 88) while commenting on this book said, "It helped to make possible the penetration of the field by a new generation of social scientists dedicated to problems of social change rather than system maintenance". This book was also a way of giving an answer to all the strife he had with his fellow faculties in the department. In 1959 C. Wright Mills married Yaroslava Surmach and moved into a new home in Rockland County with Kathryn. NSOU ? CC-SO-01 59

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Yaroslava and Wright Mills (in front) with Ralph and Marion Miliband in London, fall 1961. (Time-release photo set up by Yaroslava Mills.)

https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms; chunk.id=0;doc.view=print (Photo and Text Credit). Yaroslava and C. Wright Mills had a son Nikolas Charles in 1960 (Mills and Mills 2000: 346). In 1960 he had a major heart attack after which he was informed if he had another he would die (Mills and Mills 2000:321). On March 20, 1962, unfortunately, the nightmare came true and he died an untimely death at his home in West Nyack. He was only 46 years old when he was buried in Oak Hill Cemetery, Nyack, New York. Mills left behind his three children, Kate, Pam, and Nik, in New York to sustain his legacy. Along with him, we lost a sociological gem forever. Let us now have a look at one of his major works and how it influenced our discipline.

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Mills's children, Kate, Pam, and Nik, in New York, the week of Mills's funeral, late March 1962. (Photo by Yaroslava Mills.)

https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms; chunk.id=0;doc.view=print (Photo and Text Credit). 5.4 Sociological Imagination: The Promise it made Mills said that every individual, as they live from one generation to the next, in some society or the other; lives out a biography. He lives it out within some historical sequence. By the fact of his unique living, he contributes, however minutely, to the shaping of this society. He at the same time influences the course of its history, despite the fact that he is made by society and by its historical push and shoves. The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. That is its task and its promise that we will be talking about. To recognize this task and this promise is a huge mark for any social researcher. This was not absolutely novel but the traces of this imagination that we had been talking about was even found in classical thinkers like Herbert NSOU ? CC-SO-01 60 Spencer, E. A. Ross, Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim, Karl Mannheim, Karl Marx, Thorstein Veblen, Joseph Schumpetermany, W. E. H. Lecky and Max Weber. No social study could claim to have finished its intellectual journey unless it had addressed the problems of biography, of history and of their intersections and inter- minglings within a society. Mills was very clear that whatever might have been the typical problems of a social analyst, it should never stop to become as sociologically imaginative as possible. However limited or broad might be the features of social reality they have analyzed, those who have been imaginatively aware of the promise of their work must have consistently asked three sorts of questions, considered basic by Mills. 5.4.1 The Three Basic Questions of Mills Let's have a look at these questions, often posed by Mills. These questions are: ? What is the structure of this particular society as a whole? What are its essential components, and how are they related to one another? How does it differ from other varieties of social order? Within it, what is the meaning of any particular feature for its continuance and for its change? ? Where does this society stand in human history? What are the mechanics by which it is changing? What is its place within and it's meaning for the development of humanity as a whole? How does any particular feature we are examining effect, and how is it affected by, the historical period in which it moves? And this period—what are its essential features? How does it differ from other periods? What are its characteristic ways of history-making? ? What varieties of men and women now prevail in this society and in this period? And what varieties are coming to prevail? In what ways are they selected and formed, liberated and repressed, made sensitive and blunted? What kinds of human nature are revealed in the conduct and character we observe in this society in this period? And what is the meaning for human nature' of each and every feature of the society we are examining? Mills clarified that whether the point of interest is a great and powerful state or a minor literary mood, a family, a prison, a creed—these are the basic questions the best social analysts should always ask. They are the intellectual columns of classic studies of man in society—and they are also the questions inevitably raised by any being possessing the sociological imagination. We can easily understand that

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imagination is the capacity to shift very rapidly from one perspective to another—

from the political to the psychological; from the examination of a single-family to
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 61 comparative assessment of the national budgets of the world; from the theological school to the military establishment; from considerations of an oil industry to studies of contemporary poetry and whatnot. It is this versatile capacity to range from the most impersonal and remote transformations to the most intimate features of the human self that constitutes the core of sociological imagination. It examines the relations between the two and looks for its easy intersection and unification. Back of its mind, there is always the urge to know the social and historical meaning of the individual in the society and in the period in which he has his quality and his being. That, in brief, is why it is by means of the sociological imagination that men now hope to grasp what is going on in the world and to understand what is happening in themselves as minute points of the intersections of biography and history within the larger society. In large part, contemporary man's self-conscious view of himself as at least an outsider, if not a permanent stranger, rests upon an absorbed realization of social relativity and of the transformative power of history. The sociological imagination is the most fruitful form of this self-consciousness. Older decisions that once appeared sound now seem to them products of a mind unaccountably dense and unsettled. Their capacity for astonishment is made lively again. They acquire a new way of thinking, they experience another kind of interpretation of values. We can say, in a word, that by their reflection and by their sensibility, they can easily realize the cultural meaning of the social sciences. For this to happen, one must learn to distinguish between the public issues and the private problems that we already spoke about in our introductory section. Let's study it in detail in our next section. 5.4.2 The Distinction between 'Personal Troubles' and 'Public Issues Perhaps the most fruitful distinction with which the sociological imagination works is between 'the personal troubles of milieu' and 'the public issues of the social structure. This distinction is an essential tool of the sociological imagination and a feature of all seminal works in social science. Troubles often occur within the character of the individual and within the range of his immediate interactions with others. They have to do with his own self and with those limited areas of social life about which he is aware. Therefore, the enlistment and the resolution of troubles properly lie within the individual as a biographical entity and within the scope of his immediate surroundings. That is to say, the social setting that is directly open to his personal experience and to some extent his voluntary activities. Troubles are more of a private matter, for values cherished by an individual are felt by him to be threatened. Issues have to do with matters that surpass these local environments of the individual and the range of his inner and selfish Me. They have to do with the institutions and the structures of a historical society as a whole. They must do with
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 62 the ways in which various milieux overlap and interpenetrate to constitute the larger structure of social and historical life. An issue, on the other hand, is a public matter. Some values cherished by the public are felt to be threatened. 5.4.3 Some Illustrations Let's try to understand private and public through proper illustrations. In these terms, consider unemployment. When, in a city of 100,000, only one man is Corona virus-infected, that is his personal trouble, and for its relief, we properly look to the profile of the man, his medical history, and his immediate exposures and travel history. Note currently the whole world is under the threat of Coronavirus, which has become a pandemic for the globe per se. Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) is an infectious disease caused by a new virus. The disease causes respiratory illness (like the flu) with symptoms such as a cough, fever, and in more severe cases, difficulty breathing. You can protect yourself by washing your hands frequently, avoiding touching your face, and avoiding close contact (1 meter or 3 feet) with people who are unwell. But when in a nation of millions, thousands get infected, that is an issue, and we may not hope to find its solution within the range of options open to any one individual. The very structure of global immunity is under threat. Both the correct proposal of the problem and the range of possible solutions require us to consider the social-economic and political institutions of the society. Not merely the personal situation and character of a scatter of individuals matter, but the entire globe and its global health had become impaired. The nation must propose ways to save the civilization from the tentacles of the deadly Coronavirus before it gobbles up the whole human race. The virus attacking one or a handful of individuals does remain a personal problem whose resolution must be sought within that individual or his current peers but when the virus had taken a pandemic shape, it had stopped becoming personal trouble anymore. We must realize the situation is dark and gloomy and beyond the scope of an individual. It requires social intervention now for the social structure is at stake now. Similarly, the personal problem of war, when it occurs, maybe how to survive it or how to die during a war with honor; how to make money out of it; how to climb into the higher safety of the military apparatus; or how to contribute to the war's possible termination. In short, according to one's values, we have to find a set of milieux and within it to survive the war or make one's death meaningful. But the structural issues of war have to do with its causes such as, what types of men it throws up into command; what are its effects upon economic and political, family and religious institutions, with the unorganized irresponsibility of a world of nation-states.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 63 Again, let's consider marriage. Inside a marriage, a man and a woman may experience personal troubles, but when the divorce rate during the first four years of marriage is 350 out of every 1,000 attempts, this is an indication of a structural issue having to do with the institutions of marriage and the family and other institutions that have a bearing upon them. Thus, we find that there is a sharp line of divide between the public and the private. What we experience in various and specific milieux, is often caused by structural changes. Accordingly, to understand the changes of many personal milieux we are required to look beyond them and their local conditions. And the number and variety of such structural changes increase as the institutions within which we live become more structured. They keep embracing one another and become more intricately connected with one another. To be aware of the idea of social structure and to use it with enough sensibility is a great task at hand for a sociologist. To be capable of tracing such linkages among a great variety of milieux is possible for a man. To be able to do who possesses sociological imagination. 5.4.4 Formulating the Issues and Troubles To formulate issues and troubles, we must ask what values are cherished but threatened, and what values are cherished and encouraged, by the characteristic trends of our period. When people cherish some set of values and do not feel any threat or assault to them, they experience well-being. However, the opposite can also happen. When they cherish values but do feel them to be thwarted or threatened, they experience a crisis —either as a personal trouble or as a public issue. And if all their values seem involved, they may feel the total threat of panic or pandemic as is now the condition with Coronavirus. But suppose people are neither aware of any cherished values nor experience any harm to them? That is when we experience indifference, which, if it seems to involve all their cherished values, becomes a case of apathy. Suppose, finally, they are unaware of any cherished values, but still are very much aware of a threat? There is always a sense of danger looming over their minds, which is always haunting them, and what should you call that? That is the experience of uneasiness or of anxiety, which can create an absolutely deadly condition of morbidity. Ours is a time of uneasiness and indifference which often does not permit the work of reason and the play of sensibility. Instead of troubles— defined in terms of values and threats—there is often the misery of vague uneasiness, undefinable in words. Instead of explicit issues being spelled out, there is often the underlying feeling that all is somehow not right. Neither the values threatened nor whatever threatens them had been stated in clear terms. There is always an embedded sense of ambiguity and vagueness hanging

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 64 in the air as if all is not well. In short, they have not been carried out to the point of decision. Much less have they been formulated as problems of social science. In the 'thirties, the situations were not so stark. Some men came forward to understand their personal troubles in these terms. The values threatened were plain to see and cherished by all. The structural contradictions that threatened them also seemed plain and simple. There were not much complications wrapping us. But unfortunately, the values threatened in the era after World War Two are often neither widely acknowledged as values nor widely felt to be threatened. Much private uneasiness goes unformulated and unspoken. Much public malaise and many decisions of enormous structural relevance never become public issues. For those who accept such inherited values as reason and freedom, it is the uneasiness itself that is giving us the trouble. It is the indifference itself that is the issue. And it is this condition, of uneasiness and indifference, that is the signal feature of our period. All this is so striking that it is often interpreted by observers as a shift in the very kinds of problems that need now to be formulated. We are frequently told that the problems of our decade or even the crises of our period now have to do with the quality of individual life. In fact, with the question of whether there is soon going to be anything that can properly be called individual life. Not child labor but comic books, not poverty but mass leisure, are at the center of concern. Many great public issues, as well as many private troubles, are described in terms of 'the psychiatric'. Often, it seems, that it is a pathetic attempt to avoid the large issues and problems of modern society. It arbitrarily divorces the individual life from the larger institutions within which that life is enacted. Problems of leisure, for example, cannot even be stated without considering problems of work. Family troubles over comic books cannot be formulated as problems without considering the plight of the contemporary family in its new relations with the newer institutions of the social structure. Neither leisure nor its debilitating uses can be understood as problems without recognition of the extent to which malaise and indifference now form the social and personal climate of contemporary society. In this climate, no problems of 'the private life can be stated and solved without recognition of the crisis of ambition that is part of the very career of men at work in the incorporated economy. It is true, as psychoanalysts continually point out, that people do often have 'the increasing sense of being moved by obscure forces within themselves which they are unable to define. But it is not true, as Ernest Jones asserted, that 'man's chief enemy and danger is his own unruly nature and the dark forces pent up within him. On the contrary, 'Man's chief danger' today lies in the unruly forces of contemporary society itself and the reasons are many. With our alienating methods of production, enveloping techniques of political domination and its international anarchy, situations are unimaginably grave today. In a word, this has led us towards a pervasive transformation of the very 'nature' of

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 65 man and the conditions and aims of his life. It is now the social scientist's foremost political and intellectual to make clear the elements of contemporary uneasiness and indifference. It is the central demand made upon him by other cultural workmen— by physical scientists and artists, by the intellectual community in general. It is because of this task and these demands, Mills believed that the social sciences are becoming the common denominator of our cultural period, and the sociological imagination our most needed quality of mind. 5.5 The Task of the Social Scientists The sociological imagination is becoming, I believe, the major common denominator of our cultural life and its signal feature. This quality of mind is found in the social and psychological sciences, but it goes far beyond these studies as we now know them. Its acquisition by individuals and by the cultural community at large is slow and often fumbling. Many social scientists are themselves quite unaware of it. They do not seem to know that the use of this imagination is central to the best work that they might do. By failing to develop and use it they are failing to meet the cultural expectations that are coming to be demanded of them. The classic traditions of their several disciplines make available to them this imagination which they have discarded with utmost callousness. Yet in factual and moral concerns, in literary work and in political analysis, the qualities of this imagination are regularly demanded. In a great variety of expressions, they have become central features of intellectual endeavor and cultural sensibility. Popular categories of criticism—high, middle, and low-brow, for example—are now at least as much sociological as aesthetic. Novelists—whose serious work embodies the most widespread definitions of human reality—frequently possess this imagination and do much to meet the demand for it. Although fashion is often revealed by attempts to use it, the sociological imagination is not merely a fashion. It is a quality of mind that seems most dramatically to promise an understanding of the intimate realities of ourselves in connection with larger social realities. It is not merely one quality of mind among the contemporary range of cultural sensibilities. Perhaps, it is the quality whose wider and more skilled use offers the promise that all such sensibilities, especially the human reason will come to play a greater role in shaping human affairs. Among social scientists, there is widespread uneasiness, both intellectual and moral, about the direction their chosen studies seem to be driving them to. This uneasiness, as well as the unfortunate tendencies, are contributed by several factors, one of which is, part of a general malaise of contemporary intellectual life. Yet perhaps uneasiness is more acute among social scientists, if only because of the larger promise that had guided much earlier work in their fields. At the same time,
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 66 the nature of the subjects with which they deal and the urgent need for significant work today exert pressure upon them. Not everyone shares this uneasiness, but the fact that many do not is itself a grave cause for further uneasiness among those who are alert to the promise. They are honest enough to admit the pretentious mediocrity of much current effort. Mills seriously hoped that one day there will be a decline in this uneasiness. This should be possible for one shall define some of its sources to help transform it into specific desperation to realize the promise of social science. Of late the conception of social science Mills held had not been powerful enough. His conception stands opposed to social science as a set of bureaucratic techniques that inhibit social inquiry by 'methodological' pretensions. They congest such work by obscurantist conceptions, that is they hide things from the public sphere. The trivialize major public issues by unnecessarily putting them under the carpet. Thus public problems unconnected with publicly relevant issues often lose significance and become challenged. These inhibitions, obscurities, and trivialities have created a crisis in social studies today without suggesting, in the least, a way out of that crisis. Some social scientists stress the need for 'research teams of technicians/ others for the primacy of the individual scholar. Some expend great energy upon refinements of methods and techniques of investigation. Others think the scholarly ways of the intellectual craftsmen are being abandoned and ought now to be rehabilitated. Some go about their work in accordance with a rigid set of mechanical procedures; others seek to develop, to invite, and to use the sociological imagination. There are different ways that scientist's study. Some scientists associate and disassociate concepts in what seems to others a curious manner while others narrowly study only small-scale milieux, in the hope of building up conceptions of larger structures. Others examine social structures in which they try 'to locate' many smaller milieux. Some, neglecting comparative studies altogether, study only one small community in one society at a time. Others can be seen in a fully comparative way work directly on the national social structures of the world. Some confine their exact research to very short-run sequences of human affairs while others are concerned with issues that are only apparent in long historical perspectives. Some specialize their work according to academic departments; others, drawing upon all departments, specialize according to topic or problem, regardless of where these lie academically. Some confront the variety of history, biography, society; others do not. But Mills also tried to state the cultural and political meanings of social science. He said only when the problem of social science as a public issue will be recognized, and fruitful discussion will become possible. Then there will be greater self-awareness all around—which is, of course, a pre-condition for objectivity in the enterprise of social science as a whole. Social imagination is just walking ahead to fructify all those dreams come true for a flowering and bright social science.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 67 5.6 Conclusion When Mills wrote Sociological Imagination, and especially through the 1960s, administrative research was on the verge of growth. Mills accordingly singled it out for special attention in The Sociological Imagination. This makes it all the more remarkable that, at the turn of the millennium, most of The Sociological Imagination remains as valid, and necessary, as ever. Forty years ago, Mills identified the main directions of sociology in terms largely valid even today. Sociological imagination remains even today a strategy to encounter "a set of bureaucratic techniques which discourage social inquiry by methodological pretensions. Such techniques congest work by imprecise and half-true conceptions and distract our attention from publicly relevant issues. Mills noted that one of the high purposes of sociology had been to bring intellectual clarity to social life and this is where other disciplines like literature, art and criticism largely fail.The sense of political indifference can clearly be taken as resulting from the grave absence of sociological imagination in decision making processes. For Mills, the frequent absence of engaging legitimation and the prevalence of mass apathy are surely two of the central political facts that culminate our social problems even more. "Prosperity," however unequally distributed, should present itself as the all-purpose solution to all social questions. 5.7 Summary We saw sociological imagination was largely developed by Mills as a perspective or social lens for both social observations, inquiry and research as well for policymaking. The Sociological Imagination describes the type of insights and perspectives offered by the very discipline of sociology. The term is used in introductory textbooks in sociology to explain the nature of sociology and its relevance in daily life. The sociological imagination enables its possessor to understand the larger historical background in terms of its meaning. This affects the inner life and the extraneous career of a variety of individuals. It enables us to take into account how individuals, as they go through their daily experience, misinterpret their social positions. Within this maze, the order of modern society is organized and it is within this framework that the mental makeup of a variety of men and women is also sketched. In this way, the personal troubles of individuals are focused upon their external troubles and therefore the indifference of the public is translated into their involvement with public issues. The book helped Mills , as we saw in his biography, was an assortment of the tide of experiences he have had, especially at his workplace. The book made possible the penetration of the field by a new generation of social scientists dedicated to problems of social change rather than
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 68 system maintenance. This book was also a way of giving an answer to all the strife he had with his fellow faculties in the department. Mills said that every individual, as they live from one generation to the next, in some society or the other; lives out a biography. He lives it out within some historical sequence. By the fact of his unique living, he contributes, however minutely, to the shaping of this society. He at the same time influences the course of its history, despite the fact that he is made by society and by its historical push and shoves. 5.8 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) What is Sociological Imagination? Who proposed the term? (b) What is Biography? (c) When did Mills write the book, Sociological Imagination? 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) How will you distinguish between public and private? (b) What should be the task of a social scientist according to Mills? (c) Give illustrations to mark the sociologically imaginative insight. 5.9 Suggested Readings Dawson, Matt, et al. Stretching the Sociological Imagination: Essays in Honour of John Eldridge. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Shanahan, Michael J., and Ross Macmillan. Biography and the Sociological Imagination: Contexts and Contingencies. W.W. Norton, 2008. Mills, C. Wright. Sociological Imagination. Oxford University Press, 2000. Oakes, Guy, and Oakes. The Anthem Companion to C. Wright Mills. Anthem Press India, 2016. Ryder, Christina. The Basics of Sociology: Developing and Applying the Sociological Imagination. Cognella, Academic Publishing, 2019. Kornblum, William, and Carolyn D. Smyth. Using Your Sociological Imagination: Thinking and Writing Critically: a Workbook to Accompany Sociology in a Changing World. Harcourt Brace, 1994.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 69 Giddens, Anthony, and Simon Griffiths. Sociology. Polity Press, 2008. Mills, C. Wright. Sociological Imagination. Oxford University Press, 2000. Fuller, Steve. The New Sociological Imagination. Springer, 2005. Scott, John, and Ann Nilsen. C. Wright Mills and the Sociological Imagination: Contemporary Perspectives. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2014. Puga, Ismael, and Robert Easthope. An Analysis of C. Wright Mills's The Sociological Imagination. Routledge, 2017. Levine, Rhonda F. Enriching the Sociological Imagination How Radical Sociology Changed the Discipline. Taylor and Francis, 2016. 5.10 Glossary 1. Biography—At first, biographical writings were regarded merely as a subsection of history with a focus on a particular individual of historical importance. The independent genre of biography as distinct from general history writing began to emerge in the 18th century and reached its contemporary form at the turn of the 20th century. However, here we are referring to the life experiences of a particular individual and the events he went through. 2. Milieux—The social environment, social context, sociocultural context or milieu refers to the immediate physical and social setting in which people live or in which something happens or develops. It includes the culture that the individual was educated or lives in and the people and institutions with whom they interact. 3. Public—The name "public" originates with the Latin publicus (also poplicus), from populus, to the English word 'populace', and in general, denotes some mass population ("the people") in association with some matter of common interest. So in political science and history, a public is a population of individuals in association with civic affairs or affairs of office or state. In social psychology, marketing, and public relations, a public has a more situational definition, John Dewey defined (Dewey 1927) public as a group of people who, in facing a similar problem, recognize it and organize themselves to address it. Dewey's definition of a public is thus situational: people organized about a situation. Built upon this situational definition of a public is the situational theory of publics by James E. Grunig (Grunig 1983), which talks of nonpublic (who have no problem), latent publics (who have a problem), aware publics (who recognize that they have a problem), and active publics (who do something about their problem).

Unit 6 Sociology and Common Sense Structure 6.1 Objectives 6.2 Introduction 6.3 Philosophical Roots of Common Sense 6.4 Changing Meanings of the Common Sense 6.5 Sociology and Common Sense 6.5.1 Nirmal Kumar Bose on Common Sense and Sociology 6.6 Durkheim's Social Fact and Common Sense 6.7 Max Weber's idea of Common Sense 6.8 Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman's Everyday Life and Common Sense 6.9 Interweaving Sociology and Common sense 6.10 Conclusion 6.11 Summary 6.12 Questions 6.13 Glossary 6.14 Suggested Readings 6.15 Endnotes 6.1 Objectives To help students understand the following things: ? What is common sense? ? Distinguish 'generalized' knowledge from localized commonsensical knowledge. ? To understand the distinction between sociology and common sense. ? To understand the theoretical underpinnings of common sense.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 71 6.2 Introduction Common sense is usually taken as a sound practical judgment revolving around everyday matters. It may also be taken as a basic ability to cognize, perceive, understand, and accordingly judge that is shared by nearly all people. The first type of common sense or good sense can be described as the tendency for seeing things as they are, and doing things as they are supposedly done. This second kind is sometimes described as folk wisdom or collective knowledge, which is characteristic of signifying unreflective knowledge not reliant on specialized training or deliberative thought or action. The two types go together, as the person who has common sense is always in touch with common-sense ideas, which again emerge from the lived experiences of those who are commonsensical enough to cognize them. However, Aristotle warns us that 'common sense' has nothing to do with our notion of 'plain and basic common sense'. Common sense, as we understand it, seems to be a primary ability of rational beings to follow their experience in interpreting some obvious things, making elementary connections between them, so as to avoid adjoining contradictions. Because this ability is so instinctual, it is usually shared by all rational beings around us. Therefore, it is called 'common'. On the other hand, it is called 'sense' because it is developed naturally without any fabrication. So, its operations are intuitive, rather being perceptual (Gregoric:2007). "Common sense" has at least two specifically philosophical meanings. Let us look at them. One is a capability of the animal soul as proposed by Aristotle. He described it as the ability of different individual senses to collectively perceive the characteristics of physical things such as movement and size, which all physical things have in different combinations. This allows people and other animals to distinguish and identify physical things. This common sense is somewhat different from basic sensory perception and from human rational thinking but combines both of them. The second special use of the term is Roman tinted and is used for the natural human sensitivity for other human beings and their community. Just like the first meaning, both of these refer to a type of basic awareness and power assigned to people to judge what most people are expected to share naturally, even if they cannot explain why. All these meanings of "common sense", that we discussed above including are interconnected in a complex history that has evolved during important political and philosophical debates in modern Western civilization. This again had a lot to do about science, politics, and economics. The interplay between the different meanings ascribed to the term has come to be particularly notable in English, as opposed to any other western European languages, such that the extensive use of the term has

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 72 Classic Print & Process • Final Proof (Last) • 28-10-21 made this coinage almost international. The concept of " common sense" has deep philosophical roots which we shall explore before moving towards its in-depth analysis especially in its relation to sociology. 6.3 The Philosophical Roots of Common Sense. The early roots of common-sense date back to Socrates who, it is believed, made a suggestive indication of the existence of " common sense" while being engaged in friendly interaction with one of his students. In this discussion, Socrates looks for a proper definition of knowledge with a talented young mathematician called Theaetetus. The ûrst and longest part of the dialogue is devoted to Theaetetus' ûrst reply that knowledge is nothing but a perception. In order to show that perception alone cannot amount to knowledge, Plato gives an account of the senses. The aim of his account is to translate perception to the passive reception of basic sensible qualities such as for instance, white, salty, hot; by means of our five senses. This, in turn, results in the initiation of the active process in which the so- called 'common features' are understood. These are the features that characterize our varied basic sensible qualities, and they may include 'being', 'difference', 'sameness', 'likeness', and 'unlikeness'. Plato too insists that the soul engages in this active process by means of its own resources, without being helped by the senses and the bodily parts in which the senses live. Since our knowledge requires a ready understanding of the common features, knowledge can only be found in this activity. This is the activity in which the soul engages independently. In the context of Aristotle's psychology, the expression 'common sense' refers to a distinct perceptual capacity in which the ûve senses are integrated. It is called 'common' because it is shared by the ûve senses, and it is called a 'sense' because it is indeed a perceptual ability properly speaking. And because it is a perceptual ability, rather than a rational ability, it is shared by all animals, non-rational and rational alike. Obviously, what Aristotle calls the 'common sense' is very different from what we call 'common sense'. Aristotle Photo Credit: https://commons. wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aristotle_ Altemps_Inv8575.jpg

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 73 It is a strange linguistic coincidence that these two very different notions have the same name. The Aristotelian expression êïéít á4óèçóéò is translated, quite literally, as sensus communis in Latin and as 'common sense' in English. Here the Latin sensus and the English 'sense' are used in their primary sense of a perceptual ability strictly speaking. But in our recent use of the expression 'common sense', the English word 'sense' has a deeper connotation which travels far beyond the zone of the perceptual abilities. This wider connotation echoes in the Latin word sensus, and those other modern European languages which became dominant over the Latin word—such as English, French, or Italian. These languages soon began borrowing the wider implications from the term sensus communis in Latin along with them. For instance, the Greek word á4óèçóéò or Koini logiki by contrast, does not permit this wider meaning. It is for this reason, that this Greek expression never refers to the same thing to which our corresponding English expression refers now. However, we are not saying that what we call 'common sense' is a modern invention. This is because many of the Latin classical writers, such as Cicero, Horace, and Seneca, used the expression sensus communis in a way quite similar to our notion of common sense (Gregoric:2007) . So undoubtedly these Latin classical writers can pretty well be taken as the early fathers of the notion of 'common sense'. Do you know ? Do you have any idea about these classical Latin writers we just spoke of ? You must know them since they are usually taken as the early founders of the notion of common sense. Marcus Tullius Cicero was a Roman statesman, lawyer and a philosopher who wrote extensively on rhetoric, orations, philosophy, and politics. He was considered one of Rome's greatest orators. Quintus Horatius Flaccus, on the other hand was known in the English-speaking world as Horace. He was the leading Roman lyric poet during the time of Augustus. Seneca, more famously known as the Younger, fully Lucius Annaeus Seneca and also known simply as Seneca, was a Roman Stoic philosopher, statesman, dramatist of Latin literature. Seneca was born in Corduba in Hispania, and raised in Rome, where he was trained in rhetoric and philosophy. 6.4 Changing Meanings of the Common Sense Since the Age of Enlightenment, the term "common sense" has frequently changed its course and come to take on different moods and meanings at different stages. It had sometimes been used in a demeaning or pejorative sense while at times it appealed to positively, as a sense of authority. It can be negatively identified
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 74 Classic Print & Process • Final Proof (Last) • 28-10-21 with vulgar prejudice and blind superstition, it is often positively contrasted to them as a standard or benchmark for good taste and as the source of the most basic principles needed for science and logic. It was at the beginning of the eighteenth century that this old philosophical term first acquired its first modern English meaning. Common sense began to mean plain, simple and self-evident truths or conventional wit or wisdom that one needed. It came without sophistication for grasping complex or knotty concepts with the basic (common sense) intellectual capacities was easy and tenable. This transition began with Descartes's criticism of common sense, and what came to be known as the dispute between "rationalism" and "empiricism". In the opening line of one of his most popular books, Discourse on Method 1 , Descartes established the most common modern meaning of common sense. He stated that everyone has a similar and sufficient amount of common sense (bon sens), but it is rarely used adequately. He said that Good Sense or Reason, is by nature equal in all the men; and that the diversity of our opinions, consequently, does not emerge from some being endowed with a larger share of Reason than others. This diversity arises because we conduct our thoughts along different ways, and do not concentrate our attention on the same objects. But Descartes used two different terms in his work, not only the Latin term "sensus communis", but at the same time, the French term bon sens, with which he opens his Discourse on Method. And this second concept survived much better. This work was written in French, and does not directly discuss the Aristotelian technical theory of perception. Bon sens is the equivalent of modern English "common sense" or "good sense". As the Aristotelian meaning of the Latin term began to be forgotten after Descartes, his discussion of bon sens gave a new way of defining sensus communis in various European languages (including Latin, even though Descartes himself did not translate bon sens as sensus communis, but treated them as two separate things). In this context, Thomas Paine's polemical pamphlet Common Sense (1776) has been described as the most influential political pamphlet of the 18th century, influencing both the American and French revolutions. However, common sense was slowly undergoing a change in its meaning René Descartes https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/ File:Frans_Hals_-_Portret_van_ Ren%C3%A9_Descartes.jpg

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 75 especially after Descartes gave a new meaning to it. Gradually, modern philosophy came to use the term common sense like Descartes, abandoning Aristotle's theory. Modern philosophers like John Locke, David Hume, George Berkeley and Vico agreed that common sense is entirely built up from our shared experience and shared interactions. It comes out from our innate emotions, and therefore it is indeed imperfect as a basis for attempting to know the truth or to make the best possible decision. Therefore, common sense was slowly losing the moral legitimization and moving towards everyday routine knowledge. 6.5 Sociology and Common Sense Till now we were looking at common sense from the lens of the philosophers, now let's wait for a while and see what sociology has to do with it. Sociology in contemporary India is seen as a loosely structured field of intellectual activity 2 . There are widespread disagreements about its aims, its nature and scope, its approach, methods, concepts as well as its very subject matter. Sociology it seems, is almost, every one's cup of tea. Therefore, sometimes sociology appears to us a little cloudy and misty. Part of the vagueness and uncertainty which is characteristic of the subject arises from the very fact that it touches the everyday experience of the ordinary person at so many points. As a result sociology often appears so close to common sense that there is an inevitable tendency to use the one in place of the other (Beteille:1996:2361). Though there is a tendency to equate sociology with common sense, it was never accepted by the sociologists. Sociology has a well-defined body of concepts, methods and data, no matter how loosely held together. In contrast to it, common sense knowledge of even the most acute and well-informed kind cannot make a firm footage. Common sense can never be taken as a substitute for sociology, not from any angle. There can be an innumerable number of distinctions between sociology and common sense. The very first distinction is that, sociological knowledge aims to be general if not universal, whereas common sense on the other hand is particular and localised. Educated, middle-class Bengalis, like other educated or uneducated people anywhere on the earth , presume that their common sense is common sense as such or the common sense of mankind. To make this distinction more prominent, sociologists have tried hard to bring out the subtle characteristics of sociology. An important contribution of sociology, therefore, has been to show that common sense is in fact highly variable which is subjected to the constraints of time and place, more specifically speaking, social constraints. When we claim that sociology is distinct from common sense, we are not suggesting

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 76 Classic Print & Process • Final Proof (Last) • 28-10-21 that it should seek deliberately to be mysterious and impenetrable. It is only because it is so difficult to detach oneself from common sense in the analysis of the human circumstances, and particularly in the study of our own society, professional sociologists often take recourse to tempting conceptual and verbal trickery. This tendency, Beteille thinks is an occupational hazard that must be kept under constant check 3 . An anthropologist as well as a sociologist who detailed us on the connections between sociology and common sense was definitely Nirmal Kumar Bose. 6.5.1 Nirmal Kumar Bose on Common Sense and Sociology N K Bose used to say that there are two kinds of scientists, those who make difficult things simple and those who make our simple things more complex. Bose definitely preferred the former over the latter. We must surely avoid the unnecessary complication of the simple through the display of our technical expertise. Moreover, we must also accept the fact that applying common sense is not always successful unless we use it with in-depth sociological understanding, for it only ends up making simple things complex. There is no competition between sociology and common sense. Neither does sociology try bypassing common sense. Sociological writing often tends to be crowded with needless use of heavy academic terms. Thus, sociology often tries avoiding two things. One, it avoids being submerged in the common sense of the scholar's own surroundings for this commonsensical world often has a bearing over the scholar. Two, avoiding a temptation to absorb oneself in a narrow and self-satisfied technical mastery which is often unconnected with the core substance of social enquiry. Sociologists had therefore shown their concern for the inter-penetration of sociological knowledge and common sense. Of all those who showed such concern, special emphasis must be made of Nirmal Kmar Bose, about whom we have read before. N.K Bose's contribution to the domain of Indian sociology had been in making a stark distinction between sociology and common sense. He discussed at length the common practices and rituals followed by the men found everywhere but he was careful to dispel the wrong notions surrounding them. In a way Bose definitely took a strong position in debunking the myths shrouding the hypothetical beliefs and ideas. Bose researched a lot to grab the real roots of the social problem and did not limit himself by just reaching at its superficial depth. He wanted to go afar and this probably drove him to the core of the problem. This in-depth analysis helped him to do away with the common sensual interpretations which often mislead us away from the true nature of the social facts.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 77 Andre Beteille in his seminal book Sociology: Essays on approach and methods, writes a chapter on sociology and common sense. It was written to honor Nirmal Kumar Bose who was endowed with robust common sense as well as a passionate belief in the value of scientific enquiry. It tries to place sociology as a particular branch of knowledge in the widest context of general ideas and beliefs. The point is not so much that sociology should set itself against common sense as that it should try to reach beyond it. Only a handful of individual sociologists have succeeded in changing the common sense of their time, but that, rather than success in a political cause, should be the aim of sociology as a discipline (Beteille:2002:9-10). Bose had gone a long way in trying to reach beyond the common perceptions held by men. It is true that he respected the common men and observed their lives from very close quarters. He also vividly described their lifestyles and scientifically explained them as clearly as possible to remove any kind of mystifications enveloping it. In this way he showed how common wisdom contributed to the appropriate designing of the society where everything falls in place in spite of the absence of technological fortification. Thereby he showed the strength of common sense knowledge in encouraging and boosting the basis of sociological theories. Bose for example, while discussing the significance of rice as a cultural trait deliberates on the cultural features that have gathered round the principal foodstuff of the province. He explained succinctly how various activities are channelized centering on the nucleus of rice and which though seemed irrational from outside were brimming with common rationale. Thus while deliberating on the sociology of rice as a cultural trait he went beyond the scope of common sense to draw a bridge between the two (Choudhuri:2018:319). This is what is actually expected from sociology. Sociological knowledge bridges the gap between common wisdom and sound acumen carved out of a disciplined practice of a craft which often common sense alone cannot explain. 6.6 Durkheim's Social Fact and Common Sense Let us now see how common sense was conceptualized by yet another sociologist, who was taken as one of the precursors of sociology in the world. David Émile Durkheim was a renowned French sociologist who formally established the academic discipline of sociology and along with W. E. B. Du Bois, Karl Marx and Max Weber are commonly taken as the leading architects of modern social science. As the builders of our modern sociology, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and others, considered the whole of human society in its diverse and changing forms as their core subject of study, even though they were aware of the peculiar characteristics of their own society.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 78 Classic Print & Process • Final Proof (Last) • 28-10-21 Durkheim believed that the rigorously disciplined application of the sociological method would necessarily contribute much to our understanding of our own society. This understanding could be further deepened and broadened by drawing analytical comparisons between their societies and those of others. Durkheim was convinced that common sense understanding was not adequate to reach the deeper insight he wanted to gain. The understanding he sought required him to fashion new tools of enquiry and interpretation. The sociologist who definitely played a big role in demystifying sociological understanding from the illusion of understanding created by common sense was definitely Emile Durkheim. He argued tirelessly that the systematic analysis of a subject was not possible unless the researcher freed himself from his presumptions of it. These preconceptions often moulded by his own narrow limited encounters shape the common sensical understanding of the society he inhabits. What is dangerous about such understanding is that not only are they often wrong, but they sometimes do play a deterrent role in exploring the appropriately relevant social facts. At the beginning of his career, Durkheim gave a brilliant demonstration of the excellence of his objective approach over that of common sense. This came out through his masterpiece work on suicide. He argued that suicide was a social fact whose forms and patterns could not be understood by our common ideas of human psychology. It is Durkheim who made us aware of the idea of 'social facts' which are taken as pivotal facts behind the incidence of social happenings. It is very interesting that what were presumed to have been instigated by commonsensical understandings, were never the actual cause. Durkheim pointed the finger at commonsensical knowledge and took us to an objective and scientific understanding of social happenings. He attributed all commonsensical notions behind social occurrences as wrongful explanation. He instead led us to a more systematic and precise understanding of social experiences Emile Durkheim Picture Credit: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Durkheim-vignette-png-9.png

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 79 which were backed up by sufficient evidence and corroborations (Giddens:2008). Now that we have behind us Durkheim's pioneering study and the many others to which it gave rise, this perhaps appears to be a generalized understanding now without much hitches. However, when it first appeared, it was obviously a remarkable admission that social causes were behind the social happenings and not private or individual acts as common sense might lead us to believe. For instance, Durkheim chose to study suicide where proved his claim. Suicide is generally considered to be one of the most private and personal acts, a notion which he debunked. Durkheim believed that sociology had a big role to play while explaining such a seemingly individualistic act such as suicide. Sociology contributed in breaking myths created by common sense. As a sociologist, Durkheim was not bothered with studying why any particular individual committed suicide, which he happily left to the psychologists. Instead, Durkheim was more interested in explaining differing rate of suicide across the social groups. He felt that no amount of psychological or biological facto social facts could explain why one group had a higher rate of suicide than did another. Further, he noted that while suicide rates were on the whole quite stable, they were often subjected to fluctuations due to the operation of various social and economic causes which he could identify. One of his notable findings was that suicide rates not only go up significantly after an economic crash but also after an economic boom. Durkheim had an important insight that strongly contradicted common sense (Beteille:2002). He, therefore, decided to systematically gather a large body of data from different parts of the world. Do you know? According to Emile Durkheim, the aspects of social life that shape our actions as individuals. Durkheim believed that social facts could be studied scientifically. 6.7 Max Weber's idea of Common Sense Maximilian Karl Emil Weber or Max Weber as he is commonly known (21 April 1864 – 14 June 1920) was a German sociologist, philosopher and political economist, who is taken today as one of the most important precursors of theoretical development of modern Western society. 4 As his ideas would profoundly impacted social theory as well as social research and methods, 5 Weber is often regarded as among the three pioneers of sociology, alongside Émile Durkheim and Karl Marx. Weber was primarily focussed on the question of objectivity and subjectivity 6 . He went on to distinguish between social action from social behavior strictly noting that social action must be explained through how individuals subjectively relate to

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 80 Classic Print & Process • Final Proof (Last) • 28-10-21 one another 7 , 8 . The study of social action through interpretive understanding was the basis of his methodology. For him, any explanation of human conduct must be based upon understanding the subjective meaning and purpose that individuals attach to his actions. He maintained that consequences of human action are mostly the intentions of the actors, and that sometimes they may even be diametrically opposed to one another (Beteille :2002). The dominant view across the theoretical domain until Weber's time showed that whatever be its impact, religion had served as a vital source of social stability. stability was essential for social well-being. Weber's investigative and systematic study showed that deep seated changes had been brought about in economic life by the breakthrough in religion. Weber asserted that neither the commitment to a value system nor the demands of material existence, but it was the tug of war between the two that acted as the true agent of change in society. Weber's assertion went against the commonsensical idea about religion in the society held so far. Do you know what social action is? The concept of social action, assumes that humans vary their actions according to social contexts and how it will affect other people. Say, when a potential reaction is not desirable, the action is modified accordingly. Action can mean either a basic action (one that has a meaning) or an advanced social action, which not only has a meaning but is directed at other actors and causes action (or, perhaps, inaction). [Sociology is] ... the science whose object is

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to interpret the meaning of social action and thereby give a causal explanation of the way in which the action proceeds and the effects

which it produces. By 'action' in this definition is meant the human behavior when and to the extent that the agent or agents see it as subjectively meaningful ... the meaning to which we refer may be either (a) the meaning actually intended either by an individual agent on a particular historical occasion or by a number of agents on an approximate average in a given set of cases, or (b) the meaning attributed to the agent or agents, as types, in a pure type constructed in the abstract. In neither case is the 'meaning' to be thought of as somehow objectively 'correct' or 'true' by some metaphysical criterion. This is the difference between the empirical sciences of action, such as sociology and history, and any kind of a priori discipline, such as jurisprudence, logic, ethics, or aesthetics whose aim is to extract from their subject-matter 'correct' or 'valid' meaning 9 . Max Weber Picture Credit: https:// commons.wikimedia.org/ wiki/File:MaxWeber.jpg

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 81 After Weber explained his theories, it is easy to see in retrospect how different regions of the world evolved different kinds of political and economic systems. These were, in turn, grounded on historic, religious and cultural factors (Bakker:1999). However, in order to arrive at his theory, Weber had to study rigorously and meticulously centuries upon centuries of social conditions and patterns. In other words, to arrive at this sociological understanding of which factors were pivotal in determining political and economic structures of modern societies, Weber had to work rigorously. He had to look way beyond 'common sense' explanations of status quo as is expressed in mainstream sources of theories. It would be appropriate to say that the sociological understanding of the social structures as explicated by the Weberian method of studying society is much more rich and profound than the simplistic, 'common sense' versions of the socio-political event available to mainstream channels of information. Therefore, any day , a sociological study of any situation, properly informed by historical facts and empirical evidence, is more likely to lead to a better understanding than what is attained through common sense 10 . 6.8 Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman's Everyday Life and Common Sense In their 1966 classic study, The Social Construction of Reality, sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckrnann examined common-sense knowledge. Peter L. Berger (1929–2017) and Thomas Luckmann (1927– 2016) were international sociologists who made significant contributions to the sociology of knowledge, especially by the composition of their highly acclaimed book The Social Construction of Reality (1966/1967). Peter Ludwig Berger 11 (1929–2017) was an Austrian- born American sociologist and Protestant theologian. Berger soon became well-known for his work in the sociology of knowledge and played a major role in the development of social constructionism. On the other hand, Thomas Luckmann was an American-Austrian sociologist of basically German and Slovene origin who taught mainly in Germany. His contributions were important to studies in sociology of communication, sociology of knowledge, sociology of religion, and the philosophy of science. Peter Berger Thomas Luckmann Photo credit:https://www.timetoast.com/ timelines/historia-de-la-psicologia-social- e7726993-e3fc-4298-ba59-750c7ed6086c NSOU ? CC-SO-01 82 Classic Print & Process • Final Proof (Last) • 28-10-21 Their "new" sociology of knowledge that they try constructing takes as its starting point,the experience and actions of human beings. They believed that human activity does not take place only in an already given ordered world, it also produces and reproduces a "world of things" 12 . These are the things that individuals often take for granted as real. They emphasized that these 'obvious' facts of social reality may seem to differ among people across cultures, and even among different people within a cultural system. The task becomes an analysis of the processes by which individuals learn to perceive what they think is 'real'. Social constructivists often apply the ideas of Berger and Luckmann to the investigation of social phenomena, to show the ways in which members of a society come to know and simultaneously build up what is real. sociology of knowledge must first of all concern itself with what people 'know' as 'reality' in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical lives (Giddens:2008). In other words, common-sense 'knowledge' rather than 'ideas' should be taken as the central focus for the sociology of knowledge. It is precisely this 'knowledge' that forms the fabric of meanings without which no society could ground on its own. The sociology of knowledge, therefore, must be engaged with the social construction of reality. Berger and Luckman in his book, Social Construction of Reality (Picture at the bottom. Photo credit: http://bonniesbooks.blogspot.com/2009/ 09/fifteen-books-11.htmzl) maintain that sociology of knowledge must first of all concern itself with what people 'know' as 'reality' in their everyday, non- or pre- theoretical lives. In other words, common-sense 'knowledge' rather than 'ideas' must be the central focus for the sociology of knowledge. It is precisely this 'knowledge' that constitutes the fabric of meanings without which no society could actually exist 13 . The sociology of knowledge, therefore, must concern itself with the social construction of reality. Berger and Luckman owed their fundamental insight into the necessity for this redefinition to Alfred Schutz (Berger & Luckman:1966). Throughout his work 14 , both as philosopher and as sociologist, Schutz concentrated on the structure of the common-sense world of everyday life. Although he himself did not illustrate a sociology of knowledge, he clearly saw what this discipline should focus on. He presumed that all typification of common-sense thinking are themselves integral elements of the concrete historical socio-cultural world. It is within this world that they take things as taken for granted and· as socially approved. Their structure determines among other things the social distribution and pattern of knowledge. It also determines the relativity and relevance of that knowledge to the

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 83 concrete social environment of a concrete group in a particular historical situation. This world of everyday life and the knowledge it generates is not only taken for granted as reality by the ordinary members of society in the subjectively meaningful conduct of their lives. Alongside, this is a world that originates in their thoughts and actions, and is manufactured and maintained as real by these. Do you know? Alfred Schutz (1899–1959) was an Austrian philosopher. Schutz is gradually being recognized as one of the twentieth century's leading philosophers of social science 15 . He was thoroughly influenced by Max Weber's legacy of philosophical foundations. One of his major work was Phenomenology of the Social World. 16 6.9 Interweaving Sociology and Common sense Now that we have studied the various theoretical vantage points, we must have learnt how they both theorize and do sociology by negotiating with common sense. It is time now we quickly go through the subtle interweaving that there is between sociology and common sense. We can conclude by drawing upon the Andre Beteille made some distinctions between sociology and common sense. Let us look into these distinctions. Common sense is not only localised and regionalised but at the same time constricted by time, place, class, community, gender, and so on. It is also less responsive and keeps meandering from one way to another such that it loses its focus. It is less objective and more ambiguous because it fails to question its own origins and basic suppositions. Even if it does, it does not do so methodologically and systematically. As a result, it often ends up being a little messy and cloudy. As an intellectual discipline, sociology cannot be an offshoot of common sense less because sociology is much more precise and Objective and above all it does not suffer from the pitfalls that afflict common sense. However, that does not mean that it should turn its back on common sense. We cannot deny that our sociology is to an extent tinted by common sense which is very much a part of our social environment. True it is that even common sense in its turn is also influenced by sociology. Sociology as an intellectual discipline does not separate itself from common sense rather acts back upon it to contribute towards its growth and fulfillment. Common sense is based on a small range of experience of particular persons or groups in given places and times. Where it comes to such mundane matters as family, marriage, kinship, work and worship, people develop a tendency to believe that their conduct is the most reasonable one. They acquire a confidence in their

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 84 Classic Print & Process • Final Proof (Last) • 28-10-21 ways of thinking and working. They start believing that whatever they believe or practise must be the standard benchmark across societies. Other ways of acting in these regards strike them as peculiar and uncommon. Whenever sociological reasoning acts upon common sense, it functions to level both the utopian and the fatalistic overtones found in it. A dangerous tendency often grows in the common sense, that is it easily constructs imaginary social patterns which bear no similarity with the ground realities. It tends to show that in which there is no inequality, oppression, conflict or tension much against the given current scenario. Here common sense can easily be contrasted against comparative sociology for the latter helps in acquiring and maintaining a sense of right proportion. 6.10 Conclusion It is the distinct characteristic of sociology to deal with the similarities as well as the lurking differences among societies with both comparison as well as contrast. It is true, even historians have studied cross-sections of beliefs and practices at different societies over time. They have been doing this even longer than the sociologists. But their characteristic tendency has been to study this diversity in parts and parcels and not as a whole. It is only a few historians who practise comparative history whereas one has to do both comparison and contrast while doing sociology. Sociology not only engages itself with facts from the entire range of human societies, it at the same time observes and analyses them. The educated layman may find it difficult to master all the facts with which the sociologists have to deal. Instead what he often does is, select the method of apt illustration without maintaining any consistent rule of procedure for the selection and corresponding organization of facts (Beteille:2002). On the other hand, sociological practice has its own style of argument that scrutinizes facts before readily accepting them blindly. But it is not that we always maintain objective precision while doing sociology and sometimes do get carried away by hearsays and even by our own biases. It is important that we learn to handle our values and judgements with care lest we will fall prey to unreflected thoughts and faulty notions. 6.11 Summary We started with introducing you to the idea of common sense and how its meanings changed over time. Starting from Aristotle to the social constructionists, you must now have a fairly good idea of the range of meanings that the concept went through. Next, we showed how various sociologists tooled their own concepts to combat the meandering nature of common sense. They did this with their own

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 85 objective concepts that they designed with aptness. After having studied the theoretical vantage points it became easier for us to look into the absorption of common sense into sociology as well as look for its peculiar distinctions between the two. 6.12 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) How will you define common sense? (b) Who was Peter Berger? Name a major book he penned? (c) What is social fact? 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) Bring out the essential differences between sociology and common sense. (b) What is Verstehen? Explain. (c) What is social action? What is its relation with common sense? 6.13 Glossary Rationalism : In philosophy, rationalism is the epistemological view that "regards reason as the chief source and test of knowledge" or "any view appealing to reason as a source of knowledge or justification". Empiricism : In philosophy, empiricism is a theory that states that knowledge comes only or primarily from sensory experience. It is one of several views of epistemology, along with rationalism and skepticism. Empiricism emphasises the role of empirical evidence in the formation of ideas, rather than innate ideas or traditions. Verstehen : Verstehen, in the context of German philosophy and social sciences in general, has been used since the late 19th century – in English as in German – with the particular sense of the "interpretive or participatory" examination of social phenomena. Social Construction : Social constructionism is a theory of knowledge in sociology and communication theory that examines the development of jointly- constructed understandings of the world that form the basis for shared assumptions about reality.

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Unit 7 Applied Sociology Structure 7.1 Objectives 7.2 Introduction 7.3 What is Applied Sociology? 7.4 Difference between Applied Sociology and Basic Sociology 7.5 Purpose of Applied Sociology 7.6 Origin and Growth of Applied Sociology 7.6.1. The Second Phase 7.6.2. The Third phase 7.6.3. Modern Trends in Applied Sociology 7.7 Forms of Applied Sociology 7.7.1. Programme Evaluation 7.7.2. Needs Assessment 7.7.3. Social Impact Assessment 7.7.4. Social Indicator Development 7.7.5. Cost-Benefit Analysis 7.8 Variations of Applied Sociology 7.9 Summary 7.10 Questions 7.11 Suggested Readings 7.1 Objectives To help students understand the following things: ? To understand what is Applied Sociology? ? To understand the difference between Applied Sociology and Basic Sociology. ? To understand the Origin and Growth of Applied Sociology.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 90 7.2 Introduction Applied Sociology is one form of Sociology. The discipline of sociology, in general, can be defined as the scientific study of society including critical analysis of all types of social connections and social structures. It also includes the study of social institutions like the media, economy, education, family, etc. that shape social action. Sociology helps us understand human behavior in a broader context, with reference to power relationship, social change, patterns of social construction,etc. According to Dr. Zuleyka Zevallos, sociology is often perceived as an academic profession, but outside academic premises it can be used extensively to enhance personal and professional development. In such spheres applied sociology comes in handy to bring in positive social changes through active intervention. In applied sociology we see the use of sociological theory, methods, skills and research to handle particular issues and problems in real- life settings; that means, it puts sociology in practice within a multidisciplinary setting. Objective and Purpose of the Unit: The Main objective of this unit is to trace the origin and growth of this newly emerged branch of sociology. So, it discusses the meaning and definition of applied sociology, its history and subject matter, its relationship with general or basic sociology and the recent trends in this area of application. Sociology, as a modern social science discipline, originated with focus on both acquiring of knowledge and on aspects of application. Applied sociology focuses primarily on decision- making and development. In the

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continuum between pure research and pure practice, applied sociology occupies a middle position. The purpose of this

unit is to give the students some clear idea about the nature and scope of this specialized branch of sociology. 7.3 What is Applied Sociology? Applied sociology is sociology in use. It originated in the USA in the first decade of the twentieth century.The term applied sociology is used to describe practices of using sociological theories and methods outside of academic settings with the aim to bring in positive social changes through active intervention. It is policy-oriented, action-driven and it intends to train people and groups about the ways of attaining better or more viable social forms to adjust with the changing external and internal conditions. As it has been said earlier, applied sociology occupies a middle position in between pure research and pure practice because it uses theoretical explanations, develops causal models for predicting the likely impact of different policies and programs. To define applied sociology Lester F. Ward had mentioned in 1903 that it was the means and methods for the artificial improvement of social conditions by
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 91 man and society as conscious and intelligent agents. The oldest and most general name of those means and methods of social change is applied sociology. According to Harry Perlstad, applied sociology uses sociological knowledge and research skills to gain empirical knowledge to inform policymakers, clients and common people about various social problems, issues, processes, and conditions to help them make informed choices and to improve the quality of life. Broadly speaking, applied sociology involves evaluation research, needs assessment, market research, social indicators, and demographics. It also includes sociological research in specialized fields like medicine, mental health, complex organizations, work, education, military and the likes. Such research will produce descriptions, analyses, and findings that can be translated into ideas, lessons and programs to be used by action groups and government. Applied sociologists use sociological theory, methods and skills to collect and analyze data and to understand and resolve social problems. 7.4 Difference between Applied Sociology and Basic Sociology The discipline of sociology has several offshoots of its own; basic and applied are only two of them. Basic sociology or professional sociology is primarily concerned with research on social life, social change and human behavior. It puts emphasis on research for production of knowledge and considers empirical insight as an end in itself. Basic sociology is also referred to as 'academic' sociology as it advocates the pursuit of knowledge as a goal in and of itself without any concern to find any practical use of them in the larger world. On the other hand, applied sociology uses the findings of basic sociology to prepare and implement action-oriented plans for development. Due to its concern with using sociological knowledge and research skill to resolve social problems it is also known as pragmatic or practical sociology for the purpose of understanding and resolving social problems applied sociologists work with a variety of government and non- government organizations. Instead of production of pure knowledge, applied sociologists employ sociological tools and insights to help people, communities, groups, organizations and institutions or social structures in general, for their overall improvement. Applied Sociology has been greatly influenced by the Chicago School sociologists and their practical approach and as a practical form of sociology it requires theorists and researchers to combine their academic work with material realities and practical concerns beyond academic settings. Both basic or academic sociology and applied sociology remain research based and both follow the same research methods. But applied sociologists have developed a special set of techniques for observations and making useful recommendations to

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 92 their clients. Moreover, applied sociologists care less for publishing in academic journals; so, they prefer to present their work before specialized non-academic audience. Academics rely more on peer-evaluation, publish papers in academic journals; but, applied sociologists are judged by their sponsors on the basis of their clients' satisfaction. Freeman and Rossi argue that applied sociologists are constrained by time and demands of their work output; but academic sociologists have more freedom to choose their research topic. Then, academic sociologists, usually, have a longtime frame for developing their scholarship .But applied sociologists aspire for scholarship only for getting usable results. On many occasions, hey may experience a swift turnover in their applied research. Applied sociologists remain concerned with the external validity of their conclusions in direct relations to their clients' necessities; on the other hand, academic sociologists are concerned with their contribution to the academic literature as well as by reviews from their fellow academicians. Finally, applied sociologists judge the success of their work on the basis of the extent of the adoption of their suggestions and solutions by their clients, and their ability to influence the process of their clients' decision-making. But the conclusions drawn by the academic sociologists do not always lead to any specific actions. All these clearly indicate that there are several points of difference between the two branches of sociology; but it is also true that these differences are not absolute. 7.5 Purpose of Applied Sociology Applied sociology has a very wide scope as it includes many important issues within its domain to put sociology in practice. The main task of applied sociology is to use sociological theory, methods, skills and research for resolving particular issues in real-world settings. a) Therefore, a) It evaluates programs undertaken for bettering them in the interest of the clients or users. b) While working with a hospital or community health center it strives to improve access to health service for illiterate or semi-literate people. c) It designs surveys and collects data to measure public opinion; creates profiles for various populations like ethnic and other groups, measures changes in social indicators like fertility, cohabitation, poverty, educational achievements, racism, happiness etc.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 93 d) During or after any crisis applied sociologists study the social impact of emergency communications for the betterment of communication procedure in future. e) Applied sociologists work with community organizations to establish sound evidence- based program for backward youths. f) They also conduct participatory action research in association with a community to decide what kind of economic development would suit that community. g) Applied sociology tries to understand and resolve group and organizational issues within an institute. h) It also works to ensure equity by initiating creation of organizational and public policy. As applied sociology is interdisciplinary in nature, it attracts people from various related disciplines like urban planning, community development, communications, criminology, social work, women's studies. Gender studies, critical race studies, indigenous studies, religion, demography, anthropology and many others. Both independent researchers and formal organizations can join the field of applied sociological studies. At present, in the USA there are innumerable organizations of various sizes, funded by either public or private agencies, engaged in research to develop socio-engineering projects, management decision systems and practical recommendations with help from variously qualified researchers, including scientists. Applied sociology has earned so much popularity among sociologists that since the 1990s about 60% of them pursue academic sociology, while about 40% of them do applied sociology. Applied sociology training courses use field studies, independent studies, books, films, role games, computer, audiotapes, self-study, oral presentations, television demonstrations of courses, modules, programming, textbooks, examinations, etc. Knowledge accumulated from all these sources are used outside university settings to provide the clients with a deeper understanding of some specific areas of social life. The main clients of applied sociologists are private business organizations, government agencies and non- profit voluntary organizations. 7.6 Origin and growth of Applied Sociology (1850–1920) Sociology originated as a discipline with an applied and public focus. Auguste Comte, the father of sociology had divided it into social statics and social dynamics, that is, the study of social order and the study of human progress and evolution respectively. Comte envisioned those sociologists would impart scientific knowledge

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 94 and social advice in every aspect of social life. Karl Marx, too, wanted to understand the social ills of his time for improving the conditions of the socially disadvantaged class. Applied and public sociology emerged and developed out of such advocacy for improving existing social conditions. When sociology reached the shores of America, its emphasis was on sociological practice for social improvement because America, then, was suffering from problems of rapidly urbanizing society. To handle the problems associated with urbanization, sociologists in America developed a scientific approach for studying and resolving the issues like race relations, poverty, immigration, and urban development. Lester F. Ward (1841-1913) was the first thinker who introduced the term applied sociology into the discipline with his work Dynamic Sociology or Applied Social Science was published in 1883. Ward refuted the arguments of Spencer and Sumner in support of Laissez-faire individualism and lent his support for assisted welfare of the people. Ward was a' meliorist' who believed that by educating the government and the people much could be accomplished. Ward was the first President of American Sociological Association (1865) and used the term 'applied sociology' for the first time in 1896-97. By the early 1890s, he came to know that several European sociologists were using the term 'pure sociology'; and in 1897 he used the terms pure and applied sociology in the titles of two summer school courses in 1897.Then in 1903 he published Pure Sociology and in 1906 Applied Sociology. In the USA, there was an alliance between social reform and early sociology; out of that alliance emerged the social survey movement. At that time, several women reformers and activists like Jane Addams, Florence Kelley and several others were convinced that documentation of and publicizing the inhuman sufferings of the poor would surely bring in effective social reform processes. In 1892 and 1893, Kelley, on the initiative of a number of government agencies, had conducted surveys on Chicago garment industry and door to door survey in the Hull House district of Chicago to assess the extent of poverty and slums in the urban areas. Pauline Young has described the surveys and from her account we can see the range of topics had covered a very wide scope like wages, housing conditions, social relations in the family, etc. Kelley also prepared maps showing the nationality, wages and employment history of each resident. In 1912, a Department of Surveys and Information was established by the Russel Sage Foundation and by 1928, this department was able to review more than two thousand social surveys, some national level and others local level surveys. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, sociology was being applied in social welfare and social policy but also in industry. By the end of the World War I, several sociologists had appeared in the scenario, some with their experiences in social-survey movement and some with trainings in formal academic sociology.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 95 7.6.1. The Second Phase (1920 – 1940) This phase is less well documented than the first one; but its beginning can be traced at the time of creation of Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in 1923 in New York. It established a committee on methods; the committee was created to identify the distinct characteristics of the social sciences so that they could be differentiated with and mutually related to each other. The history of applied sociology in this post—World War I period can be traced in Stuart Rice's book Methods in Social Sciences (1931). The book contain 52 contributions from as many writers to reveal the methods used by the social scientists. The central focus of the book was on methodology, temporal sequences, relations between measured and unmeasured factors, definition of objects, establishment of scales, etc. In 1932, the SSRC started a new wave of methodological concerns with Thomas and Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant and its review by Herbert Blumer. In this essay the study was based on the diaries and letters. Two other SSRC bulletins put their focus on the value of using personal documents or qualitative material like detailed open-ended interviews. Side by side of this qualitative procedures, a new type of quantitative study began to be popular. Previously most of the quantitative techniques were borrowed from England; for example, the sampling technique used in Booth's social survey. In the USA this techniques were used in market research, consumer surveys, opinion surveys on politics and public issues, techniques of measurements, etc. Tests, classifications, public opinion research, Gallup poll, etc. started to enter into social science researches. The technical sophistication of these research methods raised the academic status of the social scientists and separated their professional domain from those of the reformers. Throughout the 1920s the agencies of the US government had sought help from the sociologists and social researchers to look into the burning issues of the day. Sociologist Ogburn, as the President of the ASS in 1929 wanted to ensure applied research to be based on scientific methods and not at all on ethics, religion, journalism and propaganda. He encouraged sociologists to collect whatever data they could lay their hands on regarding all sorts of social issues and institutions. By 1932, sociometric system or sociometry was developed by J.L.Moreno. Ogburn made a distinction between sociologists as research scientists and social engineers, who are not scientists but apply reliable scientific procedures and more or less exact knowledge for reorganization and development of the existing social conditions. The term 'social engineering' means the applied research activities for using in planning and for dealing with the real world. However, during the socialist regime of Stalin in the former USSR, the term 'social engineering 'earned notoriety and disrepute.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 96 In the middle of the 1930s a debate over the relationship between academic sociology and applied sociology raged within the American Sociological Society; while stalwarts like Robert MacIver, Pitrim Sorokin, Maurice Parmelee and many others were of the view that sociologists should engage themselves with sociological research, writing and teaching, others held the view that sociology should be concerned with social reconstruction. In 1934, the ASA's Scope of Research Committee recommended a closer connection of sociologists with the US government's work in social planning and within two years, in 1936, the need for promotion of professional, not disciplinary, interests of sociologists was highlighted. But the ASA did not pay any heed to that recommendation, and academics preferred a narrow disciplinary approach and the reformers joined various administrative positions in new deal agencies created under the Roosevelt government. 7.6.2 The Third Phase: Federal Funding For Applied Sociology (1940–1980) World War II broke out in 1939; by then social research became overwhelmingly associated with governmental activities. Applied sociology received substantial support first from the Second World War and then from the War on Poverty. Research and observations collected in natural settings for applied purposes had generated new knowledge and contributed to sociological theories and concepts. To assess the spirit of that period, in 1980, Peter Rossi had commented in his ASA Presidential address that a good number of client-initiated applied – work would be considered as basic research in future in sociological literature. During the war time the US War Department,too, created a division of research and information. That division acted with assistance from more than one hundred sociologists and had conducted over 200 surveys with soldiers during the war time. They used all the available techniques of social science research such as content analysis, sampling surveys, detailed interviews, laboratory experiments, group dynamics, etc. Such applied research efforts had made an impact on sociological theory and methods. In the fall of 1941 the Office of War Information(OWI) At the initiative of that office Henry Field, Hadley Cantril, Paul Lazarsfeld and Samuel Stouffer together established the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Denver to conduct civilian surveys as simple fact- finding measures; but it also conducted some path –breaking surveys on first national measurement of racial attitudes. The convergence of sociological research and pursuit of knowledge on the one hand, and problems of governmental and private organizations on the other became a permanent affair in the post-war America. This had already begun to happen in the pre-WW II period under the 'action research' initiative of Kurt Lewin, an eminent
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 97 German psychologist who migrated to the USA . He studied the role of the group in determining individual attitudes and decisions. Lewin used the term 'action research' and wanted to help in the solution of social problems with the results of his research. Thushe was instrumental in reducing the gap between social science knowledge and the use of that knowledge. The formal recognition of applied sociology came in 1948 at a conference held by the Social Science Research Council. According to Rossi, applied sociology has witnessed phenomenal popularity from 1960 to 1980. Dentler has estimated that from 1960 to 1975 about 2100 social research and development firms were established in America. Several specialized applied social research centers were also created. A number of American government departments had commissioned skilled researchers to prepare reports on the state of affairs in the society to enable the government to take appropriate decisions. Rossi, in 1980, has pointed out that applied research may be used in policy formation. 7.6.3. Modern Trends in Applied Sociology Professionalism and Training: 1980 – To present: The period between 1950 – 1980 has witnessed an increase in the number of people with Masters and doctoral degrees in sociology though vacancies in teaching positions were few and far between. So, a good number of new sociologists joined jobs in professional schools and research units in various government and non-government organizations. The first graduate program in applied sociology was started at Kent State University in the late 1960s and in 1978 the Society for Applied Sociology (SAS) was established. In 1980 and 1981 Peter Rossi and W. F. Whyte respectively became the presidents of the ASA, and academic and applied sociologies came closer. In 1989 ASA started a journal, The Sociological Practice Review to provide a common platform for applied, clinical and practical sociologists though it could not survive for long. In 1994, SAS prepared a code of ethics for Applied Sociologists. Applied research, is presently actively engaged with sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists. Today in the USA there are innumerable big and small, public and private agencies are involved in research in socio-engineering projects, management-decision systems and practical recommendations. Since the 1990s the number of academic sociologists in America is decreasing while the number of applied sociologists is increasing. Courses in applied sociology are also becoming increasingly popular in American Universities. 7.7 Forms of Applied Sociology The keystone of Applied Sociology is research. Therefore, it not only shares the principles of scientific methods with the basic sociology, but also has developed

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 98 its own techniques for making observations and recommendations. These applied sociological techniques include program evaluation, needs assessment, cost-benefit Analysis and Social Indicator Development. Let us discuss these techniques one by one. 7.7.1 Program Evaluation Program evaluation is a very common technique practiced in applied sociology. Program evaluation refers to the application of sociological methods like surveys, observational techniques, statistical analysis of records, interviews, etc. to ascertain the status of a particular program evaluation, that is, to understand whether a social program or practice can meet its goals. Both business organizations and non-profit organizations develop programs to suit their needs and promote their services; therefore it is important to know whether such programs fulfill their purpose . It becomes the duty of the applied sociologists to assess whether certain program is appropriate for a given task, efficient enough to produce the targeted results, and / or is useful within a given context in relation to specific audiences. Program evaluation has two primary forms; one is summative and the other is formative. Summative evaluation seeks to understand whether or not a given program serves its purpose. This requires defining and measuring a specific outcome and to do all these sociologists need to (a)examine the probable outcome of the program (outcome variable) either before its initiation or when it is necessary; and (b) establish the outcome variable in the midst of the program operation. In both the cases sociologists apply quantitative or observational methods to measure changes in the outcome of interests over a given period of time. If the changes fulfill the expectations of the outcome, then the program is satisfactory. The next task of the sociologists, then, is to determine how well it worked and suggest ways to make it work better. If, on the contrary, there are no changes in the expected outcome or the outcomes do not match expectations, then the programs should be amended or abandoned altogether. The summative evaluation methods depend purely on the skill to assess whether organizational programs like procedures, activities, marketing campaign, interventions etc. work or not. If a program does not work according to expectations, then sociologists are given the task of doing formative program evaluations or analyses conducted for ascertaining new programs that would serve the purposes of the organization in a better way. Thus, the evaluation studies are used to 'form' new programs. While working with clients a sociologist may gauge the needs of the organization with the help of focus groups and surveys, the already existing programs in use by the organization, the budget sanctioned for development and implementation of the

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 99 program and the problems detected in the previous practices. By comparing and contrasting the existing elements in the organization, sociologists will be able to prepare most fitting programs and practices for the organization. Program evaluation is the most widely used technique in applied research. In the last fifty years many social programs and practices designed for eradication of several social problems have been evaluated for their effectiveness; such evaluation is specially needed for government –funded programs and practices for development. Thus, program evaluation has emerged as an important career option for sociologists. 7.7.2 Needs Assessment Needs assessment research is aimed at collection of data for determining how many people in a community need particular services, or products or facilities for a period of time. While providing facilities for the people of an area or for a period of time periodic assessment of need is essential for continuing the service and/ or for changing the nature of service. For example, a needs assessment research question may ask: How many BPL card holders are there in the locality? 7.7.3 Social Impact Assessment This refers to the estimation of the likely consequences of the proposed programs on the target groups, individuals, neighborhoods, communities, regions and other social entities. An example of Social Impact Assessment may include a question like — Does an increase in the number of BPL cardholders would create additional facilities for the people of a locality? 7.7.4 Social Indicator Development Social indicators are the scales or quantitative measures of important social phenomena like trafficking or drug addiction. Social indicator development aims at providing useful measures for such phenomena. For example, if there is a sudden rise in the rate of trafficking in a state, that is useful information. At the same time, it is also useful to know the ratio of the number of persons trafficked in relation to the total number of persons in a state. 7.7.5 Cost-Benefit Analysis Cost-Benefit analysis quantitatively compares the cost and benefit of a program or practice to assess whether the program should be altered or abandoned. For example, a cost –benefit analysis may investigate whether there is a less expensive way to combat the problem of human trafficking.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 100 7.8 Variations of Applied Sociological Practices Joseph R. DeMartini suggests that applied sociology can be of two variations; one that uses basic empirical methods for collecting information to take informed decisions like social policy formation. In doing this, sociologists directly work either within government agencies or with private organizations. While working for government or private organizations applied sociologists employ theories and concepts along with application of sociological practices. In the other, applied sociologists use their sociological knowledge to help their clients understand an issue (any issue like demographic changes, causes of crime, shifts in social movements, etc.) in a much better way. To explain the two variations in a better way DeMartini has used the example of social policy. In the first case, where methods are given more importance, applied sociological research techniques are used for creating new social policies. But in the other case, where theories and concepts have greater relevance to the clients, applied sociological knowledge is employed to evaluate existing social policies. DeMartini has admitted that these two variations are not earmarked in two water-tight compartments, but they run along a continuum in between the two. Both theories and practices are used in tandem with one another, but some job may give more importance to one than the other. 7.9 Conclusion / Summary Sociology emerged in Europe as a theoretical tool for understanding the nuances of social life. But when it reached the American shore it became an instrument of social improvement. So parallel to academic sociology, in the writings of some American sociologists and scholars from other disciplines, emerged the urge to resolve the problems that were troubling the American social life. To satisfy that urge a number of academic and non-academic persons and organizations started to apply sociology in practice in the early years of the last century though its intellectual roots can be traced in 1883 in

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the publication of Lester Ward's Dynamic Sociology: or Applied Social Science.

In due course of time applied sociology became the point of convergence for disciplines like sociology, urban planning, community development, communications, criminology, social work, women's studies, gender studies, critical race studies, religion, population studies or demography, anthropology and many others. Applied sociologists are usually based in various locations like the governments, the private sector, community organizations, international agencies, academic institutions, and many others. Independent researchers associated with any of these fields have also shown interests in applied sociology and it has blossomed in every area of sociological endeavor. In this area of sociology theory and methods
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 101 ,both, are driven by problems and when existing theories fail to explain problems, new assumptions are given shape. 7.10 Questions 1. Answer in Brief. 5 Marks (a) What is applied sociology? (b) What is meant by basic and applied sociology? (c) How did applied sociology emerge? (d) How do applied sociologists work? (e) What is Program Evaluation? (f) What is Needs Assessment? (g) Discuss, in brief, the modern trends in applied sociology. 2. Answer in Detail. 10 Marks (a) Discuss, in detail, the origin and growth of applied sociology from 1850 to 1940. (b) Examine the growth of applied sociology from the 1940s to the recent years. (c) Discuss the different forms of applied sociology. (d) Critically examine the differences between applied sociology and academic sociology. 7.11 Suggested Readings Rice, Stuart.:1931. Methods in Social Science. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Marrow, Alfred.1969. The Practical Theorist. New York: Basic Books. Abercrombe, N.,S.Hill and B.S.Turner.2000.The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, 4 th ed. London: Penguin Books.

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Unit 8 Relationship between Sociology and Anthropology Structure 8.1 Objectives 8.2 Introduction 8.2.1 Anthropology : A Social Science Discipline 8.2.1 Social Anthropology : A Branch of Anthropology 8.3 Relationship between Sociology and Anthropology 8.3.1 Similarities between the two 8.3.2 Differences between the two 8.4 Sociology and Anthropology in India 8.5 Summary 8.6 Questions 8.7 Suggested Readings 8.1 Objectives To help students understand the following things: ? The unit will help the students: ? To learn about the distinct identities of the two disciplines; ? To understand their similarities; ? To understand their differences; ? To know how close they are to be known as 'twin disciplines'; ? How anthropology/social anthropology has nurtured sociology in India. 8.2 Introduction Sociology and anthropology both are important branches of social science. Though they have their own distinct identities, both have many things in common. As branches of social science these two are comparatively modern in origin, the subject-matter of both the disciplines cover similar areas of interest like aspects

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 104 of human society, but each of them analyse those areas from different perspectives. Due to the similarity in their subject matters sociology and anthropology are viewed as very close; so much so, that in many universities of the west sociology and social anthropology, a branch of anthropology, are taught under the same department. Anthropology studies 'anthropos' or man in general; but it focuses more on primitive man, his life, physical growth and changes, the culture of primitive communities including language, religion and rituals etc.; whereas sociology studies society, groups ,associations, institutions , various social processes , language , culture and rituals of modern man. Even though the two academic disciplines appear so similar, they have their own independent and distinct paths of growth, different types of problem to sort out and different research methods to pursue. Therefore, it is quite interesting to compare these two disciplines and to examine their separate areas of study for a clear understanding of the relationship they share. For this, we need to start with a brief discussion of the scope and subject-matter of anthropology. 8.2.1 Anthropology : A Social Science Discipline Anthropology, as it has already been mentioned, is the study of man , his origin and bio-cultural evolution in different phases of civilisation and his society, evolution of beliefs, social-religious customs and rituals. The discipline has got its name 'anthropology' from a combination of two Greek terms – 'anthropos' meaning human and 'logos' meaning discourse or science. Thus anthropology stands for the science or discourse of human beings. Famous Greek scholar Aristotle first coined and used the term 'anthropologist' to mean 'the gossip who talks about himself'.(Majumdar & Madan.1956) a) Definitions Anthropology has been defined in various ways to identify its different aspects. For example, the Concise Oxford Dictionary defines it as 'the study of mankind especially of its societies and customs; study of structure and evolution of man as an animal'. The Merriam-Webster dictionary has given the definition of anthropology as the science of human beings. It further defines it as the study of human beings and their ancestors through time and space and in relation to physical character, environmental and social relations, and culture. According to anthropologist Kroeber, "Anthropology is the science of groups of men and their behavior and production." In the opinion of Herskovits, "Anthropology may be defined as the measurement

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 105 of human beings." Jacobs and Stern define it as the scientific study of the physical, social and cultural development and behavior of human beings since their appearance on earth. From these definitions it becomes quite clear that anthropology is not concerned with any single or particular individual, but with men in groups and races or ethnic communities and their activities. Anthropology has emerged much later than many other social sciences, it has progressed well and, therefore, has gone ahead of many of them. Sociology has been immensely enriched by anthropological studies and research methods; anthropology, too, has borrowed analytical methods from sociology. 8.2.2 b) Divisions of Anthropology:- Social Anthropology: A Branch of Anthropology As anthropology studies both the physical and cultural aspects of man, it has earmarked two distinct areas of study; one is Organic or Physical Anthropology and the other is Social or Cultural Anthropology. These two broad divisions have been further divided into several other areas of analysis. Anthropologists like Piddington believe that social anthropology is a sub-division of cultural anthropology. It studies the working of simpler, pre-literate and pre-urban cultures from a functionalist point of view. Ancient Greek and Roman thinkers like Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Herodotus and many other pioneer social thinkers expressed their humanistic interests in man's affairs. But their postulates were more in the line of philosophy than social scientific. As an independent discipline anthropology had a originated only in the nineteenth century. Though there were traces of some early thoughts on several sub- disciplines of the subject, real professional interests started to emerge in the nineteenth century only when European explorers, seafarers and traders came into close contacts with unknown (to them) people and their cultures. Charles Darwin's landmark book Origin of Species had far reaching influences on the emergence of new disciplines like zoology, anatomy, physiology, palaentology, archeology and geology. Scholars like Herbert Spencer, Morgan and Tylor had come to believe that evolution did not limit itself to the physical aspects of mankind only, but also extended to cultural life. Out of this belief the discipline of anthropology was born in the year 1859. Soon after its birth it earned huge popularity throughout Europe where it is still known by its multiple names like anthropology, ethnology, prehistory and linguistics to connote the discipline in its entirety. The discipline of anthropology or the science of man and his work has a very wide scope to include physical anthropology, prehistoric archeology, cultural anthropology, ethnology, linguistics, and symbology (study of symbols), genetics,

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 106 thought and art of primitive man, economic anthropology, social anthropology, etc. and mostly belong to the science faculty of universities, whereas sociology belongs to the arts faculty. Through its many branches anthropology gives us an understanding of man and his life in society, past and present and also to appreciate his limitless physical and cultural variety. With scientific study of humanity and human society it has emerged as a leading social science discipline; however, it also builds upon knowledge from natural sciences. Therefore, when we seek to find any similarity or close proximity between sociology and anthropology, we should select the part of social (cultural) anthropology only and exclude other areas from comparison. 8.3 Relationship between Sociology and Anthro- pology Both sociology and l anthropology are comparatively young branches of modern social science; both cover wide number of subjects within their scopes . Most importantly, both of them are very close to each other because of the similarities in their subject matters. For this reason, it is quite difficult to differentiate between the scope, subject-matter and objectives of these two disciplines. T. B. Bottomore has opined that in spite of difference in origin, these two have become almost indistinguishable in character. The history of their relations prove that at the initial stage these two remained very close, then came a period of great divergence , and then again a state of convergence brought them together. To support his statement Bottomore has cited the writings of many famous scholars like Spencer, Tylor, and Westermark. E. A. Hoebel argues in his book, The Law of Primitive Man (2006, Harvard Univ. Press),that in their broadest sense sociology and social anthropology are one and the same. Anthropologist Kroeber considers sociology and anthropology as twin sisters. We should discuss the relations between the two in this light. A very important task of sociology is to find out the link or continuity between the past and present forms of human society and to compare them for better understanding of the state of affairs. For this, sociologists collect information from other sources of knowledge like history and anthropology – both explain the march of civilization from the primitive age to the modern period. As sociologists often have to relate the contemporary society to its past forms they have to depend on the works of anthropologists to a large extent; this makes sociology indebted to anthropology and anthropologists in general. European and American sociologists ,in the recent years, are increasingly using anthropology's research methods and observations in their own areas of study. The focus of anthropology's analysis is undoubtedly Man; sociology's main area of interest is society created by men. Thus NSOU ? CC-SO-01 107 sociology and anthropology enjoy a close relationship and mutual support. According to Vidyabhushan and Sachdev, (2014.An Introduction to Sociology. Kitab Mahal) sociology greatly depends on the material supplied by anthropology and

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the historical part of sociology is identical with cultural anthropology.

Thus anthropology has contributed substantially to the study of sociology. They have further stated that the research done by Malinowski has proved quite valuable to sociology. But this dependence is never one sided because anthropology is also indebted to sociology. Many of sociology's concepts and ideas have benefitted anthropologists and their research. For example, the functionalist approach proposed by Durkheim was adopted in anthropology by Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski. Morgan and many others have built their ideas of primitive egalitarian system of society with help from the sociological analysis of property system in modern societies. As both the disciplines focus on the common subject of man and his group, anthropology has to depend on sociology in many ways. 8.3.1 Similarities between the two Anthropology, like sociology, is a general science; to many, it is the broadest of all the social sciences. Socio-cultural anthropology or more popularly known as social anthropology – a branch of the general science of anthropology- has come the closest to sociology. The disciplines share concepts like cultural area, cultural traits, cultural lag, family, kinship, marriage, religion and private property. Participant observation, a very popular and common research method adopted by anthropologists has also become valuable in sociological research. As a discipline the two are so closely related that they often become indistinguishable. In the past, these two disciplines used to maintain their well designated areas of study, like modern society for sociology and primitive or pre-literate, pre-industrialised society for anthropology. But, over the years the line of distinction has almost disappeared and at present sociologists do not feel shy to examine tribal society or anthropologists to look into various aspects of modern society. Both the disciplines are growing fast and in many universities sociology and anthropology are taught under the same department. While anthropology studies human behavior at the micro-level of an individual as a part of the larger culture, sociology, on the other hand, looks at the bigger picture of society taken as a whole. At present there does not exist any distinction of subject matter and the line between sociology and social –cultural anthropology is neither firm, nor fixed.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 108 8.3.2 Differences between Sociology and Anthropology In spite of many similarities and close interactions between the two disciplines, we cannot deny that there exist a good number of differences between them. The reasons behind these differences are many. a) As Bottomore has observed, the initial intimacy of the two waned after the adoption of functional approach in anthropology and the primary reason behind the differences is related to the differences in their objects of study. Sociology studies the modern, advanced and complex societies ,while anthropology concerns itself with the simple, pre-industrial,primitive or pre- literate societies. b) Secondly, the scopes of the two disciplines are also different. Anthropologists engage themselves in the general analysis and observations on a specific society. In social anthropology, particular aspects of culture and civilizations are examined with reference to the community or country as a whole, for example, Melanesia, Meghalaya, or Nagaland. On the contrary, sociologists today are more interested in particular social institution like family, marriage ,etc. or processes like social change, social mobility or problems like divorce or crime trends in a certain society. c) Sociology and anthropology both have adopted different research methods. Anthropologists generally use methods of direct examination and participant observation; they may employ data from history, but do not use historical method in their research. Sociologists, on the other hand, depend on historical method, interview technique, questionnaire and statistical method for their research on a regular basis. d) Sociology and anthropology differ from each other in the scope of their research, too. Anthropologists usually do research on small but self-sufficient communities and groups like tribes with the help of direct participation in the group activities, ethnography, observation- both participant and non- participant types, etc. In sociological research the more favoured methods of data-collection are non-participant observation, case-study, interview, questionnaire etc. e) Anthropologists are more concerned with the past or primitive civilizations; on the other hand, sociologists are more concerned with the modern society. Vidyabhushan and Sachdev have observed that sociology concerns itself

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with both social philosophy and social planning whereas anthropology remains more with social planning

only and, therefore, does not make any suggestion for future.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 109 f) Sociologists and anthropologists may study the same topics and may follow similar research methods, anthropology in India is administratively classified as an extension of biological sciences with its conventional four-fold model of pre-history and archeology , linguistics and social and cultural anthropology. O these, the fourth fold often overlaps with sociology. 8.4 Sociology and Social Anthropology in India In India sociology has emerged as a child of anthropology during the colonial period. In their journey towards maturity as two independent social sciences, the two disciplines appear to be closely linked and overlapping. M.N. Srinivas and Panini have pointed out that sociology is a relatively young discipline; having centuries old roots, it finally appeared as an important social science to study all societies systematically in the nineteenth century in Europe and America. Here, in India, the origin of sociology can be traced back to the days when colonial administrators had undertaken ethnographical studies for gathering information on the life and society of the people in this country. Through such studies they had gathered minute details on religion, sect, caste, tribe, region, language and such other things and such ethnographical exercises by the British government officials had inspired the Indian nationalist scholars to delve into both anthropological and sociological analyses of the indigenous society. The growth of sociology and anthropology can be divided into three distinct phases: 1) covering the period between 1773-1900, 2) 1901-1950 and 3) the post-independence period. In 1769, Henry Verelst, the then Governor of undivided Bengal and Bihar encouraged revenue supervisors to collect information on the leading families and their customs. Since then, many British officials and missionaries had strived to collect data and record information on almost all aspects of life and culture of the Indian people. Sir Francis Buchanan undertook ethnographic survey as a part of nature. Abbe Dubois, a French missionary in Mysore wrote a very important book entitled Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies in1816 to narrate the life, customs and rituals he witnessed there. He was also one of the first to study caste and inter- caste relationships. Walter Hamilton's Gazetteer- A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan and Adjacent Countries(1820)accurately located many places in India in terms of longitude and latitude, narrated the history of various towns and estimated the population of India to be 123 million. By the later part of the nineteenth century more systematic attempts to collect information on almost all aspects of indigenous life for enabling the Raj to control its subjects were made. The first all-India census was undertaken in 1871 and in 1901 Sir Herbert Risley established an ethnographic survey as part of the census for collecting and

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 110 recording important data before they could disappear due to larger social and cultural changes and also for the purpose s of legislation , famine relief, sanitation, control of epidemics, judicial procedure and many such other administrative operations. However, on many occasions facts were misinterpreted either to serve colonial administrative purposes or due to lack of basic understanding of India's culture and social system. British scholars and officials were involved in Indological studies as well to become familiar with the life and culture of Indians. In 1776 , a treatise on Hindu law was prepared with help from Indian pundits for the use of British judges. Help from Arabic scholars was also sought during the early period of British rule to decide cases involving Muslim laws and practices. The Asiatic Society of Bengal was established by the great Orientalist Sir William Jones in 1787; it published many articles on antiquarian and anthropological interests in its esteemed journal regularly. Indian scholars too benefitted much from these articles and from the new- found interest in Sanskrit texts aroused by Jones and Max Mueller. The discovery of India's past and the richness of its heritage through those Indological and Orientalist effort had gradually awakened the nationalist spirit among the educated sections of Indians and provided the necessary stimulus for both sociology and social anthropology in India. As the educated elites witnessed the criticism of Hinduism by European missionaries, and their bids to convert the poor and lowly Hindus to Christianity, they increasingly felt the need of social-religious reformation , a reinterpretation of the past and an examination of their contemporary society in India. They were inspired by the spirit of nationalism and their analyses of Indian society and the impact of foreign rule on it laid the foundation of sociology in India. By the beginning of the twentieth century, professional sociologists and social anthropologists shifted their focus on India. Sociology was more advanced and better established on the continent, i.e. in European countries like France and Germany than in England. In American universities, too, it had taken strong roots by then and till today it has maintained its stronghold. Alongside sociology, anthropology had also been developing in Indian Universities; the main difference between the two here remains in the use of methodology. At one point of time each had its own well defined areas like urban-industrial groups for sociology and tribes, caste, communities for social anthropology but over the years , the two have come so close that many suggest ,the duo should be known as 'ethno – sociology'. Ethno-sociologists generally combine documentary and literary data with oral traditions and field data. Tribe, caste and religion have emerged as the common topics for discussion in both the disciplines. Both of them deal with aggregates of people in a number of locales like

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 111 village, town and city. In the colonial period ,too, Sir Henry Maine and W.H. Baden- Powell wrote extensively on the village community in India. Besides, the many district gazetteers prepared by the colonial administrators provided ethnographic and economic data pertaining to Indian society. Sociologists like G.S. Ghurye have often drawn upon these documents prepared for helping the schemes of the Raj. Eminent Indian and foreign scholars like Brajendra Nath Seal, Patrick Geddes, W.H.R.Rivers, L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and Sharat Chandra Roy contributed generously to the fields of both sociology and social anthropology. B. N. Seal, a Professor of Philosophy at the University of Calcutta had taken the pioneering role to introduce sociology at the masters level . A nationalist to the core , Seal refuted Spencer's unilinear evolutionary theory to explain society's march from a simple to an increasingly complex form and also opposed the European conclusion of India's placement at the lower run of the evolution ladder. Uberoi,et al in the introduction to the book edited by them, Anthropology in the East, (2010) observe that most of the prominent Indian-born sociologists and anthropologists had taken pride in their role and responsibility of studying Indian society; and very few of the post – independence ,India-based sociologists and social anthropologists have studied societies outside the Indian subcontinent. Most of India's eminent sociologists/anthropologists were English educated nationalists and contributed generously to the development of both sociology and social anthropology here in this country. As members of the educated middle class they remained engaged "in the production and dissemination of scientific and useful knowledge.' (Uberoi et al. p.32). In India, sociology and social anthropologists both drew upon Indology and Sanskrit texts for understanding not only the past but also the contemporary phenomena like costume, architecture, sexuality, urbanism, family and kinship, Indian tribal cultures, human rights, citizenship, cultural survival, social reform and national integration However, it is argued that sociology is a social or moral science and anthropology is, in the words of N.K.Bose, a field-science. 8.5 Summary Many Scholars, especially sociologists in India, believe that there is hardly any difference between the practices of the disciplines of sociology and anthropology. M.N. Srinivas was one of the first scholars to make such a claim in 1952 in an article in the very first issue of Sociological Bulletin. This claim of unity and inseparability of the two later swayed the opinions of other thinkers. In fact, since

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 112 the time sociology has received the official status of an academic discipline, the two have not been separated or segregated as different. Commentators like Andre Beteille (2006) and Uberoiet al. and Oommen after him argue that the division between the two disciplines is the brainchild of the West. From the above discussion we can definitely draw the conclusion that sociology and (social) anthropology have come and are increasingly coming closer. Bottomore believes that in the recent years these disciplines have renewed their intimacy afresh. As the world is going through rapid changes even long before globalization, the pre-literate, primitive communities are fast losing their culture, language, lifestyle , occupation and their abode. Under such circumstances, anthropology too is losing its own exclusive subjects to study and anthropologists are entering the domain of sociology in increasing number. It is, therefore, argued that social anthropology may soon become a part of sociology itself. 8.6 Questions 1. Answer in Brief : 5 Marks. (a) What is anthropology? (b) What is social anthropology? (c) What are the similarities between sociology and anthropology? (d) What are the differences between sociology and anthropology? (e) How did colonialism influence sociology and anthropology in India? (f) Which two disciplines are known as 'twin sisters'? Why are they known as such? 2. Answer in Detail : 10 Marks. (a) Do you agree that sociology and social anthropology grew together in India? Give reasons in favour of your answer. (b) Examine the relationship between sociology and anthropology in detail.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 113 8.7 Suggested Readings Bhattacharyya, D.C. Sociology.1987. Calcutta.Vijoya Publishing House. Bottomore, T.B.Sociology.1972. Blackie & Son (India) Ltd. Gisbert, P. Fundamentals of Sociology.2010. Orient BlackSwan Pvt. Ltd. India. Patel, Sujata.(ed). Doing Sociology in India. 2011. Oxford University Press. Srinivas,M.N..'Sociology and Social Anthropology', Sociological Bulletin,1952, 1(1):28-37. Srinivas,M.N. and M.N.Panini. 'The Development of Sociology and Social Anthropology in India', Sociological Bulletin, 1973.22(2):28-37. Uberoi, Patricia et al. (ed).Anthropology in the East.2007. Delhi. Permanent Black. Vidyabhushan and Sachdev. An Introduction to Sociology.2014. Kitab Mahal.

Unit 9 Sociology and Psychology Structure 9.1 Objectives 9.2 Introduction 9.3 Emergence of Psychology 9.4 Relation between Sociology and Psychology 9.4.1 Social Psychology 9.5 Differences between Sociology and Psychology 9.6 Similarities between Psychology and Sociology 9.7 The Two Disciplines in Brief 9.8 Summary 9.9 Questions 9.10 Suggested Readings 9.1 Objectives From this unit students will come to know about : ? The similarities between sociology and psychology. ? How the two disciplines examine man and his conducts from different angles. ? The differences between the two disciplines. ? In spite of differences how the two disciplines help and compliment each other. 9.2 Introduction Society is an expression of complex inter-personal relations and exchanges between men. Such relations and exchanges not only impact man's physical and social-cultural existence, but also influence his thoughts, attitudes, and behavior. So, to understand the relations between man and society, one needs to understand the patterns of human behavior. For this, an understanding of psychology or the

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 115 science of human behavior becomes essential. Sociology, too, is concerned with man's activities in society and therefore it is closely related to psychology. Though both the disciplines primarily share the same subject-matter their approaches and methods to study human behavior are quite different; the focus of their interests is also different.

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Psychology explores the mind of an individual or small group to understand different aspects of human behavior and man's social and emotional reactions. Sociology

does not limit itself to any single individual or his role but examines social groups and associations like family, neighbourhood, gender , race, ethnicity ,social class or religion. Bottomore has commented that the relation between sociology and psychology is rather "difficult and unsettled. There are two extreme views." (Sociology, 1962. p. 67).One view is held by John Stuart Mill and the other by Emile Durkheim. While Mill was of the opinion that sociology or a general social science could be firmly established only when it would be logically deducible from the laws of the mind. On the other hand, Durkheim was firmly in favour of keeping the two branches of social science separate. However, it has been found that sociology and psychology come the closest in the field of social psychology. 9.3 Emergence of Psychology Psychology is the science of behavior and mind. It includes the study of conscious and unconscious phenomenon as well as feeling and thought. It is an academic discipline of immense scope. Psychologists seek an understanding of the emergent properties of brains, and all the variety of phenomena linked to those emergent properties, joining this way the broader neuro scientific group of researches for understanding the whole range of human emotions that guide and govern man's behavior.. As a social science it aims to understand the finer details of the psyche of individual and groups by establishing general principles and researching specific cases. In this field, a professional practitioner or researcher is called a psychologist and can be classified as a social behaviouralist, or cognitive scientist. Psychologists attempt to understand the dynamic role of state of mind behind the social behavior of man and of group, while also exploring the hidden psychological and biological processes that influence those cognitive functions and behaviors. The word psychology is derived from Greek roots, firstly, to mean study of the psyche, or the soul. The second part of the word comes from another Greek word 'Logos' meaning discourse or science. Thus, psychology is recognized as the science of mind. Until the 1860s psychology was treated as a branch of philosophy, afterwards it began to develop as an independent science in Germany. The earliest known reference to the word psychology in English was by Steven Blankaart in

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 116 Classic Print & Process • Final Proof (Last) • 28-10-21 1694 in the physical Dictionary which makes a clear-cut distinction between anatomy as the study of the Body, and psychology as the study of Soul or Mind. In 1890 William James defined psychology as "the science of mental life, both of its phenomena and their conditions" This definition enjoyed widespread currency for decades. However, this meaning was contested, notably by radical behaviorists such as John B. Satson, who in his 1913 manifesto defined the discipline of psychology as the acquisitions of information useful to the control of behavior. Also since James defined it, the term more strongly connotes techniques of scientific experimentation. Folk psychology refers to the understanding of ordinary people, as contrasted with that of psychology professional. The ancient civilizations of Egypt, Greece, China, India, and Persia were engaged in the philosophical study of psychology .In ancient Egypt the Ebers Papyrus (book written on papyrus) mentioned depression and thought disorders much in the same way as physical disorder. Historians note that Greek philosophers, including Thales, Plato and Aristotle (especially in his De Anima treatise) addressed the workings of the mind. As early as the 4 th century B.C, Greek physician Hippocrates theorized that mental disorders had physical rather than supernatural causes. In India a central idea of the Upanishads is the distinction between a person's transient mundane self and their eternal unchanging soul. Divergent Hindu doctrines and Buddhist literature have challenged this hierarchy of selves, but have all emphasized the importance of reaching higher awareness. Psychology was quite popular in Philosophy during Enlightenment in Germany. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646 - 1716) applied his principles of calculus to the mind. Christian Wolf identified psychology as its own science, writing Psychologia Empirica in 1732 and Psychologia Nationalize in 1734. This notion advanced further under Immanuel Kant, who established the idea of anthropology, with psychology as an important subdivision. However, Kant explicitly and notoriously rejected the idea of experimental psychology. Gustav Fechner began conducting research in psychophysics in Leipzig in the 1830s, articulating the principle (Weber- Fechner law) that human perception of stimulus varies logarithmically according to its intensity. Fechner's 1860 Elements of Psychophysics challenged Kant's stricture against qualitative study of the mind. Psychologists in Germany, Denmark, Austria, England, and the United States soon followed Wundt in setting up laboratories. G.Stanley Hall who studied with Wundt, formed a psychology lab at Johns Hopkins University in Maryland, which became internationally influential. Hall, in turn, trained Yujiro Motora, who brought experimental psychology, emphasizing psycholphysics, to the imperial University of Tokyo. Wundt's assistant, Hugo Munsterberg, taught psychology at Harvard to
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 117 students such as Narendra Nath Sen Gupta- who in 1905 founded a psychology department and laboratory at the University of Calcutta. Edward Tifchener, created the psychology program at Cornell University and advanced a doctrine of "Structuralist" psychology. Structuralism sought to analyze and classify different aspects of the mind, primarily through the method of introspection. William James, John Dewey and Harvey Carr advanced a more expansive doctrine called functionalism, attuned more to human – environment actions. In 1890, James wrote an influential book. The principles of psychology, which expanded on the realism of structuralism, memorably described the human "stream of consciousness" and interested many American studies in the emerging discipline. Dewey integrated psychology with social issues, most notably by promoting the cause progressive education to assimilate immigrants and inculcate moral values in children. During the second world war and in the cold war period after that, the U.S. military and intelligence agencies established themselves as leading funders of psychology – through the armed forces and the new office of strategic services intelligence agency. University of Michigan psychologist Dorwin Cartwright reported that University research in 1939 - 1941, and in the last few months of the war had been used to determine the week-by week propaganda policy for the United states Government. Cartwright also concluded that psychologists had significant roles to play in managing the domestic economy. The Army had extensively used its new General Classification Test and engaged in massive studies of troop morale. In the 1950s the Rockefeller foundation and Ford Foundation collaborated with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to find research on psychological warfare. In 1965, public controversary called attention to the Army's project" of social science an effort which enlisted psychologists and anthropologists to analyze foreign countries for strategic purpose. After the war, some new institutions were created, and some psychologists were discredited due to Nazi affiliation. Alexander Mitscherlich founded a prominent applied psychoanalysis journal called Psyche and with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation established the first clinical psychosomatic medicine division at Heidelberg University. In 1973 psychology was integrated into the required studies of medical students. Medical facilities increasingly employ psychologist to perform various roles. A prominent aspect of health psychology is the psycho education of patients: instructing them in how to follow a medical regimen. Health psychologists can also educate doctors and conduct research on patient compliance. Psychologists in the field of public health use a wide variety of interventions to influence human behavior. These range from public relations campaigns and outreach to governmental laws and

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 118 Classic Print & Process • Final Proof (Last) • 28-10-21 policies. Psychologists study the composite influence of all these different tools in an effort to influence whole populations of people. Positive psychology is the study of factors which contribute to human happiness and well-being, focusing more on people who are currently health. In 2010 clinical psychological Review published a special issue devoted to positive psychological interventions, such as gratitude journaling and the physical expressions of gratitude. Positive psychological interventions have been limited in scope, but their effects are thought to be superior to that of placebos, especially with regards to helping people with body image problems. 9.4 Relation between Sociology and Psychology Sociology, as we all know, discusses man as a social being. Psychology, on the other hand, deals with his mental and emotional world. As social beings' men are tied to each other with the ties of various social relationships; the love and respect, hatred and enmity, cooperation and distance, empathy, and antipathy – all these feelings, the social and cultural values they support – belong to their mental world. It is the task of psychology to discuss and analyse all the mental feelings and emotions that compel men to behave in a particular way within his social setting. Eminent sociologist, R.M. MacIver believes, all the activities of a living human being , all that are recorded in history and are etched in our experiences are nothing but psychological occurrences. By analyzing these occurrences psychology examines the status of man's mental strength. The primary emphasis of psychology is on the mind of man, and not on man as such, whereas sociology deals with the whole social existence of man. In this way, psychology becomes a part of sociology. The mind of man is dynamic and complex. It reflects itself through various social exchanges between men and groups. Since time immemorial, homo- sapiens have created and sustained society with the bonds of love and care, support and assistance to each other. All these are also parts of man's mental faculties. Psychology discusses, examines and analyses these faculties while the task of sociology is to look into their social context. Both the disciplines often share the same subject matter but deal with them differently. Durkheim has categorically mentioned that sociology should study 'social fact' and not psychological facts. Social fact, as Durkheim has mentioned, is external to the individual and exercises external constraint on him; whereas psychology's domain involves everything that is internal to individual and controls him internally. But other sociologists like Ginsberg believes that sociological explanations can be made more valuable if they are related to psychological explanations. According to Peter Worsley, the main area of interest
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 119 for a psychologist is in the way the individual's behaviour is organized to constitute his personality; but the sociologist examines the manner in which a person relates to others. Thus, in spite of their inherent differences both sociology and psychology enrich themselves with interdisciplinary exchanges of facts, ideas, theoretical approaches and mutually assisted investigations. Therefore, the sociologist must take into account the perceptions of individuals on various issues; but should leave the study of f that perception as such to the psychologist. Social psychology deals with the

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mental processes of man as a social being. It studies particularly the influence of group life on the mental development of the individual; the effect to the individual mind on the group, and the development of the mental life of the groups within themselves and in their relations with one another.

R.W. Pickford observes that social psychology analyses the framework of social relationships firstly, to examine the interaction of individuals and groups, past and present, and secondly, to study the dynamics of these interactions to understand the personality patterns of individual members in the society. 9.4.1 Social Psychology Social psychology, as a branch of Psychology, studies inter-personal behavoiur patterns and examines how such interactions affect people's thoughts, feelings, emotions and habits. For this, it has to depend on

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sociology which provides the necessary material regarding the structure, organization and culture of societies to which individuals belong.

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Lapiere and Fransworth write that social psychology is to sociology and psychology what biochemistry is to biology and Chemistry.

Many others also believe that social psychology acts as

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a link between psychology and sociology. As a result of such close relationship between the two,

thinkers like Karl Pearson have not accepted the two as separate sciences. Moreover, if in the combination of sociological and psychological factors the stress is placed on the psychological then we have social psychology, but if the sociological factors or approach are stressed, we shall have what is called psycho- sociology. Social psychology, therefore, has to depend on both sociology and psychology to draw its data and concepts to analyse man's attitudes, aspirations and behavior in society and also to understand the interplay of individual character and social structure within a given period of time. This is essential for understanding how, through the process of socialization, man learns to respond to the social- psychological stimuli in various phases of life. To assess the role of an individual we need to understand his perception of other members of society, his ideas on

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 120 Classic Print & Process • Final Proof (Last) • 28-10-21 various social issues, his values, convictions, prejudices that may affect his decisions and behavioural pattern. Here social psychology comes in handy as a study of mental and behavior mechanism. In the opinion of Kimball Young, social psychology is rooted both in psychology and sociology. It studies the individual with reference to a group in particular and society, in general. 9.5 Differences between Sociology and Psychology The problem of the relation between psychology and sociology, and of the status of social psychology in relation to both, is difficult and unsettled. There are two extreme views. J.S. Mill believes that psychology is concerned with the laws of mental functioning of individuals and seeks to establish primacy of psychology over not only sociology, but all other social sciences. As both the disciplines are concerned with neighbouring areas of knowledge, but in different ways, the nature of their relationship still remains debatable and unsettled.

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Durkheim, on the other hand, makes a radical distinction between the phenomena studied by psychology and sociology. For him, sociology is to study social facts, defined as being external to individual minds and exercising certain constraints upon them; the explanation of social facts can only be in terms of other social facts, not in terms of psychological facts. Society is not

a simple aggregate of individuals, the

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system formed by their association represents a specific reality possessing its own characteristics.

Consequently, whenever a social phenomenon is directly explained by a psychological phenomenon one can be sure the explanation is invalid. The opposite views of Mill and Durkheim still have their supporters today, but most sociologists seem to have adopted various intermediate positions. Some, like Ginsbcrg, would hold that

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many sociological generalizations can be more firmly established by being related to general psychological laws.

Under Dilthey's influence , many German sociologists, including Max Weber, are of the view that even where strictly sociological explanation is possible, the sociologists gain an additional satisfaction or conviction in being able to understand the meaning of social actions that can be explained in causal terms.

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Such understanding was conceived in terms of 'common sense psychology' but neither Dilthey nor Weber was hostile to the development of a scientific psychology in

the

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broad sense and Weber was sympathetic to some of Freud's ideas.

Bottomore is of the opinion that psychology and sociology have their own distinct areas of study yet they may continue their enquiry together. Gerth and Mills suggest that the gap between the two disciplines are bridgeable.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 121 The key differences between the two disciplines are these : 1. Psychology studies the mind of an individual in the context of the larger society or culture. But sociology looks beyond individuals to examine societies with reference to specific association and institution like gender, race, religion, family, marriage, social class, culture and so on. 2. Psychology usually studies one person or group at a time to understand the subject's thoughts , ideas, values, principles and perceptions about life. Sociology, on the other hand , raises questions about issues ,past and present. 3. Psychology focuses on emotional and social reactions , such as stress, memory, grief, anger, intelligence and aging. Sociology studies the social processes like cooperation, and conflict, accommodation and assimilation, mobility and change etc. and their repercussions on small and big groups in society. 4. Psychology , as a

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social science, deals with the behavior and thinking of living beings and focuses primarily on individual behavior and not on group behavior. It also depends more on the

findings of the natural sciences. On the contrary, sociology studies human society and social behavior. 5. Psychology examines and analyses issues related to human emotions and behaviours associated with intelligence, stress, memory, grief, mental health, addiction and trauma. Sociology, on the other hand, deals with topics ranging from economics, consumerism, education, inequities and stratification, social problems and their redressal. Freud's psychology, although it emphasized the role of individual and biological factors in social life, nevertheless recognized that the innate impulses were transformed in various ways before they became manifest in social behavior. However, in the work of the post – Freudian school –especially in the writings of Karen Horney and Erich Fromm- the influence of society in shaping and reshaping individual behavior is given greater prominence. Fromm's concept of social character is intended precisely to relate individual psychological characteristic to the characteristics of a particular social group or social system. In spite of this wide recognition that sociological and psychological explanation may complement each other, the two disciplines are not, in practice, closely associated, and the place of social psychology, which ought to be specially close to sociology, is still disputed. It is easy to say that social psychology is that part of
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 122 Classic Print & Process • Final Proof (Last) • 28-10-21 general psychology which has a particular relevance to social phenomena, or which deals with the psychological aspects of social life. In fact, all psychology may be considered 'social' in some degree, since all psychic phenomena occur in a social context which affects them to some extent, and it becomes difficult to mark out even roughly the boundaries of social psychology. This means that social psychologists have usually felt a closer association with general psychology than with sociology, have been bound to a particular method and have often ignored the structural feature of the social milieu in which their investigations are conducted. This difference between sociology and social

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psychology can be illustrated from many angles. In the study of conflict and war there have been mutually exclusive sociological and psychological explanations. In studies of

social stratification, the psychological approach seems to have produced a particular account of class and status in subjective terms, which is contrasted with the sociological account in terms of objective factors, rather than systematic investigation of the psychological aspects of a significant element in the social structure. The 'psychology of politics hardly deserves to be mentioned so remote does much of the writing appear to be from the most obvious.

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In almost every field of enquiry it could be shown that psychology and sociology constitute for the most part two separate universes of

discourse. This is quite similar to Fromm's view which mentioned above and Garth and Mills, like Fromm, take up again the fundamental problem of the relation between the individual and society, which was earlier examined by Ginsberg in an illuminating study dealing with the respective influence to instinct and reason in social life, with theories of the 'group mind' and with problems of public opinion and organized group behavior. Later social psychology has for the most part abandoned this line of study in favor of statistical and experimental enquires which are for too much concerned with the individual or with simple aggregates of individuals; and it has therefore lost contact with sociology. Finally, we should reconsider one objection to the possibility of a close association between sociology and psychology Durkheim wished to exclude psychological explanation from sociology, though he often resorted to it implicitly. More recently, Radcliffe – Brown argued that sociology and psychology study two entirely different systems, one a social system, the other a mental system; and claimed that these two levels of explanation could not be combined. This seems an extreme view and one unlikely to be sound at a time when much of the fruitful research even in natural science is taking place on the frontiers of difficult sciences. Yet we should acknowledge the genuine difficulties.
Sociology and psychology do offer alternative account of

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behavior, and if they are to be brought closer together it will

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 123 be necessary to work out more rigorously than has yet been done the conceptual and theoretical links between them. 9.6 Similarities between Psychology and Soci- ology Primarily, the subject- matter of both the disciplines are almost similar because both are concerned with human beings and determine the existence of humanity. The two disciplines are mutually dependent, interconnected and interrelated; and this dependence is necessary for their own deeper understanding. Since long, these two disciplines have remained dependent on each other. Renowned psychologists like Sigmund Freud, MacDougal and others have enriched sociology in multiple ways with the help of their novel ideas. They believe that the whole social life is reducible to psychological forces. Examining social phenomena and social problems and finding their solutions are important tasks of sociology. As each and every social issue has a psychological basis, to resolve the problems associated with them sociology often requires help from psychology. But it is no one way journey, because psychology, to, depends on sociology for its full comprehension. As human mind and personality is the product of its surrounding social environment, culture, customs and traditions, psychology, too, has to take help from sociology. The overlapping features of the two disciplines create their similarities. Both of them study patterns of recurring behavior characteristics. The study of these patterns better understanding of the subjects. Sociology studies individual as a being with choices, who has the capability to take decisions; now, this ability to take decisions is, no doubt, influenced by both social circumstances and human psychology. Social psychology studies attributes like prejudice, attitudes, aggression and other such elements that often determine the grouping and social acceptance of an individual.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 124 Classic Print & Process • Final Proof (Last) • 28-10-21 9.7 The two Disciplines in Brief SOCIOLOGY 1. Sociology studies group behavior. 2. It studies social processes, social laws or values related to attitudes 3. Sociology discusses concrete form of society, its structure and functions. 4. It studies the interaction of the human being with the environment 5. It studies society from the community point of view 6. Sociology pertains to learning human behavior in the society 7. Sociology is an observation process 8. Sociology is considered a soft science due to its holistic nature and its attempt to look at the bigger picture 9. According to the American Sociological Association, sociology is the scientific study and evaluation of society. 10. Sociology majors participate in internships that are related to a broader community, such as international aid organization and community centers. PSYCHOLOGY 1. Psychology studies the behavior of an individual in society. 2. It studies the mental processes of the individual. 3. Psychology is the study of individual attitude towards cultural and social values and the laws related to these attitude 4. It analysis the framework of social relationship. 5. It studies behavior from the view- point of psychological factors 6. Psychology pertains to the study of human mind 7. Psychology can be termed as an experimental process 8. This is definitely considered a science as it has a scientific emphasis in that psychologists will infer cause and effect. 9. According to the American Psychological Association social psychology is the study of how people are shaped and affected by their social environments. 10. Psychology majors have more face-to face interaction with people during their internships in clinical settings.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 125 9.8 Summary As branches of social science both sociology and psychology have enriched the spheres of our knowledge. They generally share much of the same subject- matter but apply different methods of analyses and understanding. Psychology focuses on behavior of individual influenced by both internal and external factors like nature and nurture; whereas sociology studies collectives like culture, groups and other social circles. Sociologists, thus, look beyond individuals and study society as a whole. Though different, they are always interdependent, interlinked and interrelated. Giddings observes that psychology studies the mind, mental faculties and emotions of man living within a social environment in a scientific manner, whereas sociology studies the social roles and interactions of man. Naturally, then, these two branches of social science become very closely related and interdependent. 9.9 Questions 1. Answer in brief: 5 Marks each. (a) Mention the similarities between sociology and psychology. (b) Discuss in brief the differences between sociology and psychology. (c) What is social psychology? How does it connect sociology and psychology? 2. Answer in detail: 10 Marks each. (a) Examine, in detail, the relationship between sociology and psychology. (b) Discuss the similarities and differences between sociology and social psychology. 9.10 Suggested Readings Bhattacharyya, D.C. Sociology. 1987. Vijoya Publishing House. Calcutta.

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Bottomore, T.B. Sociology A Guide to Problems and Literature. 1979. Blackie &

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Unit 10 Sociology and History Structure 10.1 Objectives 10.2 Introduction 10.3 The meaning of Sociology 10.4 The meaning of the term

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History 10.5 Interrelation between Sociology and History 10.6 Similarities between Sociology and History 10.7 Sociology and

History Differences 10.8 Historical Sociology 10.9 Comparative Historical Research 10.10 Conclusion 10.11Summary 10.12 Questions 10.13 Suggested Readings 10.1

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Objectives After reading this unit you will be able to understand: ? Definition of Sociology and history as Social Sciences ?

Contribution of history to sociology ? Interrelation between Sociology and history 10.2 Introduction As one of the important parts of social sciences Sociology has close relationship with other social sciences. Accordingly, sociology is intimately related with history. Sociology studies man's social relationship including social, economic, political, religious, legal, aesthetic aspects and so on. The life of man is many sided.

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But social life is so complex that it is a problem to isolate social issues from the whole range of human

activities and behaviour. As a matter of fact Sociology can understand
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social life as a whole by taking help from other social sciences.

Sociology is not the only science which deals with man in organized society. There are also other disciplines which are also concerned with man and his activities in organized society.

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But that does not mean that sociology only borrows from other social sciences and gives them nothing. The various social sciences are very much dependent on sociology

taking help from Sociology.

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It is thus obvious that the different social sciences cannot have their existence independent of others. As they have a common subject- human social behaviour, it is but natural that they should be interrelated. As remarked by Prof. Simpson, "Social science is a unity, but it is not a fictitious unity, it is a dynamic unity of operating parts, and each part is indispensable to each and all of the others." Sociology and other social sciences have much in common

and yet they are distinct from each other. An attempt to

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be made to explain the connection and distinction between sociology and some of the important social sciences. Now relationship between sociology and history

to be discussed. 10.3 The Meaning of Sociology Sociology is one of the important branches of social sciences. The term sociology was coined by the eminent French sociologist, Auguste Comte, in 1939.
Sociology is the youngest discipline of the social sciences. Sociology is derived from

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the Greek word 'logos' meaning 'study or science'. The etymological meaning of 'sociology' is

thus the 'science of society'. Prof. Ginsberg accordingly defines sociology as 'the study of society, that is, of the web or tissue of human interactions and interrelations.' It is the study of the development, structure, and function of human society. Sociology is concerned with the studies of man's behaviour in groups, social institutions, and social relationships. Sociology examines the dynamic of constituent parts of the society like community, population, gender, race, age group etc. Social stratification, social movements, social change, and social disorders like crime, deviance, and revolution are also studied under sociology. Historical sociology, Medical sociology, Comparative sociology are some sub-divisions of Sociology. Sociological history based on both the sciences. 10.4 The Meaning of the Term History The word History has originated from the Greek word 'Historia' meaning 'knowledge acquired by investigation'. The events that occurred before writing was invented are 'pre-historic'. History is studied from written records and focuses on the society and social affairs of the past. History is something that helps us make sense of the current society by relating to the past. History is the study of past
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developments in economic, religious, and social affairs as well as the study of States, their growth and organization and their relationship with one another.

History is primarily concerned with the records of the past. The historians want to describe as accurately as possible, what actually happened and to man during a given time.

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History presents a chronological account of past events of the human

societies. Prof. Gettell rightly remarked, "

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History is the record of the past events and movements, their causes and

interrelations." History gives us an idea about the humans who lived in the past and their societies, culture, and arts, which help us realize human development. History includes the academic disciplines to analyze a sequence of past events, investigate the patterns of cause and effect, that are related to them. 10.5 Interrelationship between Sociology and History It is essential to know the history or past of any society

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to understand its present status. It may be mentioned that the emergence of sociology has been shaped up in the historical developments like French and industrial revolutions, growth of cities, institutions, and growth of individual rights and liberties. Many earlier scholars or founding fathers of sociology like A. Comte, Herbert Spencer, Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, Karl Marx

and even the contemporary sociologists like Habermas, Mannheim, Wallenstein

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gave importance to history or historical perspectives in their analysis of social structure, changes, and dynamics.

They used historical dimension in their sociological analysis. Further it may be pointed out that A. Comte's conception of Sociology includes history in his analysis for the

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growth of sociology and society. He explains causes and reasons of developments of humanity through historical stages. Besides, Karl Marx's Capital, Max Weber's Economy and Society,

and elaboration of ideal type, Ferdinand Tonnies's

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Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft have used historical dimension to enrich their sociological analysis.

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Furthermore, history has many things to offer to Sociology. For instance, historical sources that are available provide a large amount of data to sociologists for

the analysis on society, its growth, and dynamics. The development of sociological theories in 19th and 20th century

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have been product of intellectual, social, cultural, and political climate within which they were developed. Some of the important ideas and social thought emerged in

enlightenment period. By French Revolution (1789), new ideas such as liberty, equality, and fraternity took shape.

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Present society bears symbols of past relationship between the two is so close and intimate that scholars like G. von Bülow have refused to acknowledge sociology

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 129 as a science distinct from history.

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History studies the important past events and incidents. It records men's past life and life of societies in a systematic and chronological order. It also tries to find out the causes of past events. It also studies the past political, social, and — events of the world.

So, history is often defined as study of past. History

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not only studies the past but also establishes relations with present and future. That is why it is said that history is the microscope of the past, the horoscope of the present, and telescope of the future.

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History is the store house of knowledge from which sociology collected a lot. History

helps and enriches sociology. Different

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thinkers describe history as the study of human's past based on

archeological evidence. Sociologists have been benefited by the book written by A. Toynbee and other historians.
To know the impact of a particular past event sociology depends on history.

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Sociology provides social background of the study of history. History is now being studied from the sociological viewpoint.

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The historians need social background for writing and analyzing history and this provided by the sociologists. The study of history would be meaningless without the appreciation of sociological significance. History becomes meaningful in the social content 4 . 10.6 Similarities between Sociology with History

Both sociology and history are closely related to each other. There are some similarities between sociology and history. The following points may be discussed. i. The study of society is common in case of both sociology and history. Sociology is the study of society while history seeks to establish the sequence in which events. ii. Both are social science disciplines and are concerned with human activities and events. iii. Sociology and history- both are concerned with human activities and events. iv. History is concerned primarily with the record of the past. The historians want to describe as accurately as possible, what actually happened to man during a given time. The sociologists use to all intents and purposes the same record to the past. v. Apart from philosophy today the historian is considerably depending upon sociological concepts and narrations. We may say that modern historiography and modern sociology have been influenced by each other. vi. Both sociology and history are interested in contemporary events of the recent past.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 130 vii. History is the branch of social sciences while historical sociology concerns studying the past's social phenomenon. The study of history would be insignificant without the appreciation of sociology are interdependent and interrelated with each other. viii. Both history and sociology seek information to study human and their world and interpret it correctly. 10.7 Sociology and History-Differences "

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History without sociology has no fruit, sociology without history has no root".

Thus, both Sociology and History are closely related. In spite of their interrelationship and interdependence both the social sciences differ from each other from the following angles: i. Sociology is concerned with present and to some extent with future events. But history deals with the past events and society. Prof.

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G. E. Howard rightly remarked," History is the past sociology and sociology is the present history".

T.B. Battomore says," Sociology and history may overlap in one area, but diverge widely in another". ii. Sociology is an analytical discipline whereas history is a descriptive discipline. Sociology generalized about society, history is a particularizing or individualizing discipline. iii. Sociology emphasizes on the regular and the recurrent whereas history investigate the unique and the individual. iv. Generally, history occupies itself with differences in similar events and sociology deals with the similarities in different events. v.

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Sociology is a general science whereas history is a special science. Sociology can be defined as a general science of

human society as it

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uses various methods of empirical investigation and critical analysis to develop a body of knowledge.

History includes the academic discipline to analyse a sequence of past events, investigate the pattern of cause and effect that are related to them. vi. The study of history is based on a collection of facts evidence which may have been fabricated or exaggerated. Sociology uses all types of techniques used in the sciences such as sampling statistics which are available during and after the study is conducted. vii. The modern study of history is wide ranging and includes the study of specific regions the study of certain elements of historical investigation. In
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 131 case of sociology, the range of methods used has led to the development of philosophic and interpretative approaches to the analysis of society. viii. Sociology said to be abstract and theoretical science of society. Many schools called history as concrete and descriptive
science of society. ix.

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The scape of sociology is very wide while the scope of history is limited.

x.

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Sociology is a modern or new subject whereas history is an older social science.

xi. A deeper distinction between these two sciences lies in the fact that history deals with human events in so far as they are corelated in time, while sociology studies them from the viewpoint of the social relationships involved. 10.8 Historical Sociology

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As time has passed, history and sociology have formed into two different specific academic disciplines. Historical data was used and is used aplenty today in mainly these three ways. The first one is: Investigating a theory through a Parallel investigation. To negotiate with the natural-science conceptions of laws, and to look at, or apply various historical material where you

can collect

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your resources in order to prove the theory that is applied. Or on the other hand, sociologists for the parallel investigation theory could aptly apply the theory to certain cases of investigation but

of course,

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in a different modalities of a more widely used process. The second theory that sociologists mainly use is applying and contrasting certain events or policies. Analysed by their specific characteristics, or what makes them unique, certain events may be used by the sociologist for comparative data can be contrasted and compared. For interpretive sociologists it is very common for them to use the 'Verstehen' tradition 1 .

Do you know what Verstehen mean? Verstehen means to understand, in the context of German philosophy and social sciences in general. It has been used since the late 19th century in English as in the German. It is used with the particular sense of the "interpretive or participatory" examination of social phenomena. The term is closely connected with the work of the German sociologist, Max Weber. These are rooted in the analysis of social action, a theory of human action mediated by contextual understanding. In anthropology, verstehen has come to mean a systematic and well-planned interpretive process in which an outside observer of another culture attempts to relate to it and understand others' actions 2 . Verstehen is now seen as a concept and a method central to a rejection of
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 132 positivist social science. Verstehen refers to understanding the meaning of action from the actor's point of view. It is entering into the shoes of the other, and adopting this research stance requires treating the actor as a subject, rather than an object of your observations. It also implies that unlike objects in the natural world human actors are not simply the product of the pulls and pushes of external forces. Individuals are seen to create the world by organizing their own understanding of it and giving it meaning. To do research on actors without taking into account the meanings they attribute to their actions or environment is to treat them like objects.

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And lastly, the third way sociologists typically relate is by taking a look at the causalities from a macro point of view. This is Mill's method: " a) principle of difference: a case with effect and cause present is contrasted with a case with effect and cause absent; and b) principle of agreement: cases with same effects are compared in terms of their (ideally identical) causes. There is an important debate on the usefulness of Mill's method for sociological research, which relates to the fact that historical research is often based on only few cases and that many sociological theories are probabilistic, not deterministic. Today, historical sociology is

applied richly in social theories. Major theorists in this area include Randall Collins, Emile Durkheim, Norbert Elias, Michel Foucault, Karl Marx, Karl Polanyi, Immanuel Wallerstein and most importantly Max Weber. The theories bank upon comparative historical research as one of their strategies too. This brings us to the question of comparative historical research 1 . 10.9 Comparative historical research It is a method of social science that examines historical events in order to create such explanations that remain valid beyond a particular time and place. This may be either by direct comparison to other historical events, theory building, or reference to the present day. [1] Generally, it involves relative comparisons of social processes across times and places. It overlaps with historical sociology. While the disciplines of history and sociology have always been associated, they have connected in different ways at different times. This form of research may be used in any of several theoretical orientations. It is usually distinguished by the types of questions it asks, not by the theoretical framework it employs 3 . 10.10 Conclusion Sociology and history are the two important branches of social sciences. Both disciplines are very much interrelated. Sociology is concerned with the study of the
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 133 science of society. History is the study of past events and humans who lived in the past and their societies, culture, and art which helps us realize human developments.

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History is a record of past social matters, social customs, and information about different stages of life. Sociology

is a science of social groups and social institutions. History
provides materials to sociologists and

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sociology also provides help to history and enriches it. Historians greatly benefitted from the research conducted by sociologists.

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To understand any society, group, or institutions, one needs to appreciate its past to comprehend its present status. It may be noted that the emergence of sociology itself has been formed in the historical development such as French and industrial revolution, growth of cities and social institutions, and growth of individual rights and liberties.

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History provides a frame of reference and contextual tool to examine and analyze change. Both sociology and history thus depend on each other to take complete stoke of reality. Sociology depends on history to understand past events, movements, and social institutions.

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Since the 1960's globalization, the emergence of interconnected world, network, society, information, revolution, and cultural studies have transformed the context of sociology. Modernity became subject of past. But emergence of past came into existence. Such as post industrialization, post colonialism, post positivism, post modernity, or post structuralism.

A lot of sociologists like

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Habermas (communicate action and public sphere), Foucault (Modernity and prison system), Anthony Giddens (Modernity) and others have worked

as used historical perspective to elaborate their sociological analysis. Sociology and history differ in their methods, approaches, and purposes. History is seen as concrete and descriptive science of society. Sociology is abstract and theorical science of society. Scape of sociology is broader than the history. Historical sociology is a branch or subdiscipline of sociology. It emerged as a result of intersection between sociology and

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history. Similarly sociological history is another specialized subject which based on both the sciences.

Historical sociology uses the method of historical comparative research to make comparisons between phenomenon, institutions and agencies. 10.11 Summary As the two branches of social sciences sociology and history are intimately related with all other social sciences. Sociology provides social backgrounds for the study of history. History helps and enriches sociology in many ways. Thus, both the sciences

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are closely interrelated and interdependent to each other. Sociology cannot be separated from history and history cannot be isolated from sociology.

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Both sociology and history depend upon each other and can influence one another.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 134 10.12 Questions 1. Answer in brief: (5 marks each) (a) Define sociology. (b) Define history. (c) What do you mean by Historical sociology? (d) What are the similarities between sociology and history? (e) What is the conclusion of the relation between sociology and history? 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks each) (a) Write a note on the relationships between sociology and history. (b) How does history influence on history? (c) What is the role of history to study the relationship between sociology and history? 10.13 Suggested Readings 1. Ginsberg, M. (1932): History and Sociology. Philosophy Vol. 7, no. 28 2. Carr, E.H. (1967): What is History? London, Vintage 3. Griffin, L.J. (1995): How is Sociology Informed by History? Social Forces, Vol.73, no. 4 4. Tilly

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Unit 11 Relationship between Sociology and Political Science Structure 11.1 Objectives 11.2 Introduction 11.3 Contribution of Political Science to Sociology 11.4 Contribution of Sociology to Political Science 11.5 Common issues of Sociology and Political Science 11.6 Differences between Sociology and Political Science 11.7 New Concepts 11.8 Conclusion 11.9 Summary 11.10 Question 11.11Suggested Readings 11.1

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Objectives After reading this unit, you will be able to understand- ? Definition of sociology and political science as disciplines of social sciences ? Contribution of sociology

to political science ? Contribution of political science to sociology ? Common areas of sociology and political science ? Differences between the two disciplines 11.2 Introduction

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Both sociology and political science are branches of social sciences that deal with the study of overall human

society. The two terms understand human behaviour and the fundamental aspect of human life in a community. It is called that sociology is the science of society i.e., social relations. It deals with the origin, evolution,
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 136 organization, purpose, ends, and nature of the society. Society is the oldest organization of human beings, "

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Sociology is also the science of society or of social phenomena.", says

Prof. Ward. Since political and social behaviour of man cannot be separated, there is a close relation between sociology and political science. "Political science and Sociology", remarks Prof. Catlin, "are inseparable and in fact these are two sides of the same picture." Sociology as a science and particularly as a separate discipline did not come into existence until about the middle of the nineteenth century. Sociology is the youngest of the social sciences. Regarding the emergence of sociology there is a great contribution by the eminent thinkers. More than thousands of thinkers' names are enlisted in Prof. P.A. Sorokin's book 'Contemporary Sociological Theories", 1928. Besides, 'Social Thought, from Lore to Science", 1952 by Howard Becker and Harry Elmer Barnes wrote in favour of the emergence of sociology. However, the eminent thinkers are A. Comte and Emile Durkheim of France, Herbert Spencer from England, Max Weber and George Simmel from Germany, and Lester F. Ward from America. During the 19 th Century and part of the 20 th Century were controlled by them. And that mentioned period was the epoch of emergence and creation of sociology. They were the representatives of their countries- France, Germany, UK, USA, etc. They played vital role for the emergence of sociology and in its evolutionary process.

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In the words of Morris Ginsberg, "Historically sociology has its main roots in politics and philosophy of history." Sociology greatly benefitted by the books written by political scientists like Plato, Aristotle, and Koutilya such as Republic, The Politics, and Arthashastra respectively. 11.3

Contribution of Political Science to Sociology On the other hand, political science made its roots into the Macedonian Empire where the great philosopher Aristotle had first coined the term about 2400 years ago and that is why he is known as the 'Father of Political Science'. The focus of political science is understanding the function of political systems (i.e., Government) in society. Political science is concerned with the Government, power, and politics from domestic to international perspectives. In the words of Paul Janet, "Political science is that part

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of social science which treats the foundation of the state and principles of government." Political Science deals with the social groups organized under the sovereign of the state. Without the sociological background the study of political science will be incomplete. The forms of government, the nature of governmental organs, the laws and the sphere of the state activity are determined by NSOU ? CC-SO-01 137 the social processes. Prof. Barnes rightly said, "The most significant thing about Sociology and modern political theory is that most of the changes which have taken place in the political theory in the last thirty years have been along the line of development suggested and marked out by sociology.

Contribution of Political Science to Sociology a) Political science supply - materials about the state Man is not only a social animal, but he is also a political one, and state is his supreme political institution. State influences the social life and sociology gets knowledge about state from political science. b) State always tries to eradicate social evils State always tries to finish all the social evils through its laws and this way clears the social life. In this way, sociology depends upon political science. The state and the government make laws for the welfare of the society. The government removes social evils l poverty, unemployment, dowry, and so on from the society. The undesirable customs are uprooted from the society by the government. c) State regulates social organizations All the social organizations in the state are regulated by the laws of the state. All famous sociologists like Morris Ginsberg, A. Comte, Ward, and others consider the study of state as a part of the study of sociology. They always take a keen interest in the activities of the state. d) Each and every social problem has a political cause

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To understand different political events sociology takes help from Political Science. Any change in the political system or nature of power structure brings changes in society. Hence, sociology takes the help of political science to understand the changes in society.

So, sociology to draw its conclusion depends on political science. Moreover, Political Science examines government power and politics from domestic to international perspectives. Political Science entails studying the policies, laws, diplomacy, and processes of a government institutions as well as the behaviour of political parties and the people groups. A Political Science course might cover the causes and prevention of war or impacts of race and ethnicity on policy debates. Like sociology, political science relies on a variety of qualitative and quantitative measures to inform its research and analysis.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 138 11.4 Contribution of Sociology to Political Science Political science also depends on Sociology. Political Science is like a part of sociology, it is regarded.

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To understand the part, it is necessary to understand the whole. Almost all political problems have a social cause and for the solution of these political problems Political Science takes the help of sociology. State frames its rules and

regulations, laws on the basis of social customs, traditions, and
social

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values. Without sociological background the study of political science will be incomplete. Political science is largely benefitted by the researchers and research methods of the sociologists. Some thinkers consider political science as a branch of sociology. State is considered as a social group, there is a subject of sociology.

A politician is basically a sociologist and uses sociological concepts. Society acts as a mirror of the political life of the country. The contribution of Sociology to Political Science can be discussed under the following points: a) The highest political organisation originated in society We live in society which is the oldest organization. State has grown out of it. In order to know the origin, development and nature of the state, Political Science has to seek the help of sociology, the science of society. b) Social conditions influence political organizations Social conditions of a particular time influence the nature and working of political institutions of that time. In under-developed countries/societies political institutions are also under-developed and in developed societies, political institutions are also developed. This shows the deterministic influence of sociology on political science. c) Social customs influence the laws of the state Social traditions, customs, and conventions are the important sources of the laws of the state. The laws which are formed by the government are based on the social customs, traditions, mores, norms etc. of the society.

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Most of the changes which have been taken place in the political theory during the past times have been

possible due to Sociology. For understanding the political problems, some knowledge about sociology is very essential because all political problems are mainly corrected with a social aspect.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 139 d) Sociology provides materials to political science The study of the state - its origin, development, nature, functions - constitutes the central focus in political science. State is the highest political institution and at the same time the state influences the social life and sociology gets knowledge about state from political science. Social relations are the determinants of all political relation. All political institutions are conditioned by social relations. All political activity is the result of the social nature of man. Sociology contributes to political science the knowledge of society. Political science depends upon sociology and sociology provides materials to political science that is the political life of the people. e) Political science relies heavily upon sociology for its basic theories and methods. For example, in mid-20 th century, Michigan social psychologists and Parsonians at Harward significantly shaped political science agendas in political behaviour and political development, respectively. f) Central specialties in both the discipline borrowed from similar third-party disciplines such as economics, history, anthropology, and psychology. g) A large number of scholars such as Marx, Weber, Gramsci, Pareto, Parsons and Mosca etc. equally have contributed to the growth and development of both the disciplines. In the same way Harold Lasswell's treatise, "Politics: Who Gets What, When, and How." (1936) was an important work from which both sociologist and political scientist get inspired and take lead to work in an inter-disciplinary framework (Lipset, 1964). It may be pointed out that given for changing societal need and aspirations in contemporary globalized world an interdisciplinary approach is needed to understand the existing social problems and find solutions to the problems of modern society. 11.5 Common Issues We have discussed the contribution of sociology to political science and contribution of political science to sociology in details and separately.

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Besides, there are some common issues which are being studied by both the disciplines. These topics

are war, propaganda, authority, lockdown, vaccination, communal riots, law etc.

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With the help of both political science and sociology, a new subject comes into

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 140 existence which is known as Political Sociology.

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Political Sociology is the study of power and relationship between societies, states, and political conflict. It

is the combination of political science and sociology. Political sociology deals with the relationship between state and society on the basis of mutual interaction and with power as the ultimate aim of all

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political processes. Political sociology is a discipline which is mainly concerned with the analysis of the interaction between politics and society.

Despite the contributions of Pareto, Hobhouse, it is Max Weber who is known as the father of political sociology because of his special contributions in this field. Sociology studies groups of people based on identity factors such as ethnicity, race, age, gender, education, and social clans. Intro level coursework will cover the basics of human behaviours and theories on social development before launching into a more refined study of specific people groups and how they interact within society as a whole. Sociology can study reform issues including poverty, crime, and economic inequality as well as large scale demographics like population and migration. Sociology relies primarily on quantitative research like surveys, polls, and census data for its analysis and research conclusions but also utilizes qualitative methods like case studies and ethnography. 11.6 Differences between Sociology and Political Science Although both Sociology and

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Political Science contribute to each other, but in spite of their inter-relationship and interdependence both the subjects differ from each other on the following

grounds: a) Sociology is one of the vital branches of social sciences. It is the scientific study of human society. It

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is a science of society and social relationship. On the other hand, political science is a science of state, government,

and international bodies. Political science emphasizes the use of political power in the national and international level.
b)

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The scope of sociology is very wide, but the scope of political science is limited. Sociology

takes into account every aspect of behaviour, interaction, and functioning of human society. In sociology, due to having a broader scope, studies are done in sociological, political and even psychological manner. Political science deals with a narrow field of interests. It is concerned with the functioning, theory and analysis of political systems in a society.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 141 c)

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Sociology is a general science, but political science is a special science.

According to A.

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Comte and Durkheim, sociology is a science because it adopts and applies the scientific method. Sociology

is not a real science and has no real applications. Sociology is not a real science because it does not have a universal consistency. People and society are too unpredictable to study, document, and infer and based on past data. d)

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Sociology studies organized, unorganized, and disorganized society whereas political science studies only politically organized society.

e) Political science studies only the political aspects of social relationship in a particular way. Sociology studies all kinds of social relationship in a general way. Sociology is concerned with

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the social activities of man whereas political science studies political activities of

man. f)

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Sociology is the youngest of the social sciences. It is

not even two centuries old. On the other hand, political science is an older science. It has centuries of history of its own. g) Sociology is concerned with

87%	MATCHING BLOCK 153/372	W

both formal and informal relations while political science studies only formal relations.

h)

95%	MATCHING BLOCK 154/372	W

Sociology studies man as a social animal whereas political science studies man as political

man and analyses man as a
political animal.

81%	MATCHING BLOCK 155/372	W

Morris Ginsberg rightly opines, "Historically, sociology has its main roots in politics and philosophy of history".

i)

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Sociology analyses both conscious and unconscious activities of man whereas political science analyses only conscious activities of man. j) Sociology analyses all forms of associations while political science

is concerned with only one form of association
such as State. That is why Prof.

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Garner remarks, "Political science is concerned with only human form of association, such as State., Sociology deals with all forms of associations."

k)

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The main difference between sociology and political science is that sociology is the scientific study of human society while political science is

the study of politics and their impact on society as a whole. Hence, unlike sociology political science emphasizes the use of political power in the national and international level. l) The approach of sociology is sociological. It follows its own methods in addition to the scientific methods in its investigation. On the other hand, the approach of political science is political. It has its own methods of study like the historical, philosophical, comparative etc.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 142 11.7 New Concept- Political Sociology, Political Culture, Political Socialization, and Comparative Political Studies Political Sociology which is basically an outcome of intersection between sociology and political science is relatively a newer branch of sociology studies various political institutions, associations, organizations, interest groups, and multitude of power dynamics in society. Political sociology also studies interest groups, political parties, administrative and bureaucratic behaviour, social legislations, state policies, reforms, and political ideologies as its areas of the study. Political sociology often sees as a new, growing, and burgeoning sub-field within the discipline of sociology. It is considered as a connecting bridge between sociology and political science. Sociologists see two-way relationships between the two (Rathore, 1986). Both have a give and take relationship. Various other scholars see political sociology as a marriage between sociology and political science.

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Like political sociology, sociology of politics is a sub-field of sociology. Sociology of politics also throws light on sociological appraisals of political processes and institutional mechanisms.

Political culture, political socialization are the most used and frequently mentioned concepts in political sociology. Within political science we have a branch called 'comparative political studies' which deals with comparing different political system to judge in which method do people function better, and uphold the values of equality, freedom, and justice. 11.8 Conclusion From the above discussion it is clear that sociology and political science are mutually contributory. A politician basically is a sociologist and uses sociological concepts.

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Without the sociological background the study of political science will be incomplete.

Society acts as a mirror of the political life of the country. So, it is better to say that both political science and sociology are the two sides of the same coin. "Political Sociology", remarks Catlin, "are inseparable and in fact these are two sides of the same picture." 11.9 Summary From the above discussion we may conclude that we have pointed out the meaning of sociology and its relationship with political science. We have described how both the disciplines are closely related and interwoven and how both the disciplines have borrowed, refined, and enriched their terms and conditions over the
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 143 period of time. We understood how sociology has got intersected with political science in developing an interdisciplinary framework to understand society and its issues. We have described the sub-field called Political Sociology and Sociology of Politics within the discipline of sociology, and within political science we have a branch called 'Comparative Political Studies.' 11.10 Questions 1. Answers in short. 5 marks each (a) Define Sociology. (b) Define Political Science. (c) Briefly discuss the emergence of Political Sociology . (d) Point out the common issues of Sociology and Political Science. (e) What are the contributions of Sociology to Political Science? (f) What are the contributions of Political Science to Sociology? 2. Answer in detail: 10 marks each (a) Discuss

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the relationship between Sociology and Political Science. (b) Point out the differences between Sociology and Political Science. (

c) Write a note on the role of Sociology with the help of Political Science. 11.11 Suggested Readings 1. Gisbert, P: 2015. Fundamentals of Sociology, Orient Blackswan pvt ltd India 2. Bhattacharya, D.C. :1987. Sociology, Vijaya Publishing House, Calcutta. 3. Vidya Bhushan and Sachdeva: 2014. An Introduction to Sociology. Kitab Mahal 4. Kar, P.B.:1982, Samajtattwa, Paschimbanga Rajya Pustak Parshad. 5. Mukhopadhyay, A.:1987. Prasanga Samajtattwa, Central Book Publishers 6. Wikipedia 7. Giddens, Anthony (1995), Politics, Sociology and Social Theory: Encounters with Classical and Contemporary Social Thought: Stanford, Stanford University Press. 8. Rathore, L.S. (1986), Political Sociology: Its meaning, evolution, and scope. The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vo 47, no, pp119-140 9. Sharma, L.N. (1978) Political Sociology: A perspective for the study of comparative politics. The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol39, no pp 390-405
Unit 12

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Relationship of Sociology with Economics Structure 12.1 Objectives 12.2 Introduction 12.3 Definition of Sociology 12.4 Definition of

Economics 12.5 Main characteristics of Sociology 12.6 Main characteristics of Economics 12.7 Relationship between Sociology and Economics 12.8 Differences between Sociology and Economics 12.9 Common issues between the two disciplines 12.10 Summary 12.11
Questions 12.12 Suggested Readings 12.1

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Objectives After reading this unit you will be able to understand : ? Definition of sociology and Economics; ? Relation between sociology and

Economics ? Characteristics of Sociology and Economics ? Role of Economics in the society. 12.2 Introduction Sociology and Economics are the two important disciplines of social sciences. Generally Economics is regarded as

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the science of wealth in its three phases production, distribution and consumption.

As the economic process develops in society, so

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it influences and is influenced by the social life of

man. Sociology primarily studies about society, social relationships. Economics welfare is only a Part of human welfare .The relation between these two sciences is very intimate.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 145 12.3 Definition
of Sociology Sociology is the youngest branch of social sciences.

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The term 'sociology' is derived from the Latin word 'societus' meaning society and the Greek word 'logos' meaning 'study or science'. The etymological meaning of 'sociology' is the 'science of society'.

Sociology is
usually defined as the science of society. This definition has two terms to be pointed out clearly: a)Science and b) Society. Most of the scholars described science as a body of knowledge. This type of knowledge is acquired by systematic observation, experience and study of the facts which have been coordinated and classified. In this way science adds to our knowledge by describing actual reality. Hence scientific knowledge is enduring. Sociology is also a body of knowledge about society which has been empirically tested and found to be valid. Society may be defined as the complicated network and ever changing pattern of social relationships. These relationships are varied and complex. They may be

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economic, political, or religious but they are at the same time 'social'. Sociology

is the study of social relationships. In order to be a distinct and separate science, sociology must confine itself to the study of social relationships for no other science that takes that subject for its central concern. The only field of study which remains for sociology is the field of social relationships. Sociology can be truly a separate science when its focus is not identical with those of other sciences. That is why sociology is concerned with the study of social relationships. Since all parts of social life are intimately related and interwoven, society should be studied as a whole and the nature of the interactions between its various elements should be understood. 12.4 Definition of Economics Economics is one of the most important branches of social sciences. It can be defined as the branch of knowledge that deals with a human life's economic aspects. Wealth related activities of man are the main subject matter of economics. So, economics is called

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the science of wealth in its three phases of production, distribution, and consumption.

In general, wealth means money, property, expensive goods etc. But in economics, wealth means that kind of goods which fulfil our demand directly or indirectly and its supply is limited (not sufficient). To collect wealth, to create wealth, wealth distribution and utilization of wealth, to determinate the policy for total development of the society and to research for the proper implementation of the policies- these are the subject matter of economics.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 146 Moreover, economics is a social science that deals with wants and their satisfaction. Classical economics assumes that people have unlimited wants and to satisfy these wants there are limited resources. At that time people always had to engage in work to secure the things they needed for the satisfaction of their wants. Almost all types of individuals are working to earn money/income with which they satisfy their wants. To fulfil the basic needs i.e., food, cloth, shelter, and other needs such as better education, better drinking water, better health facilities etc are very urgent. According to one perspective, it is assumed that there is no limit for human wants. When one wants to get satisfied, another new want automatically takes place and so on in an endless succession. Hence, we say that it is impossible to fulfil one's wants. Sociologist Seligman says the starting point of all economic activity is the existence of human wants. Wants give rise to efforts and efforts secure satisfaction. The things which directly satisfy human wants are called consumption goods. A few consumption goods like air, sunshine etc are abundant. They are available free of cost. But most goods are scarce. They are available only by paying a price. And therefore, they are called economic goods. They do not exist in sufficient quantity to satisfy all wants. 12.5 Main Characteristics of Sociology Sociology is an important discipline. It deals with the social aspect of man. It studies the different parts of Society as a whole. In Sociology, all the concepts and principles concerning human beings as societies are covered. Sociology studies all the rules and regulations concerning and dividing people all over the world. All activities fall under this branch, hence Sociology drastically growing and expanding for creativity and learning infinite knowledge. Sociology deals with the diverse patterns of relationships and interactions between people across the globe. One can say that primarily it tries to answer three basic questions- (1) How and why do societies emerge? (2) How and why do societies persist? And, (3) How and why do societies change? Most of the sociologists are in favour of the following: (a) Sociology is an independent discipline. It is no longer treated as a branch of any other social sciences like political science, history, philosophy, anthropology, psychology etc. It is considered to be the newest of all social sciences. (b)

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Sociology is a social science and not a physical science. Sociology belongs NSOU ? CC-SO-01 147 to the network of social sciences and not to the physical sciences

like physics, chemistry, or biology. (c) As

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a science of society, sociology is highly concerned with the institutions and associations of human beings. Sociology is the scientific studies of human interactions and interrelations, their conditions and consequences. (

d) The main focus of sociology is to give attention to the study of primary social institutions like family and maintenance of social order. (e) Sociology focuses on evolution, transformation and functioning of social life. (f) Sociology deals with social processes like cooperation and competition, accommodation and assimilation, social conflict, communication in society, social differentiation, and social stratification. (g) Sociology has its own methodology and is based on empirical data collection and inductive reasoning but also has deductive aspects at the level of generalisations. (h) The study of sociology is done by quantitative and qualitative measures and the means employed for gathering data are different. 12.6 Main Characteristics of Economics Economics can be

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defined as the branch of knowledge that deals with human's life's economic aspects. It deals with how goods and services are provided, produced, and manufactured.

Economics deals with economic relations concerning individuals. Factors like supply, demand, price, goods and services, and the elasticity of various products and these factors contributing to the fluctuation of products and services of the market are basic knowledge needed for knowledge. The vital characteristics of economics are the following: (i) Economics is basically a science of wealth, choice and economic activities of man living in society. (ii)

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According to Professor Robbins, "Economics is a social science which studies human behaviour in relation to his unlimited ends and scarce means which have alternative uses." (

iii) Economics largely focuses on

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the activities of man such as production, consumption, distribution, exchange, and resource management. It also studies the structure and functions of different economic organisations like banks, markets etc.

From this, it is obvious that economics

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is concerned with the material needs of humans as well as their material welfare.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 148 (iv) Economics is divided into two: (a) Micro-economics and (b) Macro- economics. The term 'micro' seems to have derived from Greek word 'mikros' meaning small. Micro-economics- study of small economic unit such as individuals, firms, industries, competitive market, labour market, personal decision making, price of a commodity, out of individual firm and so on. Macro-economics deals with the study of the Nation's economy as a whole. The scope of macro-economics is wide. It is concerned with the study of aggregates. It is concerned with the concept such as Aggregate demand, Aggregate supply, Total output, General price level, National income, National economic growth, Government spending, Inflation, Unemployment etc. (v) Positive and Normative Economics: Positive economics is the branch of economics that concerns the description, quantification, and explanation of economic phenomena. It focuses on facts and cause and effect behavioural relationships and notes that economic theories must be consistent with existing observations. Normative economics/statements- The beliefs of individuals expressed in the form of value judgements based on moral and ethical considerations are termed as normative statements. These statements that describe what ought to be on the basis of ethical considerations are the subject matter of normative economics. According to Prof Samuelson and Prof Nordhaus, "Economics is the study of how societies use scarce resources to produce valuable commodities and distribute them among many different people." To explain the statement two vital thinking come into existence: (1) Scarcity of the commodity and (2) Skilful distribution of the valuable commodity in society. In fact, in these circumstances, economics played a vital role in the implementation of the inadequacy of commodities. If the desired commodities are easily available and every demand is fulfilled, then man is unworried. The Government is not in a position to collect tax. Only economics as a science of society can take decision with the insufficient commodity and unlimited demands. Economics in divided into two categories: (a) Micro-economics and (b) Macro-economics. Eminent British economist Adam Smith is called the father of Micro-economics. Micro-economics is the study of small economic units such as individuals, firms, industries etc. Macro-economics deals with the study of nations economy as a whole. The scope of macro-economics is wide. National income, National economic growth, Inflation, Unemployment etc.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 149 12.7 Relationship between Sociology and Economics Now we proceed to show the inter-relationship between these two (sociology and economics) important branches of social sciences. Both are interdependent and interrelated. Because of this interrelationship, Prof

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Thomas opines that economics is, in fact, but one branch of Sociology. Similarly, Silverman opines that economics is regarded as

an

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offshoot of sociology which studies the general principles of all social relations.

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Economic welfare is a part of social welfare. When there are economic problems in society such as inflation, poverty, unemployment

etc economists usually take help of sociology. For getting common welfare, economics receives help from all social sciences and preferably sociology. Economics depends on sociology. Economics can not

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go far ahead without the help of sociology and other sciences.

It is very difficult to understand economics completely. As a result, economics is regarded as a part of sociology. Classical sociologists like Max Weber, Vilfredo Pareto etc have done extensive and rigorous research on economy and society which was later great beneficial for economic.

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Some economists also consider economic change as an aspect of social change.

On the other hand, sociology also is influenced and enriched by the economic factors in many ways. Social problems like suicide, dowry, etc will be analysed and minimized with the help of economic procedure because the root of these problems is deep rooted in the economic factors. So, we may come to the point that such kind of problems will be solved with the help of economic contribution to the field of sociological knowledge and research. The famous social scientist Karl Marx suggested that economic relations constitute the foundation of society. So, economic factors greatly influence every aspect of our social life. So, sociologists like Spencer, Max Weber, E. Durkheim, and others have given importance on economics in their analysis and research of social relationships.

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According to A.C. Pigou, "Economics studies that part of social welfare which can be brought directly or indirectly into relationship with the measuring rod of money." Here

he suggests that social relations are formed due to the pressure of wealth which is

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the domain of economics. According to Alfred Marshall, who was a neoclassical economist, "Economics is the study of mankind in the ordinary business of life, it examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely connected with the use and attainment of material requisites of well-being." This shows that economics is concerned with their activities in the social setup.

It is clear from the aforesaid discussion that the relation between sociology and economics is widening. Economists are more and more making use of the

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 150 sociological concepts in the study of economic problems. They work with sociologists in their study of the problems of economic development in underdeveloped countries. Combined efforts of both the experts may be of great practical help in meeting the challenges. 12.8 Differences between Sociology and Economics Despite the interdependence

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of these two sciences, they are quite distinct from each other. The

main differences between them are given below: a) Sociology as an important branch of social sciences is concerned with society and social relationships whereas economics deals with wealth and its production, distribution, consumption, and exchange, and choice. Economics is concerned with the

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material welfare of the human beings. Economic welfare is only a part of human welfare.

b) Sociology emerged as a science of society and it is the youngest branch of social sciences. On the other hand,

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economics is comparatively older science. c) Sociology is regarded as an abstract science whereas economics is considered as a concrete science in the region of social

science. Economic variables can be measured and quantified more easily and accurately. Social variables are very distinct to measure and quantify. d) Sociology is generally concerned with all aspects of social science whereas economics studies the specific aspects of social science. e) The scope of sociology is wider and has comprehensive viewpoints. The scope of economics is extremely limited and narrow. f) Sociology deals with the social activities of individuals, on the other hand, economics is concerned with their economic activities. It is also called the science of bread and butter. g)

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Both sociology and economics differ from each other regarding the methods and techniques they use for their study.

h) In sociology, society is the main theme as a unit whereas in economics individual is the central theme as a unit. i) Sociology is a general part of social science, but economics is the special branch of social sciences. j) In sociology, man is studied as a social animal. In economics, man is studied as an economic being.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 151 12.9 Common Issues Concerning both Sociology and Economics Both sociology and economics are the vital branch of social sciences which deal with the study of overall human development. Both of them

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use scientific methods for studying their respective areas of interest. They are closely related and dependent on each other for their study

yet there are some common problems which stay in the border line. The problems of population growth, environmental pollution, slum, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, child labour, inequality etc have both social and economic implication. Economic Sociology as a Sub-discipline of Sociology Economic sociology emerged as a systematic academic subdivision of sociology in less than a century ago. It has made a remarkable contribution in analysing society from an economic perspective.

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The birth of economic sociology was found in the writings of Karl Marx. N.J. Smelser and R. Swedberg point out that the first use of the term 'economic sociology' seems to have been in 1879.

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In recent times, especially after 1980's economic sociology experienced remarkable revival. Some sociologists were doing rigorous research on the relationship between the market and society.

In contemporary economic sociology, markets are considered as networks of producers watching each other and trying to carve out niches. Hence, we can say that such networks are the core area of concern in contemporary economic sociology.

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Karl Polanyi, a renowned contributor to economic sociology, argued that the birth of the free market was an institutional transformation necessarily promoted by the state. This got a general acceptance in the domain of economic sociology.

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Economic sociology is the application of sociological methods to understand the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of goods and services. Economic sociology is particularly attentive to the relationships between economic activity, the rest of

the

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society, and changes in the institutions that contextualize and condition economic activity. 12.10

Summary In this unit, we have tried to understand the relationships of sociology with economics. Sociology is the youngest branch of social sciences whereas economics is older than sociology. Sociology is the science of society. The relation of sociology with economics has been extensively proved in this unit by showing how society is greatly influenced by economic factors and how economic processes are determined
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 152 by the social environment. Classical sociologists have done extensive research on the economy. Karl Marx suggested that economic factors influence every aspect of our social life. It is the economic factor which influences the individual's lifestyle and needs. The economic needs of society are generally met through social institutions. Thus, the two subjects are complementary to each other and it is difficult, rather impossible to study one subject by leaving the other. Despite the dependence, these two social sciences are quite distinct from each other. Besides, there are some common issues like unemployment, over-population, poverty, pollution, child labour etc. Keywords : Sociology, economics, macro-economics, micro-economics, society, economy, positive economics, normative economics. 12.11 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) Analyse common issues concerning both sociology and economics. (b) Point out the reciprocal relationship between sociology and economics. (c) Point out Economic Sociology as a sub-Discipline of sociology. (d) Define economics. (e) Define sociology. (f) Point out the differences between Micro-economics and Macro-economics. (g) Define the concepts of Supply and Demand. (h) What do you mean by positive economics and normative economics. 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) Write a note on the relationship of sociology with economics. (b) What are the main characteristics of sociology? (c) Show differences between Sociology and Economics. 12.12 Suggested Readings 1. Wikipedia.org 2. Ahuja, Ram (1992)- Social Problems in India, Rawat Publication 3. Appadurai, A. (1986)- The Social Life of Things: Commodities in cultural perspective, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
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Unit 13 Sociology and other Social Sciences / Cultural Studies Structure 13.1 Objectives 13.2 Introduction 133 Sociology and other social sciences 13.4 Sociology and Social Anthropology 13.5 Sociology and Psychology 13.6 Sociology and History 13.7 Sociology and

Political science 13.8 Sociology and
Economics 13.9 Cultural studies 13.10 Summary 13.11Questions 13.12Suggested Readings 13.1 Objectives In this unit we will focus upon the following points: ? The interrelationship between Sociology and other social sciences such as social anthropology, psychology, history, political science and economics. ? We will try to understand the similarities and dissimilarities of these above different disciplines with sociology in terms of approaches and methods used. ? To have a brief idea about Cultural Studies. 13.2 Introduction Sociology is the study of human social life. Because of the expanded human social life, sociology has many sub-sections of study, ranging from the analysis of conversations to the development of theories, which help us to understand how the
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 155 entire world works. Sociology being a vast dynamic field, it thus becomes difficult to limit its definition to a few words would be an injustice to it. It is one of the several social sciences which deal with man and his activities in society; while the other sciences being history, geography, philosophy, political science, economics or even anthropology. In other words, it won't be wrong to say that sociology is the basic social science which encompasses all other sciences in it. Man's life is multifaceted. It has the economic aspect, political aspect, religious aspect and so on and so forth. This chapter will introduce you to the vastness of the discipline sociology and explain the related other disciplines which play an equally important role in understanding and examining societal realities. 13.3 Sociology and other social sciences Social sciences concern people's relationships and interactions with one another. Sociology, with its emphasis on social life, falls into this category. A multidisciplinary field, sociology draws from a variety of other social sciences, including anthropology, political science, psychology, and economics. It is necessary to understand other social sciences to study society and the others should also study sociology. To understand social life in a particular aspect one must know society. Therefore sociology and other social sciences are interdependent. Sociology not only borrows from other social sciences but also has given a lot to them by paving a new path and dimension to other social sciences. As mentioned in the beginning Sociology makes it possible to talk and inculcate various characteristics while studying about it, unlike other social sciences which aim at one particular aspect. However, sociology could be distinguished from other social sciences related to its contents and the emphasis is given on them. There are many parallels amongst almost all fields of sciences. In order to study these parallels, one must know to what extent and on what terms do they differ.

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The social sciences comprise the application of scientific methods to the study of the human aspects of the world. Psychology studies the human mind and micro- level (or individual) behavior; sociology examines human society; political science studies the governing of groups and countries; communication studies the flow of discourse via various media; economics concerns itself with the production and allocation of wealth in society; and social work is the application of social scientific knowledge in society. Social sciences diverge from the humanities in that many in the social sciences emphasize the scientific method or other rigorous standards of evidence in the study of humanity.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 156 In the upcoming sections we will study these interrelationships of sociology with other social sciences and an exhaustive manner. 13.4 Sociology and

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anthropology Sociology and social anthropology are closely related in many aspects.

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There are also certain differences that can also be observed between the two subjects in terms of the areas and thrust of enquiry, methodology, practice and tradition

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Social/Cultural anthropology has been historically very close to sociology from

the beginning itself

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as they both study human society. Although, anthropology has been regarded as the study of pre-literate societies and sociology as dealing with the more contemporary, urban and developed societies, this distinction rather becomes blurred. The earlier trend in Anthropology being associated with micro studies

particulary with the study of rural communities

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and sociology being identified with macro studies particularly the modern

or urban communities is no longer true in the contemporary times. Today, we see

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a trend where sociologists have carried out much studies on rural communities, villages and micro settings, while anthropologists have also ventured on the urban settings and macro studies. Hence, there

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has been much overlapping in the areas of enquiry and interest between sociologists and anthropology, particularly social anthropology and/or cultural anthropology

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The relationship between the two is so close that in the contemporary times the difference has become very bleak

as discussed above.

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There are many eminent anthropologists who have opined the close relationship between Sociology and anthropology, particularly socio-cultural anthropology. For instance, Frazer is, perhaps, the first anthropologist who defined "social anthropology as that branch of sociology that deals with primitive societies" (Radcliffe-Brown,1952:2; cf. Voget, 1975:143). According to Frazer, sociology "should be viewed as the most general science of society. Social anthropology would be a part of sociology, restricted to the "origin, or rather the rudimentary phases, the infancy and childhood of human society" By limiting social anthropology to a study of savage life, Frazer echoed the ideas of Waitz and of Tylor in placing the anthropological emphasis on the early history and institutions of mankind" (Voget, 1975:143). According to Radcliffe-Brown (1983) social anthropology is a 'comparative sociology'. By the term 'comparative sociology', he would mean "a science that applies the generalizing method of the natural sciences to the phenomena of the social life of man and to everything that we include under the term culture or civilisation" (p.55). Thus, he is of a considered view that social anthropology should look for 'nomothetic' approach (search for general laws of

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society) rather than the idiographic approach (search for particular scientific facts and processes, as distinct from general laws). It is a method to demonstrate "a particular phenomenon or event" to establish a "general law" (ibid.). There are also many other anthropologists who concur to his view. For instance, Evans-Pritchard, another well-known anthropologist considers social anthropology as "a branch of sociological studies, that branch which chiefly devotes itself to primitive societies" (1951:11). He opines that "when people speak of sociology they generally have in mind studies of particular problems in civilized societies. If we give this sense to the word, then the difference between social anthropology and sociology is a difference of field (

ibid.).

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While anthropology was formulated as a holistic study of mankind and related aspects, Auguste Comte also considered that sociology would be the overarching study of human society, and therefore, sociology should be the "queen of all sciences".

Even when the discipline of sociology and socio-cultural anthropology were established their relationship still existed. The relationship is mainly because of the similarity in the subject matter and methodology.
Although

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the subject matter, interests, theories and methodology overlap between sociology and Anthropology, there are also certain differences. The first and foremost difference lies in the definition of the scope of the subjects itself. Sociology is the study (or science) of society, whereas anthropology (integrated anthropology) is the study of man and everything that concerns man, including the physical and socio- cultural aspects.

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While the emergence of sociology can be mainly attributed to the attempt to bring about social order in the society (in the European social context) after the great social transformation brought about by industrial revolution and French revolution, its influence on the emergence of anthropology was not as direct as with sociology or other social sciences; rather it was an indirect influence through the opening up of intellectual and geographical spaces to enable the European scholars to go outside the European society and study the pre-literate societies (the 'other' non-European societies) (cff. Eriksen et al 2001; Sarana 1983).

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Sociology began with the focal interest with the study of society-as a generalizing social science, particularly with a focus on a larger societal context to explain social phenomena.

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Sociologists largely employ quantitative methods like questionnaires to collect data and subsequent analysis of the data with the help of statistical techniques. Anthropology began as a field-based science. Anthropologists largely use qualitative methods, particularly 'participant observation' along with other methods and techniques. Anthropologists go out to the field and live with the people for several months or even for years and learn their culture as one of the insiders. However, over a period of time, the differences in the use of research methods and NSOU ? CC-SO-01 158 techniques have changed as sociologists began to extensively employ qualitative methods, while anthropologists also began to profusely use quantitative methods along with qualitative methods. 13.5 Sociology and

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Psychology The term psychology is derived from two Greek words; Psyche means “soul or breath” and Logos means “knowledge or study” (study or investigation of something). Psychology developed as an independent academic discipline in 1879, when a German Professor named Wilhelm Wundt established the first laboratory for psychology at the University of Leipzig in Germany. Initially, psychology was defined as ‘science of consciousness’. . In the simple words, we can define psychology as the systematic study of human behavior and experience.

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Sociology and psychology together form the core of the social sciences. Right from their inception as separate academic disciplines, sociology and psychology have studied different aspects of human life. Most of the other species, work on instincts in the physical environment for their survival. While the survival of humans depends upon the learned behaviour patterns. An instinct involves a genetically programmed directive which informs behaviour in a particular way. It also involves specific instruction to perform a particular action (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008).

It is

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through socialization that humans learn specific behaviour patterns to suit them best in the physical environment. Humans process the information provided by the social context to make sense of their living conditions. Sociology’s basic unit of analysis is the social system such as family, social groups, cultures etc. The main subject matter of psychology is to study human mind to analyse attitude, behaviour emotions, perceptions and values which lead to the formation of individual personality living in the social environment. While sociology deals with the study of the social environment, social collectives which include family, communities and other social institutions psychology deals with the individual. For instance, while studying group dynamism, sociologist and psychologist initially share common interestsin various types of groups, and their structures which are affected by the degree of cooperation, cohesion, conflict, information flow, the power of decision making and status hierarchies. This initial similarity of interest, takes on different focus, both the disciplines use different theoretical positions to explain the group phenomena The quest to study human behaviour on scientific principles started with the emergence and establishment of natural sciences during the nineteenth century. Comte thought that society could be studied using the scientific methods of natural sciences. Comte argued careful observation of the entities that are known

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directly to experience could be used to explain the relationship between the observed phenomena. By understanding the causal relationship between various events it is possible to predict future events. He also held the belief that once the rules governing the social life are identified, the social scientist can work towards the betterment of the society. This quest to produce knowledge about the society and place of the individual within it, on the basis evidence and observation is central to the origin of Social psychology. The ideas of early and later sociologist helped to shape the sociological social psychology. Mead studied the effect of social conditions on our sense of self. Other influence contributors in the development of sociological social psychology include Georg Simmel (1858-1918),Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929), and Ervin Goffman. The emergence of modern social psychology could be traced from the nineteenth century onwards.

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Social psychology could be defined as the study of the “interface between these two sets of phenomena, the nature and cause of human social behaviour” (Michener & Delamater, 1999 cf. Delamater, 2006:11). G.W Allport (1954:5) defines social psychology with its emphasis on “the thought, feeling, and behaviour of individual as shaped by actual, imagined, or implied the presence of others”. .

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To sum up we can say that social psychology is the systematic study of people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviour in the social context. 13.6

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Sociology and History Sociology and history are interrelated to each other. Sociology study society and focuses on current issues by looking their historical background. Both present and past come closer in such analysis. Sociologists often refer to history to explain social changes, developments and changing face of society over period of time. Similarly history also needs social aspects (sociological concepts) to explain past. The boundaries between the two disciplines get blurred and entangled which do entails a context to explain complex webs of social reality.

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Both sociology and history thus depends on each other to take complete stoke of reality. Sociology depends on history to understand past events, movements and social institutions. Needless to say that sociology is also concerned with the study of historical developments of society. Sociologist studies ancients or old traditions, culture, growth of civilisations, groups and institutions through historical analysis and interpretations.

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Auguste Comte's conception of sociology includes history in his analyses of growth of sociology and society. He dwells into causes and reasons of developments of humanity through various historical stages. Furthermore, as Tilly (2001) notes, Karl Marx's Capital, Max Weber's Economy and Society or Ferdinand Tonnies'

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Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft have elaborately used historical dimension to enrich their sociological analysis. Such analysis demonstrate that sociology takes help of history (for instance Weber's elaboration of ideal type is an example of how sociologist have drawn to develop their sociological interpretations) to locate an issue and examine its significance. Furthermore, history has many things to offer to sociology

Even though both sociology and history are two different intellectual disciplines in the domain of social sciences, both the disciplines differ in their methods, approaches and purposes. Historians emphasise their findings as time– space localised whereas sociologists believe their understanding transcends space- time dimension. Thus, the major difference between sociology and history is with regard to the nature of data or evidences put for analysis. Sociologist much concerns with the past and primary data whereas historians are concerns with the past and look for secondary data in achieves or past events. For a richer sociological analysis, it is often argued that the sociologists should be historically aware- they should be aware of historical setting and limits which should inform their analysis of social issues. It is said that history interprets whereas natural science explains. Historians collect the concrete and interpret it as unique phenomenon whereas sociologists work on hypotheses, classify and arrange data in relevant and different categories to explore and formulate the typical propositions. It is a fact that sociology and history do not speak same language. The two professions diverge on many counts. notably, one need not to see only just two different professions but structures with distinct languages, style of thinking and values shaped by differences in education and training. It is said that sociologists have crave for numbers, historian for dates and words; sociologists recognise rules and ignore variations whereas historians stress on the individuals and specific. Furthermore, sociology differ from history in the sense that the sociologists seek generalized uniformities and processes to form typology of concepts which differ from the exact data sets proposed in a particular case by the historians. Many scholars called history as concrete and descriptive science of society. History attempts to construct a picture of social past. On the other side, sociology said to be abstract and theoretical science of society. Scope of sociology in this respect considered broader than the history. Sociology is not only concerned with the social present, but with the social past too. Sociology thus covers a wider range of issues; often go with broad purpose and transcend time and space limits to produce generalisation grounded in theoretical propositions. Sociology and history are two different disciplines in the domain of social sciences differ in their methods, approaches and purposes. Sociologists have crave for numbers, historian for dates and words. Sociologists recognise rules and ignore

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 161 variations whereas historians stress on the individuals and specific. Sociologists seek generalised uniformities and processes to form typology of concepts which differ from the exact data sets proposed in a particular case by the historians. History is seen as concrete and descriptive science of society. History attempts to construct a picture of social past. On the other side, sociology said to be abstract and theoretical science of society. Scope of sociology in this respect considered broader than the history. 13.7 Political Science and Sociology Sociology being the study of society and social life touches various political aspects of human life. Both the disciplines together intersecting with each other helps us to understand various issues and concerns of everyday life and policy matters, also issues concerning the functioning of various political institutions and its functions in maintaining the order of the society. Issues such as governance, civil society, voting behaviour, power relations among groups, etc are some of the examples that are of vital importance. Thus these issues brings disciplines of sociology and political science closer. Both sociology and political science share common interests, but at the same time the approaches of both the discipline also differs. In this segment we will try to understand the interrelationship of sociology and political science and how both the disciplines share and differ when comes to understanding the social realities. Political science is generally defined as a scientific study of state, government and politics. Here, probably, the most frequently used concepts are politics, state, power, political socialisation, leadership, governance, decision taking, policy making and its impacts. The concept of politics is central to political science Sociology and political science are closely related to each other in various respects. It has been stated that both the disciplines are closely interwoven when it comes to the analysis of power, authority structures, administration and governace (Lipset 1964). The similarities between the two can be seen in many factors. Political science relies heavily upon sociology for its basic theories and methods. The focal specialities in both the discipline are borrowed from other social science disciplines such as economics, history, anthropology and psychology. The major proponents like LKarl Mae\rx, Max Weber, Talcott Parsons, etc have equally contributed in the growth and development of both the disciplines. Sociology is often defined as scientific study of society. We may also note that society is nothing but a complex network of various groups, institutions, communities,

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 162 associations, people and their everyday life activities. Politics and power dynamics forms integral to all of these conceptions of human lives. Notably, polity or political formations has always been the essential components of any human society. In modern times, no society can be imagined without polity, political institutions or, so to say, any form of political life. State and governance are basic to any society both in terms of its function, development and meeting essential needs of social life such as law and order, security and development. Sociology too essentially reflect on status of social world with a focus on social issues and on the condition of human society, the network of social relationships in an increasingly globalised interconnected world, the growing variety of political traditions, caste and politics, ethnicity, cultural background, economic conditions and linguistic affiliations. Sociology examines various aspects of political behaviour with special focus on their social implications. This in fact indicates deeper intersection between sociology and political science. However both the disciplines differ in their approach. Political scientists investigate into rise, fall and changes of governments and their leaders whereas sociologists see governments as social institutions, political behaviour as outcome of social dynamics and leadership as social phenomena having multifarious implications for social developments. Both sociology and political science intersect at multitude of points and provide a broader analysis of the social reality. Thus, the similarities, between the two, are well appreciated by scholars. However, both the disciplines have differences too which also need to be critically assessed. Sociologist most importantly talk of interaction system, be it within groups, institutions or organisations, whereas political science talk about control mechanism within such groups or organisations. Hence, the frame of reference or perspectives of sociology and political science differ. The former primarily concerned about interactionist views, whereas later focuses on power structure, order and control mechanisms. Scholars argued that when sociological perspective of interaction system is applied to the analysis of political phenomena it tends to become political sociology. Political sociology often sees as a new, growing and burgeoning sub-field within the discipline of sociology. It is considered as a connecting bridge between sociology and political science. Sociologists see two way relationships between the two (Rathore 1986). Both have a give and take relationship. Various other scholars see political sociology as a marriage between sociology and political science which studies and brings critically important and newer areas as mentioned earlier which touches both sociology and political science, but could not be adequately studied by either one.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 163 13.8 Sociology and Economics Economics is a social science that deals with human wants and their satisfaction. Classical economics assumes that people have unlimited wants and the resources to satisfy these wants are limited. They are always engaged in work to secure the things they need for the satisfaction of their wants. The farmer in the field, the worker in the factory, the clerk in the office, and the teacher in the school are all at work. The basic question that arises here is: Why different people undertake these activities? The answer is that they are working to earn income with which they satisfy their wants

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However, there exists a great deal of inter-relationship between these two

important branches of social
sciences. Both are interdependent and inter- related. Because of

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this inter-relationship, Thomas opines that, “Economics is, in fact, but one branch of Sociology.” Similarly Silverman opines that Economics is regarded as

an

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offshoot of sociology which studies the general principles of all social relations.

Economics is concerned with material welfare of individuals which in turn is the basis for common welfare. In order to achieve common welfare, Economics takes help from all social sciences and mostly from

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sociology. For its own comprehension, economics takes help of sociology and depends on it. Economics is a part of sociology hence without the help from sociology;

it

is very difficult to understand economics completely.

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Similarly, Sociology too takes help from economics. Economics greatly enriches sociological knowledge. Economic factors greatly influence each and every aspects of social life.

Some of the important social problems like dowry, suicide etc. cannot be sociologically analyzed without the help of economics because these social problems are mainly of economic crisis. Hence, we can say that

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economics is a part of sociology and without the help of economics;

sociologists will not be able to find solutions for many social problems. Economics greatly contribute to the field of sociological knowledge and research. The well-known social scientist Karl Marx said that

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economic relations constitute the foundation of society. Economic factors plays vital role in every aspect of our social life and so, Sociologists are concerned with economic institutions. For this reason, Sociologists like Spencer, Weber, Durkheim and others have relied on economics in their analysis of social relationships.

Economists are more and more making use of the sociological concepts in the study of economic problems. Economists work with sociologists in their study of the problems of economic development in underdeveloped countries. Combined efforts of both the experts may be of great practical help in meeting the challenges Despite the above discussed interrelationship between sociology and economics, both
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 164 the sciences have certain differences as well.

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Sociology primarily studies about society and social relationships whereas economics studies about wealth and choice. Sociology emerged as a science of society very recently whereas economics is comparatively an older science. Sociology is considered as an abstract science whereas economics is considered as a concrete science in the domain of social sciences. Sociology generally deals with all aspects of social science whereas economics deals specific aspects of social science. Sociology has a very wide scope whereas economics scope is very limited. Sociology is concerned with the social activities of individuals whereas economics is concerned with their economic activities. Society is studied as a unit of study in Sociology whereas individual is taken as a unit of study in economics. Both Sociology and economics differ from each other in respect of the methods and techniques they use for their study. 13.9

Cultural studies Cultural studies is an interdisciplinary field concerned with the role of social institutions in the shaping of culture. Cultural studies emerged in Britain in the late 1950s and subsequently spread internationally, notably to the United States and Australia. Originally identified with the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham (founded 1964) and with such scholars as Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall, and Raymond Williams, cultural studies later became a well- established field in many academic institutions, and it has since had broad influence in sociology, anthropology, historiography, literary criticism, philosophy, and art criticism. Among its central concerns are the place of race or ethnicity, class, and gender in the production of cultural knowledge which are studied in the discipline of sociology too. Nearly half a century ago, Raymond Williams (1961: 10) wrote that there was no academic subject which allowed him to ask the questions in which he was interested: questions of how culture and society, democracy and the individual voice, interrelate. The early tradition of cultural studies emerged into this gap, drawing in part on the resources of sociology. Looking back, the historical parallel between Williams and the critical sociology of C. Wright Mills was not accidental, since that too privileged the role of power in culture and cultural analysis (1959: 33, quoted Hall, Neitz and Battani 2003: 2). From the beginning, then, the robustness of cultural studies' relationship with sociology was crucial to cultural studies' possibilities of success. The first substantive strand of cultural studies that we might identify for this purpose focused on to the forms and dynamics of contemporary popular culture.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 165 There are sociological problems with isolating the 'popular' as the focus of cultural studies in this way. For one thing, this excludes many important areas of taste and cultural consumption, for example the cultural experience of the old (Tulloch 1991; Riggs 1998), 'middlebrow' culture (Frith 1986), the cultural experience of elites (Lamont 1991), indeed any cultural experience that is not 'spectacular' or 'resistant' (Couldry 2000; 58-62). Finally, an exclusive emphasis on 'the popular' ignores the need to deconstruct the relation between what is designated 'popular' and everyday 'experience' (Hall 1981). The second strand within early cultural studies that we might identify as a potential contact point with sociology is the strand that prioritised ways of reading culture, especially those derived from semiotics and versions of post-structuralism. This is the strand most frequently emphasised in histories of cultural studies (Turner 1990; Barker 2003; Tudor 1999). But here too there are difficulties. On the one hand it becomes, in some versions, an attempt to read all culture as, indeed only as, text, an approach which is resolutely non-sociological and so inadequate to understand the multilayered but structured complexity of culture (Hannerz 1992). On the other hand, the use of semiotics and post-structuralist approaches to reading culture has largely been absorbed across all cultural sociology and humanities work (Hall, Heizert and Bettani 2003), so no longer comprises a distinct strand of its own. The third strand within early cultural studies that tried to focus cultural analysis on the particular question, and problem, is of democratic culture. It is this strand that develops furthest the concern for hidden power relations within culture, both inclusions and exclusions, that marked off cultural studies from the start. The early work of Raymond Williams did so by identifying a culturally-embedded democratic deficit at the heart of societies such as late 1950s Britain (Williams 1958, 1961). 13.10 Summary From the above discussion it can be inferred that sociology as a discipline can be studied in relation to other social sciences such as social anthropology, psychology, history, political science and economics. Together they help us to examine the social realities of our society through the culmination of various approaches and methods used by the respective disciplines. 13.11 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) Describe the trends of cultural studies in relation with sociology?
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 166 (b) Write a short note on Political Sociology? (c) Explain the scope and nature of Social Psychology? (d)

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Discuss the relationship between sociology and history? (e) Discuss the relationship between sociology and

economics? 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) Discuss the relationship of sociology with the other social sciences? (b) Elucidate the approaches and methods used by various disciplines in understanding society ? (c) "Sociology is the basic social science which encompasses all other sciences in it." Explain. (d) Discuss the emergence of social anthropology in relation to sociology? 13.12 Suggested Readings ?

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Unit 14 Individual Structure 14.1 Objectives 14.2 Introduction 14.3 Concept of Society 14.4 Man is Social by Nature 14.5 Necessity makes a man social animal. 14.6 Man lives in society for his mental and intellectual development. 14.7 Relation between individual and society 14.7.1 Utilitarianism 14.7.2 Justice as Fairness 14.7.3 The idea of a social union 14.8 The view of Marx and Engels on the relationship between individuals and society 14.8.1 Functionalist view 14.8.2 Inter-actionist view 14.8.3 Culture and personality view 14 .9 Conclusion 14.10 Summary 14.11Questions 14.12Suggested Readings 14.1

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Objectives After reading this unit, you will be able to: ? Understand the meaning of

the concept of individual, ? Identify the concept of society, ? To get the actual position of the relationship between individual and society, ? To understand how a man is a social animal, ? To know how individual and society affect each other.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 169 14.2 Introduction The most distinctive feature of human life is its social character. All human beings have to interact with other human beings in order to survive. Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher, remarked that 'Man is a social animal'. Both nature and necessity impel man to live in society. Man's behaviour in society is determined mainly by two forces- physical and social which he has been trying to understand and control from time immemorial. 14.3 Concept of Society Man is a social animal. Sociology is generally defined as 'the science of society'. So, what is society? Society is the most vital term in sociology. The "society" means relationships social beings, men, express their nature by creating and re-creating an organization which guides and controls their behaviour in myriad ways. Society liberates and limits the activities of men and it is a necessary condition of every human being and need to fulfilment of life.

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Society is a system of usages and procedures of authorities and mutual aid of many groupings and divisions of controls of human behaviour and

of liberties.

This ever-changing, complex system, we call society, and it is the "web of social relationships". And it is always changing. Society exists only where social beings "behave" toward one another in ways determined by their recognition of one another. There are two types of definitions of society: (i) the functional definition and (ii) the structural definition. From the functional point of view, society is defined as a complex of groups in reciprocal relationships, interacting upon one another, enabling human organisations to carry on their life-activities and helping each person to fulfil his wishes and accomplish his interests in association with his fellows. From the structural point of view, society is the total social heritage of folkways, mores and institutions of habits, sentiments, and ideas. Ginsberg, Giddings, Cole and Cuber take a structural view of society which McIver, Persons, Lapiere, Cooley and Leacok have given functional definition of society. The latter include in its different activities of the individuals and their relations with one another. Society not confined limited to human beings. There are many degrees of animal societies, likely the ants, bees, the hornet are known to most school children. It has been contended that where-ever there is life there is society because life means heredity and so far as we know, can arise only out of and in the presume of other life. A higher animal at least has a very definite society, arising us of the requirement their nature and the conditions involved in the persuasion of their special in society each member seeks something and gives something.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 170 Society is an abstract term that connotes the complex of inter-relations that exist between and among the members of the group. Society exists whenever there is good or bad, proper, or improper relationships between human beings. These social relationships are not evident, they do not have any concrete form and hence society is abstract. Society is not a group of people, it means

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in essence a state or condition, a relationship and therefore necessarily

and abstraction. Society is organization of relationship. It is the total complex of human relationship. Social relationships invariably possess a physical element, which takes the form of awareness of another's presence, common objective or common interest. Thus, reciprocal awareness, likeness, interdependence, difference and co-operations are the essential elements to constitute society. The relation between individual and society is very close. Essentially, "society" is the regularities customs and ground rules of antihuman behaviour. These practices are tremendously important to know how humans act interact with each other. Society does not exist independently without individual. The individuals lives and acts within society, but society is nothing in spite of the combination of individuals for cooperative effort. On the other hand, society exists to serve individual not the other way around.

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Human life and society almost go together. Man is biologically and psychologically equipped to live in groups, in society. Society has become an essential condition for human life to arise and to continue. The relationship between individual and society is ultimately one of the profounds of all the problems of social philosophy. It is more philosophical rather than sociological because it involves the question of values.

Man depends on society.

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It is in the society that an individual is surrounded and encompassed by culture,

as

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a societal force. It is in the society again that he has to conform to the norms, occupy statuses and become members of groups. The question of the relationship between the individual and the

society in the starting point of many discussions. It

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is closely connected with question of the relationship of man and society.

The relation between the two depends upon one fact that the individual and the society are mutually dependent, one grows with the help of the other. Man is a social animal. Before we explain the relationship between man and society, it may be worth while to explain the origin of society. Various thinkers and philosophers have been put forward to explain the origin of society. According to Divine origin theory God created all the animate and in animate objects of this world, so He created the society as well. In course of time Divine origin theory took the form of Devine Right Theory. According to this theory, all men are born free. The Force Theory makes society the result of superior physical force. According to this theory, the

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society originated in the subjugation of the weaker by the stronger.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 171 In addition to these theories the contract

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theory views society as a contrivance deliberately set up by men for certain

ends. The aim of this paper is to show the questions: how a man is a social animal and how individual and society affect each other? In what sense is man a social animal? In what s3ense do we belong to society? These questions are aspects of one fundamental question, the relation of the unit, the individual, to the group and to the social system. This question is the starting point and the focus of all sociological investigation. What is the relation of the individual to society? Traditionally, there are two opposed approaches to the solution of the problem, which have been particularly influential in the history of western social thought—the social contract theory and the organic theory. In addition to these theories there exists evolutionary theory. 1. The Social Contract Theory A number of thinkers and philosophers have viewed that society has deliberately created by formal contract or convention. This theory of social contract reached its fullest expression in the social and political thought of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries. Thomas Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau had been the three great exponents of the theory in these centuries. According to the theory, Society has been created by men for security and safeguard their liberties and properties. All men were born free and equal. Individual precedes society i.e. men lived in a pre-social state. Individuals who originally lived in a pro-social state made a mutual agreement and created society. Society is made by men, he is more real than his creation.

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According to Hobbes man in the state of nature was in perpetual conflict with his

neighbours on account of his essentially selfish nature. In his own words, the life of man was “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. Every man was an enemy to every man. To protect himself against the evil consequences man organized himself in society in order to live in peace with all”. Locke, another social contract thinker, believed that the

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state of nature was not a state of war. It was a state of peace. Man in the state of nature was enjoying an ideal liberty

free from any social restraints; but in order to ensure the exercise of his liberty he

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entered into a contract by which the individuals conferred power, not to the government, as Hobbes thought, but to the community. This contract

is not absolute, because to

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the natural rights of life, liberty and property remain in hands of the individual.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 172 J.J. Rousseau in his Contract Social (1762) held that men in the state of nature were equal, self-sufficient and contented. They lived life of idyllic happiness and primitive simplicity. But

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growth in numbers of men and the quarrels arising among them compelled man to make a contact with his fellow men in virtue of which everyone, while uniting himself to all remain, as free as before. Out of this contract

a general will emerges which is really

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sovereign and includes by a tacit agreement the individual wills of all. 2.

The organic theory of society This theory is as old as Plato and Aristotle. Plato compared society or state to a magnified human being. The organic theories may be grouped under two types: Organic theories strictly so called, and Idealistic or group-mind theories. The organic theory views society as a living organism possessing organs which performs functions analogous to those of a plant or animal. This view of society was put forward by the biological school of social and political theorists in the 19 th century-Bluntschli, Spengler, Novicow and Herbert Spencer. All of them notably Spencer, pointed to the similarity between the growth of living beings towards higher life and the development of society. Both the animal and social bodies, Spencer affirmed, begin simple forms, grow, and develop. In the process the parts become more complex, and the function varied. But in each case the parts remain interdependent. Just as the different parts of the body- like the ears, the hands, the legs and the head-are mutually dependent and form one unit even though they have distinct functions of their own. Likewise, society, composed of individuals having distinct function of their own, is one integrated whole. Pursuing the analogy further, Spencer said that corresponding to the sustaining system, the distributary system and the regulatory system of a human body society has its own system of industries, of transportations and of government and military. According to some thinkers, society passes through the organic processes of birth, youth, maturity, old age and death. The group-mind or idealist theory is closely related to the organic theory. It has been propounded by a number of thinkers including Plato, Hegel, Bosanquet, Otto Gierke, McDougal Emerson and Wagner and Wundt.

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Plato called society a “mind writ large” Divided it into three classes

of philosophers. Warriors and Artisans (workers) based respectively on wisdom, courage and desire. However, this comparison of society with the human mind did not go beyond a metaphor in Plato. 3. Evolutionary Theory To explain the origin of society evolutionary theory played a vital role.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 173 According to evolutionary theory society is not a make but a growth. It is the result of a gradual evolution. It is a continuous development from unorganized to organized, from less perfect to more perfect. Various factors helped in its development from time to time. Kinship and family were the earliest bonds uniting man with man. “Kinship creates society”, says McIver. Religion was another factor to held in the creation of social consciousness. As a matter of fact, as Gettell observes, “kinship and religion were simply two aspects of the same thing”. They were closely inter- twined. Man gave up his wandering habits, settled in villages and cities, and took to the pastoral and agricultural life. The population began to multiply. Wealth was advanced. All this necessitated changes in the forms of social relations and man arrived at such advanced forms of social organisations as the nation state. The above-mentioned theories fail to explain adequately the relationship between the individual and society.

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The social contract theory puts under emphasis upon the individual minimizing thereby the value of society which is said to be

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mere instrument devised for the satisfaction of certain human needs. The

social contract theory seems to assume that man as individual is prior to society, but this assumption is erroneous because of the fact that sociality is inborn in man. The organic theory views society as a living organism-The theory of "Social Organism" or "Social mind" is correct in so far as it stresses the dependence of man on society. But the theory denies the individuality to the individual.

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The organic and group-mind theories almost entirely discount the role of individual in social life.

Hence it indicates a one-sided relationship between man and society. But

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the relationship between individual and society is not one-sided as these theories seem to indicate.

Before we try to understand the true relationship between individual and society, we may just follow in what sense man can be called a social animal. Man can be called a social animal on the basis of the following reasons: 14.4 Man is social by nature Man is

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a social animal by nature. Man is a social animal because his nature makes him so. Sociality or sociability is his natural instinct. He can

not but live in

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society. No human being is known to have normally developed in isolation.

Man's nature is such that he cannot afford to live alone. Eminent sociologist McIver has

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cited a number of case studies to justify the theory of development of man's social nature. In these cases human infants were isolated from all social relationships to make experiments

about man's social nature. The first

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case was of Kaspar Hauser who from his childhood until his seventeenth year was brought up in the woods of Nuremberg

in Germany. In his
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at the age of seventeen (in 1925)

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he could hardly walk, had the mind of an infant and could mutter only a few meaningless words. In spite of

his subsequent education and training he could never make himself a normal man.

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Lack of social life could not make him a social being. The second case was of two Hindu children namely Amala and Kamala

who in 1920 were discovered in a wolf den. One of the children died soon after discovery. The other could walk only on all four, possessed no language except wolf like growls. She was shy of human being and afraid of them. It was only after careful and sympathetic training that

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she could learn some social habits. It shows how human nature develops within her. The

third case was of

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Anna, an illegitimate American child who had been placed in a room at

the age of six months and discovered five years later in 1938. On

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discovery it was found that she could not walk or speak and was indifferent to people around her. But After careful and sympathetic training it was found that she quickly learns human qualities. But after few years she died. It is another feral case study experimented by sociologists. Issabella was an illegitimate child who was locked in a room with her deaf and mute mother by her kinsmen to hide her existence. But when she was discovered she knew no words and made only animal like sounds and her mind was undeveloped. But after some special and careful education and training she became able to learn human behaviour and learn language. She was enrolled in a school. She became successful in making adjustments with her classmates. Her case further strengthens the fact that man became a social animal only when he lives

in society. All the above case studies prove that human being is social by nature. Human nature develops in man only when he lives in society, only when he shares with his fellow beings' common life. Even the sadhus who have retired from worldly life live in the company of their fellows in the forest. All this tends to show that society is something which fulfills a vital need in man's constitutions, it is not something accidentally added to or super-imposed on human nature. He knows himself and his fellow beings within the framework of society. Indeed, man is social by nature. The

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social nature is not super imposed on hum or adde4d to hum rather it is inborn. 14.5 Necessity Makes man a social animal

Man lives in a society. He

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is a social animal not only by nature but also by necessity. It is said that needs and necessities make man social. Man has many needs and necessities. Out of these different needs-social, mental, and physical-are NSOU ? CC-SO-01 175 very important and needs fulfillment. He cannot fulfill these needs without living in society. All his needs and necessities compel him to live in society. Many of his needs and necessities will remain unfulfilled without the cooperation of his fellow beings. His psychological needs only fulfilled within the course of living in society. He is totally dependent for his survival upon the existence of society. Human baby is brought up under the care of his parents and family members. He would not survive even a day without the support of society. All his basic needs like food, clothing, shelter, health and education are fulfilled only within the framework of society. He also needs society for his social and mental developments.

To fulfill his security concern at the old age individual lives

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in society. Similarly, helplessness at the time of birth compels him to live in society.

A nutrition, shelter, warmth and affection need compel him to live in society. Thus,

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for the satisfaction of human wants man lives in society. Hence it is also true that not only for nature but also for the fulfillment of his needs and necessities man lives in society. 14.6 Man lives in society for his mental and intellectual development Society not only fulfils his physical needs and determines his social nature but also determines his personality and guides the course of development of human mind. Society moulds our attitudes, beliefs, moral ideas and thereby moulds individual

personalities.

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From birth to death individual acquires different social qualities by social interaction with his fellow beings. Individual mind without society remains undeveloped at infant stage. The cultural heritage determines man's personality by moulding his attitudes, beliefs, morals and ideals. With the help of social heritage

determines man's in born potentialities are unfolded.

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He acquires personality within society. There exists a very close relationship between individual and society like that of cells and body.

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Thus, from the above discussion we conclude that man is a social animal. His nature and necessities makes him a social being. He also depends on society to be a human being. 14.7

Relation between individual and society Man cannot survive without society and societies cannot exist without members. Still there may be conflicts between the individual and society. One can imagine that social systems function better when they have considerable control over their
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 176 individual members, but that this is a mixed blessing for the system's members. Likewise, can competition with other societies strengthen the social system, while wearing out its constituent members? This idea was voiced by Rousseau (1764) who believed that we lived better in the original state of nature than under civilization and who was for that reason less positive about classic Greek civilization than his contemporaries. The relation between individual and society has been an interesting and a complex problem at the same time. It can be stated more or less that it has defined all solutions so far. No sociologist has been able to give a solution of the relation between the two that will be fully satisfactory and convincing by reducing the conflict between the two to the minimum and by showing a way in which both tend to bring about a healthy growth of each other. Aristotle has treated of the individual only from the point of view of the state and he wants to the individual to fit in the mechanism of the state and the society. It is very clear that relation between individual and society are very close. So, we will discuss here Rawls three models of the relation between the individual and society. 14.7.1 Utilitarianism The first model in Rawls's presentation of the position of classical utilitarianism. His argument against the utilitarian position is that it conflates the system of desires of all individuals and arrives at the good for a society by treating it as one large individual choice. It is a summing up over the field of individual desires. Utilitarianism has often been described as individualities, but Rawls argues convincingly that the classical utilitarian position does not take seriously the plurality and distinctness of individuals. It applies to society the principle of choice for one man. Rawls also observes that the notion of the ideal observer or the impartial sympathetic spectator is closely bound up with this classical utilitarian position. It is only from the perspective of some such hypothetical sympathetic ideal person that the various individual interests can be summed over an entire society. The paradigm presented here and rejected by Rawls is one in which the interests of society are considered as the interests of one person. Plurality is ignored and the desires of individuals are conflated. The tension between individual and society is resolved in subordinating the individual to the social sum. The social order is conceived as a unity. The principles of individual choice derived from the experience of the self as a unity are applied to society as a whole. Rawls rightly rejects this position as being unable to recount for justice except perhaps by some administrative decision that it is desirable for whole to give individuals some minimum level of liberty and happiness. But individual person does not enter into the theoretical position. They are merely sources or directions from which desires are drawn.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 177 We will discuss here Rawls three models of the relation between the individual and society. (i) Utilitarianism. (ii) Justice as Fairness. (iii) The idea of a social union. 14.7.2 Justice as Fairness The second paradigm is that which characterises the original position. It has already been suggested that this is a picture of an aggregate of individuals, mutually disinterested, and conceived primarily as will, while not necessarily egoistic, their own life plans. They coexist on the same geographical territory and they have roughly similar needs and interests so that mutually advantageous cooperation among them is possible. I shall emphasize this aspect of the circumstances of justice by assuming that the parties take the interest in one another's interest. Thus, one can say, in brief, that the circumstances of justice obtain whenever mutually disinterested persons put forward conflicting claims to the division of social advantages under conditions of moderate scarcity. Here the tension between individual and society is resolved in favour of plurality, of an aggregate of mutuality disinterested individuals occupying the same space at the same time. It is resolved in favour of the plural, while giving up any social units which might obtain. The classical utilitarian model and the original position as sketched by Rawls provide paradigms for two polar ways in which the tension between the plurality of individuals and the unity of social structure might be resolved one resolutions favours unity and the other favours plurality. 14.7.3 The idea of a social union The third paradigm is included under Rawls' discussion of the congruence of justice and goodness and of the problem of stability. It is described as a good, as an end in itself which is a shared end. This paradigm is distinct both from the conflated application to the entire society of the principles of choice for one person and from the conception of society as an aggregate of mutually disinterested individuals. The idea of a social union is described in contrast to the idea of a private society. A private society is essentially the second model as realised in the actual world. It seems from a consideration of the conditions of the original position as descriptive of a social order. Over against this notion of private society. Rawls proposes his idea of a social union. It is one in which final ends are shared and communal institutes are valued.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 178 14.8 The view of Marx and Engels on the relationship between individuals and society on the discussion about the relationship between individuals and society Marx and Engels divided into three categories: (i) general statements concerning the dialectical relations between the two and the historicity of human nature; (ii) concrete descriptions – often angry, sometimes satirical - of the impact on people of their particular relations to the production process and the examination, as a major concern, of "estrangement" or "alienation"; and (iii) analysis of consciousness with particular attention to the pervasive power of commodity fetishism in class society. Besides the relationship between individual and society can be viewed from another three angels: (a) Functionalist, (b) Inter-actionist, and (c) Culture and personality. 14.8.1 Functionalist view How society affects the individual? Functionalists regard the individual as formed by society through the influence of such institutions as the family, school, workplace etc. Early sociologist such as Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim society is reality, it first in origin and importance to the individual. Durkheim's keen discussion of the collective consciousness showed the ways in which social interactions and relationships and ultimately society influence the individual's attitudes, ideas and sentiments. He utilized his theory of "collective representation" in explaining the phenomena of religion, suicide, and the concept of social solidarity. In contrast to Auguste Comte who regarded the individual as a mere abstraction, a some what more substantial position by Durkheim held that the individual was the recipient of group influence and social heritage. In sociological circle, this was the "burning question" (individual vs society) of the day. How society is important in the formation of individual's personality in clearly reflected in the cases of isolated and feral children. The studies of feral children, referred to earlier, have clearly demonstrated the importance of social interaction and human association in the development of personality. 14.8.2 Inter-actionist view How is society constructed? An important question is raised how an individual helps in building society? To inter-actionists society is formed through the interaction of the people. The pro-founders of this approach was Max Weber (social action theorist) who pointed that society is build up out of the interpretations of individuals.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 179 The structuralists (functionalists) tend to approach the relationship of self (individual) and society from the point of the influence of society on the individual. Inter-actionist, on the other hand, tend to work from self (individual) "outwards" stressing that the people create society. A prominent theorists of the last century Talcott Parsons developed a general theory for the study of society called action theory, based on the methodological principle of voluntarism and the epistemological principle of analytical realism. The theory attempted to establish a balance between two major methodological traditions: the utilitarian-positivist and hermeneutic idealistic traditions. For Parsons, voluntarism established a third alternative between these two. More than a theory of society Parsons presented a theory of social evolution and concrete interpretation of the "drives" and directions of world history. He added that the structure of society which determines roles and norms, and the cultural system which determines the ultimate values of ends. His theory was severely criticised by George Homans. In his presidential address "bringing man back in" Homans re-established the need to study individual social interactions the bui9lding blocks of society. A recent well-known theorist Anthony Giddens has not accepted the idea of some sociologists that society has an existence over and above individuals. He argues," Human actions and their reactions are the only reality, and we cannot regard societies or systems as having an existence over and above individuals". 14.8.3 Culture and personality view How individual and society affect each other? Or Individual and Society interacts? Both the above views are incomplete. In reality, it is not society or individual, but it is society and individual which helps in understanding the total reality. The extreme view of individual or society has long been abandoned sociologists from Cooley to the present have recognised that neither society nor the individual can exist without each other. This view was laid down mainly by Margaret Mead, Kardiner and others who maintained that society's culture affects personality (individual) and, in turn, personality helps in the formation of society's culture. These anthropologists have studied hoe society shapes or controls individuals and how, in turn, individuals create and change society. Thus, to conclude, it can be stated that the relationship between society and individual

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is not one-sided. Both are essential for the comprehension of either.

Both go hand in hand, each is essentially dependent of the other. Both are interdependent on each other. The individual should be subordinated to society and the individuals should
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 180 sacrifice their welfare at the cost of society. Both these views are extreme which see

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the relationship between individuals and society from merely the one or the other side.

But surely all is not harmonious between individual and society. The individual and society interact on one another and depend on one another. Social integration is never complete and harmonious. 14.9 Conclusion The well-being of nations can occur at the cost of the well-being of their citizens, and this seems to have happened in the past. Yet in present day conditions, there is no such conflict. Society and individual are made mutually dependent and responsible and mutually complementary. As a result, society progresses well with the minimum possible restrictions on the individual. Society demands greater sacrifices from its greater individuals while the fruits of the works of all are meant equally for all. A sincere attempt is made by the sociologists to bring to the minimum the clash between the individual and the society, so that there will be few psychological problems for the individual and the society both. The inherent capacities, energies and weakness of the individual are properly taken into account and the evolution of the relation between the two is made as natural as possible. Human values and idealism being given due respect, the development of the relation between the two is more or less philosophical. 14.10 Summary Sociology is generally defined as 'the science of society'. Man is a social animal. Both nature and necessity impel man to live in society. He lives in social groups in community and in community and in society. He cannot live without

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society. Society has become an essential condition for human life to arise and to continue.

So, society is the most important term in sociology. Society is the 'web of social relationship.' Society may be defined in ways: (i) functionally defined and (ii) defined structurally. Society is always changing. Society is always changing. Society is an abstract term. The relation between society and individual is very close. The question of relationship between the individual and the society is the starting point of many discussions. The aim of this unit is to show the questions: 1. How a man is a social animal? 2. How individual and society affect each other? Traditionally there are two opposed approaches to the solution of the problem. 1. The Social Contract Theory and 2. The Organic Theory. Besides in addition to these theories there exists evolutionary theory. A number of sociologists have viewed that society has been created by formal contract. Thomas Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau had been the

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 181 three great exponents of the theory. According to the theory society has been created by men for security and to safeguard their liberties and property. The others are the organic theory of society and evolutionary theory. The above-mentioned theories fail to explain the relationship between the individual and the society. MacIver has

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cited a number of case studies to justify the theory of development of man's social nature.

All the above four case studies prove that human being is social by nature. Human nature develops in man only when he lives in society, only when he shares with his fellow beings' common life. Necessity makes man a social animal. Man lives in society for his mental and intellectual development. A number of thinkers viewed that man cannot survive without society and society cannot exist without individuals. Yet you can have individuals without society, but society is nothing more than a group of individuals. Therefore, the individual is more important, as society is not a thing, just an interacting set of individuals, each properly seeking their own interests. Keywords : Society, Individual, Personality, Culture. 14.11 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) What do you mean by society? (b) How is society related to culture? (c) "Society is the web of social relationship"- Discuss. (d) "Man is a social animal"-Describe the relation between man and society. (e) Why individual becomes a social animal by nature? (f) How does individual affects society? (g) How does society affect the individual? (h) Why is society and culture interdependent? 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) What is the relationship between individual and society? (b) What is the role and responsibilities of the individual in society? (c) How individual and society affect each other? (d) In reference to the four case studies show how human beings became social animal? (e) How can individual contribute to bring changes in society?
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 182 14.12 Suggested Readings 1. MacIver and Page (1965) Society, Macmillan Company, London 2. Bottomore, T.B. (1979), Sociology George Allen and Unwin ltd, London 3. P. Gisbert- Fundamentals of Sociology, Oriental Black Swan, 2015 4. Dr. Amalendu Mukhopadhyay- , Central Book Agency, 1987, Calcutta 700009 5. Vidya Bhushan and D.R. Sachdeva- An Introduction to Sociology, Distributor- Kitab Mahal, 1987 6. D.C. Bhattacharya- Sociology, Bjjaya Publishing House, 1976, Calcutta- 700006 7. Wikipedia.org 8. Wikipedia-scirp.org
Unit 15 Social Groups Structure 15.1 Objectives 15.2 Introduction 15.3 Definition 15.3.1 Features 15.3.2 Characteristics 15.3.3 Group and aggregate 15.3.4 Group and Potential Group 15.4 Relation—Group and Society 15.4.1 Difference—Group and Society 15.4.2 Group formation and related theories 15.5 Types of Group 15.5.1 Other important Groups 15.6 Summary 15.7 Key Words 15.8 Questions 15.9 Suggested Readings 15.1 Objectives In this unit, we shall come to understand the following points ? Definition ? Important features of group ? Characteristics of Social groups ? Difference and Relation ? Group formation and related theories ? Types of social groups
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 184 15.2 Introduction Man is a social animal. He rarely, if ever, exists alone. As human beings we are part of several social groups, because human beings have lived in various types of groups. Under different circumstances from the primitive hunting and gathering societies to modern electronic age. Now we are trying to know about social group. Man forms as well as interact with numerous groups which vary according to size, structure and the quality of interaction among social members in every society. His daily life is largely of participating in groups. Groups are created and maintained because they enable individual members to attain certain goals or interests which they hold in common. Our social behaviour and personalities are shaped by the groups to which we belong. Through out his life, individual is a member of various groups – some are chosen by him, others are assigned to him at birth. Group's constitute the complex pattern of the "Social structure". Groups are a part of society. Parsons defined sociology as the study of structural and functions of human groups. Social group is the basic factor in all social functions, social structures, social institutions, system and organization. All sociological studies are based upon the study of social group. 15.3 Definition In this unit, we shall devote our attention to the study of social groups as the very basic organ in society. Everyone knows what a group is in general. When two persons or more come together and interact at one place it may be called a group. The group may be defined in various ways. Some important definitions regarding group are given below. 1. According to R. M. WILLIAMS (1951), "A social group is a given aggregate of

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people playing inter-related roles and recognized by themselves or

other as a unit of interaction". Here it can be said group is an aggregate of some people. The roles of the group members are inter-related. The group is considered as unit. 2. To R. M. MacIver (1953), "By group we mean any collection of social beings who enter into distinctive social relationships with one another. It is clear that there must be social relationships between the individual members of a group. 3. According to David (1968), "A social psychological group is an organized system of two or more individuals who are inter-related so that the system performs some functions, has a standard set of the role relationship among

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 185 its members and has a set of norms that regulate the function of the group and each of its members". 4. Kretch, Crutchfield and Ballachy (1962) defined psychological group "as two or more persons who meet the following conditions: (i) the relations among the members are independent, each member's behaviour influences the behaviour of each of the other, (ii) the members "share on ideology" a set of beliefs values and norms which regulate their mutual conduct". 5. According to Paulus (1989), "A group consists of two or more interacting persons who share common goals, have a stable relationship are somehow interdependent and perceive that they are in fact part of a group". Here we can say that individuals interact with each other, either directly or indirectly. Besides this, the group members are independent in some manner i.e. what happens to one must affect what happens to others. Not only this, their relationship must be relatively stable. The members of the group involve to attain the goals and their interaction will be in a structured form so that, each group member performs the same or more or less similar functions each time they meet. Finally, it can be said that the individuals involved in a group must recognise that they are part of a group. Members of a social group need not have close physical or social contact, but the awareness of common membership is absolutely necessary for a group to exist. To know the meaning of the group more clearly we think about all the groups to which we belong, viz, local friends, college friends, music, dance groups and so many. Generally people join in groups due to various needs and these include- i. Satisfaction of important psychological and social needs viz receiving affection and attention, for attaining belongingness. ii. Achievement of goal in a smooth and easy way. By working with others, the person performs the task well than doing it alone. iii. Getting knowledge and information on various issues which are not available at one place. iv. Getting safety and security. In psychology we define group as the study of organisations and their behaviour. Psychology studies groups and explores the control of the individual within the group setting. Social organisational and group psychology are all powerful areas of study that look at many factors that drives group behaviour and the decisions that a group makes. Depending on the groups influence the group members individuality is often relinquished for the greater good of the group. It is the role of social psychology to uncover why this release occurs in groups and what effects it has on society.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 186 15.3.1 Important features of group The important features of group are : i. One or more individuals come together and influence each other. ii. There are social interactions and relationships amongst the individual members of a group. iii. There exists some common motives, drives, interests, emotions etc amongst group members. iv. There is communication among group members, both verbal or non-verbal. v. The group members have some common object of attention and group members stimulate each other. vi. They have common loyalty and participate in similar activities. vii. There exits feeling of unity in the group. Group members treat each other with respect and regard and has a sense of camaraderie that develops among them. viii. The action of the members in controlled by group. ix. There are some customs, norms and procedures which are acceptable to everyone but if exception happens, then the particular member will be ostracised from the group. 15.3.2 Characteristics of Social groups From the definitions of social group given above the following characteristics may be pointed out : i. A strong sense of we-feeling : The members of a group help each other and defend their interests collectively. There is a feeling of belongingness among the members of the group. They work collectively against the harmful powers. ii. Reciprocal relation : Reciprocal relation exists among its members. The members of a group are interrelated to each other. Social relations are the fundamentals of group life. iii. Common interest : Each and every member of the group has a common interest. There is similarity among the members in regard to their interest which promotes unity. iv. A sense of unity : The members of a group are united by a sense of unity and a feeling of sympathy. Unity is essential for every group. Each and every member of the group treats each other as their own and there develops a sense of camaraderie amongst the members of group.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 187 v. Affected by group characteristics : Every group has some social characteristics which separate it from similar and dissimilar groups. These characteristics affect the members of the group. vi. Common values : There are certain values which are common among members and are traditionally respected and communicated to the succeeding generation. They are manifested in the mutual behaviours of the members. Members of the social group are bound together in terms of these common values. vii. Control of group : In each group there are some customs, norms and procedures which are acceptable to everyone. In fact without some norms the existence of group life is impossible. It may be stated that the reasons behind the similarity of behaviour in a group life is that the actions of the members are controlled by the group. viii. Obligation : In a group situation, all members have complementary obligations to each other. Also the relationships between the members of a group get strengthen through their mutual obligation and common social values. ix. Expectations : Not only mutual obligation, the members of the group also expects love, compassion, sympathy, so-operation etc. from all other members of the group. If mutual expectation is fulfilled, the group members are maintained in fact. A group can maintain its existence only if the constituent members fulfil their responsibility by satisfying the desires among themselves. x. Awareness : Awareness about its membership to differentiate them from other groups. The members of a group are aware of the existence of other members. Each member recognises that he is a part of the group. Greater importance is given to the group life in comparison with individual life. 15.3.3 Group and Aggregate As a social being man lives in group and continuously creates with his fellows new groups such as the family, the friendly group, the social class, a party or a football club, a village, a nation, a trade union is a social group. A social group is a collection of people who interact with each other and share similar characteristics and collectively have a sense of unity. Aggregate : An aggregate is a gathering of persons in physical proximity who have come together temporarily and lack any organisation or meaningful social interaction. An audience, a crowd, passengers on the same bus and a gathering of

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 188 people watching a fireworks display or a football match are all aggregates. Most people in the crowd do not know one another and therefore, there is no possibility of meaningful interaction among them. Members of the aggregate do not share common characteristics and hence do not share a sense of belonging to the group. It is as a physically compact aggregation of human beings brought into direct, temporary and unorganised contact with one another. It is quickly created and quickly dissolved. There are, of course, myriads of casual meetings of friends, acquaintances or strangers taking place at all times in every society. On the street, on the house porch, on the train, in the office, in the market place and so forth. 15.3.4 Category / Potential group/ quasi A social category is a collection of people who do not interact but who share similar characteristics of group. A social category is not an aggregate in the sense that they are a collection of individuals. A category may exist, even if, its components are not physically concentrated together. It is a class of persons who are distinguished from the rest on the society by a certain status that is ascribed to them. Artist, student, teenagers/ youths, peasant, toto drivers, auto drivers, doctors, film stars and all bachelor persons form in each division, a social category. Members of a category may not be related with each other on the basis of a social group. One film actor may have no relation whatsoever with another, and these may be no desire in them to work together for a common purpose, yet they shall form a social category and absence of a relationship or a goal will prevent them from becoming a group. But as soon as these two actors form an association for securing their rights in the film industry, they become members of a social group. They may, as a social category, attend in a party, not as a social aggregate. But they can without the mark of their status, become a part of the social aggregate when they crowd together with others to watch an event. Cine goers as a class form a social category distinct from those in society who abjure films as a means of entertainment; but the audience at a particular show are an aggregate. From the above discussion it is clear that each person belongs to a family and, in this sense, a member of a category or an aggregate automatically forms part of one group or other. 15.4 Relation between society and social group In sociology, the term ‘

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Society’ refers not to a group of people but to the complex pattern of the norms of interaction that arise among them. People

are valuable only as agencies of social relationships. There are two types of definitions of Society – (i) the functional definition, and (ii) the structural definition. From the
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 189 functional point of view, society is defined as a complex at groups in reciprocal relationships, interacting upon one another, enabling human organisations to carry on their like-activities and helping each person to fulfil this wishes and accomplish his interests in association with his fellows. From the structural point of view society is the total social heritage of folkways mores and institutions, of habits sentiments and ideals. Society, to quote

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MacIver and Page is an ever changing complex system. “of usages and procedures, of authority and mutual aid, of many grouping and divisions, of control of

men.” Whether this be direct and indirect, organised or unorganised, conscious or unconscious, co-operative or antagonistic.” 15.4.1 Difference between society and groups Difference between society and groups may be pointed out : 1) Group is a collection of human beings i.e. is an aggregation of individuals who enter into certain distinct social relationships with one another for a specific purpose or a set of purposes. On the other hand, society may be defined as a web of reciprocal relationships and interactions among men and groups within a cultural framework. 2) Group is an artificial creation, society is natural growth. 3) Membership of Group is voluntary, membership of society is compulsory. 4) Group is always organised, society is unorganised. 5) Group is formed for specific purpose, on the other hand society acts for general purpose. 6) Group is marked by co-operation and the society is marked by co-operation and conflict. 7) Group may be temporary and society is permanent. 15.4.2 Group formation and related theories Group formation is connected with the following theories : i. The manner in which the groups form. ii. The structures and processes of the group. iii. The functions of the group in different situations. There are mainly five stages of group development, viz. a) Forming b) Storming c) Norming

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 190 d) Performing, and e) Adjourning a) Forming is a stage which is characterised by some confusion and uncertainty. Forming is actually an orientation period when members get to know one another and share expectations about the group. This is the initial stage when the group comes together and members begin to develop their relationship with one another and learn what is expected of them. b) Storming is the stage when one can see the height level of disagreement and conflict. Members mainly voice their concern and criticism occurs at this stage. Actually in this stage interpersonal conflicts arise and differences of opinion about the group goals also emerge. It is important to work through the conflicts at this time and to establish clear goals. c) Norming is characterised by the recognition of individual differences and shared expectations. Responsibilities are divided among members and the group decides how it will evaluate the progress. If the group resolves its conflicts, it can establish patterns of how to get its work done. Expectations of one another are clearly articulated and accepted by members of the groups. d) Performing occurs when the group has matured and attains a feeling of cohesiveness. In this stage members of the group make decision through a rational process that is focused on relevant goals rather than emotional issues. Issues related to roles, expectations and norms are no longer of major importance. The group is focused on its tasks, working effectively to accomplish its goals. e) Adjourning indicates that members of the group often experience feelings of closer and sadness as they prepare to leave. It is the final stage when the group, after achieving the objectives for which it was created, starts to gradually dissolve itself. Theories of group formation Theories are establishing hypothesis which explain a particular phenomenon. Many theories may explain one phenomenon, as for instances “delinquency”. There are psychological, biological themes which explain delinquency. On the same lines as above there are many theories which explain how groups are formed and how they develop and progress. There are several theories regarding group formation and development. The theories put forward here include classic theory social exchange and social identity theory. i. Classic Theory : A classic theory developed by George Homans suggests
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 191 that group develop on the basis of activities, interactions and sentiments mainly. Basically this theory indicates that when individuals share common activities they will have more interactions and will develop attitudes (either positive or negative) toward each other. This main element in the interaction of the individuals involved. ii. Social Exchange Theory : Besides this, another important theory is the social exchange theory which offers an alternative explanation for group development. According to this theory individuals form the relationship on the basis of implicit expectation of mutually beneficial exchanges based on trust and felt obligation. It can further be said that a perception that exchange relationships will be positive if persons are to be attracted to and affiliate with a group. iii. Social Identity Theory : Another important theory is social identity theory which offers explanation for group formation. This theory suggests that individuals get a sense of identity and self-esteem based on their membership in salient groups. The group is demographically culturally and organisationally based. 15.5 Types of social groups Social groups may be classified from a variety of view points : The size of the group,

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the nature of their interacts, the degree of organisation, the nature of group interaction, kind of contact among the members, the

duration of the group and the like. Following Tonnies and Cooley, sociologists have attempted to classify groups on the basis of other criteria. French sociologist G. Gurvitch has proposed fifteen criteria of classification. However, on the basis of the accumulated work of sociologists we may classify the following ten dichotomous groups and groupings from as many angles as possible: 1) Primary group

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and Secondary group 2) In-group and out-group 3) Community and Association 4) Permanent group and transitory group 5) Vertical group and Horizontal group 6) Formal group and Informal group 7) Contractual group and non-contractual

group 8) Voluntary group and in-voluntary group 9) Homogeneous group and heterogeneous group

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 192 10) Institutional group and non-institutional group Each pair of this classification implies more or less mutually exclusive categories. But, we must bear in mind, the ten basis of classification are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The family, for example, is a primary group, but it may also be viewed as an in-group, as a vertical group, as a permanent group, as an institutional group and so on. 1) Primary and Secondary group Charles H. Cooley has classified groups into primary and secondary. His concept of primary group is similar to Sumner's concept of the in-group. The primary group is the simplest and most universal of all forms of social organisations. It is a small group in which a small number of persons come into direct contact with one another. A small number of men meet face-to-face for companionship, mutual aid, the discussion of some common questions. The family, the play group, the neighbourhood group, congeniality group, intimate friendship group and so on. Cooley lays emphasis on face-to-face association and the relationship of "sympathy and mutual identification" i.e. "We feeling". Fundamentally, these groups are harmonious and affectionate. On the other hand, secondary group may be defined as a kind of association which is characterised by impersonal or secondary relations. They do not depend on face-to-face contact. Here human contacts become superficial and undefined. In a secondary group the co-operation with the fellow members is indirect, formal, impersonal and of "touch-and-go" type. The trade union, the business corporation, the political party, the church organisation, the state, Red cross society are examples of secondary groups. 2) In group and Out group Sociologist Sumner classified groups into two – (i) in-groups and (ii) out- groups. The distinction between in-groups and out-groups is sociologically significant. In-groups are those groups to which we belong and towards which we feel pride and have a strong loyalty. Out-groups are those groups to which we do not belong and towards which we may feel contempt and even hostility. In-groups are "we" groups the group of insiders where as out-groups are "they" groups or a group of outsiders. In the in-groups we express out deepest sentiments of love and sympathy and we have a sense of solidarity, loyalty, friendliness, and co-operation. These group are not necessarily small, they can be as large as a nation or even bigger. Castes groups, religious groups, political parties, linguistic groups, football teams- are all in-groups, to people who belong to them. Whenever there is a communal or inter-caste conflict, members on each side become far more united and sensitive. During the Kargil crisis, people of India displayed a great sense of pride and
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 193 patriotism. During election members of political parties or caste groups often forger individual differences and support candidates from their own in-groups. 3) Community and Association One of the most important divisions of social groups is that which is based on community and association. A community is a group of people who live together in a particular locality and share the basic conditions of a common life. A community must be such a group in which an individual may live his life in full, MacIver defines it as "an area of common life, village or town or district or country or even wider area. To deserve the name of community the area must be somewhat distinguished from further areas, the common life may have some characteristics of its own such that the frontiers of the area have some meaning. The mark of a community is that it is the total organisation of social life in the area; "one's life may be lived wholly within it". A tribe may be a community while a church is not, the latter gives a glimpse of life only sectionally. Primitive communities tried to live in a more or less self-contained fashion, while modern communities are all interdependent on each other. A community is characterised by the following factors : 1. Definite Locality : Community is a group of people living together in a particular locality. Society has no definite boundary. 2. Community sentiments : Not only locality, the presence of common sentiment among the members of the community is necessary. 3. Community is a species of society. It exists within society and possesses its distinguishable structure which distinguishes it from other communities. 4. Community is a concrete concept. It is a group of people living in a particular locality and having a feeling of oneness. 5. A group of people. 6. Permanency : Community essentially includes a permanent life in a definite place. 7. Naturality : Communities are not natural, not created. AN individual is born in a community. 8. Wider ends. 9. Likeness 10. A particular name.
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Association : An association is a group of people organised for a particular purpose or a limited number of purposes. According to MacIver an association

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an organisation deliberately formed for the collective pursuit of some interest or set of interests, which its members share". According to Ginsberg, an association is "a group of social beings related to one another by the fact that they posses or have instituted in common an organisation with a view to securing a specific end or specific ends".

The

following elements may be mentioned: 1. A group of people. 2. These people must be organised. 3. They must have a common purpose. The following are the differences between community and association: 1. An association is partial while a community is a (whole)/ integral. 2. Association exists within community i.e. association is not a community but is an organisation within the community. 3. Community is not created but it grows. It is spontaneous. An association is deliberately created by some individuals for realizing a specific purpose. 4. Membership of an association is limited and voluntary while the membership of community is of wider significance and compulsory. 5. Community sentiment (we feeling) is an essential feature of community, but not of association. 6. A community works through customs and traditions while an association works through written laws and rules. On the basis of norms and rules, groups can be categorised into the following types: 1. Formal Group: It is generally formed on the basis of specific norms, rules and values. The group of students in a classroom – an example of this type. 2. Informal Group: The nature of the group is not formed at all. The rule usually flexible. Play groups, peer groups and social club – are example of informal groups. Besides the above two, group can also be classified into various categories as given below: 3. Original Group: The groups which are formed for specific purpose and are carefully planned is called organised group. Family, school, club etc.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 195 4. Spontaneous Groups: These groups are formed without any careful planning. Audience may be considered as spontaneous group. 5. Command Group: Command groups are identified by the organisational chart. It consists of a supervisor and the subordinates that report to the supervisor. 6. Task Group: A group of people work together to achieve a common task. In many situations there is a specified time period. This can be referred to as task forces. 7. Functional Group: Functional group is generally created by the organisation to accomplish specific goals within an unspecified time frame. Functional group generally exist, after achievement of current goals and objects. 8. Interest Group: It usually continues overtime and may last longer than general informal group. It is seen that the interest of the members may not be part of the same organisational department, but they are bound by some common interest. 9. Friendship Group: These groups are formed by the members who enjoy similar social activities, political beliefs, religious values and other common bonds. 10. Reference Group: This group has been developed recently. Hyman used it in 1942 in his book “Psychology of status”. Man, a social belong to many groups and wants to belong to some other groups for which he tries to follow the rules and norms of that particular group, so that he too may be identified as a member of that group – this group is reference group. R.K. Murton, New Comb, Turner, Johnson, Sherieff and Sherieff also used the term “Reference Group”. 11. Temporary Group: Studies indicate that temporary groups come together for a certain purpose and disburse after the task is over. These groups have their own unique sequences of actions. 15.5.1 Some other Groups There are other types of groups, a few of which are pointed out below: a. Clique : An informal tight knit group usually in a High school/ college setting that shares common interests. There is an established yet shifty power structure in most cliques. The effects of cliques are varied. b. Club : A club is a group, which usually requires one to apply to become a member. Such club may be dedicated to particular activities, such as sports clubs.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 196 c. Franchise : This an organisation which runs several instances of a business in many locations. d. Gang : A gang is usually an urban group that gathers in a particular area. It is a group of people that often hang around each other. They can be like some clubs, but much less formal. e. Mob : A mob is usually a group of people that has taken the law into their own hands. Mobs are usually a group which gathers temporarily for a particular reason. f. Posse : A posse was initially an American term for a group of citizens that had banded together to enforce the law. However, it can also refer to a street group. g. Squad : This is usually a small of around 3-8 people, that would work as a team to accomplish a certain goal. h. Team : This is similar to a squad, though a team may contain many more members. A team works in a similar way as a squad. 15.6 Summary Parsons defined sociology as the study of structure and function of human groups. It means sociology is the systematic study of human groups. The study of society is called Sociology. From the above, we can conclude that social group is the basic factor in all social functions, social structure, social institution, systems, and organisation. All sociological studies are based upon the study of social group. It means that social group is important in human life. The importance of social groups becomes clearer when we observe that human personality develops in social groups. The whole process of socialization pass through social groups. Man leans his culture among the groups in which he lives. 15.7 Keywords Group Behaviour, Group Conflict, In-group, Out-group, Society, Potential Group, Aggregate. 15.8 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) Describe briefly the various kinds of social groups. (b) Write a note on reference groups.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 197 (c) What is the importance of social groups? (d) What are the relations between society and social groups? (e) What is the importance of primary groups? (f) Differentiate between in-groups and out-groups. (g) How many stages of group development? (h) Show the relation between society and social groups. 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) Write a note on social groups. (b) What are the main characteristics of secondary group? (c) Point out the main characteristics of social groups. (d) Distinguish between primary group and secondary group. (e) Describe with illustrations the characteristics of primary and secondary groups. 15.9 Suggested Readings 1. Vidya Bhushan and D.R. Sachdeva- An Introduction to Sociology, Distributor- Kitab Mahal, 1987 1. D.C. Bhattacharya- Sociology, Bjjaya Publishing House, 1976, Calcutta- 700006 2. P. Gisbert- Fundamentals of Sociology, Oriental Black Swan, 2015 3. Society, an Introductory Analysis, London, MacMillan & Co., R.M. MacIver & C.H. Page, 1998, Delhi 4. Surajit Sengupta- Introductory Sociology, 1984, New Central Book Agency, Calcutta 700009 5. Wikipedia.org

Unit 16 Association Structure 16.1 Objectives 16.2 Introduction 16.3 Definition 16.4 Characteristics 16.5 Differences between association and Society 16.6 Differences between association and community 16.7 Differences between association and institution 16.8 Summary 16.9 Questions 16.10 Suggested Readings 16.1 Objectives In this unit, we shall come to know about- ? The concept of association ? Meaning and definition of association ? Utility of association ? Differences between society, community and institution 16.2 Introduction Man is a social animal. He cannot live in isolation. Always he tries to keep contact with his fellow beings for his survival. Men have diverse needs, desires and interests which demand satisfaction. There are three ways of fulfilling these needs. Firstly, they may act independently each in his own way without caring for others. This is unsocial with limitations. Secondly, men may seek their needs through conflicts with one another. But this method is precarious and wasteful and, in opposed to the very existence of society. Finally, men may try to fulfill their ends through co-operation and mutual assistance. When this element of co-operation is introduced, an association comes into existence.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 199 16.3 Definition of Association Now the question is, what is an Association? Every group of persons cannot be described as an association. When a group or collection of individuals organize themselves expressly for the purpose of pursuing certain of its interests together on a pursuit an association is said to be born. Every group of persons cannot be described as association. If groups of persons together watch any public event no association is created between them since they have not been brought together by a common interest which creates a relation between them but as soon as these persons cooperate with each other to remove from a scene of accident the injured and the hurt, they can create an association for themselves. An association, therefore, is based on a definite function, whether it be political, economic, scientific, educational, literary, or religious. In other words, when at least two or more persons with one interest ore more are organised an association comes into existence. Membership of an association is, therefore, related to a specific 'interest'. An individual may at the same time have various 'interests' and as such he may be a member of several associations at the same time. He may be a member of several clubs; he can have his membership in a business group, and he may belong to a particular church or a particular religious association. Thus, the family, church, trade union, Football club, university, hospital- all are the example of association. Association may be formed on several basis, for example, on the basis of duration i.e., temporary or permanent like Flood Relief Association which is temporary and State which is permanent; or

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on the basis of power, i.e., sovereign like State, semi-sovereign like university and non-sovereign like clubs;

or

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on the basis of function i.e., biological like family, vocational like Trade Union or Teachers' Association, recreational like Tennis Club

or Music Club, philanthropic like Charitable Society. Now we try to point out the following definition of association. In general,

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an association is a group of people organized for a particular purpose or a limited number of purposes. According to MacIver, an association

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an organization deliberately formed for the collective pursuit of some interest or set of interests, which its members share." To Ginsberg, an association is "a group of social beings related to one another by the fact that they possess or have instituted in common an organization with a view to securing a specific end or specific ends."

G.D.H. Cole says, "By an association I mean any group of persons pursuing a common purpose by a course of cooperative action extending beyond a single act and for this purpose agreeing together upon certain methods of procedure, and laying down in however rudimentary a form, rule for common action." P. Gisbert states that an association is a group of persons who unite on a definite, common, and limited purpose.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 200 16.4 An association has the following characteristics 1.

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A group of people: An association is basically a group of people who

form it for the attainment of

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common goals. Without a group of people, no association can be formed. Hence a group of people is important. 2. Organization: Association does not refer to any ordinary group of people rather it refers to an organized group of people.

It is a concrete group which can be seen while at work. An association rests on an organization which is operated by responsible agents and it acquires a legal entity or recognition. 3. Common aims and objectives: No association can maintain its identity without any distinct aim and objective. An association is formed for the attainment of some common objectives. Members who do not endorse these objectives do not become members of the association. 4. Some rules and regulations: Association cannot exist without formal rules and regulations. Every association floats on the ground of certain rules and regulations. Rules and regulations are formed to run it on the basis of these rules and regulations. It also contains code of conduct for the members. 5.

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Co-operative spirit: Association is the result of co-operative spirit of some organized individuals. People work together with a cooperative spirit to fulfill some common purposes. This cooperative spirit helps them realize their objectives. When this spirit is cracking there is no cooperation and no association. 6. Membership

is voluntary: Associations are products of modern societies. People voluntarily join in an association to fulfil their desired aims and

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objectives. Members can also withdraw their membership when they feel so. Similarly, no one can compel them to be a member of any association. But they have to obey the rules and regulations of the association. 7. Degree of permanency: Some associations may be temporary whereas some are permanent. There exist some long-lived

associations

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like family or state. Similarly, there exists some temporary associations like flood relief association. 8. Legal Status: Association is an organized social group which has responsible members. This shows that association has legal status. It can sue

or

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be sued. Legal action can also be taken against the members as well as officials if disobey its rules and regulations. 9. Office bearers:

Each and every association is formed to fulfil the interests of its members. To run the association smoothly it requires some office
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 201 bearers who manage its

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affairs and guide its functioning. These office bearers are elected for a definite period of time by its members. 10. Association is artificial

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nature: Association is an artificial creation, not natural. It is manmade in nature. Some individuals deliberately form association to fulfil their common objectives. There exists no natural bond between the members of association. Rather there exists a bond of self- interest. 11. Limited significance: An association is a temporary group organized for the fulfilment of particular interests of its members. It has significance for its members so for it serves their purpose. It

may lose its significance when it will fail to serve its members purpose. 12. Variety of functions: Association performs a variety of functions for its members as well as for society. Every association has to perform various functions for its members. 16.5 Differences between society and association There are various differences between society and association. The following are the points of difference between society and association. 1. Society is a system of social relationship; association is a group of people: The widest and most inclusive term is society. It is an 'everchanging complex', a 'web of social relationship' that is constantly changing. In sociology, the term '

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society' refers not to a group of people but to the complex pattern of the norms of interactions that arise among them. Society is a system of social

relationship which are invisible intangible. It is the result of natural evolution. On the other hand, association is a group of people organized for the fulfilment of particular interests for its members. 2. Society is older than association: Society is older than association and is in existence since man appeared on the earth while association arose at a later stage when man learnt to organize himself for the pursuit of some particular purpose. 3. Membership of society is compulsory: Man cannot live without society. Society will exist as long as man exists. The membership of society is compulsory, on the other hand, man may live without being a member of any association at all. The membership of an association is voluntary, association may be only transitory. 4. The aim of society is general: The aim of society is general while that of association in particular. Society comes into existence for the general
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 202 wellbeing of the individuals. Hence, the aim of society is general. It is marked by both co-operation and conflict. 5. Society may be organized or unorganized; on the other hand, association must be organized. Association is formal for fulfilling the interests of its members. 6. Society is natural, association is artificial. 7. Society is marked by both co-operation and conflict on the other hand association is based on co-operation alone. 16.6 Differences between association and community The following points may be mentioned to differentiate between association and community. 1. Community is a natural growth, where as association is an artificial creation. An association is deliberately created by some individuals for realizing a specific purpose. Community is not created but it grows out of community sentiment. It has no beginning, no hour of birth. It is spontaneous. 2. An association is partial while the community is a whole. An association is formed for the achievement of some specific purpose which does not include the whole purposes of life. On the other hand, a community includes the whole circle of common life. A community is more than any specific organizations that rise within it. "It does not exist for the pursuit of special interests. It is not deliberately created. It has no beginning, no hour of birth. It is simply the whole circle of common life, more comprehensive, more spontaneous than any association." 3. Associations exist within community. An association is formed by the individuals for realizing a specific purpose. On the other hand, community is not created but it grows out of community sentiment. Association is not a community but is an organization within the community. 4. Membership is an association has a limited significance while the membership of community is of wider significance. It is true that an association may be wider than or different from those officially professed. But we belong to associations only by virtue of some specific interest that we process. Consequently, there can be a multitude of association within the same community. And the individual, of course, may belong to many.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 203 The president Butler of Columbia University reported membership in twenty clubs in addition to dozens of other associations. 5. The membership of association is voluntary, but the membership of community is compulsory. We are born in communities, but we choose our associations. 6. Community sentiment is an essential feature of community but not of association. There can be no community without 'we feeling'. 7. To fulfil the purposes of the association office bearers are must. So an association has got its office bearers who manage its affairs while an office is not necessary to constitute a community. 8. A community works through customs and traditions while an association works mostly through written laws and rules. The constitution of an association is generally written. It has also a legal status. 9. Associations may become community, at least temporarily. There are the examples of seventeenth century trading company outposts which became communities in every respect, or of military units compelled to create their own communities when isolated for a period of time. 10. There are borderline cases between community and association, such as the monasteries, convents and prisons. The family and the state- the two major social oiorganization may seem to lie on the borderline between associations and communities. The family in some of its forms, especially in some primitive and extremely rural societies, as many of the attributes of a community. In these cases, people toil, play and even worship almost wholly within the orbit of the family. It circumscribes largely or even wholly the lives of its members. MacIver says, "In modern society, in all complex civilizations, the family becomes definitely an association, so far as its adult members are concerned. The functions of the family are more and more limited and defined as the social division of labour increases. But even in the most complex society, the family, for the new lives that arise within it, is more than an association. To the child, the family is a preliminary community which prepares him for the greater family." MacIver also observes that though the state began in the olden times as a community, in the modern world it is gaining characteristics of an association. The state can be regarded as an association in some sense or the other with its governmental apparatus. Whether or not such apparatus is totalitarian in nature, the operates today as an association that controls the community. The distinctions between community and associations were very much clear in NSOU ? CC-SO-01 204 primitive societies. But due to the rapid urbanization, development of transportation and communication, it becomes very difficult to distinguish between them. Though an association has been described as a group of persons, it is distinct from a group because while anybody of persons can become a group by being reciprocally involved in it, an association is a group that must be expressly organized for the fulfilment of a common purpose, even a crowd or a class of person may be described as a group but since it is without any organization, it can not become an association. 16.7 Difference between association and institution Associations and institutions are different conceptually. Sometimes confusion arises between institutions and associations because the term in a different context, may mean either one of the other. But there is a much more distinction to be made between institutions and association. The following differences between association and institution may be pointed out: i. Institutions are the rules of procedure, on the other hand association is a group of individuals organized for the pursuit of a specific purpose. Family is an association which is organized for the preparation of mankind while marriage is its main institution. Likewise, political party system is an institution, state is an association. The church is an association, while baptism is an institution. An association represents human aspect, while an institution is a social condition of conduct and behaviour. ii. An association is considered as "an organized group". It has form and it is concrete. On the other hand, an institution is considered as a "form of procedure". It has no form and is abstract. iii. Associations are formed deliberately while institutions grow. iv. Association denotes membership, while institution indicates a mode or means of service (procedure of work). Institutions give life and activity to associations, communities, or any other types of societies. To Sprott, "Associations are things, institutions are modes and ways. We are born and live-in association". v. Every association bears a particular name, while every institution is based on cultural symbol. vi. An association is an organized group while an institution is an organized procedure.
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Association is a group of people organized for the pursuit of

some specific purposes. On the other hand, institutions fulfil all the primary and basic need of people. In spite of the differences between the two, it may be noted that no institution can function without an association. Institutions are impossible without associations. It may also be noted that while association and institution are different concepts, no institution can function without an association. Again, institutions give life and activity to associations, communities or any other types of societies. They are related to each other as every organisation has an institutional framework, which allows it to survive. An association has a location, on the other hand, an institution does not have a location. 16.8 Summary In this unit we have studied the meaning, characteristics, various types of association, and differences between association and other entities.

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An association is a group of people organized for a particular purpose or a limited number of purposes.

The life of an association is up to the achievement of the aim for which it has been created. The existence of association after his achievement of the aim becomes, immaterial and irrelevant. It becomes nominal and lifeless body of formalities only. The aim is the soul of the association.

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Thus family, church, trade union, music club all are the instances of association.

But there are some differences between association and community. G. D. H. Cole says, "By an association I mean any group of persons pursuing a common purpose by a course of corporative action extending beyond a single act and for this purpose agreeing together upon certain methods of procedure, and laying down, in however, rudimentary a form, rule for common action." Keywords : Association, institution, organization, society, community 16.9 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) What do you mean by association? (b) What are the differences between community and association? (c) What are the importance of association? (d) Point out five associations including their institutions.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 206 (e) Describe three functions of an association. (f) What are the three types of associations? (g) What are the benefits of membership in association? (h) Is association an organisation? (i) Why do we need association? 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) Write a note on the nature of association. (b) Point out the Characteristics of the association. (c) What are the differences between institution and association? (d) What are the differences between society and association? 16.10 Suggested Readings 1. Vidya Bhushan and D.R. Sachdeva- An Introduction to Sociology, Distributor- Kitab Mahal, 1987 2. D.C. Bhattacharya- Sociology, Bjjaya Publishing House, 1976, Calcutta- 700006 3. P. Gisbert- Fundamentals of Society, Oriental Black Swan, 2015 4. Society, an Introductory Analysis, London, MacMillan & Co., R.M. MacIver & C.H. Page, 1998, Delhi 5. , P.B. Kar- Paschimbanga Rajya Pustak Parishad, 1982, Culcutta 6. Surajit Sengupta- Introductory Sociology, 1984, New Central Book Agency, Calcutta 700009 7. Wikipedia.org
Unit 17 Institution Structure 17.1 Objectives 17.2 Introduction 17.3 Meaning of Institution 17.4 Its Characteristics 17.5 Institutions —Its types 17.6 Its functions 17.7 Difference between society and Institution 17.8 Difference between institution and Community 17.9 Difference between institution Association 17.10 Summary 17.11 Key words 17.12Questions 17.13 Suggested Readings 17.1 Objectives The objective of the present topic is to give a general idea of basic forms of institution.

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After reading this, you will be able to ? Understand the concept of

institution. ? Describe the different ways in which individuals relate to each other. ? Relation between institutions and association and society. 17.2 Introduction As a social animal, man always works so that these activities may fulfil our needs. For this reason, we often try to search practical means or methods. From this research we came to know the concepts like institution, values, Folkways and Mores, the complex relation between the individuals living in the society are controlled by the concepts. How these concepts influence social life of the individuals.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 208 17.3 Meaning of Institution In everyday language people use 'institution' to mean organizations. For example, college is called educational institute. But in Sociology, the concept 'institution' has a specific meaning. According to Ellwood, Institutions are "habitual ways of living together which have been sanctioned, systemized and established by the authority of communities.'' Woodward and Maxwell say, an institution is a "set or web of interrelated folkways, mores and laws which enter in some function or functions." According to Green, "An institution is the organization of several folkways and mores into a unit which serves a number of social functions". According to Horton and Hunt, ''an institution is a system of norms to achieve some goal or activity that people feel is important, or more formally an organized cluster of folkways and mores centered around a major human activity.'' Gillin and Gillin says, "A social institution is a functional configuration of culture pattern (including actions, ideas, attitudes and cultural equipment) which possesses a certain permanence, and which is intended to satisfy felt social needs." M.T. Majumder defines institution "as collective mode of response or behaviour which has outlasted a generation, which prescribes a well-defined way of doing things and which binds the members of the group together into an association by means of rituals, symbols, procedures and officers possessed of regulatory power or Danda." According to Bogardus, "A social institution is a structure of society that is organized to meet the needs of people chiefly through well established procedures."

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According to Ginsberg, "Institutions are definite and sanctioned forms or modes of relationship between social beings in respect to one another or to some external object.

These may be described as recognized and established usages governing the relations between individuals or groups." According to MacIver, "an institution is a set of formal, regular and established procedures, characteristic of a group or number of groups that perform a similar function within a society. In short, an institution is an organized way of doing something." Barnes defines social institution as "the social structure and machinery through which human society organizes, directs and executes the multifarious activities required to satisfy human needs." Sumner said, "

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An institution consists of a concept (idea, notion, doctrine, interest) and a structure."

Then he points out that "institutions begin in folkways, become customs and develop into mores by having attached to them a philosophy of welfare." Chapin has given a definition of an institution in terms of the cultural concept. "A social institution is a functional configuration of culture patterns (including actions, ideas, attitudes and cultural equipment) which possesses a certain permanence, and which is intended to satisfy felt social needs." According to Horton, "An institution is an organized system of social relationships which embodies certain common values and procedures and
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 209 meet certain basic needs of society. To Landis, "Social institutions are formal cultural structures devised to meet basic social needs." MacIver propounds the view of institutions with the help of H.E. Barnes's idea of the connotations of the term. Every institution has a definite interest and such it may well be confused with an association. In fact, an institution is a concept that is not totally divorced from an association, but it is not the association itself. Whatever be the common idea of the 'institution' as an organization, the sociological interpretation of the term lies in its equation with forms of procedure. By the term institution, Barnes understands certain mechanisms with the help of which society functions. MacIver explains the connection between an association and an institution by correlating the two by a dominant interest. According to the interest of the association. The institution will find its growth. Thus, with the interests of sex, home and parentage the family comes into existence as an association, and with it is related to the institution of marriage or inheritance. Similarly, interests of learning bring into being the college as an association and institutions of examinations and graduation. The church as an association is linked with institutions of forms of worship though interests of religious faith. This marriage, education, property and religion are the main institutions. The relation between associations, institutions and interests is exemplified in the following chart: Association Characteristic Institute Special Interests 1. Family Marriage, the home, inheritance Sex, home, parentage 2. College Lecture and examination system, graduation Learning, vocational preparation 3. Business Bookkeeping system, incorporation, share capital Profit 4. Trade Union Collective bargaining, strike, picketing Job security, wage rate, conditions of work 5. Church Creed, communion, forms of worship Religious faith 6. Political Party Primaries, party "machine", political platform, Office, power, government policy 7. State Constitution, legal code, forms of government General regulation of the social order
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 210 17.4 Its Characteristics From the above definitions we can understand the concept of social institution more precisely through its characteristics which are pointed out below : a) Institutions emerge out of social interactions within a group. Sumner points out that institutions are of two types - (i) Crescive institution and (ii) Enacted institutions. Crescive institutions are those norms that emerge unconsciously in society. Its origin is unclear and can not be dated. On the other hand, enacted institutions are consciously created for specific purposes. In modern days' laws which are rationally formulated, are an example of enacted institutions. b) Institution are the means of controlling individuals. Every member of a society expected to follow the rules, regulations and usages for the interest of the society. These can be informal or formal. If it is formal then it is codified and in most cases will have an organization responsible to see that individuals follow these rules. For example, in Indian society if a person wants to get married she can do so only under one of the Marriage Act's formulated by the Government. The male and female agree to perform the duties of husband and wife respectively. In cases of conflict between there are police and courts to deal with them. c) All institutions have roles and status. Every institution have a particular role and status to the individuals involved in it. Role is a set of behaviour expected of an individual in particular social context. Status is the position of the individual in society. In an educational institution, for example, there are students who come to learn from the society and are given the status of students, and the teachers who teach are given the status of "teachers". Both the teachers and students maintain discipline. As a student he/she has to attend class, obey the teachers. As a teacher he/she has to take classes, evaluate students' notebook. Control the students. Thus institutions operate through the means of roles. Relationship between an organization and institution Institutions and organisations are different conceptually. Institutions are recognized way of thinking while organizations are formal groups created to achieve specific objectives. At the same time they are related to each other as every organization has an institutional framework, which allows it to survive.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 211 Cluster of social usage Institutions are composed of customs, mores, rules organized into a functioning unit. An institution is an organisation of rules, and behaviour and in manifested through social activity and its material products. In short the institution functions as a unit in the cultural system viewed as a whole. I. Institutions have a degree of permanence. Our beliefs and actions are not institutionalized until the are accepted by others over a period of time. Once these beliefs and behaviour get recognition they become the yardstick for evaluation of the beliefs and actions of others. It does not, however, mean that they do not change. Institutions function in accordance with cultural norms, however, in comparison with associations they have the greater degree of permanence. II. Well-defined objectives : Institutions have fairly well defined objectives which are in conformity with the cultural norms. The institution of marriage has the objective of regulative the network of social relationships and the members of the society would consciously work for the attainment of the dis-objective. For example, marriage in the same caste or class objective has to be differentiated from different functions to which the members may be unaware of e.g. the function of marriage or gratification of sex urge and to have children. III. Symbols are a characteristic feature of institution : A symbol may be defined as anything which depicts something else. Symbols may be either material or non-material on form. The institutions can have permanency identity and solidarity if they have some symbols. The members of that institution feels quite closer to each other by sharing the common symbols. IV. Institution has definite traditions. Each institution has a fairly definite tradition – oral or written. Such tradition refers to the purpose, attitude and the behaviour of the members. The tradition attempts to bring together individuals into functioning whole through established behaviour, common symbols and objectives. The traditions when become rigid, take the shape of the ritual. V. Institutions are transmitters of the social heritage. Social institutions are the great conservers and transmitters of the social heritage. It is in the institutions that individual learns basic values of the life. The child initially plays a role of general receptivity in the basic and multifunctional institution of the family and in this way receives the largest share of he social heritage. In this initial helpless state, culture is indoctrinated to him by his family.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 212 VI. Institutions are resistant to social change. As patterned forms of behaviour, social institutions are more resistant to social change than behaviour where such uniformity and regularity do not apply. Social institutions are thus, by their very nature, conservative elements in the social structure. 17.5 Types of institutions There are several types of social institutions may be found. Sumner, Ballard, Chapin, Ross classify institutions in several ways. Sumner has classified institutions into two main types : 1. Crescive and 2.Enacted institutions. 1. Crescive Institution Crescive institutions such as property, marriage and religion which originate from mores. These unconscious in origin. 2. Enacted Institution Enacted institutions such as credit institutions, business institutions which are consciously organized for definite purposes. To Ballard there are two main types of institutions : 1. Basic institutions and 2. Subsidiary institutions. 1. Basic Institution The Basic institutions are those which are regarded as being necessary for the maintenance of social order in a given society i.e. the family, the economic institutions, the religious institutions, the educational institutions and the political institutions are regarded as basic institutions. 2. Subsidiary Institutions The subsidiary institutions are complexes of the type which are not regarded as quite so necessary for the maintenance of social order. For example, recreational ideals and activities belong to this class. Chaplin classified institutions with respect to their generality or restrictions in the society in which they are found. The cultural elements involved in general institutions are usually “universal”. While those involved in restricted institutions are usually “specialties”. Religion as such is a general institution, Hinduism is a restricted institution.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 213 Ross mentioned two types of institutions : 1. Operative Institutions and 2. Regulative Institutions. 1. Operative Institutions Operative institutions are those of which the main function is the organisation of patterns whose practice is actively necessary for the attainment of the objective e.g. the institution of Industrialism. 2. Regulative Institution Relative institutions are organized for the control of customs and other types of behaviour which are not themselves part of the regulative institution itself; the legal institution is an example. 17.6 Functions of Institutions Institutions have various important functions. Functions may be classified into two types : 1. Manifest functions and 2. Latent functions. Institutions have manifest functions which are easy to recognise as part of the professed objectives of the institution. And latent functions which are unintended and may be unrecognized or if recognized, regarded as by products, says Merton. The primary institutions function in manifest manner. The working is direct and clear. These, however, give rise to the secondary institutions. They function in latent manner. There are various important functions of the institutions. The following functions are to be mentioned. : 1) Institutions simplify action for the institutions. An institution organizes many aspects of behaviour into a unified pattern. One of the most highly integrated institutions in modern society is Military establishment. The soldiers learn to pass in orderly fashion from one type of behaviour to another without hesitation towards the objective of eliminating enemy. 2) Institutions provide a means of social control. Institutions play a central part in the process of social control. All major institutions – the family, the school, the religious institution, the state inculcate basic values and definitions to the young one. 3) Institutions provide order to the society. Besides helping individuals to satisfy

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 214 their basic needs, institution provide unity to the society. The law of the jungle would prevail if there were no institutions that maintained order. 4) Institutions act as stimulant. The institutions may stimulate certain individuals to react against it and formulate new patterns of behaviour, Sometimes individual feels the disharmony between the various institutions. He seeks some way out of the impasse. He must devise some way whereby his urges may be more fully satisfied. Hence, the institution functions in such cases to stimulate the individual to "break new roads to freedom". 5) Institutions acts as harmonizing agencies in the total cultural configuration. The institutions are not independent, but are related to each other in a cultural system or configuration. Most of the institutions in the system tend to support one another and the configuration as a whole. Thus courtship supports marriage which in return supports the family, all three institution being mutually interdependent. 17.7 Difference between society and institution The following points of various difference between institution and society may be pointed out : i. Society is a system of social relationship while institution is the organisation of rules, traditions and usages. ii. Institutions are the forms of procedures which are recognized and accepted by society. iii. Institutions exist for the society and govern the relations between the members of the society. iv. Society represents human aspect while an institution is a social condition of conduct and behaviour. 17.8 Difference between community and institutions The following differences between community and institution are to be pointed out : i. Community is a group of people while institution is an organization of rules, traditions and usages. ii. Community is a group of individual living in a particular locality and possessing community sentiment. On the other hand, institution is a structure of society to fulfil some specific needs. iii. Community is concrete while institution is abstract.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 215 iv. Individuals are the members of community, and not of the institution. v. Community is concerned with the social life as a whole. While every institution is concerned with one particular aspect of life. vi. Community is based on mutual relationship. While institution is based upon the collective activities of human beings. vii. A community grows itself while institutions are born in a community. 17.9 Difference between association and institution Associations and institutions are different conceptually. Sometimes confusion arises between institutions and associations because the term in a different context, may mean either one of the other. But there is a much more distinction to be made between institutions and association. The following differences between association and institution may be pointed out: i. Institutions are the rules of procedure, on the other hand association is a group of individuals organized for the pursuit of a specific purpose. Family is an association which is organized for the preparation of mankind while marriage is its main institution. Likewise, political party system is an institution, state is an association. The church is an association, while baptism is an institution. An association represents human aspect, while an institution is a social condition of conduct and behaviour. ii. An association is considered as "an organized group". It has form and it is concrete. On the other hand, an institution is considered as a "form of procedure". It has no form and is abstract. iii. Associations are formed deliberately while institutions grow. iv. Association denotes membership, while institution indicates a made or means of service (procedure of work). Institutions give life and activity to associations, communities, or any other types of societies. To Sprott, "Associations are things, institutions are modes and ways. We are born and live-in association". v. Every association bears a particular name, while every institution is based on cultural symbol. vi. An association is an organized group while an institution is an organized procedure. vii.

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Association is a group of people organized for the pursuit of

some specific purposes. On the other hand, institutions fulfil all the primary and basic need of people.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 216 In spite of the differences between the two, it may be noted that no institution can function without an association. Institutions are impossible without associations. It may also be noted that while association and institution are different concepts, no institution can function without an association. Again, institutions give life and activity to associations, communities or any other types of societies. They are related to each other as every organisation has an institutional framework, which allows it to survive. An association has a location, on the other hand, an institution does not have a location. 17.10 Summary The term "institution" is used in a broad sense and in a narrow sense as well. But in sociology a precise definition is required. Institutions are forms of procedure. Every organisation is dependent upon certain recognised and established set of rules, traditions and usages. These usages and rules may be called institutions. They are recognised and accepted by society and govern the relations between individual and groups. Thus marriage, education, property and religion are the main institutions. Institutions are the means of social control. Institutions are formed to satisfy the primary needs of individuals. They have social recognition behind them. There are differences between institution and society, institution and community, and institution and association. 17.11 Keywords Community, Association, Society. 17.12 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) Define a social institution. (b) Point out five examples of institutions including association. (c) What are the types of Institution? (d) Mention the relation between association and institution. (e) Describe the functions of institution. (f) How does institution differ from society? (g) What are the differences between institutiåhoxòon and community? (h) What are the general features of institution?

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 217 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) Write a note on Institution. (b) “Institutions are the machinery through which human society organizes, directs and executes the multifarious activities required to satisfy human needs.” (Barnes). Elucidate. (c) What are the characteristics of institution? (d) Institutions are “the machinery through which society carries on its activities” (H.E. Barnes) Explain. 17.13 Suggested Readings 1. Vidya Bhushan and D.R. Sachdeva- An Introduction to Sociology, Distributor- Kitab Mahal, 1987 2. D.C. Bhattacharya- Sociology, Bjjaya Publishing House, 1976, Calcutta- 700006 3. P. Gisbert- Fundamentals of Sociology, Oriental Black Swan, 2015 4. Society, an Introductory Analysis, London, MacMillan & Co., R.M. MacIver & C.H. Page, 1998, Delhi 5. , P.B. Kar- Paschimbanga Rajya Pustak Parishad, 1982, Culcutta 6. Surajit Sengupta- Introductory Sociology, 1984, New Central Book Agency, Calcutta 700009 7. Mukhopadhyay, Dr Amalendu- Prasanga Samaj Tattwa, Central Book Agency, Kol-9 8. Wikipedia.org
Unit 18 Culture Structure 18.1 Objectives 18.2 Introduction 18.3 Concept of Culture 18.3.1 Meaning and Definition of Culture 18.3.2 Characteristics of Culture 18.3.3 Some important concepts regarding culture 18.4 Culture and Civilization 18.4.1.Differences- Culture and Civilization 18.5 Culture and Society 18.5.1.Differences– Culture and Society 18.6 Summary 18.7 Keywords 18.8
Questions 18.9 Suggested Readings 18.1

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Objectives After reading this unit, you will be able to: ? understand the concepts of

culture ? describe some major characteristics of culture ? explain the relationship that exists between culture, society and individual behaviours 18.2 Introduction Culture is one of the most important concepts within sociology because Sociologists recognise that it plays a crucial role in our social lives. Though the term Culture is used today as a scientific concept by most of the social sciences, its
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 219 mostly comprehensive definition has been provided in anthropology. Humans are social beings. That is why we live together in societies. Day-to-day, we interact with each other and develop social relationships. Every society has a culture, no matter how simple that culture may be. Without culture there would be no humans. No society could exist without culture, but equally, no culture could exist without societies. Without culture, we would not be ‘human’ at all. The member of every society shares a common culture which they must learn. Culture is shared. Culture is not inherited; it is transmitted from one generation to the other through the vehicle of language. Like society, cultures differ all over the world. The two concepts of society and culture are closely related and sometimes can be used interchangeably. This unit discusses the meaning and definition of culture in anthropological perspective. The unit also discusses some of the characteristics and elements of culture. 18.3 The Concept of Culture Normally, one can presume culture to be equivalent to higher things of the mind such as fine art, literature, classical music and painting. However, in the perspective of Sociology it goes beyond such activities. Culture refers to the ways of life of the members of society or of groups within a society. It includes how they dress, the marriage customs, language and family life, their patterns of work, religious ceremonies, and leisure pursuits. Without culture there would be no humans. Culture is made up of traditions, beliefs, way of life from the most spiritual to the most material. Human beings are creators of culture, and at the same time Culture is what makes us human. But anthropologists define and use the term ‘Culture’ in quite a different way. It is used in a much broader sense by anthropologists, as culture includes much more than just the “finer things in life”. There is no differentiation between ‘cultured’ people and ‘uncultured’ people since all people have culture from the anthropological point of view. Regarding human behaviour, the debate between anthropology vs sociology is a matter of perspectives. The primary goal of anthropology is to understand human diversity and cultural differences. Anthropology examines culture more at the micro-level of the individual which the anthropologists generally take as an example of the larger culture. In addition, anthropology homes in on the cultural specificities of a given group or community. Sociology, on the other, bends to look at the bigger picture, after studying institutions (educational, political, religious etc) organisations, political movement, and the power relations of different groups with each other. 18.3.1 Meaning and Definition of Culture The word ‘culture’ derives from a French term which in turn derives from the

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 220 Latin 'colere' which means to tend to the earth and grow, or cultivation and nurture. In an anthropological perspective, every society has a culture. It is universal, though in some societies it may be simple which complex in others. Likewise, every human being is cultured and culture is an attribute of the genes Homo. Culture is a design for living. It is the basis of human life. It rests on biology but is not biological. What has been acquired as a design for living is not biological. Culture is a product of social learning rather than biological heredity i.e. culture is non-genetic. It cannot be inherited by offspring from parents, but it can be transmitted socially from parents to children. Like animals humans cannot inherit behaviour. Animal behaviour is inborn. Animals inherit behaviour or at most pro to culture, but humans acquire culture. It in a totality of mental, rational and material, technological processes and products. This totality is what anthropologists call Culture. People often call an educated man a cultured man and regard that man as uncultured who is lacking education. Sometimes, an individual is described as a 'highly cultured person' meaning thereby that the person has certain features such as his speech, manner and taste in literature, music or painting which distinguish him from others. Culture in this sense, refers to certain personal characteristics of an individual. But in this sense, the word 'culture' is not used and understood in social sciences. Sometimes 'culture' is used to refer to a celebration or a programmer of entertainment as a 'cultural show'. In this sense, culture is identified with aesthetics or the fine arts such as dance, music or drama. This is also different from the technical meaning of the word 'culture'. Culture is used in a special sense in anthropology and sociology. It refers to the sum of human beings' life ways, their behaviour, beliefs, feelings, thoughts, it connects everything that is acquired by them as social beings. Culture has been defined in number of ways. There is no consensus among sociologists and anthropologists regarding the definition of culture. Culture is the basic concept of anthropology and is central of all the sub- branches of anthropology. Anthropologists have been discussing and debating definitions of culture since the origin of the discipline in the 19 th century. The classic definition of culture is given by a British anthropologist E. B. Taylor in his book Primitive Culture in 1871.
He stated "culture or civilization is

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that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

This is a very broad definition of culture encompassing almost everything about a person's overall way of life, from knowledge to habit. Herein emphasis in on the fact that culture is something
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 221 individuals acquire as 'a member of the society', meaning that people obtain their culture from growing up with and living among a particular group. The phrase 'acquired by man as member of society' in this definition is very important. Taylor was able to establish the differences between biologically determined characteristics and those attributes which are socially learned. It is not a habit or capability of man as a biological being but man as a member of a social group. The acquisition of culture is not through biological heredity but through socialisation which is called enculturalisation. Enculturalisation is specifically defined as the process by which an individual learns the rules and values of one's culture which begins at the family level right from the moment a child is born. Culture has been defined in number of ways. There is no consensus among sociologists and anthropologists regarding the definition of culture. From the beginning of the discipline about hundreds of definitions have been proposed and their number continues to grow steadily. Today, there are more than two hundred definitions of culture. Different definitions of culture reflect different theoretical bases for understanding or criteria for evaluating human activities. A few definitions of culture are given below- Malinowski defined culture as a n "instrumental reality and apparatus for the satisfaction of the biological and derived need." It is the integral whole consisting of implements in consumers' goods, of constitutional characters for the various social groupings, human ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs.' According to Kluckhorn and Kelly, "Culture in general as a descriptive concept means the accumulated treasury of human creation books, paintings, buildings and the like, the knowledge of ways of adjusting to our surroundings, both human and physical, language, customs and systems of etiquette, ethics, religion and morals that have been built up through the ages." To Herskovits, "Culture refers to that part of the total setting (of human existence) which includes the material objects of human manufacture, techniques, social orientations, points of view, and sanctioned ends that are the immediate conditioning factors underlying behaviour". In simple terms, he says, culture is the "man-made part of the environment." According to Harris, "A culture is the total socially acquired life-ways or lifestyle of a group of people. It consists of the patterned respective ways of thinking, feeling and acting that are characteristics of the members of a particular society or segment of a society."
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 222 According to Gary Ferraro, "The concept of culture as everything that people have, think, do as members of a society. This definition can be instructive because the three verbs correspond to the three major components of culture. That is everything that people have refers to those things they carry around in their heads such as ideas, values, attitudes and everything that people refer to behaviour patterns. Thus, all cultures comprise of (a) material object, (b) ideas, values and attitudes, and (c) patterned ways of behaving." To MacIver, "culture is
the expression of our nature in our modes of living and our thinking. Intercourse in our literature, in religion, in recreation and enjoyment."

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According to Bierstedt, "Culture is the complex whole that consists of everything we think and do and have as members of

the society.

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Culture is the total content of the physio-social, bio-social and psycho-social universe man has produced and the socially created mechanisms through which these social products operate."

According to H.T. Hoebel, "Culture is the sum total of integrated learned behaviour patterns which are the characteristics of the members of a society and which are therefore not the result of biological inheritances."

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According to H.T. Mazumder, "culture is the sum total of human achievements, material as well as non-material, capable of transmission, sociologically i.e.by tradition and communication, vertically as well as horizontally."

Irrespective of the various definitions, conceptions and approaches to the understanding of the concept of culture, it is however agreed that culture is a way of life and morality is a part of culture. Practically all modern definitions share key features. Culture is a system of learned behaviour shared by a transmitted among the members of the group. Culture therefore is mortal; intellectual and spiritual discipline for advancement in accordance with the norms and values based on accumulated heritage. From the aforesaid definitions of culture, we may mention the following characteristics- 18.3.2 Characteristics of Culture 1. Culture is learned : Culture is not inherited biologically but it is learnt socially by individuals in a society. Much of learning culture is unconscious and we learn culture from families, peers, institutions and media and others e.g., drinking, eating, dressing, walking, behaving readily etc are all learnt by man. Human beings learn

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or acquire culture by living in groups. He learns it from society through

enculturation. The process of learning culture is called enculturation. The learned behaviour is communicated in the group NSOU ? CC-SO-01 223 through forms of socialisation such as observation, instruction, reward, punishment an experience. 2. Culture is social : Culture is not an individual phenomenon, but it is the products of society. It develops in the society through social interaction. It is shared in the members of the society. No man can acquire it without the associations of others.

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Culture is not individual but social in nature. As a social product culture develops through social interaction which is shared by all. Without social interaction or social relations, it is exceedingly difficult and almost impossible to be cultured.

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It is created or originated in society. Hence it is social. 3. Culture is shared : Culture is

shared by the members of society. Culture is not something that an individual alone can possess but shared by common people of a territory. For example, customs, traditions, values, beliefs etc are all shared by the people in a social situation. These beliefs and practices are adopted by all equally. Because we share culture with other members of out group. We are able to act in socially appropriate ways as well as predict how others will act. Despite the shared nature of culture, that does not mean that culture is homogenous (the same below) the multiple culture worlds that exists in any society are discussed in detail. 4. Culture is transmitted : Culture is capable of getting transmitted from one generation to the next. It passes from parents to children and so on. It is not transmitted through genes but through language. Language is means to communication which passes cultural traits

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from one generation to another. This transmission is a continuous and spontaneous process. It never remains constant. Man inherits or learns culture from his ancestors and passes it to his successors. In this way culture constantly accumulate. 5. Culture

is continually changing and cumulative : It is a continuous process. It is a stream which is flowing from one generation to another through centuries. "Culture is the memory of human race." It is one of the fundamental and inescapable attributes of culture. Some societies sometimes change slowly, and hence in comparison to other societies seem not to be changing at all. But they are changing. People frequently have a deep-seated distrust and fear of change. It is usually easier not to change. Man does not meet each recurring situation in exactly the same way each time. He makes modifications, large and small. He tries new ways, or he accidentally tries the new ways. These new ways are transmitted to others and already the culture is changed. 6. Culture is Symbolic : A symbol is something that is used to represent
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 224 something else. These may be physical objects like flags, cross, or may be signs at the crossings or acts like shaking hands, kisses or something else such as words, numbers or sequence if sounds etc. All symbols have some or the other meaning bestowed upon them by those who use them. All human behaviour originated in the use of symbols. Thus, all civilizations have been generated and perpetuated only by the use of symbols. 7. Culture is consistent and integrated : All the cultural aspects are inter- connected with each other. The development of culture is the integration of its various parts. For example, value system is interlinked with morality, customs, beliefs and religion. Culture possesses an order and system. Its various parts are integrated with each other and any new element which is introduced is also integrated. Culture is an integrated whole that is the parts of culture are integrated to one another. 8. Culture is Variable. Culture is variable and changeable. Culture varies from society to society, group to group. Hence, we say Culture of India or England. Further culture varies from group to group within the same

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society. Each and every society has its own culture. It also varies within a society from time to time. Ways of living of people of a particular society varies from time to time.

However, the ways of eating, drinking, speaking, greeting, dressing etc are different from one social situation to another at the same

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time. 9. Culture is organised : Culture has an order or system. As Tylor says, Culture is a "complex whole". It means different parts of culture are well organised into a cohesive whole. Different parts of culture is organised in such a way that any change

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one part brings corresponding changes in other parts. 10. Culture is

adaptive and maladaptive : Using culture, people adapt themselves to the environment. The ability to adapt themselves to practically any ecological condition, unlike other animals, makes humans unique. This ability is attributed to human's capacity for creating and using culture. Culture has also maladaptive dimensions. This is the very cultural creations and achievements of people may turn out to threaten their survival. When we see the contemporary problems of the environments, the side effects of rapid growth and in science and technology etc we see that culture is also maladaptive. 11. Culture is all-encompassing : Culture encompasses all aspects which affect people in their everyday lives. Culture comprises countless material and non-material aspects of human lives this it includes manmade objects, idea,
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 225 activities whether those of traditional of the past or those created lately. Culture Is the sum total of human creation, intellectual, technical, artistic, physical and moral. 12. Culture is gratifying : Culture always necessarily provides all the basic biological and social needs of human beings. Cultural elements continue so long as they satisfy the needs of humans. If they fail to fulfil the wants of humans, they may be changed or replaced by new ones to secure the satisfaction of human wants. Gratification of needs reinforces, strengthens and perpetuates cultural elements. Our basic needs are food, shelter, clothing and desires are status, fame, money, physical needs etc are the examples which are fulfilled according to the cultural ways. In fact, it is defined as the process through which human beings satisfy their needs. 13.

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Culture is Idealistic : Culture is idealistic in nature. Because it embodies the ideals, values and norms of the group. It sets ideal goals before individuals which

is worth attaining. Culture consists of the intellectual, artistic and social ideals and institutions which the members of the society profess, and to which they strive to confirm.

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In other words, Culture is the sum total of ideals and values of individuals in society. 14. Culture is abstract : Culture

exists in the minds of or habits of the member of the society. Culture is the shared ways of doing and thinking. There the degrees of visibility of cultural behaviour, ranging from the regularised activities of persons to their internal reasons for doing so. In afterwards, we cannot see culture as such we can only see human behaviour. This behaviour occurs in regular, patterned fashion and it is called culture. 15. Culture is Structured : Culture has a definite and proper structure. This implies that there is definite arrangement of its component and units. The structural components of culture are called traits and complexes. A given culture has many traits and these traits form into complexes and each one acts as a unit. These traits and complexes are arranged in a systematic manner. This arrangement is the plan or structure of a culture. 16. Culture is region : Socio-cultural anthropologists talk about culture region which is the geographical territory in which a particular culture prevails. It is marked by all the characteristics of a culture, including modes building styles, forms and field and other material manifestation. That is there are sub-cultures, regional cultures, national cultures and international cultures. 17. Cultural Universals specialities and alternatives : Cultural universals are features that are found in every culture. It is those that distinguish Homo
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 226 Sapiens from other species. Anthropology assumes that all human beings are fundamentally alike, and they share the same basic biological, psychological, social and other characteristics. People all over the world have certain common obligations towards one another. All people are members of a single community, they all have the same root and destiny. This belief is either explicit or implicit in most of the great world religions. Certain biological, psychological, social and cultural features of human beings are universal, others are moral, generalities, common to several but not to all human groups. Still other cultural features are particularities unique to certain cultural traditions (for details, Hammoud, 1971) 18. Culture is a human product : Culture is not a free, operating by itself and independent of the human actors. There is an unconscious tendency of defying culture to embow it with life and treat it as a thing. Culture is a creation of society in interaction and depends for its existence upon the continuance of the society. Culture does not 'do' anything on its own. It does not cause the individual to act in a particular way. Culture, in short, is a human product. It is not independently endowed with life. 19. Culture is a way of life (Concept of explicit and implicit) : Culture means simply "the way of life" of people or their "design for living". Kluckholm and Kelly define it in this sense: "A culture is a historically derived system of explicit and implicit designs for living which tends to be shared by all or specially designed members of a group." Explicit culture refers to similarities in word and action which can be directly observed. For example, the adolescent cultural behaviour can be generalised from regularities in dress, mannerism and conversation. Implicit culture exists in abstract forms of which are not quite obvious. 20. Culture is pervasive : It touches every aspect of life. The pervasiveness of culture is manifest in two ways: 1) First, culture provides an unquestioned context within which individual action and response take place. Not only emotional action but relational actions are governed by cultural norms. 2) Culture pervades social activities and institutes. 21. Language is the chief vehicle of culture : Man lives not only in the present but also in the past and future. He is able to do this because he possesses language which transmits to him what was learnt in the past and enables him to transmit the accumulated wisdom to the next generation. Culture is transmitted in a variety of ways; language is one of the most important vehicles for perpetuating cultural patterns. Besides the aforesaid characteristics we are discussing the following concepts regarding culture

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 227 18.3.3 Some important concepts regarding culture i. Overtness and covertness : Overtness and covertness refer to the qualities of culture as detected by an observer. The observer may be an anthropologist or a member of a society who is unfamiliar with certain parts of the culture. Overt means easily detectable qualities of a culture. These include artifacts, actions, utterances which can be perceived directly. Artifacts include houses, clothes, books, tools etc; actions imply postures in various situations, curing practices, sports, externally manifest signs of respect etc; utterances include speech, songs, proverbs etc. An observer can easily detect these qualities because one has plenty of opportunities to see them, experience them and record them. On the other hand, covert implies those qualities of culture which are not easily detected by an outsider. Sentiments, beliefs, fears and values are some of the cultural items which cannot be easily detected i.e., they are Covert. They are not amendable to direct observations and moreover people cannot always explain what they feel. It is generally difficult to express these abstract ideas. ii. Explicit and implicit : According to Kluckhohn explicit means the people's awareness of existence of the cultural items. Implicit implies the people's dim awareness or unawareness of certain cultural items. Explicitness and implicitness concern the experience of people possessing the culture, while overtness and covertness refer to the view of the observer. Explicit cultural refers to similarities in word and action which can be directly observed. For example, the adolescent cultural behaviour can be generalised from regularities in dress, mannerism and conversation. But there are certain items of culture about which people are only dimly aware or unaware of. Hence, they cannot give any clear account on such cultural items. These are implicit items of the culture. Implicit culture exists in abstract forms which are not quite obvious. iii. Ideality and reality : Ideality of culture refers to how people say they should behave, or the way would like to live. Reality is the actual way people behave. There is generally a discrepancy between ideality and reality. iv. Ethos and Eidos : Kroeber has drawn attention to these two aspects of culture. Ethos refers to effective or emotional quality of a culture expressed in series of beliefs, thoughts and beheviour. It acts as a central force, interest theme or patterned colours every item of culture. AS it determines what people should have do, think, and feel, prepares all the people in a culture to express the same emotional tone in all acts, thoughts and feelings. Whereas Eidos in the formal appearance of a culture derived from its NSOU ? CC-SO-01 228 constituents. Eidos is the totality of items of culture. On the contrary ethos is the emotional quality colouring this totality. Ethos is affective but eidos is cognitive. v. Organic and super-organic : Culture is organic in the sense that it is ultimately rooted in the biological nature of human organism. Without humans to act, to think, to feel, or to make and use things. There would be no culture. Thus, Culture is organic. Culture is super organic, while it is organic. Once created, culture acquires a super-organic quality or the quality by virtue of which culture exists on a level above that of the Individuals who create and carry it. According to Kroeber, culture becomes a phenomenon in its own right, with its own laws and processed apart from the human carriers who sustain it. Culture is super-organic to the extent that is outlines the particular generations of people who carry it and so persists from one generation to another. This does not mean that its origin is other than biological. Culture is created by humans and it is dependent on human choice for its continuity. Culture can be altered through the decisions of human beings. But this does not mean it is easy to change culture. The super-organic may be injurious to the organic. Some cultural traits for instance, are definitely harmful to the organic life of the humans. The superorganic is an order of phenomenon different from the organic and goes its way with certain amount of independence from the organic. vi. Universal and Unique : Cultural universals are features that are found in every culture, those that distinguish Homo Sapiens from other species. Anthropology assumes that all human beings are fundamentally alike, and they share the same basic biological, psychological, social and other characteristics. People all over the world have certain common obligations towards one another. All people are members of a single community, they all have the same root and destiny. Certain biological, psychological, social and cultural features of human beings are universal. Others are merely generalities; common to several. But not to all human groups. Still other cultural features are particularities unique to certain cultural traditions. Culture is universal in the sense that every man experiences it and uniqueness of culture implies its regional variations. Some cultural traits are necessary to all members of the society these cultural traits are called cultural universe like for e.g., incest taboo. vii. Ethnocentrism and cultural relativism : The two concepts – ethnocentrism and cultural relativism occupy key positions in socio-cultural anthropology. They are the most sensitive and controversial issues in Sociology and socio- cultural anthropology. In his book" Folkways" sociologist William Graham

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 229 Sumner coined the terms “ethnocentrism” to refer to the tendency to assume that one’s culture and way of life are superior to all others. The ethnocentric person sees his/her own group as the centre or defining point of culture and views all other cultures as deviations from what is “normal”. Cultural Relativism/ determinism approach was first formulated by Franz Boas in North America in 19 th century. He says no culture should be judged by the standards of another. Cultural relationism views people’s behaviour from the perspective of their own culture. 18.4 Culture and Civilization Culture is used in a specific sense in Sociology. Culture is a system of learned behaviours shared by and transmitted among the members of the society. It is a heritage into which a child is born. Man begins to learn it since his birth. By picking up the culture and by tapping the heritage of his past, man becomes distinctively human. Singing, talking, dancing and eating belong to the category of Culture. They have been transmitted to him by someone, be it his schoolteacher, his parents or friends. Man has, therefore, been called the culture-bearing animal. The term ‘civilization’ has been used almost synonymously with culture. This is because civilization and culture are different aspects of a single entity. Civilization can be viewed as external manifestation and culture as the internal character of a society. Thus, civilization is expressed in physical attributes, such as tool making agriculture, buildings, technology, urban planning, social structure, social institutions and so forth. Some sociologists divide culture into two parts- 1) the material and 2) non-material. By material is meant concrete objects like dwellings, pens, radio, articles of clothing, utensils, tools, books, paintings etc. By non-material is meant the abstract creations of man such as language, literature, science, art, law, religion. MacIver uses the term ‘civilization’ to denote utilitarian things- the whole mechanism and social organism, techniques and material instruments- which have been designed by man in his endeavour to control the conditions of his life. These things operate as means to ends. 18.4.1 The following differences regarding culture and civilization may be pointed out 1. Civilization has a precise standard of measurement, but not culture. Civilization is susceptible of being quantitatively measured on the grounds of efficiency. When comparing the products if civilization we can prove which is superior and which is inferior. Their efficiency can be estimated

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 230 and in fact be measured. A lorry runs faster than a bullock cart, an aeroplane runs faster than a lorry. On the contrary, there is no measuring rod by which we can assess the cultural objects. 2. Civilization is always advancing, but not culture. Civilization shows a persistent upward trend. It is unilinear and cumulative and tends to advance indefinitely. Since man invented automobile, it has continuously improved. Similar is the case with other means of transportation like railway, ship, which are constantly growing more swift, more efficient and better designed. Culture, on the other hand, advances slowly and it is often subject to retrogression. 3. Civilization is passed on without effort but not culture. Culture is transmitted on a different principle from that of civilization. The former can only be assimilated by the like-minded. It can be had only by those who are worthy of it. No one without the quality of the artist can appreciate art, nor classical music can be judged by those who do not have an ear for it. On the other hand, civilization in general makes no such demand. 4. The works of civilization can be improved by anybody but that is not possible in the case of culture. Lesser minds can improve the work of the great inventors, but lesser artists instead of improving may rather spoil the poems of Milton or Tagore. Again, the product of the artist is more revelatory of his personality than is that of the technician. Culture, being the immediate expression of the human spirit, can advance only if that spirit is capable of finer efforts, has itself something more to express. 5. Civilization is external and mechanical while culture is internal and organic. Civilization is inclusive of external things, culture is related to internal thoughts, feelings, ideas, values etc. MacIver remarks, “Civilization is what we have, culture is what we are.” 6. Civilization is borrowed without change or less but not culture. The transference of civilization from one generation to another is quick and easy. Given adequate means of communication things of civilization can quickly spread to the whole world radio, television, x-ray, automobiles are no longer the monopoly of any one country. The new techniques of constructing buildings and building roads have everywhere been adopted. Culture on the other hand, has an intrinsic quality and can only be imbibed. In India, we have borrowed much Western civilization, but not western culture. Civilization proceeds more rapidly, more simply, less selectively, always spreading outward from the foci of technological advance.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 231 Culture and civilization are independent. Culture and civilization, different as they are, will hardly exist apart from each other. The two are not only interdependent but also interactive. The articles of civilization called "artifacts" are influenced by culture called "mentifacts" and culture is influenced by articles of civilization. Both culture and civilization have been developed by the same human processes. Both are complementary to each other. Culture needs a civilization for further growth. Civilization needs culture even for its vital forced survival. The two are therefore interdependent. Civilization cannot survive without strong stimulus and motive, however high may be its achievements in science. In short, civilization is the driving force of society, culture is its steering wheel. 18.5 Culture and Society Culture is the sum total of learned, shared and socially transmitted behaviour that includes ideas, values, and customs of groups of people. Society is defined as a complex of groups in reciprocal relationships, interacting upon one another, enabling human organism to carry on their life-activities and helping each person to fulfil his wishes and accomplish his interests in association with his fellows. 18.5.1 Difference between Society and Culture 1. Society includes social relationships, social groups and social institutions that exist in abstract form and hence are intangible. Culture has two major constituent parts- materials and behavioural (non-material) while the behavioural aspects of culture are intangible because of their abstract existence. Due to material elements culture is tangible. 2. Both society and culture are subject to change over time. Change in social life takes place slowly whereas in some aspects of culture such as technology, food habit, dress pattern and ornaments, change occur rapidly. 3. According to Nadel, society means the totality of social facts projected in the dimension of relationships and groupings and culture is the same totality in the dimension of action. Firth has stated, "if society is taken to be an aggregate of social relations, then culture is the content of those relations." According to Foster, "society refers to organised groups of people who have learned to live and work together interacting in the pursuit of common ends and cultural ends and culture is the common, learned way of life shared by the members of society. In this way, he has pointed out that society means people and culture means the behaviour of people. Keesing has given distinction between society and culture. To him, culture puts the
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 232 focus on the customs of people and society puts it on the people who are practicing the customs. As society is essential for survival and inheritance of culture so also culture is essential for the existence of society. One of the fundamental needs for the existence of society is occurrence of interactions among people occupying different statuses. Cultural aspects like values, ethics, manners, usages and etiquette guide persons to interact with others in a socially prescribed manner. People disobeying usages are often socially cautioned and sometimes punished. In fact, some social relationships are identified and maintained through usages that are prescribed for such relationships. For instance, father-in-law and daughter-in-law relation is identified by avoidance usage and the relationship between a man with his wife's younger sister and brother is characterised by joking usage. Society can exist so long as orderly social life is maintained. Culture contributes to maintain orderly social life by providing a set of norms and laws for proper social interaction among people. It also compels people to maintain peaceful orderly social life through its mechanism of social control. Integration and interaction among social groups are also essential for survival of society. Culture in the shape of celebration of festivals and rituals games and sports etc. provide scope for such interaction and unity. When a village festival is organised all households of the village are united. Similarly, in the occasions of marriage ceremony or death rituals kins are found to act as a single unit through mutual cooperation. The events like national games, sports, cultural festivals and trade fairs develop and strengthen the sense of integration among people of different states in a country. Despite fundamental differences between society and culture, anthropologists believe that the two terms are closely related and are complementary to each other. Focusing on the linkage between the two terms, Koreber has pointed out that there can be no culture without a society and no society without culture. The complementary relation between social and culture is further exemplified by the fact that the existence of one is a pre-requisite for survival of the other. Tylor, Hunter, Whitten have emphasized upon the importance of society for an individual to learn culture. They have stated, culture is the patterned behaviour that individuals learn, are taught and practised within the context of the groups to which they belong. Culture and society correspond to two different dimensions of human life, they are complementary to each other.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 233 18.6 Summary In this unit we have studied the anthropological meaning of culture though the term culture is used today as a scientific concept by most of the social sciences. Culture is one of the basic concepts of anthropology. Man is social being, that is why we live together in society. Every society has a culture (which is learned and shared). It is not inherited; it is transmitted from one generation to the other through the vehicle of language. Like societies cultures differ all over the world. To review, we may say that culture is – learned, as each person must learn how to "be" a member of that culture. Shared, as it offers all people ideas about behaviour. Symbolic, as it is based on the manipulation of symbols, and systematic and integrated, as the part of culture work together in an integrated whole. 18.7 Keywords Society, Civilisation, Ethnocentrism, Explicit, Implicit, Overtness, Covertness, Social. 18.8 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) Define culture. (b) What is sub-culture? (c) How does culture become civilization? (d) What causes the rise of civilization? (e) Why is civilization important to humankind? (f) What is the importance of the study of ancient civilisation? (g) In what ways have we learnt about the early civilisation? (h) What is the basis of civilisation? 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) Write a note on the nature of culture. (b) Write a note on the relation between culture and civilization. (c) What is the role of culture and civilisation in society? (d) How has civilisation benefitted us?
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 234 18.9 Suggested Readings ? , P.B. Kar-Paschimbanga Rajya Pustak Parishad, 1982, Culcutta ? Sociology, M. Ginsberg ? The Modern State, R.M. MacIver ? Society, an Introductory Analysis, London, MacMillan & Co., R.M. MacIver & C.H. Page, 1998, Delhi ? Surajit Sengupta- Introductory Sociology, 1984, New Central Book Agency, Calcutta 700009 ? Bhushan, V.

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and Sachdeva, D.R.- An Introduction to Sociology, Kitab Mahal

Wikipedia.orgg
Unit 19 Society Structure 19.1 Objectives 19.2 Introduction 19.3 The Concept of Society 19.4 Meaning and definition of Society 19.5 Characteristics of Society 19.6 Difference between society, association, community and institution 19.6.1 Difference between society and association 19.6.2 Difference between Society and institution 19.6.3 Difference between Society and Community 19.7 Summary 19.8 Keywords 19.9
Questions 19.10Suggested Readings 19.1

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Objectives After reading this unit, you will be able to: ? Understand the concept of

society ? Know the meaning and definition of society ? Point out the characteristics of society ? Differentiate between society, association, community, and institution ? Get the actual position of the relationship between individual and society 19.2 Introduction The widest and most inclusive term is “Society”. Man, and its evolutionary history have given us a chance to understand the concept of society. Though the term society is used today as a scientific concept by most of the social sciences, its most comprehensive definition has been provided in anthropology. Humans are social
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 236 beings. That is why we live together in societies. Day-to-day we interact with each other and develop social relationships. A person

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exists only as an agent of social relationships. Mere congregation of individuals does not constitute society. Rather society refers to the

complex of

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network of social relationships by which every individual is interrelated with his

fellow men. Society and culture are closely related, and something can be used interchangeably. This unit discusses the meaning and definition of society in anthropological perspective. The unit also discusses some of the characteristics and elements of society. 19.3 The Concept of Society The word ‘Society’ is generally

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used to refer to the members of specific in- group.

Sometimes, the word society is used to designate institutions like Arya Samaj (Society) or Brahma

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Samaj. At some other time, society refers to an association like Customer’s society, co-operative society or cultural society. Society is also used in the sense of a group such as rural society or urban society.

Everyone often defines society as an aggregation or collection of individuals. But in sociology and anthropology, the term is used in a different sense. The term ‘

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society’ refers not just to a group of people but to a complex pattern of norms of interaction that exist among them.

In terms of common sense, society is understood as a tangible object, whereas in sociology and anthropology it refers to an intangible entity. It is a mental construct which we realize in everyday life but cannot see it. The important aspect of society is the system of relationships, the pattern of the norms of interaction by which the members of the society maintain themselves. Some anthropologists say that society exists only when the members know each other and possess common interests or objects.

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Not all relationships are social. A social relationship implies reciprocal awareness among individuals. This reciprocal awareness direct and indirect are the characteristics of every social

relationships.

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Society is abstract not concrete in nature. We cannot touch it but feel it. Society resides in the minds of individuals. Society is a process of living, not a thing, a motion rather than structure. 19.4

Meaning and Definition of

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Society The term society has been derived from the Latin word “Socius” which means

companionship or friendship.

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This led George Simmel to remark that sociability is the essence of society.

As Aristotle stated centuries ago man is a social animal, it
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 237 brings into focus that man always lives in the company of other people.

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Society has become an essential condition for human life to continue.

Herein, we will discuss some of the views of the social thinkers who had on society and how they have perceived the same. Some popular definitions by famous sociologists August Comte viewed society as a social organism possessing a harmony of structure and function. Emile Durkheim regarded society as a reality in its own right. To Talcott Parsons society is a

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total complex of human relationships in so far as they grow out of the action in terms of means- end relationship intrinsic or symbolic.

G.H. Mead conceived Society as an exchange of gestures which involves the use of symbols. M. Ginsberg defines

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society as a collection of individuals united by certain relations or mode of behaviour which work them off from others who do not enter into these relations or who

are different from them in behaviour.

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To G.D.H. Cole, "Society as the complex of organized associations and institutions within the community." According to MacIver and Page, "Society is a system of usages and procedures, authority and mutual aid, of many groupings and divisions of controls of human behaviours and liberties, "

a web of social relationship."

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According to Cooley, "Society is a complex of forms and processes each of which is living and growing by interaction with the others, the whole being so unified that what take place in one part affects all the rests." According to

F. H. Giddings, "Society is the union itself, the organization the sum of formal relations in which associating individuals are bound together."

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According to Cuber. "A society may be defined as a group of people who have lived long enough to become organized and to consider themselves and be considered as a unit more or less distinct from other human units."

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According to Leacock, "Society includes not only the political relations by which men are bound

to get her

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but the whole range of human relations and collective activities." From the

aforesaid definitions of the society, we can sum up into two types: (i) the functional definition and (ii) the structural definition. From the functional point of view society is defined as a complex of groups in reciprocal relationships interacting upon one another, enabling human organisms to carry on their life-activities and helping each person to fulfill his wishes and accomplish his interests in association with his fellows. From the structural point of view, society is the total social heritage of folkways, mores and institutions, of habits, sentiments and ideals. Ginsberg, Giddings, Cole and Cuber take a structural view of society. While Macalver, Parsons, Lapiere, Cooley and Leacock have given functional definition of society. The latter include in it different activities of the individuals and their relations with one another.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 238 Thus, society is to be interpreted in a wider sense. It is both a structural and functional organization. It consists in the mutual interactions and mutual inter-relations of the individuals, but it is also a structure formed by these relations. It is a pattern, a system and not the people. Those who define it as a group of people interpret it in terms of "A society" as distinguished from "Society".

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Thus, from the above analysis, we conclude that from a wider-angle society is considered as both a structural as well as functional unit. It is an organization, a system and a pattern. It is a system of rules and regulations which changes in course of time. Society is a larger group of which individuals is a member. But society is not a group of people only rather it is a system of relationships which exists among individuals or groups. That is why MacIver remarked that society is "a web of social relationship". This relationship may be of different types. But no social relationship could be possible without awareness and without social relationships, there could be no society. 19.5 Characteristics of society

From the above definitions we can point out the following characteristics of society: 1)

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Population: Without a group of people no society could be formed.

A society must have population.

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Of course society refers to a group of people but to a system of social relationships. But for the establishment of social relationships a group of people is necessary. 2)

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Likeness is the most important characteristics of society. According to MacIver, "Society means likeness." Without a sense of likeness, there could be no mutual recognition of "belonging together" and therefore no society. This sense of likeness was found in early society on Kinship. And in modern societies the conditions of social likeness have broadened out into the principles of nationality

of one world.

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Society consists of like bodied and likeminded individuals. Friendship intimacy and association of any kind would be impossible without likeness. It also helps in the understandings of one by the other. That is why F. H. Giddings opines that society rests on the "Conscious of kind". 3) Difference: Along with likeness differences is another important characteristic of society. Society also implies difference, and it depends on

the latter

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as much as on likeness. That is why MacIver points out that primary likeness and secondary differences create the greatest of institutions- the division of labour. Because differences are complementary to social

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 239 relationship, it has been argued that likeness is necessarily prior to the differentiations of social organization.

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Family as the first society based on biological differences and differences in aptitude, interest and capacity. Though difference does not create society. Hence, differences are subordinate to likeness. 4) Interdependence: Interdependence is another essential characteristic of society. This fact of interdependence is visible in almost all modern societies. Aristotle remarked that man is a social animal. As a social animal he is dependent on others.

So

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individual is self-sufficient. He has to depend on others for food, shelter and security and for the fulfillment of many of his needs and necessities.

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Family being the first society based on the biological interdependence of the sexes. Not only individuals are interdependent but also the groups, communities and society. 5) Co-operation: Both co-operation and conflict are two another important characteristic of society. MacIver remarked that society is co-operation crossed by conflict. Co-operation is an essential component for the formulation of society. Without co-operation, there can be no society. People cannot maintain a happy life without co-operation. Family being the first society rests on co-operation. Co-operation avoids mutual destructiveness and results in economy in expenditure. 6) Conflict: Conflict is also necessary for society. It acts as a cementing factor for strengthening social relationships. In a healthy and well-developed society both co-operation and conflict co-exist. Because with the help of these two universal processes societies is formed. Conflict makes co-operation meaningful. Conflict may be direct and indirect. However, both are necessary for society. 7) Society is a network of web of social relationship. Social relationship is the foundation of society. MacIver remarked that society is a network of social relationship. Hence it is difficult to clarify social relationships. But this social relationship is based on mutual awareness or recognition to which Cooley call wefeeling, Giddings call consciousness of kind and Thomas as common propensity. Without these social relationships no society could be formed. As social relationships are abstract in nature so also the society is abstract in nature. Different kinds of social processes like co-operation, conflict constantly takes place in society. 8)

Permanent nature: Permanency is another important characteristic of society. Society is a coherent organization. Society continues to exist even after the death of individual members.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 240 9) Society is abstract: Society is an abstract entity. As MacIver opines, society is a web of social relationships. We cannot see this relationship, but we can feel it. Hence it is an abstract concept. Wright has aptly remarked that "society in essence means a state or condition, a relationship and is, therefore, necessarily an abstraction." Besides society consists of customs, traditions, folkways, mores and cultures which are also abstract. Hence, society is abstract in nature. 10) Society is Dynamic: No society is static. Every society is always in a state of continuous change. Old customs, traditions, folkways, mores, values and institutions got changed and new customs and values takes place. Society changes from its traditional nature to modern nature. Hence, one of the most important
characteristics and nature of society is dynamic and changeable. 11)

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Comprehensive culture: Culture is another important characteristic of society. Each and every society has its own culture which distinguishes it from others. Culture is the way of life of the member of a society and includes their values, beliefs, art, morals etc.

Hence

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culture is comprehensive because it fulfils the necessities of social life. Moreover, each and every society transmits its cultural pattern to the succeeding generations. 12)

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Accommodation and assimilation: These two associative social processes are also important for the smooth functioning and continuity of society. Apart from the above characteristics, famous sociologists MacIver and Page in their definition mentions some of the elements of society which are

pointed out below: (a)

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Usages: Every society has some usages regarding marriage, religion, education, food, speech etc. These usages differ from society to society. (b) Procedures: In every society there are some procedures like modes of action which helps to maintain its

entity and organization. (c)

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Authority: Every society has some sort of authority. Every member of society has to obey this authority. Some sort of authority is necessary for the maintenance of order in society. (

d)

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Mutual aid: In every society there exists a feeling of mutual aid among its members. Everyone needs

help from others. (e)

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Groupings and divisions: In every society there exists several groupings and divisions like family, village, city etc. which constitute a society. (

f) Liberty and Control exists together in a society. Without liberty man cannot
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 241 develop his personality. Every society exercises some sort of control over its members. Control upon an individual's behaviour is not meant to destroy his liberty, but to promote and protect it. 19.6 Difference between society, association, community, and institution 19.6.1 Difference between society and association There are differences between society and association. The following are the points of difference between society and association. 1. Society is a system of social relationship; association is a group of people: The widest and most inclusive term is society. It is an 'everchanging complex', a 'web of social relationship' that is constantly changing. In sociology, the term '

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society' refers not to a group of people but to the complex pattern of the norms of interactions that arise among them. Society is a system of social

relationship which are invisible intangible. It is the result of natural evolution. On the other hand, association is a group of people organized for the fulfilment of particular interests for its members. 2. Society is older than association: Society is older than association and is in existence since man appeared on the earth while association arose at a later stage when man learnt to organize himself for the pursuit of some particular purpose. 3. Membership of society is compulsory: Man cannot live without society. Society will exist as long as man exists. The membership of society is compulsory, on the other hand, man may live without being a member of any association at all. The membership of an association is voluntary, association may be only transitory. 4. The aim of society is general: The aim of society is general while that of association in particular. Society comes into existence for the general wellbeing of the individuals. Hence, the aim of society is general. It is marked by both co-operation and conflict. 5. Society may be organized or unorganized; on the other hand, association must be organized. Association is formal for fulfilling the interests of its members. 6. Society is natural, association is artificial. 7. Society is marked by both co-operation and conflict on the other hand association is based on co-operation alone.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 242 19.6.2 Difference between Society and Institution The following points of various difference between institution as society may be pointed out: 1. Society is a system of social relationship while institution is the organization of rules, traditions, and usages. 2. Institutions are the forms of procedures which are recognized and accepted by society. 3. Institutions exist for the society and govern the relations between the members of the society. 4. Society represents human aspect while an institution is a social condition of conduct and behaviour. 19.6.3 Difference between Society and Community The following are the differences between society and community: 1. Community sentiment: A community is a group of people who live together in a particular locality and share the basic conditions of a common life.

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To constitute a community the presence of sentiment among the members is necessary.

On the other hand, there is an element of likeness in society, but it is not necessary that likeness should include the people in oneness, the enemies can also be included in society. Society includes every relation which is established among the people. It is the name of the structure of all social relationships, direct or indirect, organized or unorganized, conscious or unconscious, co-operative or antagonistic. When we think of society, we think more particularly of organization, but where we think of community, we think of the life hence organization springs. 2. Definite Locality: Society has no definite boundary or assignable limits. It is universal and pervasive. Society is the name of our social relationships. Community, on the other hand, is group of people living together in a particular locality. 3. Community- a species of society: Community is the species of society. It exists within society and possesses its distinguishable structure which distinguishes it from other communities. Some communities are all inclusive and independent of others. Small communities exist within greater communities, the village within a town, the town within a region, the region within a nation.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 243 4. Community is concrete, society is abstract: Society is a network of social relationships which cannot be seen or touched. It is an abstract concept. On the other hand, community is a concrete concept. It is a group of people living in a particular locality and having a feeling of oneness. We can see this group and locate its existence. Zimmerman and Frampton describe the distinction between community and society as follows: "In the community the group has a life of its own, superior to that of its temporary members. The group is an end in itself. In the society the group is merely a means to an end. In the Gemeinschaft (community) we have faith, customs, natural solidarity, common ownership of properties, and a common will. In the Gemeinschaft (society) we have doctrine, public opinion, fashion, contractual solidarity, private property, and individual will." 19.7 Summary In this unit we have studied the anthropological meaning of the concept society.

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It is derived from the Latin word Socius which means companionship or friendship.

We have come to know that a society comprises of a group of people who share a common culture, live in a particular area and feel themselves to constitute a unified and distinct entity. Society or human society is a group of people related to each other through persistent relations such as kinship, marriage, social status, role and social networks. By extension, society denotes the people of a region or country, sometimes even the world, taken as a whole. 19.8 Keywords Community, Institution, Association, Abstract, Likeness, Difference, Inter- difference. 19.9 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) What is society? Indicate the basic features of society. (b) "Society is the web of social relationship"-discuss. (c) Differentiate between human society and animal society.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 244 (d) "Society is a biological organism" – what is meant by this statement? Give your opinion on it. (e) In "Man is social by nature" – substantiate the statement. (f) Bring out the role of language in human society. (g) Differentiate between society and community. (h) What are the differences between society and institution? 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) Mention the distinctive characteristics of human society. (b) Write a note on the concept of society in details. (c) Discuss the relationship between society and culture. (d) "Man is a social animal" – describe the relation between man and society. 19.10 Suggested Readings 1. Vidya Bhushan and D.R. Sachdeva- An Introduction to Sociology, Distributor- Kitab Mahal, 1987 2. D.C. Bhattacharya- Sociology, Bjjaya Publishing House, 1976, Calcutta- 700006 3. P. Gisbert- Fundamentals of Sociology, Oriental Black Swan, 2015 4. Society, an Introductory Analysis, London, MacMillan & Co., R.M. MacIver & C.H. Page, 1998, Delhi 5. , P.B. Kar- Paschimbanga Rajya Pustak Parishad, 1982, Culcutta 6. Horton, P.B. and Hunt, C.L. (1984), Tata McGraw-Hill, Singapore. 7. Wikipedia.orgn.
Unit 20 Social Change Structure 20.1 Objectives 20.2 Introduction 20.3 Definition of Social Change 20.4 Characteristics 20.5 A Reason/Sources of Social change 20.6 The Factors of Social Change 20.7 Concepts of Social Change, Social Evolution, Social Progress, Social Development, and Social Revolution 20.8 Characteristics of Progress 20.9 Relationship between Social Change and Social Progress 20.10 The concept of Social Revolution 20.11 Summary 20.12 Questions 20.13 Suggested Readings 20.1 Objective In this unit you will be able to understand: ? The concept of society and social change. ? The characteristics of social change. ? The causes of social change. ? The relationship between social change, evolution, progress and revolution. 20.2 Introduction

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Society is a system of social relationships. But these relationships are never permanent, they are subject to

incessant changes. Change is the law of nature. So, nature is always changeable. Human society also follows the natural law. What is
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today shall be different from what it would be tomorrow.

This becomes evident from the fact that each modern society is today different from its past form. Due to changeability, human society reached at modern industrial civilization acrossing primitive, cave-based, and hunting stage of life, and going on towards the future. Society is the web of social relationships. And it is always changing. According to K. Davis, to observe the nature of social change time-dimension must be considered seriously. Because short term change may be regarded as social change. To know social change properly, we should understand the nature and significance

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of social change. Social change occurs in all societies. No society remains completely static.

This is true of all societies, primitive as well as civilized. However, society is subject to change, and the social structure changes in the sense that is acquires growth, maturity and even decay for the purpose of acquiring a 'new birth' in the Shelleyan sense of the term. Variations of conditions and modifications of norms, values and standards affect the social structure which responds to the changes much in the same way as change in nature and natural conditions affect any living organism. Social change can be witnessed in conditions under which man lives and the stride from the jungle to the metropolis is very much a part of this process. Changes take place in beliefs and views of men, and while man consciously notices how technological innovations have changed his culture and personality, he unwillingly takes part in the changing process of geographical and biological conditions. The interesting feature about any type of social change is that while the process is in operation, changes are not felt as clearly as when it is viewed upon as a past event. When the bastions of feudalism collapsed before the advancing might of science, few realized that the 'good old days' had gone forever. Even today, society is in its changing process. As MacIver and Page point out, social change is better understood when it is looked upon as a changing process. Continually, when it is in action and not merely as one isolated phenomenon of change compartmentally measuring the difference between one structure and another finally and completely. In this regard, the same authors said that this very process of change establishes society as a "time sequence". To them, society is "a process, not a product." A social process is a continuity, and whatever product it generates, that co-exists with the very process itself as soon as the process is stopped the product disappears. The laws of inheritance are a product the social processes connected with ideas relating to succession. If thoughts about the distribution of a man's properties after his death are no longer entertained, both he concepts of succession as the process and the laws of inheritance as the product will disappear.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 247 20.3 Definition of Social Change According to Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences (Fairchild 1968: 277), social change refers to

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variations or modifications in any aspect of social process, patter or form...social change may be

progressive or regressive, permanent or temporary, planned or unplanned, unidirectional or multidirectional, beneficial or harmful." Social change may be swift and radical as in the case of the French or Russian revolutions, or it may be slow and gradual as in the case of secularization and modernization. All societies evolve over a period of time, and social change is a part of the process of growth. As Robert Lauer (1991: 4) points out, "social change is normal and continual." Some of the sociologists would emphasize the change in the very structure of society itself while others take into consideration 'partial' and 'total' changes in a given social system. In case of women's education change in any society, there takes place a partial change in its systems, and when feudal conditions are demolished in favour of arising class, the change in the social system is total. Again, some other writers seek to differentiate between changes that are 'basic' and others that are 'incidental'. Some writers observe that social changes occur at a pace that is faster than that of geographical changes. These changes are particularly noticeable in a society after the ravages of war or civil disturbances on a large scale, or often natural calamities China after the Revolution is a society that is markedly different from the one that existed before Mao-Tse-Tung took over, and the world as a whole has changed in radical terms after the second World War. To understand the nature and significance of social change it is better to know first about the definition of social change.

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Social changes may be simply defined as the process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system.

According to Morris Ginsberg, “By social change I understand a change in the

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social structure e.g., the size of a society, the composition or balance of its parts or the type of its organization...

The term social change
must also include changes in attitudes or beliefs in so far as they sustain institutions and change with them.” So, to him, social changes are mainly of two types- 1. Change in structure and functions, and 2. Change of values, ideas, social norms. It is not proper to analyze them separately because one influence another. In change occurs in the mind of the people, then change to be noticed in the structure. In the end of the 19 th century, the size of the family of West-European countries was becoming nuclear. M. Ginsberg thinks that there is a general agreement that this has been brought about in the main by voluntary restriction of births. In this case, attitude influenced social structure. Again, change in the social structure may
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 248 change the thoughts (attitudes) of people. M. Ginsberg writes in his ‘Studies in Sociology’ that the structure of a society changes in as much as its size and patterns get rearranged and rebalanced when social changes affect it at any given stage of its development. Individual attitudes, according to Ginsberg, towards institutions and associations change from time to time, and in fact, this view tallies with Kingsley Davis’s idea that changing society would mean changing man. K. Davis in his ‘Human Society’ writes, “

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by social change is meant only such alterations as occur in social organization- that is, the structure and functions of society.

Social change thus forms only a part of what is essentially a broader category called ‘cultural change’. The latter embraces all changes occurring in any branch of culture, including art, science, technology, philosophy etc. as well as changes in the forms and rules of social organization. Again, he writes, “Since men are social creatures, social change means human change. To change society is to change man.” However, sociologists Stewart and Glynn, in their ‘Introduction to Sociology” minds, “Social change refers to large-scale alterations in the organizations and institutions of a population. Change in the individual’s lifestyle or the realignment of a family because of divorce may be significant to the people involved, but, neither example is indicative of social change.”
MacIver and Page describes, “...our direct concern as sociologists is with social relationships. It is the change in these relationships which alone we shall regard as

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social change.” According to Jones, “Social change is a term used to describe variations in, as modifications of any aspect of social processes, social patterns, social interaction or social organization.”

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Anderson and Parker, “social change involves alteration in the structure or functioning of social forms or processes themselves.”

Moore observes that social change is “the significant alteration of social structure (that is of patterns of social action and interaction), including consequences and manifestations of such structures embodied in norms (rules of conduct), values and cultural products and symbols.” Thus, social change implies any alterations in structures, functions, patterns of interaction, values and attitudes of people, and in their environment in a society. On the basis of these definitions, it may be concluded that

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social change refers to the modifications which take place in

the life patterns of people. It does not refer to all the changes going on in the society. Social relationships are social processes, social patterns and social interactions or social organization. It is a change in the institutions and normative structure of society.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 249 20.4 Characteristics of Social Change From the above definitions, we may describe the following characteristics: 1. Social change is universal: It characterizes every society. No society remains completely static. This is true of all societies, primitive as well as civilized. Under the impact of several internal and external factors. Each society experiences changes in its structure, function, institutions and processes. 2. Social change is not uniform: Social change differs from society to society. Change is the law of nature. Change is the spice of life. However, it can be progressive or regressive, positive or negative, permanent or temporary, planned or unplanned, unidirectional or multidirectional, beneficial or harmful. 3. Social change involves community change: Social change does not mean the change in the life of an individual or several individuals or some group of individual. It is a change involving the life of the entire community. It characterizes and influences the life of the whole community change and not an individual change. 4. Nature and speed of social change in various societies is different: In all societies the nature and speed of social change varies. Each society has its own history and culture. The speed of change in some societies is slow while in others it is fast and rapid. In societies with low levels of literacy and development, the speed of social change is slow e.g., at the villages. In a developed and highly literate society the social change speedily comes e.g., in urban areas. 5. Social change is again relative to time: Social change characterizes each society. Its speed, however, always differs from time to time and is not essentially uniform. It keeps on changing from time to time. Before 1947, when our country was living under British imperialism, the speed of change remained slow. After independence, the speed of change in Indian society became extremely fast. Rapid industrialization, development of agriculture and the process of planned socio-economic development increased the speed of social change. Under the impact of information and communication revolution of contemporary times, the speed of change has become very fast. Thus, the speed of change in each society continues to vary from time to time. 6. Social change shows a chain reaction sequence: Since social change always comes under the impact of several social, economic, technological and situational factors, it very often shows a chain reaction sequence i.e.,
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 250 change is one part/factor leads to changes in the other parts/factors. Industrialization and urbanization lead to changes in family life and village life. Increased need for labour to run the factories encourages the women to join the work force. Need for skilled labours encourages both men and women to go in for technical education and training. This again leads to change in all parts of social relations. Thus, social change is characterized by a chain-reaction sequence. 7. Several interdependent and interacting factors of social change comes under the influence of several social, economic, cultural, political and science technological factors. 8. Social change is unpredictable in general: No one can predict social change. It is indeed difficult to predict the nature of social change that might come in a society so sociologists can really predict it. The process of social change is overly complex and dynamic. Revolution is a process of social change. What speed and in what form the change takes place is not easily predictable. 9. Social change is continuous: Society is undergoing endless changes. These changes cannot be stopped.

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Society cannot be preserved in a museum to save it from the ravages of time.

From the dawn of history, dawn to this day, society has been in continuous flux. 10. Social change is temporal: Change happens through time. Social change is temporal in the sense it denotes the time sequence. In fact, society exists only as a time sequence. As MacIver says, "it is a becoming, not a being, a process, not a product". Innovation of new things, modification and revolution of the existing behaviour and the discarding of the old behaviour patterns take time. But the mere passage of time does not cause change as in the biological process of ageing. 11. Social change is environment: Social change must take place within a geographical or physical and cultural context. Both these contexts have impact on human behaviour and in turn man changes them. Social changes never take place in vacuum. 12. Social change is Human change: The composition of society is not constant but changing. Social change involves the human aspects. 13. Social change results from interaction of several factors: A single factor may trigger a particular change, but it is always associated with other factors. The physical, biological, technological, cultural and other factors may together bring about social change. This due to the mutual interdependence of social phenomenon.
NSOU ? CC-SO-01 251 14. Social change is an objective term: To the sociologists, social change as a phenomenon is neither moral nor immoral, it is amoral. It means

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the study of social change involves no value judgement. It is ethnically neutral.

One can study change even within the value systems without being for against the change. 20.5 Sources of Social change Change comes from two sources: one source is random or unique factors such as climate, weather, or the presence of specific groups of people. Another source is systematic factors, for example, successful development has the same general requirement, such as a stable and flexible government, enough free available resources and a diverse social organization of society. On the whole, social change is usually a combination of systematic factors along with some random or unique factors. 20.6 Factors of Social Change In every society, there are conditions which facilitate social change. In recent decades, attempt have been made to analyze social change based on studies in various fields. Several factors operate together in bringing about social change.

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Social change has occurred in all societies and in all periods of time. But

the rate of social change differs from society to society. In one society, the rate is rapid while in another it is necessarily slow. There are various factors which determine the role and direction of social change. The physical or environmental or geographical and population, the biological, the technological, the cultural and the psychological factors are mentioned below- Attempts to frame an integrated and full-fledged theory of social change have been proceeding on for a long time. But still now most of the theories regarding social change have been criticized as deterministic. Deterministic, theoretical approach is that one by which an integrated full-fledged explanation is required. For example, economic determinism, technological determinism, geographical determinism may be mentioned. According to geographical determinism theory, natural and geographical environment and location society may be changed. Due to mountains, hills, seas, rivers, plain land, forest, desert, flood, drought etc. - These natural and geographical factors motivate social change. According to sociologist P. Sorokin, social change is not created only by a single factor. Social change is the combination of many factors. As a result, it is not easy to identify which cause is direct or indirect.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 252 a) Population and the Physical/Geographical/Environmental Factors The population of every country is always changing both in numbers and in composition. The variables that are important are birth rate, mortality rate and migration so far as the study of population is concerned. The growth of population and the increasing migration to urban areas are the major trends in most of the states. The size of human population is, in fact, an important variable in the making of social change. Population size and density have operated as intervening variables. Population changes that have altered modern society include a decrease in the death rate, which has caused population explosion and increased the number of older people, a decrease in the birth rate which has decreased the number of people and migration, which has brought different cultures into contact with one another, spreading the ideas of one culture to another. Internal population changes, such as, fluctuation in birth and death rates are also likely to produce social cultural change. b) The Physical Factor Man's environment is not merely the geographical one, it comprehends the economic, the political and the cultural surroundings of man so that all human beings live in that may be described as a total environment. However, the geographical surroundings have a special significance for him, since physical conditions directly affect his life and the changes that are affected in it climatic conditions and geological attributes of land certainly influence human habitation, and along with these factors other natural conditions shape man's life, the materials that he uses for his buildings, the matter that becomes his food, means of transportation, methods of cultivation and the use of animals and animal power for domestic and agricultural purposes. In the process of cultural development of any society, all these physical factors have their importance in as much as people living in any geographical area become ecologically habituated to the local physical conditions. These conditions do not change radically in order to annihilate the local culture but at the same time they do not remain the same. Man has always tried to change the physical surroundings in which he lives, with the help of his cultural attainments. He covered himself and P to the predatory forces of nature in the initial stages of his development, in the later stages, he has learnt to change courses of rivers, soil qualities, the very topography of land and other physical conditions whenever they perplex him with adverse conditions. Forests are cleared for human habitation while at the same time deserts and areas with inclement attributes are made habitable and productive. Some writers point out that whatever is natural in geographic conditions has been modified by the cultural features of human civilization, and the natural landscape has given way to

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 253 the cultural landscape not only in urban concentrations but in rural areas too. Thus the cultural landscape manifests itself in canals, manmade lakes, irrigation devices, highways and railroads. Several hundreds of years are taken in the change of a natural landscape while the cultural landscape changes speedily particularly in developing countries like our won where the desire for progress brooks no delay. Differences in conditions of development in different regions may not be caused by geographical factors alone, but the physical surroundings have their share of importance. Countries in Europe are developed not because they are located in the temperate zone of this earth of ours but because they felt the importance of industrial revolution before other countries. Excessive heat or cold will not help the concentration of habitation in any locality, nor will human beings tend to settle down in places that are devoid of the minimum of natural resource. People living in colder countries can be more hardworking than those of warmer climates, and man necessarily learns to corelate his efforts of the minimum magnitude and those who live under hard conditions of incommunicable mountains or rough deserts will apply their skill and experiences to the possibilities of improving their living conditions under such difficult habitat. The different localities will therefore, generate cultural differences in the respective ways of life that can hardly be missed by the student of sociology. Interaction in the relation of production, according to Marx and Engels, brings about changes in society. Kingsley Davis, However, does not consider this analysis of social relations to be very perfect. According to him, it would be an oversimplification to state that the economic structure alone brings about changes in a society; there are other factors too that account for such change. No single factor can afford to bring changes in a society through each of them has its own share of contribution in the process that has been described as social change. Geography can impede or facilitate change by isolating or permitting ready contact between groups. The changes in the environment have profound repercussions on culture. An earthquake, a volcanic eruption and other natural disasters obviously have immense adverse consequences for social life. Similarly, pollution, drought, soil erosion and the like can produce far-reaching economic and social consequences. The changes in the natural environment producing social changes arise from the interaction of man with his environment. c)The Biological Factor Of the several factors that account for social change the biological arguments are of considerable importance. The biological conditions can change faster than the slow natural changes. By biological factors we mean the factors that determine the

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 254 numbers, the composition, the selection and the hereditary quality of the successive generations. The human element in society is always changing. The changes in population, both in numbers and composition have a far-reaching effect on society. The composition of population in any society changes according to social conditions and this fact is true not only with developed countries of Western Europe, but also with some of our countries in the orient. With the onset of the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century, population rose in the western countries and then became stabilised in the last fifty years with the result that today birth rates as well as death rates tend to remain on the lower side. Some demographers found that in India a trend towards balancing population is being officially encouraged. The variables that are important are birth rate, mortality rate and migration so far as the study of population is concerned. The growth of population and the increasing migration to urban areas are the major trends in most of the states. The size of the human population is in fact an important variable in the making of social change, population size and density have operated intervening variables. Population changes that have altered modern society include a decrease in the death rate, which has caused population explosion and increased the number of older people, a decrease in the birth rate, which has decreased the number of people and migration, which has brought different cultures into contact with one another, spreading the ideas of one culture to another. The influx of a large group bearing a divergent culture influences those whose ranks they join. Internal population changes such as fluctuation in birth and death rates are also likely to produce social and cultural change. Increasing population produces profound defects in a society, including an increase in impersonal relations, the expansion of secondary groups and greater institutional differerences. d) Technology In our daily life technology affects society greatly. It is impossible to separate technology from our daily life- dress, various food habits, attitudes, beliefs, required communication system etc. Technology is a great invention of social change. All technological invention provides new opportunities with less effort or at less cost and establish new condition of life. Invention of agricultural technology in our country, for example has led to an increase in the quantity and quality of agricultural production. Regarding industry the technical condition of the modern factory tend to weaken the caste system and strengthen industrial unionism. Industrialism has destroyed the domestic system of production, brought women from the home to the factory and the office, and changed their earnings. And it has shaken the joint family system to its root. The textile plant has brought about organisation of labour and a complicated system of production and distribution.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 255 With the invention of new agricultural tools and chemical manures, agricultural production has increased there by rising the standard of living of the rural people. Changes in the agricultural techniques have affected the rural community. Fewer people are now needed for agriculture. As a result, many agricultural labourers have shifted to town to find employment. Communication is an important factor determining our social life. The basic functions of all communication devices is the conquest of time and space. Its technique definitely limits the kinds of organized life that a people can have. The primary techniques of communication are speech and gesture since these techniques provide the base upon which all other modes of communication are built. Radio communication is the transportation of speech through space. The invention of the printing press has influenced entertainment education, politics and trade. The printed records have become a store house of wisdom upon which the would-be inventor can draw at will. The printed word also makes for a wide and rapid diffusion of inventions and discoveries within the members of a society and between societies. Similarly, the invention of radio, telegraph, telephone and computer has influenced the business recreation, public opinion and furthered the development of new modes of organisation. From the above discussion we may say that technology is changing the entire society in many ways. The following effects of technology may be mentioned: Modern technology has changed the family structure and the form of husband-wife relationship. It brought women from home to factory and the office. Love marriage, inter caste marriage, late marriage are the other effects of technology. It has increased the number of divorces. The invention of birth control devices has reduced the size of the family. Technology has lessened the importance of family as an agency of social control. It has caused economic depression, unemployment, industrial disputes, accidents and diseases. Trade-union movement is the product of technology. It has created a middle class of white-collar employees. It has led to the decline of community life; it has grown the sense of individualism. Recreation has become commercialized. Caste-system has been weakened by technology. Man has become a machine; social contacts have become secondary. The worth of man is judged by what a man has than by what he is. A large number of functions have been transferred from the family to the state. The scope of state activity has been enlarged. Technology made the state secular. It has increased the size and power of bureaucracy. With the growth of scientific knowledge, the role superstitions have decreased. The followers of different religions have shed off their orthodoxy and mix with each other. Religion has now become more secular and scientific. But now through out India religions environment is in danger.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 256 20.7 Concepts of Social Change, Social Evolution, Social, Progress, Social Development and Social Revolution Social change, social evolution, social development, and social progress are used in the discussion of the initial stage of sociology. These concepts are almost synonymous in most ways. They are treated as logically related terms though there were differences among them. Later there raised a question regarding their validity. Again, there was a doubt about the relationship of the concepts treated as logically related terms. Now we are trying to indicate the changes of these terms and their characteristics. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sociology came into existence from philosophical approach to the philosophy of history. In the historical background of the writings of A. Comte, K. Marx, H. Spencer, Max weber an attempt was followed to explain the evolution of the society. Though E. Durkheim was not in favour of this approach, yet he actually failed to ignore totally the evolutionary approach. In the discussion of his Division of labour Durkheim followed the evolutionary approach from primitive to modern society. He tried to point out the evolution of the society. After words evolutionary approach was introduced in the discussion of E. Durkheim, Hob House, Edwards Westermarck and Moris Ginsberg. Evolution is a continuous process of differentiation cum integration. Evolution describes a series of related changes in a system of some kind. it is a process in which hidden or latent characters of a thing reveal themselves. It is an order of change which unfolds the variety of aspects belonging to the nature of the changing object. The concept of evolution was first developed by the German sociologist Von Baer and subsequently by Darwin, Spencer and many others. This concept, evolution, is different from that of progress, from the Latin progredial, to step forward and coincides with the Sanskrit pra-gat. The fundamental meaning of progress, therefore, is the march or advance towards a desirable end, so that there may be as many types of progress as there are desirable ends. When we speak of

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progress, we imply not merely direction, but direction towards some final goal, some destination determined ideally.

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Progress means change for the better, and hence implies a value judgement.

It is for possible tv speak of progress without reference to standards.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 257 20.8 Characteristics of Progress In short, the following characteristics may be pointed out: i. Progress is change in some direction. ii. Change can be called progress only when it fulfills the desired aim. iii. Progress is communal. iv. Progress is volitional. It requires desire and volition. v. The concept of progress is variable. What is considered today the symbol of progress may tomorrow be regarded as sign of regress. vi. There are no limits to human progress. 20.9 Relationship between Social Change and Social Progress Social Change and Social Progress: Social change should also be distinguished from social progress. Social change is a generic term, an objective term describing one of the fundamental progresses. There is no value judgement attached to it. It is true that some changes are beneficial to mankind, and some are harmful. But social change as a phenomenon is neither moral nor immoral. The study of social change involves no value judgment. The concept of social progress, on the other hand, involves and implies value judgments social progress means improvement, betterment, moving to a higher level from a lower level. 20.10 Concept of Social Revolution (Marxist Revolution) From the above discussion we may say that there is no appropriate theory about social change. As a result there arises a question what brings social change and what retards it? In sociological literature there are two types of explanation of social change:. a) first type theory is deterministic theories and b) social change results from the interaction of a number of factors. Again deterministic theories are of two kinds: a) normal types and b) a social factor Prof. K. Davies prefers geographical determinism as an example of the first kind of theory, and Marx's theory as the example of the second type. The geographical environment can not be regarded as a separate and sufficient cause. This environment,

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 258 unaffected by men, changes very slowly and hence can not explain most social changes. The deterministic theory of social change is a widely accepted theory of social change among contemporary sociologists. According to this theory there are certain forces, social or natural or both ,which bring about social change.It is not reason or intellect but the presence of certain forces and circumstances which determines the the course of social change .Prof Sumner and Keller insisted that social change is automatically determined by economic factors. According to Marx, material conditions of life are the determining factors of social change. His theory is known as the theory of economic determinism or "the materialist interpretation Of history 'Marx held that human society passes through various stages, each with its own well-defined organisational system. Each successive stage comes into existence as a result of conflict with the one preceding it. Change from one stage to another is due to changes in economic factors, namely, the methods of production and distribution. The Productive Forces and the Relations of Production together constitute the Mode of Production. The two are inseparably linked. If there is a discrepancy between the two, society goes through a period of crisis struggle. The material Productive Forces of society, in course of their development come into conflict with the existing relations of production which are directly reflected in political life and legal norms of the society. The conflict between the Relations of Production and Productive Forces leads to a sharpening of the conflict between the classes between the ruling (exploiting) classes, whose interest is to maintain and preserve the existing production relations, and the exploited, whose interest is to replace it by a new one. Sooner or later this conflict is by the revolutionary abolition of the old production relations and old classes, and their replacement by new ones. Marx showed that in the capitalist society it inevitably leads to the abolition of classes and the establishment of a classless society, socialism. This theory has been criticised by Prof K. Davies and MacIver ,and many other social thinkers as deterministic and hence unscientific and wrong; for Marx,in their opinion ,regarded the economic factor as the only determinant of all social phenomena including social change. 20.11 Summary Change is the law of nature. So, nature is always changeable. Human society also follow the natural law. Due to changeability human society reached at modern industrial civilization acrossing primitive, cave-based and hunting stage of life and going on towards the future.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 259 Social change is a concept in sociology which talks about a change in the established patterns of social relations or change in social values or change in structure. Sociologists define social change as changes in human interactions and relationships that transform cultural and social institutions. These changes occur over time and often have profound and long-term consequences for society.

95% **MATCHING BLOCK 371/372** **W**

According to Morris Ginsberg, "By social change I understand a change in social structure e.g., the size of a society, the composition or balance of its parts or the type of its

organizations.... The term social change must also include changes in attitudes or beliefs, in so far as they sustain institutions and change with them". Social changes have some characteristics: social change is universal, social change is not uniform, social change is continuous, it is temporal. Social change is the combination of many factors: (i) Population and the physical/ geographical/environmental (ii) Biological factors, technology etc. Social changes are of various types and can be explained by different terms such as process, growth, progress, evolution, revolution, adaptation and accommodation etc. Evolution is a process of differentiation and integration. Some thinkers opine that men have all what they need in material goods and that there is no need for further invention. However, it would be unwise to assert that further inventions be stopped because mankind has all the material goods it needs. Man's wants are limitless. Changes will continue in future also. 20.12 Questions 1. Answer the following questions briefly: (5 marks) (a) Define social change. (b) Point out four types of social change. (c) What do you mean by evolution? (d) What is progress? (e) Difference between evolution and progress. (f) Relation between social change and evolution. (g) Point out the geographical factors. (h) Define civilization.

NSOU ? CC-SO-01 260 2. Answer in detail: (10 marks) (a) Write a note on the concept of social change. (b) Point out the main characteristics of social change. (c) Mention the factors of social change. (d) Describe the main causes of social change. 20.13 Suggested Readings 1. Vidya Bhushan and D.R. Sachdeva- An Introduction to Sociology, Distributor- Kitab Mahal, 1987 2. D.C. Bhattacharya- Sociology, Bjjaya Publishing House, 1976, Calcutta- 700006 3. P. Gisbert- Fundamentals of Society, Oriental Black Swan, 2015 4. MacIver & Page – Society, Macmillan India LTD, 1998, Delhi 5. Wikipedia.org 6. Surajit Sengupta- Introductory Sociology, 1984, New Central Book Agency, Calcutta 700009 7. Wikipedia.orgn

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1/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 83 WORDS **23%** **MATCHING TEXT** 83 WORDS

Sociology and Other Social Sciences Unit 8 Relationship between Sociology and Social Anthropology 103 – 113 Unit 9 Sociology and Psychology 114 – 125 Unit 10 Sociology and History 126 – 134 Unit 11 Relationship between Sociology and Political Science 135 – 143 Unit 12 Sociology and Economics 144 – 153 Unit 13 Interrelationship among Social Sciences / Cultural Studies 154 – 167 [6] Module III- Basic Concepts Unit 14 Individual 168 – 182 Unit 15 Social Groups 183 – 197 Unit 16 Association 198 – 206 Unit 17 Institution 207 – 217 Unit 18

SOCIOLOGY WITH 21 OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES 23 Unit 2 Relationship of Sociology with Anthropology 35 Unit 3 Relationship of Sociology with Psychology 46 Unit 4 Relationship of Sociology with History 57 69 Unit 5 Relationship of Sociology with Unit 6 Relationship Sociology with Science 83 97 BLOCK 3 BASIC CONCEPTS 111 122 Unit 7 Culture and Society 135 Unit 8 Social Groups and Community 147 160 Unit 9 Organisations and Institutions 173 176 Unit 10

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2/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 22 WORDS **78%** **MATCHING TEXT** 22 WORDS

French Revolution 1.5.4 The Industrial Revolution 1.6 Emergence of social anthropology 1.6.1 First phase of development 1.6.2 Second phase of development 1.6.3 Emergence of modern anthropology 1.7

French Revolution 1.3.2 Industrial Revolution 1.4 The Rise of Sociological Theory 1.5 Emergence of Social Anthropology 1.5.1 First Phase of Development 1.5.2 Second Phase of Development 1.6 Emergence of Modern Social Anthropology 1.7

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3/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 14 WORDS **84%** **MATCHING TEXT** 14 WORDS

Emergence of Sociology 1.5.1 Background to the emergence of sociology 1.5.2 The Enlightenment Period 1.5.3 The

EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY Structure 2.1 Introduction 2.2 Learning Objectives 2.3 Background to the Emergence of Sociology 2.3.1 The Enlightenment Period 2.4 The

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4/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 30 WORDS **89%** **MATCHING TEXT** 30 WORDS

events of the period, the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution which followed the Commercial Revolution and the Scientific Revolution in Europe leaving a lasting impact on the main themes of sociology. 1.5.1

events of the period, the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. They followed the Commercial Revolution and the Scientific Revolution in Europe, and left a lasting impact on the main themes of sociology. 2.2

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5/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

There is always a connection between the social conditions of a period and the ideas, which arise and are dominant in that period.

There is always a connection between the social conditions of a period and the ideas, which arise and are dominant in that period.

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6/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

the Indian middle class emerged as a product of the economic policies of colonialism.

the Indian middleclass emerged as a product of the economic policies of colonialism.

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7/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS

The emergence of sociology as a scientific discipline dates back to that period of European history, which saw such tremendous social, political and economic changes as embodied in the French revolution and Industrial revolution

The emergence of sociology as a scientific 9 discipline can be traced to that period of European history, which saw such tremendous social, political and economic changes as embodied in the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution.

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8/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

as it embodies the spirit of new awakening in the eighteenth century. This period marked radical

as it embodies the spirit of new awakening in the French philosophers of the eighteenth century. The Enlightenment Period marked a radical

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9/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

introduced the new way of thinking and looking at reality. Individuals started questioning each and every aspect of life.

introduced the new way of thinking and looking at reality. Individuals started questioning each and every aspect of life

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10/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

The French Revolution The French revolution started in 1789 which marked a turning point in the history of human struggle for freedom and equality. It

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION The French Revolution, which erupted in 1789, marked a turning point in the history of human struggle for freedom and equality. It

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11/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

the ideas generated during this period which now form a part of the preamble to the constitution of India.

the ideas generated during this revolution. Ideas like liberty, fraternity and equality, which now form a part of the preamble to the Constitution of India,

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12/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	55 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	55 WORDS

Basic feature of French society The French society was divided into feudal 'estates'. Estates are defined as a system of stratification found in feudal European societies whereby one section or estate is distinguished from the other in terms of status, privileges and restrictions accorded to that estate. The First Estate consisted of the clergy, which was stratified into higher clergy

Basic Picture of the French society: Division into Feudal Estates The French society was divided into feudal 'estates'. The structure of the feudal French society comprised the 'Three Estates'. Estates are defined as a system of stratification found in feudal European societies whereby one section or estate is distinguished from the other in terms of status, privileges and restrictions accorded to that estate. a) The First Estate consisted of the clergy, which was stratified into higher clergy,

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13/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

lived a life of luxury and gave little attention to religion.

lived a life of luxury and gave very little attention to religion.

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14/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	61%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

The Second Estate consisted of the nobility, nobles of the sword(big landlords) and nobles of the robe(

The Second Estate consisted of the nobility. There were two kinds of nobles, the nobles of the sword and the nobles of the robe.

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15/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

The Third Estate comprised the rest of the society and included the peasants, the merchants, the artisans, and others.

The Third Estate comprised the rest of the society and included the peasants, the merchants, the artisans, and others.

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16/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

France like some other European countries during the eighteenth century, had entered into the age of reason and rationalism. Some of the major philosophers, whose ideas influenced the French people, were rationalists,

France, like some other European countries during the eighteenth century, had entered the age of reason and rationalism. Some of the major philosophers, whose ideas influenced the French people, were rationalists

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17/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

The Industrial Revolution The industrial revolution began around 1760 A.D. in England. It brought about great changes in the social and economic life of the people first in England then in the other

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION The Industrial Revolution began around 1760 A.D. in England. It brought about great changes in the social and economic life of the people first in England, then in the other

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18/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

During Industrial revolution, new tools and techniques were invented, which could produce goods on a larger scale. A

During Industrial Revolution, new tools and techniques were invented, which could produce goods on a large-scale. A.

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19/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

Due to this revolution society moved from the old age of hand made goods to the new age of machine made goods. This shift heralded the emergence of industrial revolution.

Due to this revolution society moved from the old age of hand- made goods to the new age of machine-made goods. This shift heralded the emergence of Industrial Revolution.

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20/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

The traditional emphasis on land lost its value while money or capital became important during

The traditional emphasis on land lost its value while money or capital became important during

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21/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

Technology and the factory system has been the subject of countless writings in the nineteenth century. In the

Technology and the factory system has been the subject of countless writings in the nineteenth century. Both the

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22/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

Marxist terms the worker became alienated from the product of his/her labour.

Marxist terms the worker became alienated from the product of his/ her labour.

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23/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

sociology emerged as a response to the forces of change, which took place during

Sociology emerged as a response to the forces of change, which took place during

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24/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

A scientific approach to the study of society dates back to the tradition of Enlightenment.

a scientific approach to the study of society dates back to the tradition of Enlightenment.

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25/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

will trace the relationship between the emergence of NSOU ? CC-SO-01 11 sociology and the social and intellectual conditions of eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe.

will trace the relationship between the emergence of sociology and the social and intellectual conditions of eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe.

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26/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

the intellectual influences such as the philosophy of history, biological theories of evolution ad surveys of social conditions, which affected the emergence of sociology in Europe.

the intellectual influences such as the philosophy of history, biological theories of evolution and surveys of social conditions, which affected the emergence of sociology in Europe. 2.9

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27/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	74 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	74 WORDS

Emergence of social anthropology The subject matter of anthropology and its academic profession began as an intersection of natural science and humanities. Social anthropology being part of anthropology, its emergence has been historically linked with the development of other components of anthropology. The emergence of social anthropology has also been closely linked with other disciplines of the social sciences, such as sociology, philosophy, ethno-history, history, psychology (social psychology), political science, and economics. But the closest discipline of social anthropology is sociology.

EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY The subject matter of anthropology and its academic profession began as an intersection of natural science and humanities. Social anthropology being part of anthropology, its emergence has been historically linked with the development of other components of anthropology. The emergence of social anthropology has also been closely linked with other disciplines of the social sciences, such as sociology, philosophy, ethno-history, history, psychology (social psychology), political science, and economics. But the closest discipline of social anthropology is sociology.

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28/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

Anthropology is a word which the ancient Greeks had also used. To them Anthropologia occurs in 1595. Immanuel Kant published a book in 1798 entitled Anthropologie in

Anthropology is a word 12 which the ancient Greeks had also used. To them Anthropologia occurs in 1595. Immanuel Kant published a book in 1798 entitled Anthropologie in

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29/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	93 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	93 WORDS

First phase of development By 18th century A.D. after the experience and influence of the renaissance in Europe, there were many eminent philosophers who have made immense contributions to the understanding of society, including Rousseau, Vico, Baron de Montesquieu and John Locke who dealt with the social phenomena of the time. These earlier works certainly laid the philosophical foundation for the development of the social sciences and the science of human society including. sociology and anthropology. The contribution of the earlier philosophers and scholars have certainly contributed to the emergence and development of anthropology although they cannot be called anthropology per se.

First Phase of Development By 18th century A.D. after the experience and influence of the renaissance in Europe, there were many eminent philosophers who have made immense contributions to the understanding of society, including Rousseau, Vico, Baron de Montesquieu and John Locke who dealt with the social phenomena of the time. These earlier works certainly laid the philosophical foundation for the development of the social sciences and the science of human society including sociology and anthropology. The contribution of the earlier philosophers and scholars has certainly contributed to the emergence and development of anthropology although they cannot be called anthropology per se.

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30/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	89 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	89 WORDS

On the nature of social anthropology, he states that “there is a broad division of opinion between those who regard social anthropology as a natural science and those, like myself [Evans-Pritchard], who regards it as one of the humanities. This division is perhaps at its sharpest when relations between anthropology and history are being discussed” (Evans-Pritchard, 1951:7). 1.6.2 Second Phase of development In the second phase (1840-1890) there was “transition in the natural sciences from a static equilibrium model to a dynamic model. Its culmination came with the introduction of thermodynamic and Darwinian evolutionary theory” (Voget, 1975:42).

On the nature of social anthropology, he states that “there is a broad division of opinion between those who regard social anthropology as a natural science and those, like myself [Evans- Pritchard], who regards it as one of the humanities. This division is perhaps at its sharpest when relations between anthropology and history are being discussed” (Evans-Pritchard, 1951:7). Nature and Scope of Sociology 1.5.2 Second Phase of Development In the second phase (1840-1890) there was “transition in the natural sciences from a static equilibrium model to a dynamic model. Its culmination came with the introduction of thermodynamic and Darwinian evolutionary theory” (Voget, 1975:42).

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31/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	130 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	130 WORDS

This period marks the emergence of anthropology into an academic discipline. It is through the inspiration of the “triumphs of the scientific method in the physical NSOU ? CC-SO-01 14 and organic domain, nineteenthcentury anthropologists believed that socio-cultural phenomena were discoverable lawful principles. This conviction joined their interests with the aspiration of a still earlier period, extending back before the social sciences had been named, to the epochal stirrings of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and the vision of a universal history of mankind” (Harris 1979:1). However, it emerged as an academic discipline only in the nineteenth century. The significant factors for the emergence of the discipline is however attributed to the various intellectual and socio-political changes taking place in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. Some of the important influences include the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in Europe.

This period marks the emergence of anthropology into an academic discipline. It is through the inspiration of the “triumphs of the scientific method in the physical and organic domain, nineteenth- century anthropologists believed that socio-cultural phenomena were discoverable lawful principles. This conviction joined their interests with the aspiration of a still earlier period, extending back before the social sciences had been named, to the epochal stirrings of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and the vision of a universal history of mankind” (Harris 1979:1). However, it emerged as an academic discipline only in the nineteenth century. The significant factors for the emergence of the discipline is however attributed to the various intellectual and socio-political changes taking place in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. Some of the important influences include the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in Europe.

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32/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	142 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	142 WORDS

Historic and evolutionary processes had been at work in the emergence of the anthropological scientific institution" (Voget 1975:89). Marvin Harris, a historian of anthropological development, also views that anthropology "began as the science of history" (1979:1). 1.6.3 Emergence of modern anthropology The emergence of modern social anthropology emerged mainly with the contribution of Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliff-Brown. Marcel Mauss is also generally considered as the pioneer of modern social anthropology in France. Bronislaw Malinowski is one of the most well-known social anthropologists. In fact, he is generally regarded as the founder of modern social anthropology. His main contributions to modern social anthropology was the introduction of ethnographic method with participant method and/or technique, and founding of the theory of functionalism departing from the earlier approaches, particularly, evolutionary, and historical approaches. His significant works include Argonauts of the Western Pacific (1922), Crime and Custom in Savage Society (1926), A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays (1944).

Historic and evolutionary processes had been at work in the emergence of the anthropological scientific institution" (Voget 1975:89). Marvin Harris, a historian of anthropological development, also views that anthropology "began as the science of history" (1979:1). 1.6 EMERGENCE OF MODERN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY The emergence of modern social anthropology emerged mainly with the contribution of Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliff-Brown. Marcel Mauss 14 is also generally considered as the pioneer of modern social anthropology in France. Bronislaw Malinowski is one of the most well-known social Emergence of Sociology and anthropologists. In fact, he is generally regarded as the founder of modern social Social Anthropology anthropology. His main contributions to modern social anthropology was the introduction of ethnographic method with participant method and/or technique, 15 and founding of the theory of functionalism departing from the earlier approaches, particularly, evolutionary and historical approaches. His significant works include Argonauts of the Western Pacific (1922), Crime and Custom in Savage Society (1926), A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays (1944).

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33/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	114 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	114 WORDS

Along these pioneers in social anthropology in varied areas, one can include Levi Strauss into the list for founding the theory of structuralism and structural anthropology. He is also regarded as one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th century about myth, culture, religion, and social organization. His significant works include The Elementary Structures of Kinship (1949), Tristes Tropiques (1955), and Structural Anthropology (1963).There are also many anthropologists who contributed to the development of modern social anthropology, but they come either later or of lower stature. The emergence of anthropology (social anthropology) as a discipline can also be reckoned through the formation of professional associations. The aborigines Protection Society formed in 1837 was the first anthropological association to be established (cf. Sarana 1983:4).

Along these pioneers in social anthropology in varied areas, one can include Levi Strauss into the list for founding the theory of structuralism and structural anthropology. He is also regarded as one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th century on the subjects of myth, culture, religion, and social organization. His significant works include The Elementary Structures of Kinship (1949),Tristes Tropiques (1955), and Structural Anthropology (1963).There are also many anthropologists who contributed to the development of modern social anthropology, but they come either later or of lower stature. The emergence of anthropology (social anthropology) as a discipline can also be reckoned through the formation of professional associations. The aborigines Protection Society formed in 1837 was the first anthropological association to be established (cf. Sarana 1983:4).

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34/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	41 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	41 WORDS

In the Indian context, there is no consensus that the emergence of anthropology (including social anthropology) coincides with the formation of Asiatic Society. of Bengal as some would claim. Saranais of the view that Indian anthropology did not emerge in the 18th century.

In the Indian context, there is no consensus that the emergence of anthropology (including social anthropology) coincides with the formation of Asiatic Society of Bengal as some would claim. Saranais of the view that Indian anthropology did not emerge in the 18th century.

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35/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS

The generally recognized anthropological works in India were written by the British administrators like Blunt, Crook, Dalton, Grierson, Ibbetson, Mills, Nesfield, O'Malley, Risley, Russel, Senart and Thurston. 1.7

The generally recognized anthropological works in India were written by the British administrators like Blunt, Crook, Dalton, Grierson, Ibbetson, Mills, Nesfield, O'Malley, Risley, Russel, Senart and Thurston

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36/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Common sense is unreflective since it does not question its own origins

Common sense is unreflective since it does not question its own origins.

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37/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

the systematic and questioning approach of sociology is derived from a broader tradition of scientific investigation.

The systematic and questioning approach of sociology is derived from a broader tradition of scientific investigation.

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38/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	43 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	43 WORDS

Berger,P. 1963, Invitaion to Sociology A Humanistic Perspective, anchor Books Double Day & Company, Inc.: New York 2) Bottomore, T B. 1962, Sociology A Guide to Problems and Literature, George Allen & Unwin Ltd: London 3) Inkeles, A. 1975, What is Sociology? Prentice- Hall: New Delhi 4)

Berger, P. (1963). Invitation to sociology: A humanistic perspective, Anchor Books Double Day & Company, Inc.: New York 2. Bottomore, T.B. (1962). Sociology: A guide to problems and literature, George Allen & Unwin Ltd.: London 3. Inkeles, A. (1975). What is sociology? Prentice-Hall: New Delhi. 25

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39/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	44 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	44 WORDS

a normative science. ? Sociology is a pure or theoretical science and not an applied science. ? Sociology is an abstract science and not a concrete one. ? Sociology is a generalizing science and not a particularizing science. ? Sociology is both a rational and an empirical science.

a normative science. 3. Sociology is a pure science and not an applied science. 4. Sociology is an abstract science and not a concrete science. 5. Sociology is a generalizing science and not a particularizing science. 6. Sociology is both a rational and an empirical science. 1.5.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

40/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	79%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

All intellectual fields are profoundly shaped by their social settings. This is particularly true of sociology, which is not only derived from

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

41/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

The most prominent thinkers associated with the Enlightenment were the French Philosophers Charles Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778).

The most prominent thinkers associated with the Enlightenment were the French philosophers Charles Montesquieu and Jean Jacques Rousseau.

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

42/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	80 WORDS	67%	MATCHING TEXT	80 WORDS

The long series of political revolutions ushered in by the French Revolution in 1789 and carrying over through the nineteenth century was the most immediate factor in the rise of sociological theorizing. The impact of these revolutions on many societies was enormous, many positive changes resulted. However, what attracted the attention of many early theories were not the positive responses, but NSOU ? CC-SO-01 26 the negative effects of such changes. These writers were particularly distributed by the resulting chaos and disorder, especially in France.

The long series of political revolutions that were ushered in by the French Revolution in 1789 and carried over through the nineteenth century was the most immediate factor in the rise of sociological theorizing. The impact of these revolutions on many societies was enormous, and led to many positive changes. However, what attracted the attention of many early theorists were not the positive consequences but the negative effects of such radical changes. These writers were particularly disturbed by the resulting chaos and disorder, especially in France

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

43/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	64 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	64 WORDS

to restore order to society. Some of the most extreme thinkers of this period literally wanted a return to the peaceful and relatively orderly days of the Middle Ages. The more sophisticated thinkers recognized that social change made such a return impossible. Thus, they sought instead to find new bases of order in societies that had been overturned by the political revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. 2.3.4

to restore order in the society. Some of the more extreme thinkers of this period literally wanted a return to the peaceful and relatively orderly days of the Middle Ages. The more rational thinkers recognized that social change had made such a return impossible. Thus they sought instead to find new bases of order in societies that had been overturned by the political revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

44/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

The enlightenment was a period of remarkable intellectual development and change in philosophical thought. A numbers of long-standing ideas and beliefs-

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

45/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS
Within this system, a few profited greatly while the majority worked long hours			Within this system, a few profited greatly while the majority worked long hours		

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

46/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	45 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	45 WORDS
in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The industrial revolution was not a single event but many inter-related developments that culminated in the transformation of the Western world from a largely agricultural to an overwhelmingly industrial system. Large numbers of people left farms and agricultural work for the industrial					

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

47/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	9 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	9 WORDS
Evans-Pritchard,E.E.1966. Social Anthropology and Other Essays. New York: Free Press.			Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1966). Social Anthropology and Other Essays. New York:Free Press.		

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

48/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
Mair, Lucy. 1972. An Introduction to Social Anthropology. Oxford: Oxford University Press.			Mair, Lucy. (1965). An Introduction to Social Anthropology. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 18		

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

49/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	75%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
Majumdar, D.N. and Madan, T.N. 1957. An Introduction to Social Anthropology. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.			Majumdar, D.N. and T.N. Madan: An Introduction to Social Anthropology, Bombay: Asia publishing House, 1960. 14.		

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

50/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	79%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
of sociology as a discipline 4.2 Introduction There exists a great controversy about the exact nature of sociology,			of Sociology Sociology as A Science: There exists a great controversy about the exact nature of Sociology.		

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

51/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
two opposite views are available on the nature of sociology. For one group			Two opposite views are available about the nature of sociology. For one group,		

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

52/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	69%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

adopts and applies the scientific methods. The founding fathers of sociology, Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, and others subscribe to this view.

adopts and applies the methods of natural sciences for social investigation. Founding fathers of sociology Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim and others subscribe to this view.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

53/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	48 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	48 WORDS

body of systematic knowledge. It relies on reason and evidences. A science is a branch of knowledge or study dealing with a body of facts that are systematically arranged and showing the operation of general laws. Science collects facts and links them together in their causal sequence to draw valid inferences

body of systematic knowledge. Science is based on reason and evidences. A science is “a branch of knowledge or study dealing with a body of facts or truths systematically arranged and showing the operation of general laws.” Science collects facts and links them together in their casual sequence to draw valid inferences.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

54/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	63%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

sociology is science. However, there are several other sociologists like Max Weber who deny the status of science to

SOCIOLOGY IS NOT A SCIENCE: There are some scholars like Max-Weber who deny the status of science to

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

55/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Four major figures in the early history of sociological theory- Karl Marx, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, and George Simmel- were

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

56/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	2 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	2 WORDS

dissenting-big-time-e.p.-thompson- c.-wright-mills-and-making-the-first-new (

Dissenting big time: E.P. Thompson, C. Wright Mills and making the first New

W https://canadiandimension.com/articles/view/dissenting-big-time-e.p.-thompson-c.-wright-mills-and ...

57/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

Dorothy Helen Smith (Freya) at age eighteen, in Anadarko, Oklahoma, 1931, about five years before she met Mills, whom she would marry in Austin, Texas, in 1937. (Photo courtesy of Freya James.)

Dorothy Helen Smith (Freya) at age eighteen, in Anadarko, Oklahoma, 1931, about five years before she met Mills, whom she would marry in Austin, Texas, in 1937. (Photo courtesy of Freya James.) — —

W https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms;chunk.id=0;doc.view=print

58/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

Mills and Pam in Greenbelt, Maryland, in 1944, when Mills was an associate professor of sociology at the University of Maryland. (Mills family photo.)

Mills and Pam in Greenbelt, Maryland, in 1944, when Mills was an associate professor of sociology at the University of Maryland. (Mills family photo.)

W https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms;chunk.id=0;doc.view=print

59/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Freya and Mills in Madison, Wisconsin, in March 1941, when they remarried. (Photo courtesy Freya James.)

Freya and Mills in Madison, Wisconsin, in March 1941, when they remarried. (Photo courtesy Freya James.) — —

W https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms;chunk.id=0;doc.view=print

60/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	41 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	41 WORDS

Ruth Harper at age twenty-four, in a photo she gave Mills several months before their marriage in July 1947. They met when Mills used some of his Guggenheim funding to hire her to do research for White Collar. (Photo by Blackstone Studios, New York, New York.)

Ruth Harper at age twenty-four, in a photo she gave Mills several months before their marriage in July 1947. They met when Mills used some of his Guggenheim funding to hire her to do research for White Collar. (Photo by Blackstone Studios, New York, New York.)

W https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms;chunk.id=0;doc.view=print

61/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

Yaroslava and Wright Mills (in front) with Ralph and Marion Miliband in London, fall 1961. (Time-release photo set up by Yaroslava Mills.)

Yaroslava and Wright Mills (in front) with Ralph and Marion Miliband in London, fall 1961. (Time-release photo set up by Yaroslava Mills.) — —

W https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms;chunk.id=0;doc.view=print

62/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Mills’s children, Kate, Pam, and Nik, in New York, the week of Mills’s funeral, late March 1962. (Photo by Yaroslava Mills.)

Mills's children, Kate, Pam, and Nik, in New York, the week of Mills's funeral, late March 1962. (Photo by Yaroslava Mills.) — 205 — 5.

W https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms;chunk.id=0;doc.view=print

63/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

his thesis ‘A Sociological Account of Pragmatism: An essay on the sociology of knowledge’ (

his thesis, "A Sociological Account of Pragmatism: An Essay on the Sociology of Knowledge."

W https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt7f59q5ms;chunk.id=0;doc.view=print

64/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

to interpret the meaning of social action and thereby give a causal explanation of the way in which the action proceeds and the effects

to "interpret the meaning of social action and thereby give a causal explanation of the way in which action proceeds and the effects

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

65/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

imagination is the capacity to shift very rapidly from one perspective to another—

SA ESOC515-U03-Raw.docx (D103371477)

66/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,

SA BSOS 12.doc (D129312302)

67/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	61%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

continuum between pure research and pure practice, applied sociology occupies a middle position. The purpose of this

continuum between pure research and pure practice, applied sociology would occupy a space in the middle of this

W https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/applied- ...

68/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Berger, P. 1963. Invitation to Sociology: A Humanist Perspective. New York: Anchor Books.

Berger, P. (1963). Invitation to Sociology A Humanistic Perspective.New York :Anchor Books

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

69/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Freeman, H.E. and P.H.Rossi(1984)" Furthering The Applied Side Of Sociology', American Sociological Review 49(4): 571-580.

Freeman, H. E., and P. H. Rossi 1984 "Furthering the Applied Side of Sociology." American Sociological Review 49:571–580.

W https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/applied- ...

70/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

the historical part of sociology is identical with cultural anthropology.

the historical part of Sociology is identical with Cultural Anthropology.

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

71/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

the publication of Lester Ward's Dynamic Sociology: or Applied Social Science.

the publication in 1883 of Lester Ward's Dynamic Sociology: or Applied Social Science,

W https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/applied- ...

72/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	75%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

with both social philosophy and social planning whereas anthropology remains more with social planning

with both social philosophy and social planning whereas anthropology is not concerned with social planning.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

73/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	48 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	48 WORDS

mental processes of man as a social being. It studies particularly the influence of group life on the mental development of the individual; the effect to the individual mind on the group, and the development of the mental life of the groups within themselves and in their relations with one another.

mental processes of man considered as a social being. It studies particularly the influence of group life on the mental development of individual, the effect the individual mind on the group, and the development of the mental life of the groups within themselves and in their relations with one' another.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

74/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

sociology which provides the necessary material regarding the structure, organization and culture of societies to which individuals belong.

Sociology which provides the necessary material regarding the structure, organisation and culture of societies to which individuals belong.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

75/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	73%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Lapiere and Fransworth write that social psychology is to sociology and psychology what biochemistry is to biology and Chemistry.

Lapiere and Farnsworth write that "Social Psychology is to sociology and psychology as Bio-chemistry is to Biology and Chemistry".

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

76/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

a link between psychology and sociology. As a result of such close relationship between the two,

a link between psychology and sociology." As a result of the close relation between the two

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

77/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	47%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Psychology explores the mind of an individual or small group to understand different aspects of human behavior and man's social and emotional reactions. Sociology

Psychology studies the mind of an individual to understand human behavior and social and emotional reactions, whereas sociology

W https://www.simplypsychology.org/psychology-vs-sociology.html

78/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	60 WORDS	73%	MATCHING TEXT	60 WORDS

Durkheim, on the other hand, makes a radical distinction between the phenomena studied by psychology and sociology. For him, sociology is to study social facts, defined as being external to individual minds and exercising certain constraints upon them; the explanation of social facts can only be in terms of other social facts, not in terms of psychological facts. Society is not

SA ESOC515 - U01 - A - Raw.docx (D99138867)

79/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

system formed by their association represents a specific reality possessing its own characteristics.

SA ESOC515 - U01 - A - Raw.docx (D99138867)

80/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

many sociological generalizations can be more firmly established by being related to general psychological laws.

SA ESOC515 - U01 - A - Raw.docx (D99138867)

81/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	57%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

Such understanding was conceived in terms of 'common sense psychology' but neither Dilthey nor Weber was hostile to the development of a scientific psychology in

SA ESOC515 - U01 - A - Raw.docx (D99138867)

82/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

broad sense and Weber was sympathetic to some of Freud's ideas.

SA ESOC515 - U01 - A - Raw.docx (D99138867)

83/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	41%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

social science, deals with the behavior and thinking of living beings and focuses primarily on individual behavior and not on group behavior. It also depends more on the

social science that deals with the behavior and thinking of organisms. It differs from sociology primarily in that it focuses on individual behavior rather than on group behavior. In addition, it draws more heavily on the

W https://quizlet.com/91630001/examining-social-life-flash-cards/

84/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

psychology can be illustrated from many angles. In the study of conflict and war there have been mutually exclusive sociological and psychological explanations. In studies of

SA ESOC515 - U01 - A - Raw.docx (D99138867)

85/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

In almost every field of enquiry it could be shown that psychology and sociology constitute for the most part two separate universes of

SA ESOC515 - U01 - A - Raw.docx (D99138867)

86/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

behavior, and if they are to be brought closer together it will

SA ESOC515 - U01 - A - Raw.docx (D99138867)

87/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Bottomore, T.B. Sociology A Guide to Problems and Literature. 1979. Blackie &

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

88/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

History 10.5 Interrelation between Sociology and History 10.6 Similarities between Sociology and History 10.7 Sociology and

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

89/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Objectives After reading this unit you will be able to understand: ? Definition of Sociology and history as Social Sciences ?

SA ESOC111-U03-SLM.docx (D103358968)

90/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

But social life is so complex that it is a problem to isolate social issues from the whole range of human

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

91/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

social life as a whole by taking help from other social sciences.

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

92/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	76 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	76 WORDS

It is thus obvious that the different social sciences cannot have their existence independent of others. As they have a common subject- human social behaviour, it is but natural that they should be interrelated. As remarked by Prof. Simpson, "Social science is a unity, but it is not a fictitious unity, it is a dynamic unity of operating parts, and each part is indispensable to each and all of the others." Sociology and other social sciences have much in common

It is thus obvious that the different social sciences cannot have their existence independent of others. As they all have a common subject—human social behaviour, it is but natural that they should be interrelated. As remarked by Simpson, "Social science is a unity but it is not a fictitious unity; it is a dynamic unity of operating parts, and each part is indispensable to each and all of the others." Sociology and other social sciences have much in common.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

93/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

be made to explain the connection and distinction between sociology and some of the important social sciences. Now relationship between sociology and history

be made to explain the connection and distinction between Sociology and some of the more important social sciences in what follows: I. Sociology and History:

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

94/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

the Greek word 'logos' meaning 'study or science'. The etymological meaning of 'sociology' is

the Greek word Logos meaning study or science. Thus, the etymological meaning of sociology is

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

95/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS

But that does not mean that sociology only borrows from other social sciences and gives them nothing. The various social sciences are very much dependent on sociology

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

96/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

developments in economic, religious, and social affairs as well as the study of States, their growth and organization and their relationship with one another.

developments in economic, religious and social affairs as well as the study of states, their growth and organization and their relation with one another.

W https://www.preservearticles.com/sociology/what-is-the-relationship-between-sociology-and-history ...

97/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

History is the record of the past events and movements, their causes and

History is the record of the past events and movements, their causes and

W https://www.preservearticles.com/sociology/what-is-the-relationship-between-sociology-and-history ...

98/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	53 WORDS	75%	MATCHING TEXT	53 WORDS

to understand its present status. It may be mentioned that the emergence of sociology has been shaped up in the historical developments like French and industrial revolutions, growth of cities, institutions, and growth of individual rights and liberties. Many earlier scholars or founding fathers of sociology like A. Comte, Herbert Spencer, Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, Karl Marx

to comprehend its present status. It may be noted that the emergence of sociology itself has been shaped up in the historical developments such as French and industrial revolutions, growth of cities and social institutions and growth of individual rights and liberties. Various earlier scholars or founding fathers of sociology such as Ibn Khaldun, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx,

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

99/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

gave importance to history or historical perspectives in their analysis of social structure, changes, and dynamics.

gave importance to history or historical perspective in their analysis of social structure, changes and dynamics.

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

100/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

growth of sociology and society. He explains causes and reasons of developments of humanity through historical stages. Besides, Karl Marx's Capital, Max Weber's Economy and Society,

growth of sociology and society. He dwells into causes and reasons of developments of humanity through various historical stages. Furthermore, as Tilly (2001) notes, Karl Marx's Capital, Max Weber's Economy and Society

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

101/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft have used historical dimension to enrich their sociological analysis.			Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft have elaborately used historical dimension to enrich their sociological analysis.		
W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic					

102/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS
Furthermore, history has many things to offer to Sociology. For instance, historical sources that are available provide a large amount of data to sociologists for			Furthermore, history has many things to offer to sociology. For instance, historical sources that are available provide a large body of data to sociologists for		
W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic					

103/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	74%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS
have been product of intellectual, social, cultural, and political climate within which they were developed. Some of the important ideas and social thought emerged in			have been product of intellectual, social, cultural and political climate within which they were developed. For instance, enlightenment was a period of remarkable intellectual development. Some of the important ideas and social thoughts emerged in		
W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic					

104/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS
Present society bears symbols of past relationship between the two is so close and intimate that scholars like G. von Bülow have refused to acknowledge sociology			present society bears symbols of past. Relationship between the two is so close and intimate that scholars like G. Von Bulow have refused to acknowledge sociology		
W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf					

105/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	45 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	45 WORDS
History studies the important past events and incidents. It records men's past life and life of societies in a systematic and chronological order. It also tries to find out the causes of past events. It also studies the past political, social, and — events of the world.			History studies the important past events and incidents. It records men's past life and life of societies in a systematic and chronological order. It also tries to find out the causes of past events. It also studies the past political, social and economic events of the world.		
W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf					

106/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	35 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	35 WORDS
not only studies the past but also establishes relations with present and future. That is why it is said that history is the microscope of the past, the horoscope of the present, and telescope of the future.			not only studies the past but also establishes relations with present and future. That is why it is said that "History is the microscope of the past, the horoscope of the present and telescope of the future.		
W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf					

107/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
History is the store house of knowledge from which sociology collected a lot. History			History is the store house of knowledge from which Sociology gained a lot. History		

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

108/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS
thinkers describe history as the study of human's past based on			thinkers describe history as the study of human's past based on		

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

109/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS
Sociology provides social background of the study of history. History is now being studied from the sociological viewpoint.			Sociology provides social background of the study of History. History is now being studied from the sociological viewpoint.		

W https://www.preservearticles.com/sociology/what-is-the-relationship-between-sociology-and-history ...

110/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	42 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	42 WORDS
The historians need social background for writing and analyzing history and this provided by the sociologists. The study of history would be meaningless without the appreciation of sociological significance. History becomes meaningful in the social content 4 . 10.6 Similarities between Sociology with History			The historians need social background for writing and analyzing history and this is provided by the sociologists. The study of History would be meaningless without the appreciation of sociological significance. History becomes meaningful in the social content. Difference between Sociology and History:		

W https://www.preservearticles.com/sociology/what-is-the-relationship-between-sociology-and-history ...

111/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS
History without sociology has no fruit, sociology without history has no root".			History without Sociology has no fruit, Sociology without History has no root".		

W https://www.preservearticles.com/sociology/what-is-the-relationship-between-sociology-and-history ...

112/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS
G. E. Howard rightly remarked," History is the past sociology and sociology is the present history".			G.E. Howard remarked "History is the past Sociology and Sociology is the present History",		

W https://www.preservearticles.com/sociology/what-is-the-relationship-between-sociology-and-history ...

113/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	62%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Sociology is a general science whereas history is a special science. Sociology can be defined as a general science of

Sociology is a general science whereas history is a special science. 1.5.6. Sociology and Psychology Sociology is a science of

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

114/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

History presents a chronological account of past events of the human

History presents a chronological account of past events of the human

W https://www.preservearticles.com/sociology/what-is-the-relationship-between-sociology-and-history ...

115/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

uses various methods of empirical investigation and critical analysis to develop a body of knowledge.

SA Unit 1.docx (D109896188)

116/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Sociology is a modern or new subject whereas history is an older social science.

Sociology is a modern or new subject whereas history is an older social science.

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

117/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

The scape of sociology is very wide while the scope of history is limited.

The scope of sociology is very wide whereas the scope of history is limited.

W https://enemsproject.wordpress.com/2015/12/09/the-relationship-between-sociology-and-other-social ...

118/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	56 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	56 WORDS

As time has passed, history and sociology have formed into two different specific academic disciplines. Historical data was used and is used aplenty today in mainly these three ways. The first one is: Investigating a theory through a Parallel investigation. To negotiate with the natural-science conceptions of laws, and to look at, or apply various historical material where you

As time has passed, history and sociology have developed into two different specific academic disciplines. Historical data was used and is used today in mainly these three ways. The first one is: Examining a theory through a Parallel investigation. To correspond with the natural-science conceptions of laws, and to look at, or apply various historical material where you

W https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical_sociology#:~:text=Historical%20sociology%20is%20a%20bran ...

119/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	65 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	65 WORDS

in a different modalities of a more widely used process. The second theory that sociologists mainly use is applying and contrasting certain events or policies. Analysed by their specific characteristics, or what makes them unique, certain events may be used by the sociologist for comparative data can be contrasted and compared. For interpretive sociologists it is very common for them to use the 'Verstehen' tradition 1 .

in a different modalities of a more widely used process. The second theory that sociologists mainly use: applying and contrasting certain events or policies. Analysed by their specific, or what makes them in unique quality of a composition, certain events used by the sociologist for comparative data can be contrasted and compared. For interpretive sociologists it is very common for them to use the 'Verstehen' tradition.

W https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical_sociology#:~:text=Historical%20sociology%20is%20a%20bran ...

120/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	102 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	102 WORDS

And lastly, the third way sociologists typically relate is by taking a look at the causalities from a macro point of view. This is Mill's method: " a) principle of difference: a case with effect and cause present is contrasted with a case with effect and cause absent; and b) principle of agreement: cases with same effects are compared in terms of their (ideally identical) causes. There is an important debate on the usefulness of Mill's method for sociological research, which relates to the fact that historical research is often based on only few cases and that many sociological theories are probabilistic, not deterministic. Today, historical sociology is

And lastly, the third way sociologists typically relate is by taking a look at the causalities from a macro point of view. This is Mill's method: " a) principle of difference: a case with effect and cause present is contrasted with a case with effect and cause absent; and b) principle of agreement: cases with same effects are compared in terms of their (ideally identical) causes. There is an important debate on the usefulness of Mill's method for sociological research, which relates to the fact that historical research is often based on only few cases and that many sociological theories are probabilistic, not deterministic.[9] Today, historical sociology is

W https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical_sociology#:~:text=Historical%20sociology%20is%20a%20bran ...

121/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

your resources in order to prove the theory that is applied. Or on the other hand, sociologists for the parallel investigation theory could aptly apply the theory to certain cases of investigation but

your resources in order to prove the theory that is applied. Or on the other hand sociologists for the parallel investigation theory could apply the theory to certain cases of investigation but

W https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical_sociology#:~:text=Historical%20sociology%20is%20a%20bran ...

122/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

History is a record of past social matters, social customs, and information about different stages of life. Sociology

SA ESOC111-U03-SLM.docx (D103358968)

123/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	51 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	51 WORDS

To understand any society, group, or institutions, one needs to appreciate its past to comprehend its present status. It may be noted that the emergence of sociology itself has been formed in the historical development such as French and industrial revolution, growth of cities and social institutions, and growth of individual rights and liberties.

to understand any society, group or institutions, one needs to appreciate its past to comprehend its present status. It may be noted that the emergence of sociology itself has been shaped up in the historical developments such as French and industrial revolutions, growth of cities and social institutions and growth of individual rights and liberties.

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

124/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	38 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	38 WORDS

History provides a frame of reference and contextual tool to examine and analyze change. Both sociology and history thus depend on each other to take complete stoke of reality. Sociology depends on history to understand past events, movements, and social institutions.

History thus provides a frame of reference and contextual tool to examine and analyse change carefully. Both sociology and history thus depends on each other to take complete stoke of reality. Sociology depends on history to understand past events, movements and social institutions.

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

125/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	44 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	44 WORDS

Since the 1960's globalization, the emergence of interconnected world, network, society, information, revolution, and cultural studies have transformed the context of sociology. Modernity became subject of past. But emergence of past came into existence. Such as post industrialization, post colonialism, post positivism, post modernity, or post structuralism.

since the 1960s globalisation, the emergence of interconnected world, network society, information revolution and cultural studies have transformed the context of sociology. Modernity became subject of past. Sociologist in last couple of decades become much concerned with 'post' such as post- industrialisation, post-colonialism, post-positivism, post-modernity or post- structuralism.

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

126/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Habermas (communicate action and public sphere), Foucault (Modernity and prison system), Anthony Giddens (Modernity) and others have worked

Habermas (Communicate action and public sphere), Foucault (modernity and prison system), Anthony Giddens (Modernity) and others have worked

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

127/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

history. Similarly sociological history is another specialized subject which based on both the sciences.

history. Similarly Sociological history is another specialized subject which based on both the Sciences.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

128/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

are closely interrelated and interdependent to each other. Sociology cannot be separated from history and history cannot be isolated from sociology.

are closely and intimately related to each other. Sociology cannot be separated from History and History cannot be isolated from sociology.

W https://www.preservearticles.com/sociology/what-is-the-relationship-between-sociology-and-history ...

129/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Both sociology and history depend upon each other and can influence one another.

Both Sociology and History depend upon each other and can influence one another.

W https://www.preservearticles.com/sociology/what-is-the-relationship-between-sociology-and-history ...

130/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	82%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

Charles (2001): Historical Sociology: International Encyclopedia of the Behavioural and Social Sciences. Amsterdam: Elsevier Vol. 10 5.

Charles Tilly, Historical Sociology, in International Encyclopedia of the Behavioral and Social Sciences (2001) Amsterdam: Elsevier. Vol. 10, 6753–6757,

W https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical_sociology#:~:text=Historical%20sociology%20is%20a%20bran ...

131/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

and Sachdeva, D.R.: An Introduction to Sociology (1987), Kitab Mahal,

and Sachdeva, D.R: An Introduction to Sociology Kitab Mahal,

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

132/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

sociology also provides help to history and enriches it. Historians greatly benefitted from the research conducted by sociologists.

SA ESOC111-U03-SLM.docx (D103358968)

133/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	56%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

Objectives After reading this unit, you will be able to understand- ? Definition of sociology and political science as disciplines of social sciences ? Contribution of sociology

SA ESOC111-U03-SLM.docx (D103358968)

134/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	66%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

Both sociology and political science are branches of social sciences that deal with the study of overall human

Both Sociology and Economics are branches of social science that deals with the study of overall human

W https://www.achieveriasclasses.com/exploring-relations-between-sociology-and-economics/

135/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Sociology is also the science of society or of social phenomena.", says

Sociology is the science of society or of social phenomena". Ginsberg says, "

W https://www.slideshare.net/DrJBalamuruganPhD/introduction-to-sociology-30788701

136/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	106 WORDS	74%	MATCHING TEXT	106 WORDS

of social science which treats the foundation of the state and principles of government." Political Science deals with the social groups organized under the sovereign of the state. Without the sociological background the study of political science will be incomplete. The forms of government, the nature of governmental organs, the laws and the sphere of the state activity are determined by NSOU ? CC-SO-01 137 the social processes. Prof. Barnes rightly said, "The most significant thing about Sociology and modern political theory is that most of the changes which have taken place in the political theory in the last thirty years have been along the line of development suggested and marked out by sociology.

of social science dealing with the principles of organisation and government of human society. In other Political Science deals with the social groups organised under the sovereign of the state. It is rightly said that sociological background the study of political science will be incomplete. The forms of government, the nature of governmental organs, the laws and sphere of the state activity are determined by the social process. Barnes has written, "The most significant thing about sociology and modern political theory is that most of the changes which have taken place in the political theory in the last thirty years have been along the line of development suggested and marked out by sociology."

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

137/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	39 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	39 WORDS

In the words of Morris Ginsberg, "Historically sociology has its main roots in politics and philosophy of history." Sociology greatly benefitted by the books written by political scientists like Plato, Aristotle, and Koutilya such as Republic, The Politics, and Arthashastra respectively. 11.3

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

138/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	38 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	38 WORDS

To understand different political events sociology takes help from Political Science. Any change in the political system or nature of power structure brings changes in society. Hence, sociology takes the help of political science to understand the changes in society.

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

139/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	37 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	37 WORDS

To understand the part, it is necessary to understand the whole. Almost all political problems have a social cause and for the solution of these political problems Political Science takes the help of sociology. State frames its rules and

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

140/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	65%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

Most of the changes which have been taken place in the political theory during the past times have been

most of the changes which have taken place in the political theory in the last thirty years have been

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

141/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Besides, there are some common issues which are being studied by both the disciplines. These topics

Besides, there are some common topics which are being studied by both the subjects. These topics

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

142/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

With the help of both political science and sociology, a new subject comes into

With the help of both political science and sociology, a new subject comes into

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

143/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	48 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	48 WORDS

values. Without sociological background the study of political science will be incomplete. Political science is largely benefitted by the researchers and research methods of the sociologists. Some thinkers consider political science as a branch of sociology. State is considered as a social group, there is a subject of sociology.

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

144/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

Political Sociology is the study of power and relationship between societies, states, and political conflict. It

Political Sociology is "the study of power and the relationship between societies, states, and political conflict". It'

W https://www.quora.com/What-is-political-sociology-and-what-are-some-examples

145/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	72%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Political Science contribute to each other, but in spite of their inter-relationship and interdependence both the subjects differ from each other on the following

political science and sociology contribute to each other. But in spite of their interrelationship and interdependence both the sciences differ from each other in the following

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

146/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

is a science of society and social relationship. On the other hand, political science is a science of state, government,

is a science of society and social relationship, whereas political science is a science of state government. 3.

W https://enemsproject.wordpress.com/2015/12/09/the-relationship-between-sociology-and-other-social ...

147/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

political processes. Political sociology is a discipline which is mainly concerned with the analysis of the interaction between politics and society.

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY Political sociology is a discipline, which is mainly concerned with the analysis of the interaction between politics and society.

W http://lscollege.ac.in/sites/default/files/e-content/Unit%20-1_0.pdf

148/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Sociology is a general science, but political science is a special science.

Sociology is a general science but political science is a special science. ?

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

149/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

Comte and Durkheim, sociology is a science because it adopts and applies the scientific method. Sociology

Comte and Durkheim, "Sociology is a science because it adopts and applies the scientific method. Sociology

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

150/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Sociology studies organized, unorganized, and disorganized society whereas political science studies only politically organized society.

Sociology studies organized, unorganized and disorganized society, whereas political science studies only politically organized society. ?

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

151/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

the social activities of man whereas political science studies political activities of

the social activities of man, whereas political science studies political activities of

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

152/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

Sociology is the youngest of the social sciences. It is

Sociology is the youngest of the social sciences. It is

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

153/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

both formal and informal relations while political science studies only formal relations.

both formal and informal relations, whereas political science studies only formal relations. ?

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

154/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Sociology studies man as a social animal whereas political science studies man as political

Sociology studies man as a social animal whereas political science studies man as a political

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

155/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Morris Ginsberg rightly opines, "Historically, sociology has its main roots in politics and philosophy of history".

Morris Ginsberg, " Historically Sociology has its main roots in politics and philosophy of history."

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

156/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

Sociology analyses both conscious and unconscious activities of man whereas political science analyses only conscious activities of man. j) Sociology analyses all forms of associations while political science

Sociology analyses both conscious and unconscious activities of man, whereas political science analyses only conscious activities of man. ? Sociology deals with all forms of association, whereas political science

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

157/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	77%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Garner remarks, "Political science is concerned with only human form of association, such as State., Sociology deals with all forms of associations."

Garner remarks, "Political science is concerned with only one form of human association – the state: sociology deals with all forms of association." (

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

158/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

The scope of sociology is very wide, but the scope of political science is limited. Sociology

SA ESOC111-U03-SLM.docx (D103358968)

159/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	52%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

The main difference between sociology and political science is that sociology is the scientific study of human society while political science is

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

160/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Without the sociological background the study of political science will be incomplete.

without the sociological background the study of political science will be incomplete.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

161/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

Like political sociology, sociology of politics is a sub-field of sociology. Sociology of politics also throws light on sociological appraisals of political processes and institutional mechanisms.

SA ESOC111-U03-SLM.docx (D103358968)

162/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Relationship of Sociology with Economics Structure 12.1 Objectives 12.2 Introduction 12.3 Definition of Sociology 12.4 Definition of

Relationship of Sociology with WITH PSYCHOLOGY* Anthropology Structure 3.0 Objectives 3.1 Introduction 3.2 Definition of Sociology 3.2.1 Definition of

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

163/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	67%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

Objectives After reading this unit you will be able to understand : ? Definition of sociology and Economics; ? Relation between sociology and

OBJECTIVES After reading this Unit, you will be able to understand: • Definition of science discipline; • between Sociology History; • Difference between Sociology and

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

164/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

the science of wealth in its three phases production, distribution and consumption.

the science of wealth in its three phases of production, distribution and consumption.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

165/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

it influences and is influenced by the social life of

it influences and is influenced by the Social life of

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

166/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

The term 'sociology' is derived from the Latin word 'societus' meaning society and the Greek word 'logos' meaning 'study or science'. The etymological meaning of 'sociology' is the 'science of society'.

The word "Sociology" has been derived from two words i. e. the Latin word "Socius " or "Societus" meaning society, companion or associate and the Greek word "Logos" meaning "study" or "science" the etymological meaning of the term sociology is the science of society

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

167/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	67%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

the relationship between Sociology and Political Science. (b) Point out the differences between Sociology and Political Science. (

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

168/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

the science of wealth in its three phases of production, distribution, and consumption.

the science of wealth in its three phases of production, distribution and consumption.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

169/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

economic, political, or religious but they are at the same time 'social'. Sociology

SA ESOC515-U01-Raw.docx (D102256794)

170/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	63%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

Sociology is a social science and not a physical science. Sociology belongs NSOU ? CC-SO-01 147 to the network of social sciences and not to the physical sciences

Sociology is a social science and not a physical science: Sociology belongs to the family of social sciences and not to the family physical sciences.

W https://www.jaypeedigital.com/eReader/chapter/9788184489347/ch1

171/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	55%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

defined as the branch of knowledge that deals with human's life's economic aspects. It deals with how goods and services are provided, produced, and manufactured.

defined as the branch of knowledge that deals with all the economic aspects of human lives how goods and services are produced and manufactured,

W https://www.achieveriasclasses.com/exploring-relations-between-sociology-and-economics/

172/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

According to Professor Robbins, "Economics is a social science which studies human behaviour in relation to his unlimited ends and scarce means which have alternative uses." (

According to prof. Robbins, Economics is a social science which studies human behaviour in relation to his unlimited ends and scarce means which have alternative uses." *

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

173/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	77%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS

the activities of man such as production, consumption, distribution, exchange, and resource management. It also studies the structure and functions of different economic organisations like banks, markets etc.

the activities of man such as production, consumption, distribution and It also studies the structure and functions of different economic organizations like banks, markets etc.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

174/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	40%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

a science of society, sociology is highly concerned with the institutions and associations of human beings. Sociology is the scientific studies of human interactions and interrelations, their conditions and consequences. (

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

175/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Thomas opines that economics is, in fact, but one branch of Sociology. Similarly, Silverman opines that economics is regarded as

Thomas opines that, "Economics is, in fact, but one branch of Sociology. " Similarly, Silverman opines Economics is regarded as

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

176/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

offshoot of sociology which studies the general principles of all social relations.

offshoot of Sociology which studies the general principles of all social relations.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

177/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	57%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Economic welfare is a part of social welfare. When there are economic problems in society such as inflation, poverty, unemployment

Economic welfare is a part of social welfare for the solution of different economic problems such as inflation, poverty, unemployment

W https://enemsproject.wordpress.com/2015/12/09/the-relationship-between-sociology-and-other-social ...

178/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

go far ahead without the help of sociology and other sciences.

go far ahead without the help of sociology and other social sciences.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

179/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

Some economists also consider economic change as an aspect of social change.

Some economists also consider economic change as an aspect of social change.

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180/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS

According to A.C. Pigou, "Economics studies that part of social welfare which can be brought directly or indirectly into relationship with the measuring rod of money." Here

According to A.C. Pigou, "Economics studies that part of social welfare which can be brought directly or indirectly into relationship with the measuring rod of money." Here,

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181/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	57 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	57 WORDS

the domain of economics. According to Alfred Marshall, who was a neoclassical economist, "Economics is the study of mankind in the ordinary business of life, it examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely connected with the use and attainment of material requisites of well-being." This shows that economics is concerned with their activities in the social setup.

the production of economic output. According to Alfred Marshall, who was a neo-classical economist: "Economics is the study of mankind in the ordinary business of life; it examines that part of individual and social action which is most closely connected with the use and attainment of material requisites of well-being." This shows that Economics is concerned with the study of man and deals with their activities in the social setup

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182/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

of these two sciences, they are quite distinct from each other. The

of these two sciences, as explained above they are quite distinct from each other, (i) the

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

183/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

material welfare of the human beings. Economic welfare is only a part of human welfare.

material welfare of the human beings. But economic welfare is only a part of human welfare

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/relation-of-sociology-with-other-social-sciences/2188

184/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

economics is comparatively older science. c) Sociology is regarded as an abstract science whereas economics is considered as a concrete science in the region of social

economics is comparatively an older science. 3) Sociology is considered as an abstract science whereas economics is considered as a concrete science in the domain of social

W https://www.achieveriasclasses.com/exploring-relations-between-sociology-and-economics/

185/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Both sociology and economics differ from each other regarding the methods and techniques they use for their study.

Both Sociology and economics differ from each other in respect of the methods and techniques they use for their study. 4.6

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186/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	65%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

use scientific methods for studying their respective areas of interest. They are closely related and dependent on each other for their study

use scientific methods for studying their respective areas of interest. • Economics and Sociology are dependent on each other for their study.

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187/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS

The birth of economic sociology was found in the writings of Karl Marx. N.J. Smelser and R. Swedberg point out that the first use of the term 'economic sociology' seems to have been in 1879.

The birth of economic sociology in the writings of Karl Marx. Smelser, N, J and Swedberg, R says that the first use of the term economic sociology seems to have been in 1879,

W https://www.achieveriasclasses.com/exploring-relations-between-sociology-and-economics/

188/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

In recent times, especially after 1980's economic sociology experienced remarkable revival. Some sociologists were doing rigorous research on the relationship between the market and society.

In the recent times, especially after 1980's, economic sociology experienced a remarkable revival. Few sociologists, who were doing rigorous research on the relationship between market and society,

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189/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

Karl Polanyi, a renowned contributor to economic sociology, argued that the birth of the free market was an institutional transformation necessarily promoted by the state. This got a general acceptance in the domain of economic sociology.

Karl Polanyi is another renowned contributor to economic sociology, argued that the birth of the free market was an institutional transformation necessarily promoted by the state. This got a general acceptance in the domain of economic sociology.

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190/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	32 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	32 WORDS

Economic sociology is the application of sociological methods to understand the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of goods and services. Economic sociology is particularly attentive to the relationships between economic activity, the rest of

Economic sociology is the application of sociological concepts and methods to analysis of the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of goods and services. Economic sociology is particularly attentive to the relationships between economic activity, the rest of

W https://www.achieveriasclasses.com/exploring-relations-between-sociology-and-economics/

191/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

society, and changes in the institutions that contextualize and condition economic activity. 12.10

society, and changes in the institutions that contextualize and condition economic activity.

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192/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

is concerned with the material needs of humans as well as their material welfare.

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193/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

and Sachdeva, D.R.- An Introduction to Sociology, Kitab Mahal 11.

and Sachdeva, D.R: An Introduction to Sociology Kitab Mahal,

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194/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	41%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

Unit 13 Sociology and other Social Sciences / Cultural Studies Structure 13.1 Objectives 13.2 Introduction 133 Sociology and other social sciences 13.4 Sociology and Social Anthropology 13.5 Sociology and Psychology 13.6 Sociology and History 13.7 Sociology and

UNIT 4 SOCIOLOGY AND OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES STRUCTURE 4.1 Introduction 4.2 Learning Sociology and History 4.4 Sociology and Political Science 4.5 Sociology and Economics 4.6 Sociology and Anthropology 4.7 Sociology and

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195/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	32 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	32 WORDS

Gisbert, Pascual (1973)- Fundamentals of Sociology: Kolkata, Oriental Longman 5. Haralambos, M. (2005)- Sociology: Themes and Perspectives, New Delhi: OUP 6. Inkeles, Alex (1979)- What is Sociology? An Introduction to the Discipline and Profession, Prentice Hall 7.

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

196/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

anthropology Sociology and social anthropology are closely related in many aspects.

Anthropology. 1.1 INTRODUCTION Sociology and social anthropology are closely related in many aspects.

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197/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

There are also certain differences that can also be observed between the two subjects in terms of the areas and thrust of enquiry, methodology, practice and tradition

There are also certain differences that can also be observed between the two subjects in terms of the areas and thrust of enquiry, methodology, practice and tradition.

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198/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

Social/Cultural anthropology has been historically very close to sociology from

Social/Cultural anthropology has been historically very close to sociology from

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199/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	41 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	41 WORDS

as they both study human society. Although, anthropology has been regarded as the study of pre-literate societies and sociology as dealing with the more contemporary, urban and developed societies, this distinction rather becomes blurred. The earlier trend in Anthropology being associated with micro studies

as they both study human society. Although, anthropology has been regarded as the study of pre-literate societies (wrongly labeled as 'primitive' societies by early anthropologists and other scholars) and sociology as dealing with the more contemporary, urban and developed societies, this distinction is no longer true. The earlier trend in Anthropology being associated with micro studies (

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200/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

and sociology being identified with macro studies particularly the modern

and sociology being identified with macro studies (particularly the modern

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201/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

a trend where sociologists have carried out much studies on rural communities, villages and micro settings, while anthropologists have also ventured on the urban settings and macro studies. Hence, there

a trend has set in where sociologists have carried out much studies on rural communities, villages and micro settings, while anthropologists have also ventured on the urban settings and macro studies. There

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202/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

has been much overlapping in the areas of enquiry and interest between sociologists and anthropology, particularly social anthropology and/or cultural anthropology

has been much overlapping in the areas of enquiry and interest between sociologists and anthropology, particularly social anthropology and/or cultural anthropology. 2.3

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203/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

The relationship between the two is so close that in the contemporary times the difference has become very bleak

The relationship between the two is so close that in the contemporary times the difference has become very bleak.

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204/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	173 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	173 WORDS

There are many eminent anthropologists who have opined the close relationship between Sociology and anthropology, particularly socio-cultural anthropology. For instance, Frazer is, perhaps, the first anthropologist who defined "social anthropology as that branch of sociology that deals with primitive societies" (Radcliffe-Brown,1952:2; cf. Voget, 1975:143). According to Frazer, sociology "should be viewed as the most general science of society. Social anthropology would be a part of sociology, restricted to the "origin, or rather the rudimentary phases, the infancy and childhood of human society" By limiting social anthropology to a study of savage life, Frazer echoed the ideas of Waitz and of Tylor in placing the anthropological emphasis on the early history and institutions of mankind" (Voget, 1975:143). According to Radcliffe-Brown (1983) social anthropology is a 'comparative sociology'. By the term 'comparative sociology', he would mean "a science that applies the generalizing method of the natural sciences to the phenomena of the social life of man and to everything that we include under the term culture or civilisation" (p.55). Thus, he is of a considered view that social anthropology should look for 'nomothetic' approach (search for general laws of

There are many eminent anthropologists who have opined the close relationship between Sociology and anthropology, particularly socio-cultural anthropology. For instance, Frazer is, perhaps, the first anthropologist who in his Inaugural Lecture as the first Professor of Social Anthropology in1908 defined "social anthropology as that branch of sociology that deals with primitive societies" (Radcliffe-Brown,1952:2; cf. Voget, 1975:143). According to Frazer, sociology "should be viewed as the most general science of society. Social anthropology would be a part of sociology, restricted to the "origin, or rather the rudimentary phases, the infancy and childhood of human society" By limiting social anthropology to a study of savage life, Frazer echoed the ideas of Waitz and of Tylor in placing the anthropological emphasis on the early history and institutions of mankind" (Voget, 1975:143). According to Radcliffe-Brown (1983) social anthropology is a 'comparative sociology'. By the term 'comparative sociology', he would mean "a science that applies the generalizing method of the natural sciences to the phenomena of the social life of man and to everything that we include under the term culture or civilisation" (p.55). Thus, he is of a considered view that social anthropology should look for 'nomothetic' approach (search for general laws of

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205/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	97 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	97 WORDS

The social sciences comprise the application of scientific methods to the study of the human aspects of the world. Psychology studies the human mind and micro- level (or individual) behavior; sociology examines human society; political science studies the governing of groups and countries; communication studies the flow of discourse via various media; economics concerns itself with the production and allocation of wealth in society; and social work is the application of social scientific knowledge in society. Social sciences diverge from the humanities in that many in the social sciences emphasize the scientific method or other rigorous standards of evidence in the study of humanity.

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206/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	35 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	35 WORDS

While anthropology was formulated as a holistic study of mankind and related aspects, Auguste Comte also considered that sociology would be the overarching study of human society, and therefore, sociology should be the "queen of all sciences".

While anthropology was formulated as a holistic study of mankind and related aspects, Auguste Comte also considered that sociology would be the overarching study of human society, and therefore, sociology should be the "queen of all sciences".

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207/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	58 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	58 WORDS

the subject matter, interests, theories and methodology overlap between sociology and Anthropology, there are also certain differences. The first and foremost difference lies in the definition of the scope of the subjects itself. Sociology is the study (or science) of society, whereas anthropology (integrated anthropology) is the study of man and everything that concerns man, including the physical and socio-cultural aspects.

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208/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	91 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	91 WORDS

While the emergence of sociology can be mainly attributed to the attempt to bring about social order in the society (in the European social context) after the great social transformation brought about by industrial revolution and French revolution, its influence on the emergence of anthropology was not as direct as with sociology or other social sciences; rather it was an indirect influence through the opening up of intellectual and geographical spaces to enable the European scholars to go outside the European society and study the pre-literate societies (the 'other' non-European societies) (cff. Eriksen et al 2001; Sarana 1983).

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209/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

Sociology began with the focal interest with the study of society-as a generalizing social science, particularly with a focus on a larger societal context to explain social phenomena.

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210/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	106 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	106 WORDS

Sociologists largely employ quantitative methods like questionnaires to collect data and subsequent analysis of the data with the help of statistical techniques. Anthropology began as a field-based science. Anthropologists largely use qualitative methods, particularly 'participant observation' along with other methods and techniques. Anthropologists go out to the field and live with the people for several months or even for years and learn their culture as one of the insiders. However, over a period of time, the differences in the use of research methods and NSOU ? CC-SO-01 158 techniques have changed as sociologists began to extensively employ qualitative methods, while anthropologists also began to profusely use quantitative methods along with qualitative methods. 13.5 Sociology and

Sociologists largely employ quantitative methods like questionnaires to collect data and subsequent analysis of the data with the help of statistical techniques. Anthropology began as a field-based science. Anthropologists largely use qualitative methods, particularly 'participant observation' along with other methods and techniques. Anthropologists go out to the field and live with the 30 people for several months or even for years and learn their culture as one of the insiders. However, over a period of time, the differences in the use of research Relationship of with methods and techniques have changed as sociologists began to extensively employ Anthropology qualitative methods, while anthropologists also began to profusely use quantitative methods along with qualitative methods. The distinction of sociology and

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211/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	75 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	75 WORDS

Psychology The term psychology is derived from two Greek words; Psyche means “soul or breath” and Logos means “knowledge or study” (study or investigation of something). Psychology developed as an independent academic discipline in 1879, when a German Professor named Wilhelm Wundt established the first laboratory for psychology at the University of Leipzig in Germany. Initially, psychology was defined as ‘science of consciousness’. . In the simple words, we can define psychology as the systematic study of human behavior and experience.

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212/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	77 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	77 WORDS

Sociology and psychology together form the core of the social sciences. Right from their inception as separate academic disciplines, sociology and psychology have studied different aspects of human life. Most of the other species, work on instincts in the physical environment for their survival. While the survival of humans depends upon the learned behaviour patterns. An instinct involves a genetically programmed directive which informs behaviour in a particular way. It also involves specific instruction to perform a particular action (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008).

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213/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 195 WORDS **98%** **MATCHING TEXT** 195 WORDS

through socialization that humans learn specific behaviour patterns to suit them best in the physical environment. Humans process the information provided by the social context to make sense of their living conditions. Sociology's basic unit of analysis is the social system such as family, social groups, cultures etc. The main subject matter of psychology is to study human mind to analyse attitude, behaviour emotions, perceptions and values which lead to the formation of individual personality living in the social environment. While sociology deals with the study of the social environment, social collectives which include family, communities and other social institutions psychology deals with the individual. For instance, while studying group dynamism, sociologist and psychologist initially share common interestsin various types of groups, and their structures which are affected by the degree of cooperation, cohesion, conflict, information flow, the power of decision making and status hierarchies. This initial similarity of interest, takes on different focus, both the disciplines use different theoretical positions to explain the group phenomena The quest to study human behaviour on scientific principles started with the emergence and establishment of natural sciences during the nineteenth century. Comte thought that society could be studied using the scientific methods of natural sciences. Comte argued careful observation of the entities that are known

through socialization that humans learn specific behaviour patterns to suit them best in the physical environment. Humans process the information provided by the social context to make sense of their living conditions. Sociology's basic unit of analysis is the social system such as family, social groups, cultures etc. The main subject matter of psychology is to study human mind to analyses attitude, behaviour emotions, perceptions and values which lead to the formation of individual personality living in the social environment. While sociology deals with the study of the social environment, social collectives which include family, communities and other social institutions psychology deals with the individual. For instance, while studying group dynamism, sociologist and psychologist initially share common interestsin various types of groups, and their structures which are affected by the degree of cooperation, cohesion, conflict, information flow, the power of decision making and status hierarchies. This initial similarity of interest, takes on different focus, both the disciplines use different theoretical positions to explain the group phenomena. 3.4 SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT The quest to study human behaviour on scientific principles started with the emergence and establishment of natural sciences during the nineteenth century. Comte thought that society could be studied using the scientific methods of natural sciences. Comte argued careful observation of the entities that are known

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214/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 134 WORDS **97%** **MATCHING TEXT** 134 WORDS

directly to experience could be used to explain the relationship between the observed phenomena. By understanding the causal relationship between various events it is possible to predict future events. He also held the belief that once the rules governing the social life are identified, the social scientist can work towards the betterment of the society. This quest to produce knowledge about the society and place of the individual within it, on the basis evidence and observation is central to the origin of Social psychology. The ideas of early and later sociologist helped to shape the sociological social psychology. Mead studied the effect of social conditions on our sense of self. Other influence contributors in the development of sociological social psychology include Georg Simmel (1858-1918),Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929), and Ervin Goffman. The emergence of modern social psychology could be traced from the nineteenth century onwards.

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215/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	56 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	56 WORDS

Social psychology could be defined as the study of the "interface between these two sets of phenomena, the nature and cause of human social behaviour" (Michener & Delamater, 1999 cf. Delamater, 2006:11). G.W Allport (1954:5) defines social psychology with its emphasis on "the thought, feeling, and behaviour of individual as shaped by actual, imagined, or implied the presence of others". .

Social psychology could be defined as the study of the "interface between these two sets of phenomena, the nature and cause of human social behaviour" (Michener & Delamater, 1999 cf. Delamater, 2006:11). G.W Allport (1954:5) defines social psychology with its emphasis on "the thought, feeling, and behaviour of individual as shaped by actual, imagined, or implied the presence of others".

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216/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

To sum up we can say that social psychology is the systematic study of people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviour in the social context. 13.6

To sum up we can say that social psychology is the systematic study of people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviour in the social context. 3.4.2

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217/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	78 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	78 WORDS

Sociology and History Sociology and history are interrelated to each other. Sociology study society and focuses on current issues by looking their historical background. Both present and past come closer in such analysis. Sociologists often refer to history to explain social changes, developments and changing face of society over period of time. Similarly history also needs social aspects (sociological concepts) to explain past. The boundaries between the two disciplines get blurred and entangled which do entails a context to explain complex webs of social reality.

Sociology with History Sociology and history are interrelated to each other. Sociology study society and focuses on current issues by looking their historical background. Both present Relationship of Sociology with and past come closer in such analysis. Sociologists often refer to history to explain Other Social Sciences social changes, developments and changing face of society over period of time. Similarly history also needs social aspects (sociological concepts) to explain past. The boundaries between the two disciplines get blurred and entangled which do entails a context to explain complex webs of social reality.

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218/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	104 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	104 WORDS

society) rather than the idiographic approach (search for particular scientific facts and processes, as distinct from general laws). It is a method to demonstrate "a particular phenomenon or event" to establish a "general law" (ibid.). There are also many other anthropologists who concur to his view. For instance, Evans-Pritchard, another well-known anthropologist considers social anthropology as "a branch of sociological studies, that branch which chiefly devotes itself to primitive societies" (1951:11). He opines that "when people speak of sociology they generally have in mind studies of particular problems in civilized societies. If we give this sense to the word, then the difference between social anthropology and sociology is a difference of field (

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219/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	56 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	56 WORDS

Both sociology and history thus depends on each other to take complete stoke of reality. Sociology depends on history to understand past events, movements and social institutions. Needless to say that sociology is also concerned with the study of historical developments of society. Sociologist studies ancients or old traditions, culture, growth of civilisations, groups and institutions through historical analysis and interpretations.

Both sociology and history thus depends on each other to take complete stoke of reality. Sociology depends on history to understand past events, movements and social institutions. Needless to say that sociology is also concerned with the study of historical developments of society. Sociologist studies ancients or old traditions, culture, growth of civilisations, groups and institutions through historical analysis and interpretations.

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220/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	44 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	44 WORDS

Auguste Comte's conception of sociology includes history in his analyses of growth of sociology and society. He dwells into causes and reasons of developments of humanity through various historical stages. Furthermore, as Tilly (2001) notes, Karl Marx's Capital, Max Weber's Economy and Society or Ferdinand Tonnies'

Auguste Comte's conception of sociology includes history in his analyses of growth of sociology and society. He dwells into causes and reasons of developments of humanity through various historical stages. Furthermore, as Tilly (2001) notes, Karl Marx's Capital, Max Weber's Economy and Society or Tonnies'

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221/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	55 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	55 WORDS

Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft have elaborately used historical dimension to enrich their sociological analysis. Such analysis demonstrate that sociology takes help of history (for instance Weber's elaboration of ideal type is an example of how sociologist have drawn to develop their sociological interpretations) to locate an issue and examine its significance. Furthermore, history has many things to offer to sociology

Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft have elaborately used historical dimension to enrich their sociological analysis. Such analysis demonstrate that sociology takes help of history (for instance Weber's elaboration of ideal type is an example of how sociologist have drawn to develop their sociological interpretations) to locate an issue and examine its significance. Furthermore, history has many things to offer to sociology.

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222/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

However, there exists a great deal of inter-relationship between these two

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223/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

this inter-relationship, Thomas opines that, "Economics is, in fact, but one branch of Sociology." Similarly Silverman opines that Economics is regarded as

this inter-relationship Thomas opines that, "Economics is, in fact, but one branch of Sociology. " Similarly, Silverman opines Economics is regarded as

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224/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

offshoot of sociology which studies the general principles of all social relations.

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225/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

sociology. For its own comprehension, economics takes help of sociology and depends on it. Economics is a part of sociology hence without the help from sociology;

Sociology. For its own comprehension economics the help of sociology and depends on it. Economics is a part of Sociology hence without the help from Sociology,

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

226/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

Similarly, Sociology too takes help from economics. Economics greatly enriches sociological knowledge. Economic factors greatly influence each and every aspects of social life.

Similarly Sociology also takes the help from Economics. Economics greatly enriches sociological knowledge. Economic factors greatly influence each and every aspects of social life.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

227/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	44 WORDS	72%	MATCHING TEXT	44 WORDS

economic relations constitute the foundation of society. Economic factors plays vital role in every aspect of our social life and so, Sociologists are concerned with economic institutions. For this reason, Sociologists like Spencer, Weber, Durkheim and others have relied on economics in their analysis of social relationships.

economic relations constitute the foundation of Society. Economic factors play a very role in every aspect of our social life; that is why, Sociologists concerned with economic institutions. For this reason sociologists like Spencer, Weber, Durkheim and others have taken the help from economics in their analysis of social relationships.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

228/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 129 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 129 WORDS

Sociology primarily studies about society and social relationships whereas economics studies about wealth and choice. Sociology emerged as a science of society very recently whereas economics is comparatively an older science. Sociology is considered as an abstract science whereas economics is considered as a concrete science in the domain of social sciences. Sociology generally deals with all aspects of social science whereas economics deals specific aspects of social science. Sociology has a very wide scope whereas economics scope is very limited. Sociology is concerned with the social activities of individuals whereas economics is concerned with their economic activities. Society is studied as a unit of study in Sociology whereas individual is taken as a unit of study in economics. Both Sociology and economics differ from each other in respect of the methods and techniques they use for their study. 13.9

Sociology primarily studies about society and social relationships whereas economics studies about wealth and choice. 2) Sociology emerged as a science of society very recently whereas economics is comparatively an older science. 3) Sociology is considered as an abstract science whereas economics is considered as a concrete science in the domain of social sciences. 4) Sociology generally deals with all aspects of social science whereas economics deals specific aspects of social science. 5) Sociology has a very wide scope whereas economics scope is very limited. 6) Sociology is concerned with the social activities of individuals whereas economics is concerned with their economic activities. 7) Society is studied as a unit of study in Sociology whereas individual is taken as a unit of study in economics. 8) Both Sociology and economics differ from each other in respect of the methods and techniques they use for their study.

W https://www.achieveriasclasses.com/exploring-relations-between-sociology-and-economics/

229/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 14 WORDS **89%** **MATCHING TEXT** 14 WORDS

Discuss the relationship between sociology and history? (e) Discuss the relationship between sociology and

Discuss the relationship between Sociology and History. Q2: Discuss the relationship between Sociology and

W https://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/download-slm.php?file=BASO_CORE_01_Block_01.pdf

230/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 17 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 17 WORDS

Beteille, Andre. 2004 (2002). Sociology: Essays on Approach & Method. (3rd Impression). New Delhi: Oxford University Press. ?

Beteille, Andre. 2004 (2002). Sociology: Essays on Approach & Method. (3rd Impression).New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

231/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 16 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 16 WORDS

Hoebel, E.A. (1958). Man in the Primitive World. New York/ London/ Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, INC. ?

Hoebel, E.A. (1958). Man in the Primitive World. New York/ London/ Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, INC.

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

232/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 27 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 27 WORDS

Malinowski, Brownislaw. (1922). Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea. London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd. ?

Malinowski, Brownislaw. (1922). Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea. London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd.

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

233/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 1983 (1958). Method in Social Anthropology. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press. ?

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. (1958). Method in Social Anthropology. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

234/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Voget, Fred W. (1975). A History of Ethnology. USA: Holt, Rinehart and

Voget, Fred W. (1975). A History of Ethnology. USA: Holt, Rinehart and

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

235/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

M., and Holborn, M. (2008). Sociology Themes and Perspectives. London: Collins Educational. ?

M., and Holborn, M. (2008). Sociology Themes and Perspectives. London: Collins Educational.

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

236/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Rohall, D., Milkie, M. and Lucas, J. (2011). Social Psychology Sociological Perspectives. (2nd edition). New Delhi: PHI Learning Private Limited. ?

Rohall, D., Milkie, M. and Lucas, J. (2011). Social Psychology Sociological Perspectives. (2nd edition). New Delhi: PHI Learning Private Limited.

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

237/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Objectives After reading this unit, you will be able to: ? Understand the meaning of

OBJECTIVES After reading this Unit, you will be able to understand: • Introduce relationship of

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

238/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

economics is a part of sociology and without the help of economics;

SA ESOC111-U03-SLM.docx (D103358968)

239/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

in essence a state or condition, a relationship and therefore necessarily

in essence means a state or condition, a relationship and is, therefore, necessarily

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

240/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 23 WORDS **87%** **MATCHING TEXT** 23 WORDS

Society is a system of usages and procedures of authorities and mutual aid of many groupings and divisions of controls of human behaviour and

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

241/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 62 WORDS **90%** **MATCHING TEXT** 62 WORDS

Human life and society almost go together. Man is biologically and psychologically equipped to live in groups, in society. Society has become an essential condition for human life to arise and to continue. The relationship between individual and society is ultimately one of the profounds of all the problems of social philosophy. It is more philosophical rather than sociological because it involves the question of values.

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

242/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 14 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 14 WORDS

It is in the society that an individual is surrounded and encompassed by culture,

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

243/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 33 WORDS **69%** **MATCHING TEXT** 33 WORDS

a societal force. It is in the society again that he has to conform to the norms, occupy statuses and become members of groups. The question of the relationship between the individual and the

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

244/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 12 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 12 WORDS

society originated in the subjugation of the weaker by the stronger.

Society originated in the subjugation of the weaker by the stronger. 3.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

245/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 12 WORDS **95%** **MATCHING TEXT** 12 WORDS

is closely connected with question of the relationship of man and society.

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

246/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

theory views society as a contrivance deliberately set up by men for certain

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

247/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

According to Hobbes man in the state of nature was in perpetual conflict with his

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

248/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	82%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

state of nature was not a state of war. It was a state of peace. Man in the state of nature was enjoying an ideal liberty

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

249/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

entered into a contract by which the individuals conferred power, not to the government, as Hobbes thought, but to the community. This contract

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

250/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	75%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

the natural rights of life, liberty and property remain in hands of the individual.

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

251/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	38 WORDS	56%	MATCHING TEXT	38 WORDS

growth in numbers of men and the quarrels arising among them compelled man to make a contact with his fellow men in virtue of which everyone, while uniting himself to all remain, as free as before. Out of this contract

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

252/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

sovereign and includes by a tacit agreement the individual wills of all. 2.

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

253/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 12 WORDS **87%** **MATCHING TEXT** 12 WORDS

Plato called society a “mind writ large” Divided it into three classes

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

254/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 21 WORDS **90%** **MATCHING TEXT** 21 WORDS

The social contract theory puts under emphasis upon the individual minimizing thereby the value of society which is said to be

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

255/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 11 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 11 WORDS

mere instrument devised for the satisfaction of certain human needs. The

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

256/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 15 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 15 WORDS

The organic and group-mind theories almost entirely discount the role of individual in social life.

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

257/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 25 WORDS **91%** **MATCHING TEXT** 25 WORDS

a social animal by nature. Man is a social animal because his nature makes him so. Sociality or sociability is his natural instinct. He can

A) Man is Social by Nature : Man is a social animal because his nature makes him so. Sociality or Sociability is his natural instinct. He can’

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

258/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 15 WORDS **90%** **MATCHING TEXT** 15 WORDS

the relationship between individual and society is not one-sided as these theories seem to indicate.

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

259/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 29 WORDS **95%** **MATCHING TEXT** 29 WORDS

cited a number of case studies to justify the theory of development of man’s social nature. In these cases human infants were isolated from all social relationships to make experiments

cited a number of case studies to justify the theory of development of man’s social nature. In these cases human infants were isolated from all social relationship to make experiments

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

260/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

society. No human being is known to have normally developed in isolation.

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

261/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

he could hardly walk, had the mind of an infant and could mutter only a few meaningless words. In spite of

he could hardly walk, had the mind of an infant and could able to mutter only a few meaningless words. In spite of

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

262/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Lack of social life could not make him a social being. The second case was of two Hindu children namely Amala and Kamala

Lack of social life could not make him a social being. (2) The case study of Amala and Kamala : The second case was of two Hindu children namely Amala and Kamala

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263/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

she could learn some social habits. It shows how human nature develops within her. The

she could able to learn some social habits like speech, eating, dressing and the like. It shows how human nature develops within her. (3) The

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264/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Anna, an illegitimate American child who had been placed in a room at

Anna was an illegitimate American child who had been placed in a room at

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265/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	133 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	133 WORDS

discovery it was found that she could not walk or speak and was indifferent to people around her. But After careful and sympathetic training it was found that she quickly learns human qualities. But after few years she died. It is another feral case study experimented by sociologists. Issabella was an illegitimate child who was locked in a room with her deaf and mute mother by her kinsmen to hide her existence. But when she was discovered she knew no words and made only animal like sounds and her mind was undeveloped. But after some special and careful education and training she became able to learn human behaviour and learn language. She was enrolled in a school. She became successful in making adjustments with her classmates. Her case further strengthens the fact that man became a social animal only when he lives

discovery, it was found that she could not walk or speak and was total indifferent to people around her. But after careful and systematic training it was found that she quickly learn human qualities. But after few years she dies. (4) The case study of Issabella : It is another feral case of experiment on human nature conducted by Sociologist, Issabella was an illegitimate child who was locked in a room with her deaf and mute mother by her Kinsmen to hid her existence. But when she was discovered she knew no words and made only animal like sounds and her mind was undeveloped. But after some special and careful education and training she became able to learn human behaviour and learn language. Some changes were marked in his behaviour. She was enrolled in a school and became successful in making adjustments with her classmate. Her case further strengthens the fact that man became a social animal only when he lives

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

266/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

social nature is not super imposed on hum or adde4d to hum rather it is inborn. 14.5 Necessity Makes man a social animal

social nature is not super-imposed on him or added to him rather it is inborn. (B) Necessity makes Man a Social Animal :

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

267/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	149 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	149 WORDS

is a social animal not only by nature but also by necessity. It is said that needs and necessities make man social. Man has many needs and necessities. Out of these different needs-social, mental, and physical-are NSOU ? CC-SO-01 175 very important and needs fulfillment. He cannot fulfill these needs without living in society. All his needs and necessities compel him to live in society. Many of his needs and necessities will remain unfulfilled without the cooperation of his fellow beings. His psychological needs only fulfilled within the course of living in society. He is totally dependent for his survival upon the existence of society. Human baby is brought up under the care of his parents and family members. He would not survive even a day without the support of society. All his basic needs like food, clothing, shelter, health and education are fulfilled only within the framework of society. He also needs society for his social and mental developments.

is a social animal not only by nature but also by necessity. It is said that needs and necessities makes man social. Man has many needs and necessities. Out of these different needs social, mental and physical needs are very important and needs fulfillment. He can't fulfill these needs without living in society. All his needs and necessities compels him to live in society. Many of his needs and necessities will remain unfulfilled without the co-operation of his fellow beings. His psychological safety, social recognition, lover and self-actualization needs only fulfilled only within the course of living in society. He is totally dependent for his survival upon the existence of society. Human baby is brought up under the care of his parents and family members. He would not survive even a day without the support of society. All his basic needs like food, clothing, shelter, health and education are fulfilled only within the framework of society. He also needs society for his social and mental developments.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

268/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

in society. Similarly, helplessness at the time of birth compels him to live in society.

in a society. Similarly, haplessness at the time of birth compels him to live in society.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

269/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	61%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

case was of Kaspar Hauser who from his childhood until his seventeenth year was brought up in the woods of Nuremberg

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

270/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	75 WORDS	64%	MATCHING TEXT	75 WORDS

for the satisfaction of human wants man lives in society. Hence it is also true that not only for nature but also for the fulfillment of his needs and necessities man lives in society. 14.6 Man lives in society for his mental and intellectual development Society not only fulfils his physical needs and determines his social nature but also determines his personality and guides the course of development of human mind. Society moulds our attitudes, beliefs, moral ideas and thereby moulds individual

For the satisfaction of human wants man lives in society. Hence, it is also true that not only for nature but also for the fulfillment of his needs and necessities man lives in society. (C) For the Development of Mind and Personality man lives in Society : This is yet another reason for which man is a social animal. Society not only fulfills his physical needs and determine his social nature but also determines his personality and guides the course of development of human mind. Development of human mind and self is possible only living in society. Society moulds out attitudes, beliefs, morals, ideals and thereby moulds individual

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271/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	42 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	42 WORDS

From birth to death individual acquires different social qualities by social interaction with his fellow beings. Individual mind without society remains undeveloped at infant stage. The cultural heritage determines man's personality by moulding his attitudes, beliefs, morals and ideals. With the help of social heritage

From birth to death individual acquires different social qualities by social interaction with his fellow beings which moulds his personality. Individual mind without society remains undeveloped at infant stage. Society preserves and transmits culture to succeeding generations. The cultural heritage determines man's personality by moulding his attitudes, beliefs, morals and ideals. With the help of social heritage

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

272/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

He acquires personality within society. There exists a very close relationship between individual and society like that of cells and body.

He acquires personality within society. There exists a very close relationship between individual and society like that of cells and body.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

273/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

Thus, from the above discussion we conclude that man is a social animal. His nature and necessities makes him a social being. He also depends on society to be a human being. 14.7

Thus, from the above discussion we conclude that Man is a social animal. His nature and necessities makes him a social being. He also depends on society to be a human being.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

274/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

is not one-sided. Both are essential for the comprehension of either.

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275/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

the relationship between individuals and society from merely the one or the other side.

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

276/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

cited a number of case studies to justify the theory of development of man's social nature.

cited a number of case studies to justify the theory of development of man's social nature.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

277/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

people playing inter-related roles and recognized by themselves or

people playing inter-related roles and recognised by themselves or

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

278/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Society' refers not to a group of people but to the complex pattern of the norms of interaction that arise among them. People

Society refers not to a group of people but to the complex pattern of the norms or interaction or relationships that arise among them. People

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279/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

society. Society has become an essential condition for human life to arise and to continue.

SA Nilamani Dutta_Philosophy.pdf (D15264414)

280/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	59%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

the nature of their interacts, the degree of organisation, the nature of group interaction, kind of contact among the members, the

the nature of their interests, the degree of organization, the extent of their permanence, the kind of contact among the members and the

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

281/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	48%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

and Secondary group 2) In-group and out-group 3) Community and Association 4) Permanent group and transitory group 5) Vertical group and Horizontal group 6) Formal group and Informal group 7) Contractual group and non-contractual

and secondary group (2) In group and out group (3) Permanent and Transitory group (4) Voluntary and involuntary group (5) Vertical and Horizontal group (6) Homogeneous and Heterogeneous groups (7) Formal and Informal group (8) Community and society (9) Institutional and non-institutional (10) Contractual

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

282/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	65%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

MacIver and Page is an ever changing complex system. "of usages and procedures, of authority and mutual aid, of many grouping and divisions, of control of

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

283/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	75%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

Association : An association is a group of people organised for a particular purpose or a limited number of purposes. According to MacIver an association

SA ESOC515-U04-Raw.docx (D103728757)

284/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

on the basis of power, i.e., sovereign like State, semi-sovereign like university and non-sovereign like clubs;

On the basis of power association may be classified into sovereign like state, semi-sovereign like university and non sovereign like clubs.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

285/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	50%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

on the basis of function i.e., biological like family, vocational like Trade Union or Teachers' Association, recreational like Tennis Club

on the basis of function association may be classified into biological like family, vocational association like Teachers association or Trade Union, recreational association like Tennis club,

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

286/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 54 WORDS **90%** **MATCHING TEXT** 54 WORDS

an organisation deliberately formed for the collective pursuit of some interest or set of interests, which its members share". According to Ginsberg, an association is "a group of social beings related to one another by the fact that they posses or have instituted in common an organisation with a view to securing a specific end or specific ends".

SA ESOC515-U04-Raw.docx (D103728757)

287/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 22 WORDS **80%** **MATCHING TEXT** 22 WORDS

an association is a group of people organized for a particular purpose or a limited number of purposes. According to MacIver, an association

SA ESOC515-U04-Raw.docx (D103728757)

288/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 13 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 13 WORDS

A group of people: An association is basically a group of people who

A group of People : An association is basically a group of people who

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

289/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 38 WORDS **92%** **MATCHING TEXT** 38 WORDS

common goals. Without a group of people, no association can be formed. Hence a group of people is important. 2. Organization: Association does not refer to any ordinary group of people rather it refers to an organized group of people.

common objectives. Without a group of people, no association can be formed. Hence a group of people is important. (2) Organization : Association does not refers to any ordinary group of people rather it refers to an organized group of people.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

290/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 43 WORDS **71%** **MATCHING TEXT** 43 WORDS

Co-operative spirit: Association is the result of co-operative spirit of some organized individuals. People work together with a cooperative spirit to fulfill some common purposes. This cooperative spirit helps them realize their objectives. When this spirit is cracking there is no cooperation and no association. 6. Membership

Co-operative Spirit : Association is the result of co-operative spirit of some organized individuals. Hence, the other name of association is co-operation. Here people work together with a co-operative spirit to fulfill some common purposes. This co-operative spirit helps them to realize their objectives. When this spirit is lacking there is no co-operation and no association. (6) Voluntary Membership :

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

291/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	50 WORDS	57%	MATCHING TEXT	50 WORDS

objectives. Members can also withdraw their membership when they feel so. Similarly, no one can compel them to be a member of any association. But they have to obey the rules and regulations of the association. 7. Degree of permanency: Some associations may be temporary whereas some are permanent. There exist some long-lived

objectives. They can also withdraw their membership when they feel so. Similarly no one can compel them to be a member of any association. But he have to obey the rules and regulations of the association. (7) Degree of Permanency : The degree of permanency varies from association to association. Some association may be temporary where as some are permanent. There exists some long-lived

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

292/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

like family or state. Similarly, there exists some temporary associations like flood relief association. 8. Legal Status: Association is an organized social group which has responsible members. This shows that association has legal status. It can sue

like family or state. Similarly there exists some temporary associations like flood relief association. (8) Legal Status : Association is an organized social group which have responsible members. This shows that association has legal status. It can sue

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

293/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

be sued. Legal action can also be taken against the members as well as officials if disobey its rules and regulations. 9. Office bearers:

be sued. Legal action can also be taken against the members as well as officials if disobey it's rules and regulations. (9) Office Bearers :

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

294/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	68%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

affairs and guide its functioning. These office bearers are elected for a definite period of time by its members. 10. Association is artificial

affairs and guides it's functioning. These office bearers are elected for a definite period of time by it's members. (10) Artificial Nature : Association is an artificial

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295/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	54 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	54 WORDS

an organization deliberately formed for the collective pursuit of some interest or set of interests, which its members share." To Ginsberg, an association is "a group of social beings related to one another by the fact that they possess or have instituted in common an organization with a view to securing a specific end or specific ends."

SA ESOC515-U04-Raw.docx (D103728757)

296/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	67 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	67 WORDS

nature: Association is an artificial creation, not natural. It is manmade in nature. Some individuals deliberately form association to fulfil their common objectives. There exists no natural bond between the members of association. Rather there exists a bond of self- interest. 11. Limited significance: An association is a temporary group organized for the fulfilment of particular interests of its members. It has significance for its members so for it serves their purpose. It

Nature : Association is an artificial creation. It is man made in nature. Some individuals deliberately form association to fulfill their common objectives. It does not grow naturally or spontaneously. There exists no natural bond between the members of association. Rather there exists a bond of self interest. (11) Limited Significance: Membership of an association has limited significance. Because association is a temporary group organized for the fulfillment of specific interests of its members. It has significance for its members so far it serves their purpose. When it

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297/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

society' refers not to a group of people but to the complex pattern of the norms of interactions that arise among them. Society is a system of social

society refers not to a group of people but to the complex pattern of the norms or interaction or relationship that arise among them. 4. MacIver says, society is a web of social

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298/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Association is a group of people organized for the pursuit of

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

299/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

An association is a group of people organized for a particular purpose or a limited number of purposes.

SA ESOC515-U04-Raw.docx (D103728757)

300/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Thus family, church, trade union, music club all are the instances of association.

SA ESOC515-U04-Raw.docx (D103728757)

301/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

After reading this, you will be able to ? Understand the concept of

SA BSOS 12.doc (D129312302)

302/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 25 WORDS **98%** **MATCHING TEXT** 25 WORDS

According to Ginsberg, "Institutions are definite and sanctioned forms or modes of relationship between social beings in respect to one another or to some external object.

SA ESOC515-U04-Raw.docx (D103728757)

303/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 13 WORDS **96%** **MATCHING TEXT** 13 WORDS

An institution consists of a concept (idea, notion, doctrine, interest) and a structure."

SA ESOC515-U04-Raw.docx (D103728757)

304/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 14 WORDS **85%** **MATCHING TEXT** 14 WORDS

Objectives After reading this unit, you will be able to: ? understand the concepts of

OBJECTIVES After reading this Unit, you will be able to understand: • Introduce relationship of

W https://fliphtml5.com/jzbop/smdd/basic

305/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 23 WORDS **73%** **MATCHING TEXT** 23 WORDS

that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society. 24.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

306/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 12 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 12 WORDS

Association is a group of people organized for the pursuit of

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

307/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 21 WORDS **97%** **MATCHING TEXT** 21 WORDS

According to Bierstedt, "Culture is the complex whole that consists of everything we think and do and have as members of

According Robert Bierstedt, "culture is the complex whole that consists of everything we think and do and have as members of

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308/372 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 24 WORDS **89%** **MATCHING TEXT** 24 WORDS

Culture is the total content of the physio-social, bio-social and psycho-social universe man has produced and the socially created mechanisms through which these social products operate."

culture is the total content of the physico-social, bio-social and psycho-social products man has produced and the socially created mechanisms through which these social products operate". 12.

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309/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

According to H.T. Mazumder, "culture is the sum total of human achievements, material as well as non-material, capable of transmission, sociologically i.e.by tradition and communication, vertically as well as horizontally."

According to H.T. Mazumdar, "culture is the sum total of human achievements materials as well as non-material, capable of transmission, sociologically i.e. by tradition and communication, vertically as well as horizontally". 8.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

310/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

or acquire culture by living in groups. He learns it from society through

or acquires culture by living in group. He learns it from society through

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311/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	36 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	36 WORDS

Culture is not individual but social in nature. As a social product culture develops through social interaction which is shared by all. Without social interaction or social relations, it is exceedingly difficult and almost impossible to be cultured.

Culture is not individual but social in nature. As a social product culture develops through social interaction which is shared by all. Without social interaction or social relations it is very difficult and almost impossible to be cultured.

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312/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

It is created or originated in society. Hence it is social. 3. Culture is shared : Culture is

It is created or originated in society. Hence it is social. (3) Culture is Transmissive: Culture is

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313/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	36 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	36 WORDS

from one generation to another. This transmission is a continuous and spontaneous process. It never remains constant. Man inherits or learns culture from his ancestors and passes it to his successors. In this way culture constantly accumulate. 5. Culture

from one generation to another. It passes from parents to children and so on. This transmission is a continuous and spontaneous process. It never remains constant. Man inherits or learns culture from his ancestors and passes it to his successors. In this way culture constantly accumulate. (4) Culture

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

314/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

society. Each and every society has its own culture. It also varies within a society from time to time. Ways of living of people of a particular society varies from time to time.

society. Each and every society has its own culture. It also varies within a society from time to time. Ways of living of people of a particular society varies from time to time. (10)

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

315/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	43 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	43 WORDS

time. 9. Culture is organised : Culture has an order or system. As Tylor says, Culture is a "complex whole". It means different parts of culture are well organised into a cohesive whole. Different parts of culture is organised in such a way that any change

time. (10) Culture is Organized: Culture has an order or system. As Tylor says culture is a 'complex whole'. It means different parts of culture are well organized into a cohesive whole. Different parts of culture is organized in such a way that any change

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316/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

one part brings corresponding changes in other parts. 10. Culture is

one part brings corresponding changes in other parts. (11) Culture is

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

317/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS

Culture is Idealistic : Culture is idealistic in nature. Because it embodies the ideals, values and norms of the group. It sets ideal goals before individuals which

Culture is Idealistic: Culture is idealistic in nature. It embodies the ideals, values and norms of the group. It sets ideal goals before individuals which

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318/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

In other words, Culture is the sum total of ideals and values of individuals in society. 14. Culture is abstract : Culture

In other words culture is the sum total of ideals and values of individuals in society. (7) Culture is accumulative: Culture

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319/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

and Sachdeva, D.R.- An Introduction to Sociology, Kitab Mahal

and Sachdeva, D.R: An Introduction to Sociology Kitab Mahal,

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

320/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

exists only as an agent of social relationships. Mere congregation of individuals does not constitute society. Rather society refers to the

exists only as an agent of social relationships. Mere congregation of individuals do not constitute society. Rather society refers to the

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

321/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

network of social relationships by which every individual is interrelated with his

network of social relationships by which every individual is interrelated with his

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

322/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

used to refer to the members of specific in- group.

used to refer to the members of specific in group

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

323/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS

Samaj. At some other time, society refers to an association like Customer's society, co-operative society or cultural society. Society is also used in the sense of a group such as rural society or urban society.

Samaj. At some other time society refers to an association like consumer's society, co-operative society or cultural society. Society is also used in the sense of a group such as rural society or urban society.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

324/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	68%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

society' refers not just to a group of people but to a complex pattern of norms of interaction that exist among them.

society refers not to a group of people but to the complex pattern of norms or interaction or relationships that arise among them.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

325/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

Not all relationships are social. A social relationship implies reciprocal awareness among individuals. This reciprocal awareness direct and indirect are the characteristics of every social

Not all relationships are social. A social relationship implies reciprocal awareness among individuals. This reciprocal awareness direct and indirect are the characteristic of every social

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326/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

Society is abstract not concrete in nature. We cannot touch it but feel it. Society resides in the minds of individuals. Society is a process of living, not a thing, a motion rather than structure. 19.4

Society is abstract, not concrete, in nature. We can't touch it but fill it. Because, society resides in the minds of individual. Society is a process of living not a thing, a motion rather than structure.

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327/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Society The term society has been derived from the Latin word "Socius" which means

society. The term society has been derived from the Latin word 'socius' which means

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328/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Objectives After reading this unit, you will be able to: ?
Understand the concept of

SA BSOS 12.doc (D129312302)

329/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

This led George Simmel to remark that sociability is the essence of society.

This led George Simmel to remark that sociability is the essence of society.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

330/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

total complex of human relationships in so far as they grow out of the action in terms of means- end relationship intrinsic or symbolic.

total complex of human relationship in so far as they grow out of action in terms of means and relationship, intrinsic or symbolic." (3)

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331/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	79%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

society as a collection of individuals united by certain relations or mode of behaviour which work them off from others who do not enter into these relations or who

society is a collection of individuals united by certain relations or modes of behaviors which mark them off from others who do not enter into these relations or who

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332/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	41 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	41 WORDS

To G.D.H. Cole, "Society as the complex of organized associations and institutions within the community." According to MacIver and Page, "Society is a system of usages and procedures, authority and mutual aid, of many groupings and divisions of controls of human behaviours and liberties, "

to G.D.H. cole, "society is the complex of organised associations and institutions within the community." 8. According to MacIver and Page, "Society is a system of usages and procedures, authority and mutual aid of many groupings and divisions, of controls of human behavior and of liberties. 9.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

333/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	39 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	39 WORDS

According to Cooley, “Society is a complex of forms and processes each of which is living and growing by interaction with the others, the whole being so unified that what take place in one part affects all the rests.” According to

According to C.H. Cooley, “Society is a complex of forms or processes each of which is living and growing by interaction with the others, the whole being so unified that what takes place in one part affects all the rest.” (4) According to

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334/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	37 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	37 WORDS

According to Cuber. “A society may be defined as a group of people who have lived long enough to become organized and to consider themselves and be considered as a unit more or less distinct from other human units.”

According to F. Cuber, “A Society may be defined as a group of people who have lived long enough to become organized and to consider themselves and be considered as a unit more or less distinct from other human units.”

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335/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

According to Leacock, “Society includes not only the political relations by which men are bound

According to Leacock, “Society includes not only the political relations by which man are bound

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336/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

Society has become an essential condition for human life to continue.

SA Unit 1.docx (D109896188)

337/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

but the whole range of human relations and collective activities.” From the

but the whole range of human relations and collective activities.” Thus, from the

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338/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	112 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	112 WORDS

Thus, from the above analysis, we conclude that from a wider-angle society is considered as both a structural as well as functional unit. It is an organization, a system and a pattern. It is a system of rules and regulations which changes in course of time. Society is a larger group of which individuals is a member. But society is not a group of people only rather it is a system of relationships which exists among individuals or groups. That is why MacIver remarked that society is "a web of social relationship". This relationship may be of different types. But no social relationship could be possible without awareness and without social relationships, there could be no society. 19.5 Characteristics of society

Thus, from the above analysis we conclude that from a wider angle society is considered as both a structural as well as functional unit. It is an organization, a system and a pattern. It is a system of rules and regulations which changes in course of time. Society is a larger group of which individual is a member. But society is not a group of people only rather it is a system of relationships which exists among individuals or groups. That is why MacIver remarked that society is "a web of social relationship" This relationships may be of different types. But no social relationship could be possible without awareness and without social relationship there could be no society. 2.2.3. Characteristics A comprehensive understanding of society

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339/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Population: Without a group of people no society could be formed.

population. Without a group of people no society could be formed.

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340/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

Of course society refers to a group of people but to a system of social relationships. But for the establishment of social relationships a group of people is necessary. 2)

Of course, society refers not to a group of people but to system of social relationships. But for the establishment of social relationships a group of people is necessary.

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341/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	56 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	56 WORDS

Likeness is the most important characteristics of society. According to MacIver, "Society means likeness." Without a sense of likeness, there could be no mutual recognition of "belonging together" and therefore no society. This sense of likeness was found in early society on Kinship. And in modern societies the conditions of social likeness have broadened out into the principles of nationality

Likeness is the most important characteristic of society. Famous sociologist MacIver opines that society means likeness. Without a sense of likeness, there could be no mutual recognition of 'belonging together' and therefore no society. This sense of likeness was found in early society on kinship and in modern societies the conditions of social likeness have broadened out into the principles of nationality.

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342/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	60 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	60 WORDS

Society consists of like bodied and likeminded individuals. Friendship intimacy and association of any kind would be impossible without likeness. It also helps in the understandings of one by the other. That is why F. H. Giddings opines that society rests on the "Conscious of kind". 3) Difference: Along with likeness differences is another important characteristic of society. Society also implies difference, and it depends on

Society consists of like bodied and likeminded individuals. Friendship intimacy and association of any kind would be impossible without likeness. It also helps in the understanding of one by the other. That is why F.H. Giddings opines that society rests on the 'Consciousness of Kind'. (3) Differences : Along with likeness, differences is another important characteristic of society. Because society involves differences and it depends on

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343/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

as much as on likeness. That is why MacIver points out that primary likeness and secondary differences create the greatest of institutions- the division of labour. Because differences are complementary to social

as much as on likeness. That is why MacIver opines that "primary likeness and secondary differences create the greatest of all institutions-the division of labour". Because, differences is complementary to social

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344/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	59 WORDS	69%	MATCHING TEXT	59 WORDS

Family as the first society based on biological differences and differences in aptitude, interest and capacity. Though difference does not create society. Hence, differences are subordinate to likeness. 4) Interdependence: Interdependence is another essential characteristic of society. This fact of interdependence is visible in almost all modern societies. Aristotle remarked that man is a social animal. As a social animal he is dependent on others.

Family as the first society based on biological differences and differences in aptitude, interest and capacity. Though differences is necessary for society but differences by itself does not create society. Hence differences are sub-ordinate to likeness. (4) Inter-dependence : Interdependence is another important characteristic of society. This fact of interdependence is visible in every aspect of present day society. Famous Greek Philosopher, Aristotle remarked that 'Man is a social animal'. As a social animal he is dependent on others.

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345/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

individual is self-sufficient. He has to depend on others for food, shelter and security and for the fulfillment of many of his needs and necessities.

individual is self sufficient. He have to depend on others for, shelter and security and for the fulfillment of many of his needs and necessities.

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346/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	222 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	222 WORDS

Family being the first society based on the biological interdependence of the sexes. Not only individuals are interdependent but also the groups, communities and society. 5) Co-operation: Both co-operation and conflict are two another important characteristic of society. MacIver remarked that society is co-operation crossed by conflict. Co-operation is an essential component for the formulation of society. Without co-operation, there can be no society. People cannot maintain a happy life without co-operation. Family being the first society rests on co-operation. Co-operation avoids mutual destructiveness and results in economy in expenditure. 6) Conflict: Conflict is also necessary for society. It acts as a cementing factor for strengthening social relationships. In a healthy and well-developed society both co-operation and conflict co-exist. Because with the help of these two universal processes societies is formed. Conflict makes co-operation meaningful. Conflict may be direct and indirect. However, both are necessary for society. 7) Society is a network of web of social relationship. Social relationship is the foundation of society. MacIver remarked that society is a network of social relationship. Hence it is difficult to clarify social relationships. But this social relationship is based on mutual awareness or recognition to which Cooley call wefeeling, Giddings call consciousness of kind and Thomas as common propensity. Without these social relationships no society could be formed. As social relationships are abstract in nature so also the society is abstract in nature. Different kinds of social processes like co-operation, conflict constantly takes place in society. 8)

Family being the first society, is based on the biological interdependence of the sexes. Not only individuals are interdependent but also the groups, communities and societies. (5) Co-operation and Conflict : Both co-operation and conflict are two another important characteristics of society. Because famous sociologist MacIver once remarked that "Society is Co-operation crossed by conflict". Co-operation is essentially essential for the formation of society. Without co-operation there can be no society. People can't maintain a happy life without co-operation Family being the first society rests on co- operation. Co-operation avoids mutual destructiveness and results in economy in expenditure. Like co-operation conflict is also necessary for society. Conflict acts as a cementing factor for strengthening social relations. In a healthy and well developed society both co- operation and conflict co-exist. Because, with the help of these two universal process society is formed. Conflict makes co-operation meaningful. Conflict may be direct and indirect. However both are necessary for society. (6) Society is a network or web of social relationship : Social relationships is the foundation of society. That is why famous sociologist MacIver remarked that society is a network of social relationship. Hence it is difficult to classify social relationships. But this social relationship is based on mutual awareness or recognition to which Cooley call we- feeling, Giddings call consciousness of kind and Thomas as common propensity. Without these social relationships no society could be formed. As social relationships are abstract in nature so also the society is abstract in nature. Different kinds of social processes like co-operation, conflict constantly takes place in society.

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347/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	40 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	40 WORDS

Comprehensive culture: Culture is another important characteristic of society. Each and every society has its own culture which distinguishes it from others. Culture is the way of life of the member of a society and includes their values, beliefs, art, morals etc.

Comprehensive Culture : Culture is another important characteristic of society. Each and every society has it's own culture which distinguishes it from others. Culture is the way of life of the members of a society and includes their values, beliefs, art, morals etc.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

348/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

culture is comprehensive because it fulfils the necessities of social life. Moreover, each and every society transmits its cultural pattern to the succeeding generations. 12)

Culture is comprehensive because it fulfils the necessities of social life and is culturally self- sufficient. Besides, each and every society transmits its cultural pattern to the succeeding generations. (11)

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

349/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	40 WORDS	68%	MATCHING TEXT	40 WORDS

Accommodation and assimilation: These two associative social processes are also important for the smooth functioning and continuity of society. Apart from the above characteristics, famous sociologists MacIver and Page in their definition mentions some of the elements of society which are

Accommodation and Assimilation : This two associative social process is also important for the smooth functioning and continuity of society. Hence,it is also another characteristic of society. But besides the above characteristics famous sociologists MacIver and Page in their definition mentioned some of the elements of society which are

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

350/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	36 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	36 WORDS

Usages: Every society has some usages regarding marriage, religion, education, food, speech etc. These usages differ from society to society. (b) Procedures: In every society there are some procedures like modes of action which helps to maintain its

Usages : Every society has some usages concerned with marriage, religion, education etc. These usages differs from society to society. (2) Procedures : In every society there are some procedures like modes of action which helps to maintain its

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351/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

Authority: Every society has some sort of authority. Every member of society has to obey this authority. Some sort of authority is necessary for the maintenance of order in society. (

Authority : Every society has some sort of authority. Every members of society has to obey this authority. Some sort of authority is necessary for the maintenance of order in society. (4)

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352/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Mutual aid: In every society there exists a feeling of mutual aid among its members. Everyone needs

Mutual Aid : In every society there exists a feeling of mutual aid among its members. Everyone needs

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353/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Groupings and divisions: In every society there exists several groupings and divisions like family, village, city etc. which constitute a society. (

Groupings and Divisions : In every society there exists several groupings and divisions like family, village, city etc. Which constitute a society. (6)

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354/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

society' refers not to a group of people but to the complex pattern of the norms of interactions that arise among them. Society is a system of social

society refers not to a group of people but to the complex pattern of the norms or interaction or relationship that arise among them. 4. MacIver says, society is a web of social

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355/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

To constitute a community the presence of sentiment among the members is necessary.

To constitute a community the presence of sentiment among the members is necessary.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

356/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

It is derived from the Latin word Socius which means companionship or friendship.

SA Unit 1.docx (D109896188)

357/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

today shall be different from what it would be tomorrow.

today shall be different from what it would be tomorrow.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

358/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	75%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

of social change. Social change occurs in all societies. No society remains completely static.

of social change. 1. Social change is universal: It occurs in all societies and in all times. No society remains completely static.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

359/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Society is a system of social relationships. But these relationships are never permanent, they are subject to

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

360/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

variations or modifications in any aspect of social process, patter or form...social change may be

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

361/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

social structure e.g., the size of a society, the composition or balance of its parts or the type of its organization...

social structure e.g. the size of a society, the composition or balance of its parts or the type of its organization.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

362/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	52%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

Social changes may be simply defined as the process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system.

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

363/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

by social change is meant only such alterations as occur in social organization- that is, the structure and functions of society.

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

364/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

social change." According to Jones, "Social change is a term used to describe variations in, as modifications of any aspect of social processes, social patterns, social interaction or social organization."

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

365/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Anderson and Parker, "social change involves alteration in the structure or functioning of social forms or processes themselves."

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366/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

social change refers to the modifications which take place in

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367/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Society cannot be preserved in a museum to save it from the ravages of time.

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

368/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Social change has occurred in all societies and in all periods of time. But

social change takes place in all societies and in all periods of time. But

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

369/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

the study of social change involves no value judgement. It is ethnically neutral.

SA Module 1 - 5.docx (D21364761)

370/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Progress means change for the better, and hence implies a value judgement.

progress means change for the better and hence must imply a value judgement."

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371/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

According to Morris Ginsberg, "By social change I understand a change in social structure e.g., the size of a society, the composition or balance of its parts or the type of its

According to M.Ginsberg, "By social change I understand a change in social structure e.g. the size of a society, the composition or balance of its parts or the type of its

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Syllabus/MA_SOCIOLOGY/Paper-1.pdf

372/372	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

progress, we imply not merely direction, but direction towards some final goal, some destination determined ideally.

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PREFACE In a bid to standardise higher education in the country, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has introduced Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) based on five types of courses: core, generic discipline specific elective, and ability/ skill enhancement for graduate students of all programmes at Elective/ Honours level. This brings in the semester pattern, which finds efficacy in tandem with credit system, credit transfer, comprehensive and continuous assessments and a graded pattern of evaluation. The objective is to offer learners ample flexibility to choose from a wide gamut of courses, as also to provide them lateral mobility between various educational institutions in the country where they can carry acquired credits. I am happy to note that the University has been recently accredited by National Assessment and Accreditation Council of India (NAAC) with grade "A". UGC Open and Distance Learning (ODL) Regulations, 2017 have mandated compliance with CBCS for U.G. programmes for all the HEIs in this mode. Welcoming this paradigm shift in higher education, Netaji Subhas Open University (NSOU) has resolved to adopt CBCS from the academic session 2021-22 at the Under Graduate Degree Programme level. The present syllabus, framed in the spirit of syllabi recommended by UGC, lays due stress on all aspects envisaged in the curricular framework of the apex body on higher education. It will be imparted to learners over the six semesters of the Programme. Self Learning Materials (SLMs) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. From a logistic point of view, NSOU has embarked upon CBCS presently with SLMs in English. Eventually, these will be translated into Bengali too, for the benefit of learners. As always, we have requisitioned the services of the best academics in each domain for the preparation of new SLMs, and I am sure they will be of commendable academic support. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stake-holders who will participate in the teaching-learning of these study materials. It has been a very challenging task well executed, and 1 congratulate all concerned in the preparation of these SLMs. I wish the venture a grand success. Professor (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar Vice-Chancellor

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Module 1 India: An Object of Knowledge

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NSOU CC-SO-02 9 Unit 1 The Colonial Discourse Structure 1.0 Objectives 1.1 Introduction 1.2 The Central Issues of the Colonial Discourse 1.3 The Colonial Administrators 1.4 The Evangelical Writers 1.5 The Orientalist School 1.5.1 Sir William Jones 1.5.2 James Prinsep 1.5.3 Sir Charles Wilkins 1.5.4 Horace Hayman Wilson 1.6 Impact of Colonial discourse on Indian Sociology 1.7 Summary 1.8 Model Questions 1.9 References and Suggested Reading (KEY WORDS : Colonial, Colonization, Evangelist, Orientalist, Anglicist, East India Company, Imperial.) 1.0 Objectives The unit introduces learners to The colonizers' viewpoints of the society and people of India. Diversity of the opinions of the colonial people about the society in India. The ways history is constructed and imposed on the people of a less advantageous country from above. 9
NSOU CC-SO-02 10 1.1 Introduction The Colonial Discourse means the assortment of opinions found in the writings, pronouncements and declarations made by the British colonial officials and administrators. To understand the true spirit of this discourse it is essential to understand the history of colonial rule in the country. The British imperialistic control over the subcontinent was first introduced in the 18th century, designed by the systematized policy of oppression and plundering of resources of a country rich in natural resources for the benefit of the British empire. The British colonial authority wanted to usurp all the natural and human resources to enrich itself and monopolize its control over the vast territory of undivided India and they spared no effort to fulfill their desire. However, they wanted to hide their real intention under the cover of their lofty arguments and ideological camouflage. The Discourse acted as a mechanism of control over the vast Indian subcontinent for a long period of time. It also ushered modernization in the western sense of the term through clever planning, and an encounter between the modern west and the traditional east. In fact, social anthropology and its twin sister sociology emerged in the subcontinent out of the contributions of the colonial administrators and their ethnological endeavours. Risley, Ibbetson. Hutton and many other had played important roles in introducing and strengthening the colonial approach towards the land and people of India. The main objective of the imperial government was to impose greater control of the colonized territory of India and her people. So, to justify the aggressive control over the land and its people the colonial administrators wanted to project it (India) as a degenerating society that was badly in need of the rescuing touch of the Imperial authority. The main problem was their total unfamiliarity with the social and cultural systems of the land. The village community and its land revenue system, the religious practices and rituals, innumerable languages and their dialects, the structure and functions of the tribal society - everything was unfamiliar to them. This unfamiliarity had misled them to adopt wrongful interpretations of traditional Indian institutions. The views of the British-Indian officials were primarily based on the principle of utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham and philosophy of John Stuart Mill who rigidly believed that the colonial rule had contributed in an extremely positive way for the modernization and development of the traditional Indian society. Before the establishment of colonial rule India was basically a rural, agricultural, self -sufficient
NSOU CC-SO-02 11 society. In the absence of a properly developed market system, the village society used to produce crops and utility goods for its own members only. A very limited amount of the total village produce of crops and artisan goods used to be sold in the local market. The regular exchange of goods used to be conducted on the basis of jajmani system, generating a close family-based relationship among different castes and their clientele. In the town areas there were excellent handicrafts products like fine cotton and silk, textiles, ivory and stone carvings, brass and copper-work, boat and ship-making industry, leather-craft, sword, shield and knife-making industry, etc.with traditional techniques. The vast land of the subcontinent was rich with precious natural and human resources. The colonial efforts at industrialization and modernization had multiple impacts; both positive and negative. But the colonial writers have highlighted the positive aspects only, while ignoring the negative impacts totally as they wanted to justify the interventionist policy of the authority. The utilitarian thinker like James Mill was in charge of the East India Company in London and under his direction utilitarian principles towards India were being applied. James Mill and other Utilitarians rejected all attempts at recognition of any good feature of India. Mill considered India as a 'dark continent' and recommended application of British laws,British -type education, and abolition of inhuman practices like sati and child marriage to bring in changes. 1.2 The Central Issues of the Colonial Discourse The colonial administrators could feel that the absence of proper understanding of the Indian villages and their people would ultimately create a serious problem for the Raj and frequent occurrences of tribal and peasant revolts were giving such indications to the colonial administration. To nip the buds of such problems the colonial administrators had used ethnology to collect information about India's land and people in great details. They could understand that efficient control of the country would only be possible with garnering of sufficient material about every details of people's life. Thus, from the very beginning sociology and social anthropology became important tools in the hands of the colonial administrators. Colonial officials with anthropological bent of mind used to formulate policies for the rural and tribal people and helped the government with their distorted interpretation of the culture of the land. The ethnographic writings of British administrators, missionaries and anthropologists created long-lasting images of India and her people for the world to see. As ethnologists, most of them were amateurs and indulged in the task of

NSOU CC-SO-02 12 unearthing information for the benefit of colonial administration; they had classified the complex social organization of an unfamiliar country on the basis of race, level of evolution, civilization etc. From these anthropological-ethnological ventures sociology in India had emerged gradually. 1.3 The Colonial Administrators The colonialists were responsible for the development of sociology in India, no doubt; but the discipline had entered the subcontinent by following the footsteps of anthropology. British administrators had painstakingly collected detaied information on India's social, cultural and economic systems. It is necessary to discuss their contributions for proper understanding of the implication of the colonial approach in Indian sociology. The leading role was adopted by senior officials like Francis Buchanan, B.H. Baden-Powell, Risley, Nesfield, Crook. Hutton and many others. Dr. Francis Buchanan, also known as Hamilton-Buchanan was a botanist, surveyor and a surgeon serving the East India Company. He had worked as an assistant surgeon of the Company from 1794 to 1815. This stay of over two decades in Bengal had given him sufficient opportunity to know the country and its flora and fauna from close quarters. In 1798, he was appointed by the Company government to make survey of Chittagong and its surrounding areas to find if those areas could be used for cultivation of crops for export purposes. He did many such surveys after that. For example, he made a survey of Bengal in the period between 1807 -1814, recording every details of the land. As he travelled through the different parts of the country ranging from the Andaman Islands, Burma (Myanmar), Chittagong, Nepal, North Bengal and Bihar, he collected detailed information and prepared reports on them. Being a keen observer of the natural life he collected drawings of plants and animals by local artists from wherever he traveled. He had made important comments on the plant and animals of India. In the period between 1807- 1814 the then government of Bengal entrusted him with the task of conducting surveys on topography, history, relics, conditions of the local people, religion, natural resources and products, local agriculture and agricultural practices including tools, manures, domestic animals, fences, landed property, fine arts artisans' crafts, transportation of goods, exports and imports, weighs and measures and many more of the region. These records and observations prepared by Buchanan are one of the important first-hand accounts of the traditional Indian ways of life. Not only in Bengal, he collected detailed information, statistics and oral histories on a wide
NSOU CC-SO-02 13 range of topics from the everyday existence of common people from other parts of India too. He presented all his findings with first person narratives accompanied by maps, table and diagrams. His works represented the pioneering survey explorations in different parts of India. B.H. Baden-Powell, an eminent English civil servant had served in Bengal and Punjab and wrote on the traditional system of India's land tenure, forest conservation and law. His writings on Indian land system, in fact, acted as a handbook and guide for the colonial India's revenue officers. His famous book The Land-Systems of British India has three volumes and contains discussions on India's land-tenure and revenue systems, myriad local systems of village settlements including Rayotwari and other allied systems. The second volume of the book contains detailed discussions on land tenure and revenue systems in Bengal. His book also contains details of different types of villages found among the tribal and non-tribal populations. Sir Herbert Hope Risley was one of the most well-known British administrators and ethnographer who made extensive studies on the castes and tribes of the Bengal Presidency region. He was also the leading anthropologist of British India. In the 1900 census of Indian population he classified the people of India into several types, i.e. seven main physical types residing in different parts of India starting from the western frontier region and ending at the southern-most region. His observant eyes and an urge for precision to analyse things had recorded the physical features of the inhabitants in great details. He had also defined castes and was the first author to notice the conversion of tribes into castes. His Tribes and Castes of Bengal (1891) had once been acknowledged as a classic, but his theory on caste has also been severly criticized later as one of the most racist accounts. Risley argued that castes represented a hierarchical distinction of the higher, fair- skinned Aryan origin people and the lower dark skinned people of Dravidian origin. He supported his conclusion with the help of 'nasal index' or the shape of the nose and its correlation with social status. In fact, Risley being one of the 'official anthropologists' did introduce 'scientific racism' in his extensive ethnographic studies on the castes and tribes of Bengal Presidency and used his survey findings to justify racial discrimination of the so called racially inferior people in the hands of perpertedly superior white western rulers. Of course, being accused of blatant racism he had written many disclaimers but ultimately concluded that the whites belonged to the 'conquering race'.

NSOU CC-SO-02 14 Ethnology and anthropology in India by the late Victorian period were developed also by several other colonial administrators like Crooke, Ibbetson, Baines, Nesfield, Hutton, Dalton. William Crooke and Sir Denzil Ibbetson. Crooke had far less exposure to the Indian society as he remained posted during the whole of his career to the North-western provinces of then undivided India, and comprehensively wrote on the native inhabitants, their religions, beliefs, customs, and mentalities. Ibbetson, as the superintendent of the Punjab region made an ethnographic survey of Punjab's castes and tribes and classified them on the basis of occupation and proclaimed that caste system was nothing but the product of the age old traditions of division of labour. Other colonial administrators like Athelstane Baines and John Nesfield also spoke in favour of the occupational origin of caste. Following the instruction of the census commission in 1881 several provincial governments had undertaken surveys on castes and tribes and published handbooks on the basis of the findings. Ethnological studies on castes continued till 1911, but hill and forest tribes of central India and Assam remained the topics of ethnographical analysis till the end of the colonial rule. J.H. Hutton, as an anthropologist and administrator under the colonial government, was posted in Assam where he studied the tribal culture of that region. For his interests in anthropology, he made extensive studies on the tribes of the region and earned the reputation of 'the greatest authority on the Naga Hills in general' for his knowledge. His studies helped the British government to bring the Nagas under its control. He had noticed during his posting in Assam that each tribal villages had some occupational specialization and thus the neighbouring villages used to create some network of interdependence. He had assumed that that practice was being continued since the pre-Aryan period in the country. Hutton's views on caste, tribal life and villages in Bengal had inspired many such studies later. Another remarkable ethnological work was made by Edward T. Dalton, a mid- level military officer posted in Bengal Presidency who collected enough ethnological material on remote tribes residing in Upper Assam, North-Eastern Frontier and in Chhotanagpura areas of then Bengal. His book, A Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal (1872), published by the government of Bengal was one of the first ethnological works on the indigenous people. He viewed the British control of India from a liberal perspective and was praised by the authority for doing commendable job in managing, or, controlling the tribes in the name of development. Dalton also was in favour of converting tribes to Christianity by the Christian missionaries. Other colonial ideologues and administrative historians had started to write on as a part NSOU CC-SO-02 15 of their official duty and extensively used the official documents for their writings. Among them there were other British-Indian officials like Sir Henry Maine ,B .Malleson, James Todd, M.E. Grant Duff, to name a few. As the Governor of Madras Grant Duff had commented in 1887 that British capital investment was essential for a "half-civilized" country like India. John Ruskin, the noted Victorian writer and art critic of his time had an open contempt for all types of Indian art. Some others like George Birdwood would believe that painting and fine art did not exist in the pre-British period. Thus, the western thinkers, in general, had portrayed India as a country frozen in history, devoid of any civilizational progress for centuries. James Mill, who wrote three volumes of History of British India, William Jones and Henry Maine had nurtured this vision of India devoid of any social, intellectual and technological mobility and innovation and it had received wide publicity among western thinkers. 1.4 The Evangelical Writers The colonialist viewpoint towards India did not remain limited among the British-Indian officials and historiographers only. The Evangelical writers, too, believed in the superiority of the whites and inherent inferiority of the native Indians. The School of Evangelical writers used to be comprising of missionaries who came to India with the objective of preaching and converting the Indians and thus spreading the message of Christianity among the people of the subcontinent. However, at the initial stages of the Company rule the primary belief of the East India Company was that, neither business nor controlling the docile people of India would be too much of a problem; therefore preaching and conversion were not among their primary objectives. But its stand was changed in 1813 under pressure from Evangelical movement back home and the Company had to open the doors for the missionaries. The Christian missionaries and several missionary societies had taken pioneering role in the spread of English education in the country. By the last decade of the 18th century three Christian missionary societies were established in the country, namely, the Baptist Missionary Society(1792), the London Missionary Society(1795) and the Church Missionary Society (1799). Of all the missionaries William Carey was the first to introduce English education in Bengal. In association with two other fellow missionaries, Joshua Marshman and William Ward, he had established one school for English education and one printing press for supplying reading materials in both English and Bengali. Later in 1818 they established the Serampore

NSOU CC-SO-02 16 College — the first college in India to offer modern higher education to all. Carey and his companions had established 126 schools to educate about 10,000 Indian students in modern western ideals and values. By that time, Robert May, another Christian missionary of the London Missionary Society had established one school in Chinsurah first, and then 36 more schools in different parts of Bengal. The Christian missionaries did not establish schools and colleges purely as a humanitarian effort, their sometimes open, sometimes hidden, agenda was to spread Christian spiritual and religious messages, to eradicate the Hindu practices of idol worship, polytheism, polygamy, human sacrifice and other superstitious customs which they (the missionaries) considered barbaric. They wanted to sensitize the native population and prove profanity and falsehood of their religions. However, they could not fulfill their goal of religious sensitization as in job-starved India English-education became the essential criterion for securing government employment; and gradually the focus of the education system became success in examinations. The missionaries initially had a slow start because the East India Company was reluctant to interfere with the faith and beliefs of the native people and opposed the entry of the preachers and missionaries. But, several Evangelists like Wilber Force, Macaulay and others had started a serious movement to oppose government ban against the missionaries and finally in 1813 the ban was lifted. Evangelism means preaching of the gospel or message of the Bible to the non-believers. So the Charter of 1813 had opened the floodgate for the missionaries to come to India and to preach and spread of education based on Christian principles and values. Alexander Duff was an eminent missionary who had established the Scottish Mission in Bengal. Like Carey, he, too, had established several schools here to teach English. Of them the most important was the General Assemblies Institution (present-day Scottish Church College). His endeavor for spreading English education and Christian religion among the locals was so successful that the period between 1830-1857 came to be known as the Age of Duff. Both Duff and Macaulay were also known as Anglicists because they were in favour of education in English medium only, to create a new class of Indians who would think and speak in English habitually, who would be proud of their loyalty to the colonial masters and would be totally immersed in the lessons taught by the western scholars, philosophers and ideologues. Christian missionaries like Carey could anticipate that British educators should learn Sanskrit and interpret Sanskrit texts in a manner compatible with the colonial aims. They had little respect for Indian people and their traditions. The colonialists not only opened schools, they

NSOU CC-SO-02 17 also supplied text books written by English authors who were either highly prejudiced or openly racist in their attitude towards everything Indian. For example, William Carey had no respect for Indian traditions, culture and music. In a similar vein, Charles Grant, too, had despised everything associated with Indian society and religion. Most of them would consider Indians as dishonest, immoral, and untruthful. Christian missionaries were also convinced that India was the worst place to live in. William Wilberforce once commented that it was disgraceful for Britain to allow Indians (meaning Hindus) to follow the grossest and the darkest as well as the most degrading system of idolatrous superstition on earth. Out of this hatred towards the land and its people, the Christian missionaries built up the belief that it was their duty to wean the natives from their 'disgusting and bestial rites.' Like the colonial officials, they too, took upon themselves the task of civilizing the inferior, ignorant people of India. They had even debated over whether the natives needed to be civilized first or to be Christianized. Many of them like James Montogmery genuinely felt that Christianizing was an important tool to civilize the people of India. With preaching and spreading the messages of the Bible the twin task of conversion and civilizing would easily be possible. It is not difficult to conclude that such notions were based on the blind belief in the inferiority of the native Indians and superiority of the whites in general. However, this type of opinion and attitude to their subjects were common among all the European races. The British had borrowed it from the French who had used this to legitimize their colonial control over non-European 'coloured' races. In the nineteenth century the British evangelists had spread their control over the north-eastern part of the country, the area inhabited by hill-tribes. In direct collaboration with the missionaries the British government destroyed their culture and traditional religious practices in the name of civilizing them; and in the process was able to maintain a tight control over these people. 1.5 The Orientalist School Among the European scholars of the colonial era another school of thought had emerged; it was known as the Orientalist School. The advocates of the School had contributed in many ways for the welfare of the society here in India, even though they were supportive of the exploitative exercises undertaken by the government. The School is known by the name because it was rooted in the principle of 'Orientalism'. Orient means East, the opposite of the West or the Occident. Therefore, Orientalism stands for the study of the eastern societies by the western scholars. The Orientalists

NSOU CC-SO-02 18 who came to India, had supported the preservation of Indian languages, laws, customs, traditional and ancient institutions and culture of the country. According to Prof. Edward Said, Orientalism is the tradition of looking at the societies of the east (Asia) from the point of European or western experiences. Modern Europe's interest in the Orient and Orientalism could be explained with reference to the fact that several European states including Britain had their richest and oldest colonies in those parts of the world. The most famous of the orientalists during the regime of the East India Company were Sir William Jones, James Prinsep, Sir Charles Wilkins and Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson. Rev. James Long was also a much respected man in the field of orientalism. All of them were brilliant academician and contributed positively and extensively in different areas of knowledge like linguistics, literature ,science and also wanted to make the world aware of India's hidden intellectual treasure. Orientalism also refers to the administrative policy of the East India Company in favour of preserving Indian languages, laws, customs and age-old traditions of the country. The period of Orientalism lasted for over five decades, starting in 1773, when Warren Hastings was appointed the Governor-General of the Company and continued up to 1832, when under the growing influence of the liberal and Evangelical ideas the Company government had to abandon its policy of preservation and made English education compulsory in India. That was the end of the Orientalist phase. The East India Company had pursued its 'Orientalist' policy not for philanthropic purposes alone; it could realize that for better and more effective control of the colonies a thorough knowledge and clear understanding of the culture and language of the native people was essential. But liberal economists like James Stuart Mill used to consider the colonies as corrupt and stagnant. Even Karl Marx, had identified the Asiatic Mode of Production as unchanging. Christian missionaries, too, used to despise the non-Christian religious traditions as barbaric and evil. In spite of so many criticisms and oppositions from powerful quarters Orientalism had emerged as a distinct academic discipline under the protection and encouragement of western scholars like Max Muller and Eugene Burnoff. Many accuse Orientalism of romanticizing India in an attempt to legitimize the colonial rule, there were several Orientalists who had truly appreciated Indian culture and civilisation. We should discuss their contributions in brief. 1.5.1 Sir William Jones (1746-1794) was the principal founder of the Asiatic

NSOU CC-SO-02 19 Society of Bengal and he wanted to know and understand India better than anyone else in England. He was proficient in at least 28 languages, and initiated the study of comparative philology or linguistics. He was also a prolific translator and translated in English many Sanskrit texts like Manu Smriti and Abhigyana Shakuntala. Jones studied Hindu astronomy, botany and literature; worked as a Judge for ten years, and supported the rights of Indian citizens to trial by jury under Indian jurisprudence. 1.5.2 James Prinsep (1799-1840) : Prinsep was another remarkable orientalist who had contributed in many ways to restore and preserve the heritage of India. He had worked at the Benaras and Calcutta Mints for 20 years; and developed the study of the largest Indian coins collection of that time. He was the founder — editor of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As an orientalist he worked on deciphering the Kharosthi and Brahmi Scripts; and he was the first European scholar to decipher the edicts of the Emperor Ashoka. 1.5.3 Sir Charles Wilkins (1749-1836) : A prominent orientalist of his time, was one of the founding - members of the Asiatic Society, the first translator of Bhagabad Gita into English and one of the creators of the first Bengali typeface beside Panchanan Karmakar. Wilkins also designed typeface for publication of books in Persian. He had studied Sanskrit in Benaras under a Brahmin pandit. With strong support from Warren Hastings he had started to translate the Mahabharata but could not complete it. He had interpreted the Gita in a new way by declaring that the Gita's main objective was to promote monotheist Unitarianism against the polytheism supported in the Vedas. He also translated the Heetopodesha and wrote on the Sikh religion. Being deeply interested in religion Wilkins had visited many religious shrines of different faiths. 1.5.4 Horace Hayman Wilson (1786 - 1860) : Horace by profession a doctor, came to India as Assistant-Surgeon of the East India Company. He was a renowned orientalist and was the first person to translate the Rigveda. He also translated The Vishnu Purana in multiple volumes, the Meghaduta by Kalidasa and wrote books on the religions of the Hindus, on Hindu and Mohammedan Law, on Puranas and on many other topics like the history of British India. Though the British Orientalism has been criticised by the followers of Said line for portraying the India as a stagnant, superstitious, corrupt and magico-religious country, the Orientalists mentioned above have given tremendous service for

NSOU CC-SO-02 20 understanding the true spirit of India and also to make the whole world aware of that. 1.6 Impact of Colonial Discourse on Sociology in India Sociology in India has progressed with anthropology and the two disciplines share an intimate relationship. During the colonial period the British administrators and scholars had undertaken several ethnographic surveys to collect intimate knowledge about the land and its people for the benefit of strengthening the colonial control. Another important reason behind such surveys was prevention of rebellion and revolts against the colonial regime. Herbert Risley, a prominent member of the civil services in India had collected monumental data on castes and tribes of Bengal. His book on the findings of his survey, Caste and Tribes of Bengal (1891) has provided ample data for the rulers to understand the system of caste. In this book he has presented an analysis of caste from the point of Brahmanical sociology and the divineness of caste.He has also examined how caste was compatible with politics. Risley was of the belief that caste should be discouraged to get a proper control over the people in India. Following Risley many other ethnographical studies of caste, religion, culture and rituals of the people of India had been undertaken. Such studies not only helped the colonial rulers to gain tight control over the subcontinent and its people, but also prepared the ground for sociology here in India. Ethnographical researches encouraged western scholars, British administrators and Christian Missionaries to take interest in every details of local culture like local language, literature, folklore, rituals and many other things. Out of their interests a good number of surveys on tribes, caste, village and religious communities, language, etc. had taken place. Oriental scholars and Indologists like William Jones, Max Mueller, Prinsep and others had translated sacred Indian texts like the Gita in English, established research organizations like the Asiatic Society and Anthropological Survey of India. Sir Henry Maine, though was not very favourable to India, had taken interests in the Hindu legal system and village communities. Some of the western sociologists like Max Weber had taken interest in the understanding of the essence of Hindu religion and based his theory of emergence of capitalism on that understanding. Thus, the Indian society and culture had attracted the interests of western scholars and officials of the colonial government with their unique features of land tenure, revenue system, poverty, social and economic structure of the poor but self-sufficient village communities; and out of such diverse interests coming

NSOU CC-SO-02 21 from academic, missionary, administrative and political quarters, the seeds for the emergence and development of the formal discipline of sociology were sown. The colonial founding fathers of anthropology and sociology in India had collected sufficient ethnological materials needed for both efficient administration and scholarly pursuit. Joan Vincent has observed that British anthropology, from the outset, has helped colonial rulers; and in India anthropology had to depend on data gathered by 'administrators, missionaries, travellers,' (Uberoi, Sundar, Deshpande, 2007:12). This was also true for American anthropology that had a close association with power and control of indigenous people in many parts of the world. Talal Asad has shown that the disciplines like anthropology and history not only enable the western colonisers to know and control their captured territories better but also to reinforce the inequality between the coloniser and the colonised. Edward Said and Bernard Cohn separately have shown that the orientalist scholars and anthropologists, on the basis of their keen observation, have identified several sociological categories like caste, ritual, custom, law and political institutions as the hallmarks of the colonized society. With a very clever intention, the British administration had introduced British type of education in India to colonise the minds of the people of India so that their cultural priorities could be altered. For Indians the introduction of western education was a blessing but it actually helped in the colonization of mind and culture that an eminent philosopher like K.C. Bhattacharya had lamented that Indians could not contribute anything worthwhile independently in the field of culture and modern ideology. However, not all western scholars were driven by the colonialist spirit; for example, Patrick Geddes, as the architect of sociology department in the University of Bombay, did not bow down to the wishes of the imperial government and had thought of modernization of India following some alternative path. Some of the early anthropologists like S.C.Roy and Verrier Elwin had felt deep empathy and admiration towards the tribes they studied. But some others like L.K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, the revered pioneer anthropologist and M.N. Srinivas would conduct their researches on tribes and villages from the elevated position of their upper- caste, western educated, urbanized self. Yet they never failed to see the 'others' like the tribals, peasants and workers from backward classes as their own and equal members of the society. This shows that the imperial goal of colonization of mind was not fulfilled and a very large section of educated Indians with modern outlook opted for a nationalist approach in their academic and research activities.

NSOU CC-SO-02 22 1.7 Summary The colonialist discourse reveals the different shades of views and aspirations in the minds of the colonial scholars, administrators and missionaries who came in this sub-continent with a view to exploit and dominate the 'others' or the people of different ethnic origin, language, culture and religion with disdain. To impose more control more efficiently, they had initiated in ethnographic surveys and explored different aspects of their culture, Out of those efforts, first the birth of anthropology happened in our country and then sociology followed suit, As both the disciplines share many common areas and their institutional difference was of western origin only, in colonial India these two disciplines have enriched each other in many ways. So, we cannot omit the growth and development of anthropology out of any discussion of evolution of sociology in India. 1.8 Model Questions 1. Answer in brief. 5 Marks. a) What is Discourse? Distinguish it from Critique. b) What are the central issues of colonial discourse? 2. Answer in Detail. 10 Marks. a) Examine the different dimensions of colonial discourse that emerged in British India. b) Make a critical assessment of colonial discourse in India. c) What is colonialist discourse? Examine its objectives and purposes. d) Examine the impact of colonial discourse on sociology in India. e) Write a shortnote on the Orientalist School of colonialist discourse. f) Discuss, in brief, the Evangelical ideas in colonialist discourse g) Write a short note on the need for ethnographic studies in the colonial period.

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NSOU CC-SO-02 24 Unit 2 Nationalist Discourse Structure 2.0 Objectives 2.1 Introduction 2.2 Meaning and Definition of Nationalism and Nationalistic Discourse 2.3 Nationalism in India 2.4 Nationalist Discourse in Indian Sociology 2.4.1 Nationalist Ideas of Benoy Kumar Sarkar 2.4.2 Sociology of Benoy Kumar Sarkar 2.4.3 Radhakamal Mukherjee 2.4.4 Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji 2.4.5 G.S. Ghurey 2.4.6 Partha Chatterjee 2.5 Summary 2.6 Model Questions 2.7 References and Suggested Readings (KEY WORDS: Nationalism, Nationalistic, Swadeshi, Caste, Hindu, Anthropology.) 2.0 Objectives The Unit discusses: The indigenous sociological ideas inspired by the anti-colonial spirit. How modern Indian thinkers combined nationalistic spirit with sociology. Visions of the pioneers of sociology in India. 24

NSOU CC-SO-02 25 2.1 Introduction Nationalism is an ideology based on love and respect for one's own country of birth or of choice. On a wider note, it is an amalgamation of countrymen's attitudes, claims, expectations, obligations and patriotic feelings towards the state based on a number of political, moral and cultural values. This feeling urges people to identify with their own country and support and ultimately fight for its own interests. It is both an ideology and a movement for the protection and promotion of the interests of one's own country, establishing its sovereignty and abolition of foreign control over the land and its people. Out of this feeling of nationalism the nationalistic discourse in sociology was born. The Nationalistic discourse, has given birth to a number of ideas, opinions and narratives regarding the emergence of national identity among the people of a colonized territory. This discourse had emerged in the country under the impulse of anti-colonial sentiments in general and nationalist social and political movements in particular since the late 19th century-early 20th century period; it was instrumental in the creation of a consciousness to develop a new social, political, economic and educational system free from colonial domination. Movements like Swadeshi and Boycott did play important roles in creating an urge for everything made in and controlled by India. Mahatma Gandhi believed that the partition of Bengal in 1905 was a great turning point in the awakening of awareness regarding nationalism. The nationalistic discourse, in general, involves the writings and opinions of Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Dadabhai Naoroji, Swami Vivekananda, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and many others. In the field of sociology the discourse has left its lasting impression in the writings of Benoy Kunar Sarkar, Radhakamal Mukhopadhyay, D. P. Mukherjee, D. N. Majumdar and others who were energized with the thoughts of nation-building. They wanted to counter the prejudiced arguments of the colonialists and believed that ancient India had many things to offer to the world. While Radhakamal had made indepth analysis of India's economic problems under colonial regime, rural poverty and inequality; Dhurjati Prasad, a self-proclaimed Marxologist, was concerned with issues of colonialism like a true blue nationalist. G.S.Ghurye's sociology reflects an understanding of India's civilization and culture based on Hindu/Brahmanical nationalist ideology of cultural unity and nation-building. In this way nationalist discourse in sociology contains multiple views and it deals with multiple issues related to nation-building, creating and strengthening of new national identity.
NSOU CC-SO-02 26 2.2 Meaning and Definition of Nationalism and Nationalistic Discourse The Nationalistic discourse has given birth to a number of ideas, opinions and narratives regarding the emergence of national identity among the people of a colonized territory. Here, in India, the nationalist sentiments and the urge for a nation of the peoples' own did emerge under the influence of colonial rule. But nationalism should not necessarily be linked with colonial rule or be considered as a negative anti-colonial concept. It should also be considered from a positive standpoint as it also means creation of a new type of social and political identity in accordance with local mores and environments. Therefore, as a negative concept nationalism means opposition to outside rule and rejection of foreign control and dominance; whereas, in a positive sense it indicates a positive signal towards nation- building. Nationalistic discourse contains all the ideas, beliefs and narratives that emerged during the Raj to glorify India's past and to oppose the colonial regime. 2.3 Nationalism in India In the context of India, nationalism is a modern phenomenon to envision India as a free country. The idea was introduced during the colonial period by the western educated leaders of India. Dissolution of foreign control became its primary goal and to establish India's identity as a nation-state appeared to be its secondary {but no less important} goal. Inspired by those two goals, a number of nationalist movements had taken place in the country starting from the sepoy mutiny of 1857 ,to the resistance struggle of the native princes against the British imperial power and then to the moderate and extremist movements by different factions of the Congress and other local radical political outfits. Not only did educated middle class participate in the freedom movement, even the illiterate peasantry and tribal populations from different regions, too, took part in the nationalist movement on their own terms. The nationalistic movement and the principle of nationalism in India is often accused for its elitist nature and its failure to integrate the class interests of the peasants. 2.4 Nationalist Discourse in Indian Sociology The British colonial rule in India not only imposed a for al government had
NSOU CC-SO-02 27 brought in major changes in the matters of governance, introduced new policies and implemented new laws in the name of development and modernization of a traditional society. All these had taken place in the selfish interests of the Raj. With the introduction of modern western education, educated Indians became aware of the modern ideas and latest developments in the fields of natural and social sciences in the west and they started to initiate a number of public debates and discussions on issues related to governance, customs and practices. Modern men like Ram Mohan Roy, Akshay Kumar Dutta, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Pyari Charan Mitra, Kaliprasanna Sinha, Bhudeb Mukherje, Ramendra Sundar Tribedi and several others had made significant contributions in examining and questioning the then existing social practices. Neither of them was professional sociologist, yet their thought-provoking essays and books had laid the foundation of sociology in India. Many of the modern men the late- nineteenth-early-twentieth period were nationalists in spirit and even actively participated in nationalist movements. They were genuinely interested in the development of India and her people. In their sociological thoughts, therefore, there was a strong undercurrent of nationalism and glorification of India. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, one of the pioneers of sociology in the country, had once commented that extra-university sociological discussions and analyses had always preceded and supplemented academic sociology in India. These extra-university sources or the voluntary organisations and their members were immensely influenced by the ideas and concepts of western scholars like Comte, Herbert Spencer, Toennies, Von Wiese and many others. At the same time, acquaintance with liberal ideas of the modern west made Indian intellectuals aware of the absence of freedom and equality in their own society. While the stereotypes, categories and identities created by foreign political regime in the mid-eighteenth century, it also brought in an era of social reform. Calcutta was the capital of British India in the initial days of the Raj and had experienced a lot of developmental activities. The colonial bureaucrats received general acceptance within the society, a section of the educated Indians had started to look at the society and people around them with a positivist bend of mind. They came from different disciplines of knowledge yet all of them were keen to explore and examine various aspects of Indian society in a positivist way. Though all of them were not professional sociologists their efforts had prepared the ground for sociology to emerge in India. By the mid-nineteenth century social reformers and thinkers with modern education had established a number of learned society and started serious discussions on social issues from a nationalist point of view.

NSOU CC-SO-02 28 The founding-fathers of sociology in India were intellectual giants like Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Radhakamal Mukherjee, Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji, Patrick Geddes and G.S.Ghurye. They had original visions and ideas about society and sociology with which many of them could overcome the impact of the''colonisation of mind'. Geddes was not an Indian, but he was not the mouthpiece of the Imperial government here. At the core of their heart, early sociologists in India were nationalists who took immense pride in their motherland and aspired for fitting respect for the country from all quarters. With their creative nationalist spirit they presented an image of India that was different from ,but not inferior to the west. To comprehend the nationalist discourse as opposed to the colonialist discourse in sociology we need to examine the roles played by the founding-fathers of sociology in India. 2.4.1 Nationalist Ideas of Benoy Kumar Sarkar (1887-1949) : Benoy Kumar Sarkar was a great scholar, an original thinker and an excellent teacher devoted to his profession. Since a very young age till to his last he was inspired by the spirit of nationalism and patriotism ; and these two principles had influenced all his thoughts and visions of the world. He was also very much fond of the power of creative idealism for nation-building and believed in man's creative energy for building a new India. For this very reason, his sociology remained forever dedicated to the search for an independent identity of India's culture and civilization beyond the image projected by the western scholars. Much before the formal introduction of academic sociology in the country Sarkar was busy with reinterpretation of India's traditions by challenging the arguments offered by stalwarts from the west like Max Mueller, the Indologist, and Max Weber, the sociologist. As a renowned scholar he visited many academic institutes in different parts of the world, and exchanged ideas with scholars from across the globe. Many of his books were published in countries like Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Yet his mission in life was "to project the image of resurgent India and emerging Asia." (Bhattacharya,1990. B.U,: 17) Sarkar was very optimistic of the future of India and Asia as he had high hopes for his motherland and mother-continent. At the same time, he was deeply pained to see the naked dominance of the west over Asia in general, and India, in particular. Therefore, as a nineteen years old teenager in 1906, Sarkar through his first article in English, titled National Education and the Bengali Nation, published in the Amrita Bazar Patrika, a nationalist daily, had expressed his concerns for his beloved homeland. (Bandyopadhyay, Levant,: 193) Six years later, in 1912, Sadhana, a collection of
NSOU CC-SO-02 29 essay in Bengali by Sarkar depicted how each and every nationality and society would evolve in its own distinct way. Thus, he concluded, the model for development never could be the same for all the nations. All these show that Sarkar was a patriot, a nationalist, a Swadeshi from a very young age. His close association with Satish Chandra Mukhopadhyay inspired him to take an active part in the Swadeshi and boycott movements. He was also deeply influenced by what he termed as "the Ramakrishna Movement" and strongly believed that Vivekananda had set a goal for India to conquer the whole world. Guided by the motto of the Swadeshi movement, he became one of the most active participants of the national education movement. To make the movement a success he published numerous books, articles, pamphlets and delivered lectures in support of the movement. 2.4.2 Sociology of Benoy Kumar Sarkar : Sarkar was an ardent admirer of positivism and believed that the Hindu way of life was full of it. Following the trends of his time he compared the spirituality of the orient with the materialism of the occident and unlike many others he strongly felt that materialism could not safeguard the basic liberty and equality of all. Therefore, the western civilization was inferior to the Indian civilization.He was well acquainted with the positivism of Comte when he wrote his treatise The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology (1914, 1921,1926, 1937) In fact Comte's positivism, religion of humanity, social service ideas had made an impact on the Bengali intellect in as early as 1860s. When he (Sarkar) accidentally came across an ancient Sanskrit text named Sukraniti, or the sacred text of Shukracharyya, he translated it into English and named it The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology. The book was so named because it contained secular, worldly and 'positive elements of Hindu social economy'.(Bhattacharya). Moreover, he had often used the terms 'Hindu' and 'Indian' alternatively and found the history of Hindu aka Indian civilization far more glorious than that of the western civilization. Sukraniti was Nitisastra, Arthasastra, and Dharmasastra all rolled into one with discussions on Dharma or morals, Artha or interests, and Kama or desires. The image of ancient India that was revealed to him through the text of Shukraniti was that of a very pragmatic state that was conversant with the art of warfare, state administration, power, aggression and all other aspects of everyday life. (Bandyopadhyay, :196). Thus, Shukraniti's subject matters were not at all "other worldly" but non-transcendental and non-spiritual in nature. With this observation Sarkar has challenged the carefully-crafted western

NSOU CC-SO-02 30 image of India. Weber and others like Hegel, Gobineau, Buckle, Senart, Max Weber and Max Mueller had convinced the world that Indian, that is, Hindu civilization was ultra-ascetic, non-industrial sand non-political in spirit. Sarkar, with the help of the Posiitive Background, has counter-argued that the Hindu way of life is nothing but a synthesis of both the worldly and the other-worldly, and of the positive and the transcendental elements in life. He has further narrated in his Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes (1916) about the characteristics of Asian Positivism. He has earnestly believed that every religion is positivistic and every human being is a positivist, if we relate positivism with humanitarian principles or social duties. He has also spoken of 'Asiatic Positivism' and finds all old and ancient Asian religions like Confucianism, Hinduism and Buddhism positivist. He has clearly mentioned that the secular principles of good citizenship, social service and humanitarianism have always remained parts of Hindu religion and culture; one cannot ignore all these because of the single word 'Nirvana'. The wrongful image that was popularized by the western scholars became parts of the machinations of the colonial and imperialist conspirators. The propagated otherworldly image of the civilization was unscientific, baseless and prejudiced as there was no real difference between the two civilizations. To counter such prejudice Sarkar used the tool of sociology. As both a nationalist and a sociologist he was eager to identify the problems of modern India from a sociological point of view and also opted for curving out India's path to modernity with the help of sociological understanding. Sarkar was a professor of Economics in the University of Calcutta; but he wrote on many subjects including sociology. his works include books like The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind (1912), The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology(1914), Introduction to Hindu Positivism(1937), The Folk Element in Hindu Culture(1917), The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress (1937), The Sociology of Population (1936), Villages and Towns as Social Patterns (1941) and many others. Sarkar has observed that in any discussion on sociology, the meaning of the word 'positivism' is to be understood in Comtean terms. Comte has used the word 'positivism' with reference to specialization, generality and scientific experience. According to Comte's three-staged theory of evolution of human intellect and social organization the third stage is the positivist stage where scientific experience reigns supreme. Sarkar himself has admitted that he has not applied Comte's ideas of positivism in full; but for scholarly analyses, experiments, specialization, generalization, scientific enquiries only. He has found positivism in the Vedas
NSOU CC-SO-02 31 though these are conditioned as religious texts because the Vedic literature considers all practical elements of day to day living like annihilation of enemies, the control of enemy property, the distribution of booty, expansion of one's territory, attainment of the highest position in the society of men, and real-life feelings and emotions like jealousy, ambition, hatred, war, political rivalry etc. He has also urged Indians to pay homage to the cunning of Chanakya, the Kautilya who is known for his creative intelligence, sharp mind and political acumen. With such arguments he has always defended India's past contributions towards social sciences. From his arguments in favour of scientific outlook and logical reasoning in India's ancient texts, it can be assumed that Sarkar's sociological vision was influenced by his association with the Dawn Society, Satish Chandra and Brajendranath Seal. From Seal he came to learn the importance of comparative sociological analysis in understanding India's social institutions. In 1926 Sarkar joined the Economics Department at the University of Calcutta and he used to teach sociology optional paper within that department. As a teacher he prescribed several topics for the two optional Sociology papers with an aim to make the students aware of the latest trends of social science research in the west. But as a hardcore nationalist in spirit and mind, he always wanted to represent the views of 'young India' during his visits abroad and to learn from the advances in Europe and America. In 1937, Sarkar founded the Bengal Social Science Conference for sociological researches in Bengali language and to bridge the gap between the sociological discourses of the orient and the occident. As a nationalist sociologist, he was concerned with the civilization of both India and Bengal and was always concerned with the socio-economic development of Bengal. Bengal's folk-culture in the form of folk songs and music and folk-dance was dear to his heart. He examined how the Bengali culture and literature embraced both the folk and classical elements of life ; imbibed elements from other cultures and how they represented the creativity, humanism and imagination of the quintessentially Bengali mind. Thus Sarkar's sociology was shaped up by his nationalist feelings it ultimately became the sociology of national development for India, in general and of Bengal's development in particular. 2.4.3. Radha kamal Mukherjee (1889-1968) : Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee is well known for his pioneering role in the enrichment of sociology in India. He was a brilliant student and was exposed to the works of all modern European sociologists and political scientists like Comte,
NSOU CC-SO-02 32 Herbert Spencer, Bagehot, Lester Ward, Hobhouse, Giddings and many others. Like Sarkar, he, too, became associated with the Swadeshi movement during his student days in 1905 - 06. As a young patriot he came to appreciate the value of education for the poor, backward people of the country; so he worked among the slum-dwellers of Calcutta with the motto of spreading education among the poor, adult but illiterate people residing in slums. Like young people of his generation, he was motivated by the spirit of nationalism and philanthropy; and the British government's decision of Bengal partition further ignited the flame of nationalism in him. In 1906, Mukerjee had started an evening class for adult education and wrote simple texts to serve that purpose. His career as a teacher in economics started in 1910, but five years later, in 1915, he was arrested by the police on charges of terrorism and sedition. All his schools had to face closure because of that serious allegation but such adverse experiences could not dim his spirit of nationalism. Though he had chosen the career of college and university teacher, he always remained driven by the spirit of nationalism. He had taught in a number of reputed academic centers, but is most remembered for his association with the Lucknow University that he joined as the

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Professor and Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology in 1921, on the very day the university started

to function, and continued teaching there for the next three decades. Mukerjee's vision of sociology remained rooted in India's tradition, yet it was universalistic. He believed that a general theory of sociology could be founded; in the context of Indian society that theory could be developed with the help of Indian philosophy and cultural tradition. T.N. Madan has observed that Mukerjee, as an economist, an ecologist and a sociologist, was concerned with the prospect of social reconstruction in connection with renewal of the past rather than any break with it. He has even made attempts ' to locate West's modernity within the endogeneous stream of Hindu culture itself....' (Hegde, 2011 : 50) He (Mukerjee) has further found Indian tradition spiritually modern and self-governing whereas western civilization seemed ailing and uprooting to him. Yet, he dreamt of a synthetic integrated model to retain the Eastern tradition by surpassing the West's modernity. Mukerjee and his colleagues at the Lucknow University, Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji and D.N.Majumdar had founded the Lucknow School of Indian sociology; the School had immense contribution in almost every area of knowledge like sociology, economiocs, culture ,aesthetics, history, development including the area of nation building. One of the major task of the School was to seek remedial measures against the trauma of
NSOU CC-SO-02 33 partition and jolts from independence the young state had experienced. The School, at the initiative of its founders, strived to present an integrated and comprehensive sociology of values and Indian culture and it had developed its own ideas and analytical ways to examine India's social reality. T. N. Madan has observed that Mukerjee strongly favoured the idea of renewal of India's past and so did not support any break with the past for the benefit of modernization of the society. In matters of social reconstruction in the Asian states, he always insisted on the principle of renewal and adaptation of old habits and impulses to satisfy the complex and larger needs of the modern period. He started thinking of an alternative, non-western socio-economic model of development to suit India's conditions and values in a better way. In fact, Mukerjee always wanted to present sociology in a manner most fitting to Indian society because he was a true nationalist in his mind, soul and work. Like Sarkar, Mukerjee was also inspired by the works of Brajendra Nath Seal who encouraged investigations of the reality of Indian society; so he, too, developed a fondness for field -investigations. He started his research-career with empirical field-work and encouraged his students to undertake field-researches on life and society in India. The love and respect for his own country and its people had motivated Mukerjee to explore the society through investigative field-research. Later, though his sociology turned more towards value-research, the spirit of nationalism never left him. 2.4.4 Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji : Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji or D.P. (as he is more popularly known) was one of the founders of the Lucknow School at the University of Lucknow. He was born in 1894, and grew up in an environment marked by several important events and influences that shaped the Bengali intellect of that time. The late -nineteenth century- early-twentieth period was marked by several important influences that had taken place in Bengal in particular, like emergence of a new phase of Bengal Renaissance, of several social and religious reform movements (Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramkrishna-Vivekananda influence, etc), Hindu revivalism, rediscovery of Sanskrit literary tradition, and an overwhelming influence of Rabindranath Tagore. A few years later, in 1905 Curzon's decision of Bengal Partition had shaken Bengal and then there occurred the Swadeshi Movement. The upgradation of Calcutta University for imparting post-graduate education to Indian students also happened in this period. Most of the Bengali pioneers of sociology like Sarkar, Mukerjee, K.P.Chattopadhyay and D. P. were the products of that turbulent period.
NSOU CC-SO-02 34 D.P. has often been described as a conservative, Hindu intellectual with superficial ideas of modernity. He of course, never denied his Hindu Brahmin identity and was passionate about classical Hindu views about life, though he rejected the Brahminical religious belief and rituals quiet early in life. D.P. was respectful of the dynamism of Indian classical thoughts like the motto of' Charaiveti, Charaiveti' or 'forward, forward' from the ancient text of Aitareya Brahmana. He always acknowledged the contributions of the Hindus behind the growth of medieval and modern Indian culture and believed that it has amalgamated well with other cultural influences in the country. Like Sarkar he, too, rejected the western belief about Indian minds being totally occupied with religion because he was truly fascinated by the Charvaka line of thought based on hedonism and on states of consciousness as being purely physical. He lamented that Indian sociologists were not interested in history, philosophy ,dynamism and meaningfulness of social life. In the year 1955, as the President of the first Indian Sociological Conference he had addressed the issue with the observation that too much emphasis on empirical social research, particularly in India, seemed meaningless to him as that failed to impart any life-meaning. He was also not, at all, satisfied with the western sociological theory and especially Talcott Parsons' theory of social action, because of their excessive emphasis on the 'individual' D.P. has dealt with the ideas of progress, equality, social forces and social control in his book Basic Concepts in Sociology and has revealed his concern with 'progress'. To him, progress was not synonymous with growth, it was a movement of freedom, the growth of inner personality of man. For that regular contemplation and retirement from the hectic schedules of life after an age was needed. He found supports in favour such system of contemplation and retirement in the Hindu philosophy. He understands 'progress' as a problem of balancing of values, or the hierarchy of values to determine the fundamental values. To find out a suitable answer to his quest he turned to the values of the Upanishada, that is, the values of shantam or harmony, shivam or welfare and advaitam or unity. By doing this, D.P. has synthesized the principles of Vedanta with the western concept of progress. He was also concerned with the problems Indian society was experiencing like partition and communal violence and suggested that a positive reorientation of Indian culture would work as an essential condition for real progress. If we go through the works of D.P. we find that he never forgot his cultural heritage and tradition and believed in the happy marriage of Indian culture and values with modern western education.

NSOU CC-SO-02 35 2.3.5. G.S. Ghurey (1893 -1983) : Like other first generation sociologists in India G. S. Ghurey, too, was the product of his social and cultural environment. He is the founder of the Bombay School of Sociology and for long had tremendous influence in the growth and development of sociological research. As a student of Bombay's Elphinstone College he came into contact with European professors from Oxford and Cambridge from whom he learned about history and literature of Europe. Elphinstone had a reputation for producing western India's modern English educated intellectuals and professionals of that time. Nationalist political leaders like M.G. Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, too, were the products of the college. It was able to create an intellectual environment of independent thought and rational critique of colonial rule. As studentscame to learn about Europe's social and political history, they became interested in examining similar institutions and ideas in their own country. When in 1862 the first professr of Sanskrit was appointed, students' interest in their ancient past and Hindu philosophy was ignited. When Ghurye took admission in Elphinstone College in 1913, the wave of western intellectual ferment had subsided considerably with an increase in nationalism. Ghurey's nationalism was ingrained in his academic training as a Sanskritist and also within his chosen field of Indology. He was greatly influenced by the traditions of British and German Orientalism that encouraged the study of Sanskrit texts and respect the Brahminical values and perspectives embodied in them. Just as Swadeshi and Bengal partition issue in 1905 had aroused nationalist feelings among the Bengalees, in the western part of the country social reform movements of the nineteenth century evoked concerns about Indian society. The targets of those social reform movements in Maharastra were values and institutions of a tradition- bound society, eg., Brahminical and patriarchal norms, kinship structures, etc. Western values introduced new norms of behavior and ideas concerning widow remarriage, age of consent, etc. In 1932 his first major book Caste and Race in India was published and it revealed his deep commitment to Indological approach. He was of the opinion that continuity and change in Indian society should be examined only with reference toto ancient Indian texts.Due to this preference for Indological approach, Ghurye accepted and glorified the Vedic culture, values, traditions and civilisations of ancient period and their continuation in modern times without any question. Like his contemporaries he also acknowledged and valued the contributions of the Renaissance men like Raja Rammohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, M.G.Ranade and R.G. Bhandarkar. As a Maharastrian, he used to support

NSOU CC-SO-02 36 one particular type of regional nationalism for his state, and was proud of Maharastra's cultural heritage, and its distinctive identity. So much so that he was happy when Shiv Sena was formed in the 1960s in Maharastra. As a sociologist Ghurye primarily focused on cultural nationalism and reconstruction of Indian society and history to examine and understand the origin and emergence of existing institutions. He studied caste in the context of Indian civilization for projecting the unity and characteristics of India's ancient heritage, which, he believed, contained nothing but Hindu society dominated by Brahminical values. In several of his books, Ghurye has revealed the influence of nationalism on him by severely criticizing the tribal policies of the colonial government. Like other nationalists he,too, believed that the British policy of exclusion of the tribal people in the name of protection was actually another form of the strategy of divide and rule. Again, he was of the opinion that the natural process of assimilation and diffusion of various groups and culture was geopardised because of forceful imposition of colonial rule. He was in favour of slow integration of marginalized elements into the mainstream of social life. Ghurye and his colleagues were influenced by the conservative nationalism and initiated a particular brand of sociology with a combination of Indology and anthropology. Ghurye has viewed Indian society as a product of Brahminical Hinduism being bound together by its unique cultural traditions and social institutions. He, as a sociologist, has worked hard to create an Indological and nationalist image of traditional Indian society based on caste and joint family system, culture and civilization nurtured in the tradition of the Vedic past and connected with the spirit of Brahminical Hinduism. To substantiate that image he has introduced the techniques of anthropological field research and scientific methodology in sociological investigation and research. He never adhered to foreign intellectual standards, nor did he submit himself to foreign research agendas because of his strong nationalist convictions. Like other first generation Indian sociologists Ghurye, too, wanted to exhibit the organic unity of Indian society; hence the legacy of sociology's over-emphasis on caste, kinship, family, religion by side-lining economic and political aspects had started with him. Carol Upadhyay has rightly observed that Ghurye's sociology has combined nationalism, Orientalism, and social reformist ideas to function within the diffusionist and empiricist structure of anthropology of his time. It is important to note that his sociological vision was nurtured by his experiences with colonialism, his respect for India's past glory, and his nationalist aspiration for India's freedom in future.

NSOU CC-SO-02 37 2.4.6 Partha Chatterjee : Partha Chatterjee,a Political Scientist by training and a multi-disciplinarian by choice is one of the leading scholars of the contemporary world and a founding- member of the Subaltern Studies group. He has contributed generously in the understanding of India's nationalism. Though his discussions often refer to the perspectives of thinkers and litterateurs of the colonial period he is primarily interested in nationalism and nation-building in India. He has lights on how the newly liberated states welcome the principles of western capitalism by shifting their own age-old values and traditions aside during their strife for building a strong and powerful nation. Chatterjee has examined the roles of modern Indian intellectuals like Bankimchandra, Mahtma Gandhi, Nehru and their likes. These three icons of modern India came from three distinct regions of the country. Bankimchandra, a nineteenth century writer admired the west's advances in science and economics, but was critical of its failure to fully grasp the rich cultural heritage of India. Mahatma Gandhi, a political leader much younger than Bankimchandra, felt that more than any western ideology, the principles of the Bhagabad Gita should be the foundation of the modern Indian nation. He recommended non-violence to be the only weapon to bring the colonial rule to an end and forwarded the idea of making villages and village-based cottage-industries the life-line of a modern Indian nation. Nehru, a leader much younger than Gandhi, had accepted many of Gandhi's beliefs but summarily rejected his ideas of nation-building as inept. He aspired to create a sovereign, democratic nation-state, governed by revolutionary elites to keep the dissenting groups in control and to use science and technology for all round development including surging economy and social justice for all. Chatterjee's book, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse (1986) has urged the readers to adopt a fresher approach towards nationalism by linking it to the post-Enlightenment liberal-rationalist conceptions of knowledge which was responsible for imposing colonial control over more than half of the world. He has compared the three distinct Indian versions of nationalism that emerged in three different corners of the country, namely, the east, the west and the north. His exploration of nationalism is a critique of Benedict Anderson's theory of imagined nationalism. Anderson believes that nation has only an imagined existence as a political community which is both limited and sovereign in nature. The imagination of nation stays in the minds of the people because even without knowing each other
NSOU CC-SO-02 38 personally as fellow countrymen they imagine themselves as belonging to the same nation. The nation has a limited existence because it is always territorially bounded. Chatterjee observes that in spite of its existence in the minds of the people , nationalism's formation and development are aided by several sociological conditions. These are, printing press and publication of books in native language, spread of secondary education family and women's position within it. Thus, Chatterjee's stand on nationalism has posed a challenge to Anderson's 'modular' form of nation that supposedly travelled from the West to the colonies. Under this kind of nationalism colonies were left with no freedom to dwell on their own imagination of nation and makes the imagination of nation colonized. However, Chatterjee finds the spiritual domain missing in the Andersonian concept of 'modular' nationalism; whereas in India's nationalism the spiritual domain remained hidden within the privacy of family. The family was the epicenter of cultural elements needed for imagination of nationalism. Chatterjee has chosen examples, carefully, from culture, drama, school education system, family, women, etc. from the Bengali society to prove his points. A short discussion of these examples will be helpful. Since the end of the 18th century, under the initiative of the East India Company and European missionaries the first books, mostly translations of the Bible, in Bengali began to get published for administrative purposes. By the early years of the nineteenth century prose compositions began to be printed. As the dominance of the Company became stronger, Persian was replaced by English as the language for administrative work. The newly emerging elites of colonial Bengal were educated in modern schools and colleges and were bilingual. They also played important roles in standardizing the written form of the native language outside the purview of the colonial domain. They wrote and published original works in different formats of literature and in the process made language and literature important sources of nationalism. The other domains of national culture and nationalism in colonial Bengal were secondary schools and family. The elites of the nineteenth century Bengal had turned the modern educational institutions into citadels of nationalism through the curriculum, faculty, funding-everything. Another beholder of nationalistic values and national culture was family. As per western assessments, the Indian culture needed thorough changes, but the middle class, the educated elites of the country, took the task of social reformation upon themselves because they were not ready to allow the colonial state to initiate reform of practices of the 'traditional society'. During the first half of the twentieth century, the position of Indian women also
NSOU CC-SO-02 39 underwent manifold changes as the nationalistic values spread throughout the social body. They embraced modern ideals, acquired education andoccupation as well; but they did not leave their traditions altogether. Such combinations of tradition and modernity helped in the national imagination, Chatterjee believes. Thus, his observations present a new model of Indian nationalism. 2.5 Summary From our discussion above we can say that most of the founding-fathers of sociology in India were nationalists in spirit and wanted to project India as one united entity. They were also respectful of India's rich cultural heritage and wanted to proclaim India's cultural equality with the western world by challenging the western perception of the 'other-worldly' or non-materialistic nature of Indian society. While some of India's early sociologists like Benoy Kumar Sarkar and Radhakamal Mukerjee had actively participated in nationalist political movements themselves, others were deeply influenced by the nationalist political and cultural environment of the time. Much of the growth and development of sociology in India depended on the nationalist discourse about Indian society and Indian sociologists were dedicated to the nationalist causes of nation-creating and nation-building, with inspirations from the images of ancient India beheld in the ancient texts. They also wanted to reconstitute the society by combining the traditional elements with modernity; this unique combination became the mainstay of the nationalist discourse in Indian sociology. 2.6 Model Questions 1. Answer in Brief: 5 Marks. a) What is meant by Nationalist Discourse? b) What is the significance of nationalist discourse in sociology? c) What was the impact of colonial rule on nationalist discourse in sociology 2. Answer in detail : 10 Marks. d) Define nationalist discourse . Examine the contributions of nationalist discourse in Indian sociology. e) Examine the nationalist ideas of Benoy Kumar Sarkar. f) Make an assessment of Radhakamal Mukerjee in the study of sociology in India.
NSOU CC-SO-02 40 g) Do you think Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji was a nationalist sociologist? Give reasons in favor of your arguments. h) Examine the nationalist perspective in G.S.Ghurye's sociology. 2.7 References and Suggested Readings

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NSOU CC-SO-02 41 Unit 3 Subaltern Perspective Structure 3.0 Objectives 3.1 Introduction 3.2 Ranjit Guha 3.2.1 Guha's observations on Peasant Insurgency 3.3 David Hardiman 3.3.1 The Devi Movement of South Gujarat 3.4 Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar 3.4.1 Influences on Ambedkar 3.4.2 Origin of Caste 3.4.3 Ambedkar's view's on Untouchability 3.4.4 Problems of Dalits 3.4.5 Measures for Fradication of Untouchability 3.5 Summary 3.6 Model Questions 3.7 References and Suggested Readings (KEY WORDS: Subaltern. Marginalized. Insurgency. Tribe. Caste. Untouchable. Subjugation.) 3.0 Objectives Helps understand the plight of the powerless, marginalized people. Discusses movements of resistance and defiance oranised by the poor. Focuses on the sociological contributions of subaltern historians and thinkers. 41
NSOU CC-SO-02 42 3.1 Introduction The term 'Subaltern' conveys a sense of subordination,that is, the position or status that remains perpetually under the control and domination of someone else. The term was first used by the noted Italian Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci in his famous 'Prison Notebook' to mean, firstly, the proletariats or the working class; and secondly, to mean the marginalized, powerless people who are always dominated and subordinated by the far more powerful, dominating section of the society. The subalterns in a society remain powerless as the class-in-control enjoys exclusive power and authority over them. Gramsci did not confine the 'subalterns' within any specific time-frame like the post-industrial society as this class has remained present in every other phases of history. In the context of Indian societythe term 'Subaltern' is used to mean Dalits, tribal and other ethnic communities, poor peasants and all other impoverished, marginalized sections of population during the colonial period. They were excluded from social institutions and were denied a voice of their own. The Subaltern Perspective in sociology, along with the discipline of History focuses on the neglected 'underbelly' of the society to get an insight into the roles played by them... So it (Subaltern Studies) is referred as 'history told from the below.' This perspective has emerged and evolved as a critique of the other two long-established schools of thought that view the history of colonial India as the history of power, domination and achievements of a tiny elite group like either the colonial rulers and administrators or the nationalist elites of Indian origin. The perspective originated in England in the late 1970s in the hands of group of Indian historians but it earned popular notice in 1982 only when the mouthpiece The Subaltern Studies, Volume 1 saw the light of the day. The people associated with that movement wanted to alter the common perception of both academics and ordinary people about subalterns as the 'subjects of history. Both the Colonialist and the Nationalist perspectives have totally overlooked the roles played by the subalterns who remain subordinated; yet retain an element of independence of consciousness. They focus their attention on the one-sidedness of elite politics and prefer to highlight the roles of revolts and rebellions of the subalterns; it also looks into the potentials of such classes to attain coherent and self-conscious conception of resistance and insurrections against upper class of rich peasantry, urban traders and colonial revenue administrators. Ranajit Guha has observed in his book Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency In Colonial India (1983: Duke University Press)

NSOU CC-SO-02 43 that peasant insurgencies cannot be explained simply on the basis of certain economic conditions. Though such incidents may appear to be spontaneous and guided by absurd principles, actually all insurgent acts are guided by proper planning, preparation, organization and certain patterns of political activism. All these remain rooted deep within the independent consciousness of the peasantry. Guha has observed that the study of social movements needs a fresh approach because neither the colonialist approach nor the nationalist approach leaves any room for ethnic politics. This shortcoming was mainly responsible for the birth of the subaltern perspective. The subaltern perspective has rejected several 'myths' regarding the role of the underclass in the colonial period. Myth no. one is that the dalits, tribal people and the other marginalized sections had joined the freedom movement at the behest of the nationalist elites. Myth no. 2 suggests that the subalterns in India were drawn to freedom-struggle as they came into contact with the nationalist leaders and their ideologies. Facts have claimed both the myths wrong. Sometimes they were drawn to nationalist movements led by Indian political elites, no doubt; but on many other occasions they either did not respond to the elite leadership or retracted even after joining them. All these happened because the political objectives, goals and strategies were distinctly different from those of the elite politics because the nationalistic ideas and aspiration of the two groups were completely different. We must remember here that basic character of the subaltern nationalism remains rooted in everyday experiences of subordination and marginalization. Often those experiences have irrupted into peasant insurgencies. For this very reason Subaltern perspective has extensively studied the history of peasant revolts during the colonial period. It has put the focus on the non-elites as active agents of social and political change. By the 1980s the Subaltern studies methodology and its use of oral history, mythology, folk tales, folk arts, field studies, etc. became integral parts of South Asian historiography. They have also used official reports and records of tribal revolts and peasant insurgencies, but have discovered totally different narratives from these materials. Presently the term 'Subaltern' has a much wider connotation and refers to any person or group of inferior rank or station— who remain subordinated or subjugated because of their race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity or religion. The main task of the Subaltern Studies is to present a critique of the mainstream historiography. It is not that this perspective has a smooth sailing all along; many of its basic proposition has been questioned. Yet in the 1970s-'80s period Subaltern Studies or
NSOU CC-SO-02 44 'History from the below' became popular in Europe. British Marxist historians like Christofer Hill, Edward Thomson, Erik Hobesbom and many others had started to explore the tragic history of many forgotten communities and their stories of oppression and failed resistance. However the subaltern scholars in India never limited their exploration of the history of the underclass within any fixed pattern. 3.2 Ranajit Guha Ranajit Guha is one of the most influential scholars of history to pioneer a new genre of research to understand the social position and contributions of the subordinated people. He was born in Buckergunge of Barishal in 1923 in undivided Bengal. In the year 1959 he had migrated to Britain from India for higher studies and research . He was a Reader in History at the University of Sussex when he led a group of scholars to pursue the Subaltern approach. His groundbreaking book, Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India,to chronicle peasant movements in 19th century India, is considered a classic and the founding-stone of the new approach. The Subaltern historiography still remains based on his famous observation that the 'subaltern' is all about "the demographic difference between the total Indian population and all those whom we have described as the 'elite'. Guha and his group of scholars have published a good number of academic essays in several volumes of Subaltern Studies mto define and determine the scope of the subaltern perspective. Apart from his thought-provoking essays in those volumes Guha has also published several books on the subject like —

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A Rule of Property for Bengal : An Essay on the Idea of Permanent Settlement(1963); Elementary Aspects of Insurgency in Colonial India(1983),

etc. Guha has pointed out that the study of history in India has been cleverly regularized to serve political and economic interests of the colonial government. The colonial administrators had collected and recorded all the details of the archaic practices of indigenous agriculture. Later, those data and information, as maintained from the standpoint of the imperialist government, have acted as authentic sources of historical research. Those records represent the elitist approach of the Britsh colonialists; and the Indian aristocrats also were considered as part of the elite circle. As we have already come to know that the Subaltern Perspective never has never accepted the elitist version of history as the only narrative of modern India In his endeavour to establish a more befitting approach, Guha was concerned with several basic things like establishing a well-rounded definition of the (subaltern)

NSOU CC-SO-02 45 perspective; the ways and means of earning recognition for the (then) emergent perspective, its central idea and its focus on the incidents of peasant revolts. With a sharp eye to unearth the hidden truth of a semi feudal, colonized society and a keen analytical mind, Guha has pioneered a new genre of history told from the point of the the subalterns. Guha and the other scholars have tried hard to unearth the nature of domination during the colonial period, the roles of the subjugators and of the subjugated, the process to make domination possible etc. Guha was one of the most prolific contributors of the school and published 16 papers out of the 76 papers publishd in the first 10 volumes of the journal Subaltern Studies. Other contributors were Partha Chatterjee, David Arnold, David Hardiman, Gyanendra Pandey, Diptesh Chakrabarty, Goutam Bhadra, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Shahid Amin, Sumit Sarkar and many others.Within a short period, the journal and its perspective both received appreciation from discerning scholars of different areas of social science from across the globe. Guha could realize that the age-old investigation methodology used in the study of Indian history has lost its relevance and so, a fresher approach was badly needed. It was time tto look at history from the point of the subjugated subalterns, whose life, culture and role in society have remained, so far, unobserved and neglected. In his clarion call to the fellow historians(Subaltern studies, vol 1, chapter 1) Guha has made them aware of the elite bias in the the-existing narratives of history. The peasants, the artisans, and/or the mill-workers never before that period found any mention worth to remember, in the pages of history, For this very reason, Guha felt the need for the all-new subaltern perspective. 3.2.1 Guha\s Observations on Peasant Insurgency : Both the British colonialists and the Indian Nationalist elites used to view peasant insurgency or up-rise as acts of crime or pathology. Guha has sought to see it from a totally different perspective in his path -breaking work, Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India(1983). With the help of extensive research on the nature and characteristics of peasant revolts and awareness of the peasants' motives, Guha, like a true Marxist feels the need for an altered point of view and a change in consciousness for fresher and better understanding of the situation.He strongly believes that the peasant and tribal insurgents are not mere products of history, they are "the makers of their own history." (Dhanagare, p. 133). He is critical of the manners by which the British administrative machinery has taken anti-insurgency measures to prevent any such occurrence in future. NSOU CC-SO-02 46 However, Guha's analytical mind has also understood the failure of the orthodox Marxist historiography to give the peasant and tribal movements their due. He has noticed that social historians, while studying these movements usually focus on the organization, leadership and ideology behind those movements as the key-elements in consciousness building because they are guided by the belief that the insurgent activities in the colonial period were 'pre-political phenomena'. In Guha's opinion this is a serious error of judgment about the merit of those movements. In fact, as he assumes, one should not question whether these movements are pre-political or not, one should better understand such movements with reference to the role of the colonial state in promoting parasitic landlordism and protecting its evil machinations. These practices strengthened oppression of the small farmers or landless peasants and tribal tenants on the one hand, and encouraged them to rebel, on the other. He has observed that the tribal and non-tribal often rebelled against the land-lords, money-lenders and the lower-level government officials. All the protest movements of the 19th century like the Bhumij uprisings, the Kol insurrections, the Santhal revolt(1885), the Indigo Protests(1859-1862) and the Deccan riots (1875) show how the subalterns on their own wanted to break, destroy and alter the then- existing structure of power, authority and control. Guha believes that this is proof enough to consider these movements as much political in nature as the latter-day reformist struggles of the Congress and the class-struggles led by the Leftists in the country. No doubt, these two sets of movements are qualitatively apart; the leadership, aims, programs and ideologies of the uprisings are no match for the maturity and sophistication of the far better organized movements of the 20th century. Yet, as Guha opines, the so-called 'pre-political' movements of the subalterns were no-less significant in leading the long-deprived communities to voice their anger, desperation and protests against the local centers of power., even though those movements remained rather localized and sectarian in nature. Guha has identified six common forms and general ideas in the consciousness of subaltern insurgents. These are : Negation or formation of negative identity; ambiguity, modality, solidarity, transmission and territoriality. These forms should be examined in detail. i. Negation or Formation of Negative Identity : By the term negation' Guha means that under the oppressive domination of both the colonial government and the local centers of power, the subordinated, marginalized peasants and tribals had formed a consciousness based on the negation of the properties or characteristics

NSOU CC-SO-02 47 of their superiors. Following Gramsci, Guha believes that this negative identification of the opposition is nothing but the initial arousal of a class consciousness that enabled the subalterns to apply violent measures and techniques against their perceived enemies. With the strength of that consciousness the subalterns could reject the traditiona l order, the conventional forms of respect, dress-codes, language style,etc as the commonly accepted norms were nothing but the symbols of the feudal nobility and elites who used to maintain social and cultural distance from the subalterns. By rejecting the values and symbols of the elites the subalterns could have a negative assertion of their identity and consciousness. ii. Ambiguity: Ambiguity, according to Guha, makes insurgency different from a criminal act. Crime is secretive, conspiratorial act committed by either one individual or by ca comparatively small group; whereas, insurgent or revolutionary activities may involve violence; get manifested in public and are backed by certain ideologies or value-laden ideas. The ambiguity lies in the open act of violence based on ideology in insurgency and makes it different from crime. iii. Modality : It represents the rebels' search for an alternative authority. To validate and sanctify the violence used in insurgent activities, the tribal rebels would often use the practice of paying nazranas to their leaders. They would also resort to plundering of goods and looting of cash for economic gains, would use destruction, wrecking or burning of resources as modalities of rebellion. But killing and bloodshed were of very rare use in tribal insurgency. iv. Solidarity or formation of the insurgents' own identity is an important part of tribal insurgency. The subalterns would identify themselves on the basis of class and other elements of solidarity like ethnic identity, religious, caste or filial bonds. These elements would overlap often. Guha believes, such over-lappings constitute the duplex character of insurgency. Sometimes class and religion, sometimes class and ethnicity got fused Foe example, in the Kol and the Birsa rebellions, class was the prime factor, whereas in the Santhal revolt ethnic identity was more important than class-identity. v. Transmission as an aspect of subaltern insurgency, indicates the pattern how insurgency used to be spread. Insurgents used to spread the message of insurgency among other subaltern sections with the use of various symbolic signs and rumours. Prayer-meetings, drum-beatings, blowing of flutes or horns, distribution of 'sal' branches and leaves, passage of a blazing torch, distribution of chapattis, oil or

NSOU CC-SO-02 48 sindur were the means used by the Kols, the Santhals, the Birsaites and the Moplas to spread the messages of their uprise among their fellow ethnic group members. vi. Territoriality, in the context of subaltern approach means bonds built on the basis of blood-ties and locality; or on consanguinity and contiguity. In other words, a sense of we-feeling or belongingness is created with the help of a common heritage and shared habitat. Guha earned popularity and respect for his perspective quiet fast, no doubt, but that has not spared him from criticism. The 'autonomy' of the subaltern consciousness has been questioned on the ground that this can be studied independently, without connecting them with other political processes. Another serious weakness of the perspective is lack of comprehension regarding its meaning and scope. In a broader sense, subalternity may encompass a huge section including the lowest strata of rural population on the one end and the rich and upper- middle class of peasantry on the other. 3.3 David Hardiman David Hardiman, one of the important founding members of the Subaltern Studies Group, was born in Rawalpindi (Pakistan) in October, 1947 and was brought up in England. As a reknowned scholar of History he has taught in different universities in the UK, including the University of Oxford and at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta. He has built up a rich resource of subaltern studies like

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Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat : Kheda District,1917-1934 (1981); The Coming of Devi : Adivasi Assertion in Western India (1987) ; Peasant Resistance in India : 1858-1914(1992) ; Subaltern Studies 8 : Essays in Honour of Ranajit Guha (1994);

History for the Subordinated (2006) ,etc. The main focus of his work is on the colonial history of the subcontinent and the effect of colonization on the rural areas of the country power-play between factors, popular basis of Indian nationalism, environmental and medical history, etc. His study on the Devi movement among the tribals of Gujarat may not match the definition of subaltern studies, but it is known as a very important addition to the rich tapestry of subaltern studies. 3.3.1 The Devi movement in South Gujarat : This peaceful mass movement by the native people of that region—has revealed how the local tribals have tried to bring in social reform for the group in the British period. Though this movement was really important for the self-assertion of the local tribal people, nobody-right

NSOU CC-SO-02 49 from the British government and its administrators, journalists, the Congress nationalists, not even the socialist politicians—had taken any interests in this important event of tribal life. This movement was undertaken by the tribal people of south Gujarat to transform their traditional habits and alter their life-style. The Devi movement was not one of its kind because such movements did take place among almost all advasis from all corners of the country, but the mainstream or non-subaltern sections of population did not take notice of the events of the movements. So there was no documentation, nor any full-length monograph was ever prepared on such important events of tribal life. Even when the nationalist workers had taken a rare notice, they would immediately see the influence of Gandhiji and his principles behind it. The socialist activists and ideologues, too, in a similar fashion, failed to give the tribal people their dues. Hardiman, in course of his analyses of the movement, notices that tribals and other subaltern groups have always been denied credits for either any of their independent initiative or for their ability to decide what was good or bad for them. In The Coming of Devi Hardiman has shown that the adivasis of Gujarat were able to assert themselves evil machinations of the moneylenders on the strength of this movement. The (Devi) movement was started in 1921 by the fisher folks of Palghar taluk, gradually it spread to other parts of Gujarat. Through this movement the tribal people of that part of the country had attempted to reform themselves socially and culturally. For example, they wanted to get rid of their drinking habit, to resist the highhandedness of big landlords and Parsi liquor-vendors who compelled them into debt-bondage. The Devi movement was based on the belief that the Devi or the goddess would manifest herself through a medium, usually a girl. The medium would pronounce the commands of Devi in front of a crowd. The six-fold commands of would run like this : 1) Drinking of liquor and toddy was to be stopped. 2) Consumption of meat and fish needed to be stopped. 3) Life shold be simple and honest. 4) Personal cleanliness was of great importance and men should take bath twice a day. 5) Women should bathe three times a day. 6) All contacts with the Parsis were to be severed.
NSOU CC-SO-02 50 The commands sometimes would also ask for abondonement of witch-craft; and sometimes to follow the principles of Gandhi. Once the girl dressed as Devi would finish the commands, she would be offered coins and/ or gifts. The group would then seat for the common feast or bhandara. The movement not only changed their ways of life, but also led to the awakening of their political consciousness and made them politically mobilized. But ultimately such movements could not make them free from all oppressions, because the control of the Parsis over them was replaced by the domination of elite sections of the adivasis over other members of the clan. Still, it cannot be denied that from various other aspects the Devi movement was immensely beneficial for them. Hardiman has also studied the strange relations between the subaltern classes and the local money-lenders in rural India in his second book Feeding the Baniya. The relationship was based not only on economic dependence of the poor villagers on the usurers but olso on political and cultural undercurrents. The local money lenders, who were basically banias or merchantshad the remarkable quality of bouncing back even after strong oppositions and rebellions by the local villagers.Even in areas where there were branches of government controlled banks to provide finabcial assistance to the villagers at cheaper rates, the villagers would prefer the more exploitative terms and conditions of the local moneylenders. Hardiman's study reveals that due to cultural reasons, the moneylender could continue to maintain his position of domination as a member of the locally dominant sections. For the purpose of his subaltern enquiries,Hardiman has made field-studies, met with numerous people, has recorded popular stories and folk-songs. His Subaltern Thesis stand on a combination of anthropology and history as he believes that the relationship between the elites and the subalterns is the product of a historical process. His investigation has proved that' The concept of Devi and her commands had brought in radical changes in the consciousness of the tribes of Palghar region.They gradually became politically mobilized and came out of the clutches of the money-lenders and liquor-vendors ;their standard of living also did improve. True, That movement could not protect them from all kinds of oppression and exploitation; but, it definitely helped them become assertive. At the same time, they learned to be self-reliant and active for their own welfare. Hardiman has looked deep into the relationship between the villagers and the money-lenders to examine the nature of exploitation they (tribal-
NSOU CC-SO-02 51 villagers) used to experience regularly. He has also noticed that the Baniyas could consolidate their control over the villagers with the help of certain sets of traditional practices and beliefs. Even though the baniyas and the money-lenders used to exploit the rural poor with their never-ending demands and threats, they (the poor) would seek help from their Abusers rather than from the banks or other such organizations that would offer them better terms and conditions like softer interests for loan. Sometimes as the dominating force, sometime as a clandestine agent for other dominating forces the money-lenders would offer the poor peasants an avenue to connect with the more powerful, ever-growing capitalist world outside their villae. True, Hardiman's thesis has not offered any solution to the age-old problems of poverty, inequality, exclusion and marginalization of the underclass in India, it has helped us to look at these problems from a new angle. As a sociologically- sensitive historian he has focused on the impact of colonial rure on rural society of India, power relationship at various levels, India's freedom movement and its popular bases, and several other areas of social life. He has minutely examined the participation of peasants in the national movement in Gujarat; and has found that it was quite different from the Gandhian movements in aims and objectives. To do that he has studied how adivasis of Gujarat were uniting against the liquor dealers who, with their monopoly right of supply were exploiting the local tribals. As a subaltern thinker Hardiman was not only influenced by the path-breaking ideas of Guha, but was alsinspired by the thoughts of Marx, Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu. D.D.Kosambi and several western Marxist historians like E.P. Thompson, Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox- Genovese. 3.4 Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar : As it has been said earlier, Ambedkar was an admirer of the principle of equality in every sphere of life; like equality of respect, of status, of consideration and equality of dignity; therefore he wanted abolition of the Brahminical arrangement of society that had fragmented the social order into multiple groups. In the early years of civilization, the powerful well-heeled people had engaged the impoverished,powerless people as their servants, watchmen and menial staff. They had their living quarters on the outskirt of the village and eventually became known as the 'antyajas' and 'avarnas' or as people who remained outside the periphery of

NSOU CC-SO-02 52 the varna system. In this way a huge section of people were excluded and marginalized by the powerful. Ambedkar could realize that Brahminical values and caste practices reinforced each other and started untouchability by utilizing the preachings of ancient texts. Ambedkar has used the term 'Dalit' ,instead of terms like the 'Depressed Class' or the 'Harijan' to mean the oppressed and exploited sections of the society. Dhananjoy Keer, the biographer of Ambedkar has rightly pointed out that 'Ambedkar was aspiring them (Dalit)

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to do battle for their human rights. He was driving them to action by acting himself.....Ambedkar was displaying energy by his own action; arousing their faith by showing faith.'

For the promotion of the status of the dalits Ambedkar has advocated five principles:

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self- improvement, self- progress, self- dependence, self- respect, and self- confidence.

He was also in favour of dalit- activism and movement. This is the essence of Ambedkar's subaltern approach. With the help of this approach he has presented an alternative narrative, that is, anti -Hindu and anti- Brahmanical, of nationalism. This version has been reified through the formation of Dalit- Bahujan Samaj and establishment of a critique of the Brahminical social structure. With the help of his subaltern approach, Ambedkar has upheld the aspirations of the Dalits, their vision of nationalism as opposed to the nationalistic ideas of eminent spokesperson and leaders like

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Raja Rammohan Roy, B.G.Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru and Shyamaprasad Mukhopadhyay on the one hand, and

the secular -socialist ideology of the leftist leaders like M.N. Roy, Rajani Palme Datta, E.M.S.Namoodripad, on the other. He has traced the origin and problems of Dalits, origin of caste and untouchability, and has also suggested measures for the eradication of untouchability. We need to discuss all these aspects of to understand his subaltern views. 3.4.1 Origin of Caste : Ambedkar has traced the origin of the Dalits in the history of ancient India. He believes that in the past the present dalits were known as the 'broken persons'. On the basis of his understanding of history of ancient India he concludes that the primitive society had nomadic tribes who had cattle as their property. As cattle- tenders these tribes had to move from one place to another on a regular basis. With the passage of time people learned cultivation and came to depend more on agriculture for a stable and secured life and gave up their nomadic habits to settle down at one place. Acquisition of land replaced cattle as property. When peole started to settle down,there occured frequent fights with those two groups of people, the settled
NSOU CC-SO-02 53 and the nomadic tribes. As the nomads often had to face defeats in those fights, they had to break into smaller groups and scattered into different areas to escape captivity. With time those defeated, scattered people came to be known as the Broken Men. They started to work as the watchmen and security guards for the well-settled people in exchange of food and shelter. The Broken Men were considered as outsiders by the settled people as they used to be members of two different communities and had to live outside the boundaries of the village. As the lived on outskirt of the village, they came to be known as the 'antyaja's. Ambedkar believes that today's dalits are the descendants of the 'broken men' of the past. They are the natives or original inhabitants of the country. Ambedkar's subaltern ideas have been narrated in several of his books like The Untouchables, Who are They? [1948], Who were the Shudras? [1945] Mr Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables. [1936], Annihilation of caste, etc. He strongly felt that mere legal equality of status could not be sufficient, and wanted to establish equality of consideration as well as equality of dignity as the foundation of an equal society. He had opposed the Brahminical arrangement of society as it had brought fragmentation within the social structure by creating severe divisions and discriminations among the people. The impoverished people were forced to do all sorts of menial jobs, were compelled to stay at the outskirts of the villages and were labeled as 'antyajas' and 'avarnas' or people who were out of the periphery of varna system. This had led to the exclusion and marginalization of the poor, hard working people. Ambedkar came to realize that the Brahminical values and caste practices reinforced each other and had started untouchability with the help of ancient texts like shastras and samhitas. Ambedkar has used the term 'Dalit' to mean the so called 'untouchables' in the Indian society. Gandhiji had called them 'Harijans. Ambedkar has inspired the dalits to fight for their human rights. As an activist he has led them to action by acting himself. For the promotion of the status of the Dalits, Ambedkar has advocated five principles, namely,

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self-improvement, self-progress, self-dependence, self-respect and self-confidence.

In addition to these he advocates in favour of dalit-activism and movement. This was the essence of Ambedkar's subaltern approach. With this he has presented an alternative narration i.e an anti-Hindu, anti-Brahminical version of nationalism. t, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, on the other. Ambedkar has strongly hoped that his version of nationalism would bring forth an egalitarian, casteless, classless society

NSOU CC-SO-02 54 possible. With Ambedkar's vision of a robust caste-less society an awareness about a discrimination-free world has started to emerge. It also marked the beginning of anti-caste movements across India, especially in the western part of the country. 3.5 Summary The unit on subaltern critique has discussed the definition , meaning and significance of the perspective that has examined the role of the down trodden in the traditional society. Though there are several celebrated authors of the perspective, it has focused on the three of them because of the importance of their thoughts and approaches to create a balance between the roles of the masses and of the elites in social and political arena of life. The perspective, influenced by Marxism had emerged in the field of historiography to understand and rewrite history from the below; but it also has earned an equally important presence in sociology by questioning the popular social concepts that marginalize and ignore communities as archaic, primitive and backward. Thus, the perspective compels people to rethink about the alternative sociabilities and their political roles in self- assertion. The critique does not represent any singleintellectual image, but a number of important academic development in social history. In the opinion of Christpher Lee, this perspective presents constant critique towards the accumulated knowledge in different areas of social science No doubt, it also has faced many questions and debated from different quarters. Critics have pointed out that the term 'subaltern' has not been defined well. It has also been pointed out by some that "subaltern' is a relative concept in the sense that it should be understood with reference to something else. If subalterns belong to somewhere below, then the question obviously is, "Below what"? A subaltern may not always remain a person without power, as Hardiman has observed during his study on the Devi movement that with a little alteration in life style, a tribal leader can assume the role of an exploiter rather than remaining as an exploited person. 3.6 Model Questions 1 Answer in Brief : 5 Marks. a) What is Subaltern Critique? b) How does Subaltern Critique differ from the other established perspectives?
NSOU CC-SO-02 55 c) Who are the subalterns? d) What is Ambedkar's view on origin of caste? 2. Discuss in detail : 10 Marks. e) Define subaltern critique. Examine its role in introducing a new perspective sociology in India. f) Examine, in detail, the views of the chief founding father of subaltern critique. g) Make an assessment of David Hardiman's views on the Devi movement in relation to subaltern perspective in sociology. h) Do you think Ambedkar is a subaltern thinker? Give your arguments in the light of his views. 3.7 References and Suggested Readings Bandyopadhyay, Bholanath and Chattopadhyay, Krishnadas. Bharater Samajtatwik Chintadhara. Kolkata. Levant Books. Bhadra, Goutam and Chattopadhyay. (ed). 1998. Nimna barger Itihas. Kolkata: Ananda Publishers. Bharill,C.1977. Social and Political Ideology of B.R. Ambedkar. Jaipur. Aalekh Publishers.

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Biography of David Hardiman and his Contribution to Indian Sociology. Article shared by

Puja Mondal.
NSOU CC-SO-02 57 Module-II Indian Society: Concepts and Institutions
Unit 4 Caste: Concept and Critique Structure 4.0 Objectives 4.1 Introduction 4.2 Characteristics

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of the Caste System 4.3 Theories on the Origin of the Caste System 4.4 Evolution of the Caste System 4.4.1 Caste in

Pre-British Age 4.4.2 Caste in Pre-Independence Period 4.4.3. Caste in Independent Period 4.5 Merits of the Caste System 4.6 Critiques of the Caste System 4.7 Summary 4.8 Model Questions 4.9 References and Suggested Readings 4.0 Objectives Focuses on the age-old system of caste in India. Points to the various critiques or criticisms against caste . Offers deeper understanding of the caste system. 4.1 Introduction The Indian social structure has a unique social institution-the caste system. It is an ancient system among the Hindus to denote the concept of social stratification. Origin of the caste system is still unknown to mankind. It dates back to time immemorial. This system of stratification is considered to be unique to India as its features are nowhere similar to any other forms of stratification that exists elsewhere. 59
NSOU CC-SO-02 60 The word 'caste' is believed to have originated from the Spanish word 'casta', which means 'lineage'. In traditional India, this system of social stratification was not named as the caste system. It was after the British colonization in India, that the phrase 'caste system' got popularized. In traditional India, it was originally the Varna system or the Varnashram. The Rigveda highlights the Chaturvarna system, which means there is the presence of four main varnas in the Indian society- " The Brahmins who are destined to be priests " The Kshatriya who were the warriors " The Vaishyas as the traders and finally, " The Shudras who were meant to be the servant of the society. Thus, the colonizers changed the concept of Varna and Jati system to 'the caste system' in order to suit their way of understanding. Several seminal scholars have tried to define the caste system in their own way. A few of them are: Firstly, S.V Ketkar mentioned that "
a

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caste is agroup having two characteristics; (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born, (ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group".

Secondly,
Sir Herbert
Risley defined

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caste as "a collection of families, bearing a common name, claiming a common descent, from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same hereditary calling and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogenous community".

Thirdly, MacIver and Page opined, "

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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."

Different factors have been the reason behind the continued existence of the caste system in the Indian society. A few such factors are as follows: Geographical Location-India was isolated from the other countries for a long period of time. This helped the Indian tradition, customs, mores and beliefs to grow and become deep seated among the people. Rural belt-Before the advent of the British in India, it was mostly covered
NSOU CC-SO-02 61 under the rural social structure category. This static social order and structure helped the caste system to grow in India. Religious influence-The origin of Hinduism as a religion is unknown to the people. Hinduism is thus referred to as the Sanatana Dharma. It believes in the theory of Karma and reincarnation, which might have helped the caste system to grow in India. Education-People were mostly religious in nature. They feared to oppose the dictums of religion. Lack of education was one such factor, which made them ignorant to the dogmatic, superstitious beliefs. They went on believing and maintaining the rules and regulations of the caste order, which thereby facilitated the growth of the caste system in India. Thus, the caste system is an inherent system of social stratification even in the modern century. It had its own changes with the passage of time, but the core factor still remains. It mainly prevailed due to ancestor worship, following the rituals, maintaining colour or racial prejudice and so on. 4.2 Characteristics of the Caste System The caste system is one of the oldest and most complex forms of social stratification. Govind Sadashiv Ghurye provided

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six main features of the caste system in his noted work "Caste and Race in India" (1969). The following are the prime features of the caste system- i. Segmental Division:

The caste system is a non-homogenous segmental division of the society. There's a well-maintained social boundary. The members of a caste is given the ascribed status that is the status which is determined by one's birth and is not based on one's achievements in life. No amount of other social accomplishments can change the caste to which one is born into. It is an unattainable and nontransferable position. The caste rank to which one was placed became a way of life for them. Each caste rank came with its own set of rules and regulations. It was the duty of the caste panchayat to take care whether the members of one's caste were obliging to the rules of the caste order or not. ii. Hierarchical Division: In India, the system of caste has divided the Hindu order into castes and sub-castes. There was a gradational system by which members of the higher castes were deemed to be superior to members from the lower caste rank. The lower caste that is the Shudras were tagged to be the untouchables. They
NSOU CC-SO-02 62 were considered to be members from the outcaste group. According to the hierarchical division, the Brahmins were the superior most who were followed by the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras in line. iii. Restrictions on food and social intercourse: Each member of a specific caste system has their own set of rules and regulations related to food and social relations. Restrictions based on food vary from one caste group to another. For example, the Brahmins can accept kachcha food (uncooked food) from the members of lower caste group but they cannot accept pakka food (cooked food) from the lower caste groups. The foods that are prepared by the Brahmins are acceptable to all caste members. On many occasions, when a Brahmins eats from a plate, the lower caste members believes that if they will food from that particular unwashed plate, then they can attain blessings from God. Consumption of beef is strictly not allowed. Many Brahmins restrain themselves from consuming onion, garlic and so on in order to maintain the caste rules. Similarly, the concept of purity and pollution is also associated with the restrictions related to social intercourse. It is followed in such a strict way that even the touch or shadow of a lower caste can pollute the Brahmins. This is the reason, which has propelled the concept of untouchability in India.This practice has segregated the four caste groups from each other. iv. Civil and Religious Disabilities: Following the caste rules and regulations, there are several lower sub-caste groups who are compelled to live on the outskirts of one's city or village in order to maintain the purity of the area. Certain lower caste groups follows that they cannot come out of their house before 12 noon. The reason behind this is that before 12 noon, the shadow of a human being falls at his back, which if by mistake falls on an upper caste member's body, then that might pollute him. Many Dalits (the lower caste group) are not allowed to draw water from public well, or visit temple, school, colleges, hotels and so on. The lower caste groups were debarred from getting their basic educational or legal right, or even political representation. The Brahmins are believed to be born pure. They are deemed to be superior. Chanting Vedic mantras were allowed only by the Brahmins and no other lower caste groups. v. Occupational Choice: The caste system is linked with the occupational gradation too. Each caste group is designated with a specific set of occupation. The members of a caste group cannot change their field of occupation, as it is an ascribed status. For example, the Brahmins were expected to be priests or teachers, the Kshatriyas were meant to be warriors, the Vaishyas are entitled to be the
NSOU CC-SO-02 63 warriors and the Shudras were meant to do all the menial jobs of the society. vi. Restrictions on marriage: The Hindu caste system has rigid rules on marriage. Castes are endogamous group, according to which an individual can marry within his or her own caste group. Inter-caste marriage was not allowed by the caste groups. For example, a Brahmin can only marry another Brahmin; a Brahmin cannot marry anyone from the lower caste group. The caste groups follow the concept of Anuloma (Hypergamy) and Pratiloma (Hypogamy). Anuloma means that when a lower caste girl marries a boy from the upper caste group, they she moves up the caste ladder. On the other hand, Pratiloma means when an upper caste girl marries someone from the lower caste group then she suffers from a demotion in the caste ladder. Pratiloma is looked down upon by the society. On several occasions, honor killing is infamously famous in many parts of India. Inter-caste marriage is one such factor, which triggers honor killing. Therefore, G. S Ghurye made an effort to list out the prime features, which dominates the Indian caste system. These features prove the point that the system of caste promoted inequality among the masses. It completely stood against the concepts of individualization, industrialization, globalization, modernization, westernization and so on. 4.3 Theories on the Origin of the Caste System There are numerous theories and opinions placed by various scholars related to the origin of the caste system in India. A few such theories which try to bring out the theory behind the origin of the caste system are as follows: a) Traditional Theory: According to ancient texts, it was believed that the caste system originated due to divine ordinance. The Purushashukta of Rig Veda mentions the existence of the four Varnas. These four Varnas originate from Prajapathi Brahma or the Supreme Being. In accordance to this theory,
the
Brahmins originated

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from the mouth of the Supreme Being, the Kshatriyas from the arms, the Vaishyas from the thighs, and the Shudras from the feet.

Due to this reason, each caste group qualifies with a special feature. Mouth is considered to be the source of knowledge or speech. Thus, the Brahmins are vested with the task of preaching and teaching. The arms are a symbol of strength, thereby linking the Kshatriyas to the field of being a warrior who can protect the society from external threat. The thing with the other repository organs is closer to the stomach; therefore the Vaishyas

NSOU CC-SO-02 64 are vested with the duty to take care of the economic wellbeing of its members. The Vaishyas are thus often associated with trading activities. Finally, The Shudras originated from the feet of the Brahman, thus their prime task is to serve the other parts of the body and to do the menial tasks of the society. Their purpose is to clean the society. Though this theory is associated with its own set of criticisms, but it is one of the most popular beliefs on the origin of the caste system in India. b) Racial Theory: Scholars such as G. S Ghurye, Sir Herbert Risley and Dr. D.N Majumdar were the prime movers of this theory. The pioneers of this theory were of the belief that the concept of castes came into existence due to the long- standing racial differences among the Indian masses. They propounded that it was after the Aryan invasion in India that they started to segregate people on the basis of racial differences. They were fair complexioned, for which they tried to dominate over other groups of people who had different racial features. c) Occupational Theory: Nesfield proposed the occupational theory behind the origin of the caste system. According to this theory, if a specific group of people follows the same hereditary calling for a specific course of time then there emerges a caste group based on that hereditary calling. In his opinion, the idea of purity and pollution got developed based on the kind of occupation one is associated with in his/her group. Besides these three propositions on the development of the caste system, there are other theories such as the political theory, which claims that the Brahmins wanted to maintain their supremacy over the other groups of people for which they developed the traditional theory on

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the origin of the caste system. They associated the development of the caste system

with religion, so that people complies without questioning. On the other hand, Sharatchandra Roy provided a notion that the caste system emerged due to the integration and assimilation of different cultures. 4.4 Evolution of the Caste System There are two main stages, which show the evolution of the caste system in India. They are: a) Caste in Pre-British Age b) Caste in Pre-Independence Period c) Caste in Independent Period (1947 onwards)
NSOU CC-SO-02 65 4.4.1 Caste in Pre-British Age : The Pre-British age is largely divided into two main categories that is, firstly, the system of caste in ancient age where the role of the Puranic and Vedic age comes to play. The period upto 1100 A.D comes under the ancient age. Secondly, the system of caste in the medieval period which witnesses the Mughal rule in India. This period entails from 1100 A.D to 1757 A.D. 4.4.2 Caste in Pre-Independence Period: The East India Company of the British took over the Indian administrative system from the hands of the Mughal emperors and started to rule India as a colony for more than 200 years. After the intrusion of the British way of governing India, a few changes were incorporated within the Hindu caste system. A few of them are as follows: Decline of the Caste Panchayat-The British incorporated a uniform legal system in India. The powers that were previously enjoyed by the caste councils were now transferred to the civil and criminal courts. Influence of Social Legislations-The British legal system incorporated a few legal rulings, which inevitably brought a change in the caste system of India. Acts such as The Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850 tried to remove the practice of untouchability from the Indian social system. Other Acts such as

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The Special Marriage Act of 1872 legalized inter-caste and inter-religious marriages. Therefore, the

long-standing endogamous principle broke down after the executing this legal Act. Social Reform Movements-Several social reform movements sprawled up during the British rule in India. These reform movements tried to challenge the age- old inequalities in the Indian traditional social structure. Few reform movements were The Brahma Samaj which was founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1820 which attacked idol worshipping, caste divisions and so on; The Prarthana Samaj which as initiated by Justice Ranade who spoke strongly in support of inter-caste marriages, widow remarriage and so on; The Arya Samaj which was launched by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in 1875 who protested against caste inequalities and tried to make the Shudras study the Vedas. Influence of Western Ideas-The British brought with themselves western education in India. Open values such as "liberty, equality and fraternity", democracy, liberalism, secularism and so on were spread through western education among the Indian masses. Due to the spread of this education,

NSOU CC-SO-02 66 the deprived masses dreamt of a new world without inequality. It led to the rationalization of the Indian thinking process. Influence of Census System-The concept of a systematic demographic study of the Indian population was initiated by the British rule in India. It sharpened the feeling of caste consciousness among the masses. The grading points of the caste groups created a sense of competition to upheld one's caste spirit in the social ladder. Influence of Industrialization and Urbanization-The Industrial Revolution in England also had an effect in the Indian socio-economic system. Several industries with modern machineries started to have its mushroom growth in India. Introduction of railways, printing press, and construction of roads helped to improve not only the communication facility among the Indian masses but also the development of new employment opportunities. This resulted into the mingling of all caste members as crowded trains, buses, trams could not make the people follow the norms of purity and pollution. Due to the growth of the cities, people started migrating from rural to urban areas in search of better life opportunities; this in turn led to the development of equal minded individuals which in turn acted as an impetus to eradicate caste based inequalities. 4.4.3 Caste in Independent Period : After India's independence in 1947, there was a shift in the socio-political structure. The traditional caste structure also witnessed a makeshift. Secularism was becoming the call of the day, thereby attacking the religious notion behind the caste structure. Imposition of several caste based rules and regulations like restriction on food habit, got relaxed. The concept of caste controlling one's hereditary calling, also saw a setback. People were free to choose their own field of occupation rather than following one's caste based occupation. Though the notion of endogamy still prevails but the Brahmin supremacy over the lower caste groups has been curbed down by strict legal intervention. People now give importance to the class system instead of the caste system. Other factors like sanskritization and westernization too helped in changing the traditional notion of caste. Thus, the rigidity of the caste structure has undergone a sweeping change. 4.5 Merits of the Caste System The Indian caste system has no recorded history of origin. Due to several historical events, the caste system evolved with the passage of time. It is an all-
NSOU CC-SO-02 67 pervasive system in India, which no Indians can ignore. It has its own influence upon the people. Swami Vivekananda was of the view that the caste system in India brought with itself its own set of advantages. To him, a person's caste was determined by the 'gunas' or the qualities he possesses. To him, as per the original system of caste which was spread by Parashuram and Bhisma, it was quite flexible in nature. People could choose their own field of interest as per their skills and aptitude. He postulated that caste was a system of social order and not a part of any specific religion. Due to gradual evolution of mankind and the introduction of several external cultures in the Indian sub-continent, the caste system started to take a new shape among the masses. A few of its merits are as follows- The caste system represents a harmonious division of society. It was based on the principle of division of labor and one's hereditary calling. Occupational skills were passed down from one generation to the other. The caste system provided its member with its own social security and protection. Traditionally, it tried to promote an equalitarian society, which was gradually transformed due to external intrusion in the Indian social system. The caste system promotes the concept of we feeling. Rich or poor weak or strong it tried to help each caste members to get united in the name of caste. During the monarchical rule in India, the caste system peacefully co- existed with the other groups. The caste system acts as the rulebook of the Hindu community. It contains the dos and don'ts that a member must abide by. It tries to promote social order and solidarity. The caste system acts as an agent of socialization too. As it is based on the ascribed status of an individual, thus, the family members pass down the caste rules to the younger members so that they, too, can be accepted members of the society. Caste is a way of life for many. It also acts as a moral restraint within the followers. It contains its own rules and regulations, which helps a member to be in accordance with the social whole. The system of caste helps to maintain social stability. It encourages the qualities of a member and promotes sympathy and mutual respect for each other. The system of caste has promoted India's political culture. Due to the
NSOU CC-SO-02 68 presence of the caste panchayats, the caste system has acted as one of the major units of law. In case of asking for justice, the members of the caste panchayats established their own form of sanction to bring about peaceful existence among the members. Besides the merits that entails with the caste system, several critiques have criticized the presence of caste system in India. 4.6 Critiques of the Caste System Besides the merits, the caste system has its own set of demerits. Several critiques have pointed out various perspectives to speak against the system of division that the Indian caste system breeds in the society. One such prominent figure is Dr. B.R Ambedkar. He is regarded as the 'Father of Indian Constitution". He made an effort to fight in favour of the 'depressed class' of the society and enlighten them to stand against discrimination. His socio-political thought to bring about a social reform in the Indian social system was indeed a noble one. He made the people speak up against caste based discrimination and made ways so that the 'dalits' can represent themselves on an equal ground, both politically and socially. Thus, a few such critiques of the caste system are as follows- Firstly, the caste system created segregation in the society. It was not just a system promoting division of labour but a system, which created division of labourers. The hierarchical feature of the caste system was a key to start grading the people on the basis of their ascribed status and thereby discriminate them on moral and social grounds. Secondly, an individual's ascribed status cannot be the sole determining factor to judge his social life or dictate his life-based choices. Many scholars deem this system as unnatural as it is not based on individual choice and it creates a system of favouritism in the society. Thirdly, it destroys the solidarity of the Indian social structure. The caste members are united within their group but they do not encourage the mingling of inter-caste members. This creates feelings of division, aloofness as well as hatred towards one another. It leads to the creation of untouchability. The reason behind this hatefulness of one caste against the other is because of the existence of stringent caste based rules. Fourthly, the caste system hampers the freedom of speech of an individual.

NSOU CC-SO-02 69 If a lower caste member wants to voice his opinion against the upper caste member, then he is looked down upon and on many occasion, he/she is subjected to negative sanction by the caste panchayats. It destroys both public spirit and public opinion. Fifthly, caste is not in favour of economic prosperity of the members. Caste based rules makes one stick to the occupational group that his caste members are entitled to. Therefore, for example, if the son of a Brahmin wants to work in a leather industry, then his social group will look him down upon, because any job associated with leather is clubbed with the lower caste members. Sixthly, the caste system in India degrades the position of the women in the society. Several caste-based rules are directed towards the women group, which leads to their low social status. It does not encourage women's education, does not make them equal participants in religious ceremonies, a female cannot be a priest who can mediate between God and the followers. They are even discouraged from joining the political activities. Strict endogamous rules are imposed upon them and if anyone debars from following the rules of the caste group, honour killing is the prime sanction imposed upon them by the caste groups. Seventhly, caste rules discourage the proper growth of a human being as a social being. Caste-based rules and regulations create widespread distinction among the social groups. It creates division and feelings of hatred among the inter-caste groups. It not only affects one's social life but also their personal life too. Several scholars are of the opinion that such stringent rule leads to self-denial, low self-esteem and imbalanced personality among the caste members. Finally, several eminent individuals stood against the injustice of the caste system in the society. Renowned people like Jyotirao Phule pointed out that if the caste system was the brainchild of Brahma, then it should have been imposed upon the animal kingdom too; Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi stood against the perilous system of caste where the lower caste groups are treated as untouchables and are marginalized from the social whole. He stood up for them and declared the Shudras as "Harijans" or the children of God, so that they too can be a part of the society without any discrimination.
NSOU CC-SO-02 70 4.7 Summary Therefore, as evident from the above discussion that the caste system was indeed a complex social system which the Hindus followed since time unknown. The system was only unique to India. Social mobility is practically impossible within the members of the caste system as it is a system based on divine origin. The caste system is a conservative and a complex system whose rules are being transmitted down the generation. Though, the system of caste has changed down the years and people now mostly focus on the class system rather than the caste system; achieved status rather than ascribed status; secular status rather than divine status and so on. Due to the introduction of several policies in independent India, there has been flexibility in the rigid caste system. People are now voicing for equality of the people in the society. It is indeed a challenging question to answer that whether the caste system will survive in the near future or not but it can be claimed that with changing times, the caste system too is making its own set of compromise to include the people as one single community. Did you know? 1. The caste system was justified in Manu (considered as the father of Hindu Dharma) in his most famous work, Manusmriti. He mentioned that the caste system justifies order and regularity in the social order. 2. Khap panchayats are caste-based panchayats, which are found in the rural areas Northern India. It acts as quasi-judicial bodies, which pronounces harsh crimes on its victims. The verdicts given by Khap panchayats are mainly against the women. They even promote honour killing to secure their caste rules. 3. According to the Human Rights Education Movement of India, every hour three Dalit women are raped, two Dalits are assaulted and two Dalit houses are burned down. 4.8 Model Questions A. Answer briefly. 5 i) Give any four changes that happened in the caste system in India during the British rule. ii) Point out any 4 merits of the caste system in India.
NSOU CC-SO-02 71 iii) What points did Gandhiji and Jyotirao Phule make on the system of caste in India? iv) Who were known as the Harijans? v) What is the function of a caste panchayat? vi) What do you mean by honour killing in the name of caste? B. Answer in detail. 10 i) Define caste. Point out the main characteristics of the Indian Caste System. ii) Discuss the theories behind the origin of the caste system in India. iii) What criticisms are leveled against the system of caste in India? 4.9 References and Suggested Readings Ahuja, R 1993. Indian Social System. Rawat Publications. New Delhi. Dube, C. S. 1992. Indian Society. National Book Trust. Mandelbaum G. D. 2016. Society in India: Contunuity and Change and Change and Continuity. Popular Prakashan. Bombay.

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Shankar Rao C. N. 2013. Sociology of Indian Society. S. Chand &

Company Ltd. _____ Special Notes : The role of the caste panchayats are to solve cases and to bring out solutions so that the internal regulation of the village stays strong. It promotes solidarity among the members of the village. It is mainly operated by the elderly members of the village. Sanskritization was coined by M.N Srinivas in

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his book "Religion and Society among The Coorgs of South India".

It is one form of caste based social mobility.

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According to him, "Sanskritization is a process by which a lower caste or tribe or any other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a higher or more often twice-born caste."

Parashuram was regarded as the Brahma Warrior. He was believed to be the incarnation of Lord Vishnu as per the Hindu mythology. One of the most popular Hindu mythology is the Mahabharata. Bhishma was one of the most important figures over there. He was popular for his vow to remain celibate all his life. He was blessed with a boon to have wish-long life. He was one of the unparalleled warriors of his time.
NSOU CC-SO-02 72 Unit 5 Varna and Jati Structure 5.0 Objectives 5.1 Introduction 5.2 Varna 5.3 Varna-A Theoretical overview 5.3.1 Western Theory 5.3.2 Brahminical Theory 5.3.3 Marxist Theory 5.3.4 B.R Ambedkar's theory on the varna system 5.4 Varna System-A basis for division of labour 5.5 Jati 5.5.1 Jati cluster 5.6 Varna and Jati (Caste): The Difference 5.7 Summary 5.8 Model Questions 5.9 References and Suggested Readings 5.0 Objectives To provide a clear understanding of Varna and Jati. To promote a detailed understanding of Varna and Jati. 5.1 Introduction The Indian social structure has one unique social institution-"Caste". It is one of the most important social institutions, which is unique to only India. The Caste system has stirred several research scholars to come to India and conduct a detailed 72
NSOU CC-SO-02 73 study. The Caste system emerged out of the Varna system and its presence in India has been since time immemorial. According to
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caste is a group having two characteristics; (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; (ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group." The

caste system can be found to have unique features such as it creates a segmental division of the Hindu society; it creates a hierarchical division of the society; it imposes restrictions on feeding and social intercourse; the caste members are bound by a few civil and religious disabilities and barred from certain privileges from the other sections of the society; it creates a restriction on the occupational choice of the caste members and lastly, it follows the endogamous restriction on marriage. After the British colonized India, the caste system underwent several changes, whose effect can be felt even today. But before that, one must be aware about the Indian concept of Varna and Jati from where the caste system emerged. 5.2 Varna The etymological meaning of the word 'varna' means colour. It is a Sanskrit term. The root word is 'vr' which means to cover or envelop. The origin of the word can be traced to Rigveda, which means the colour or outward appearance of an individual. The Rigveda highlights the Chaturvarna system, which means there is the presence of four main varnas in the Indian society- The Brahmins who were destined to be priests The Kshatriyas who were the warriors The Vaishyas as the traders and finally, The Shudras who were meant to be the servants of the society. Any community which belonged to one of the four varnas, were known as 'savarna' and on the other hand people who did not belong to any specific caste rank (such as the Dalits or Scheduled Tribes) they were known as the 'avarnas'. Thus, the varna system was a purely gradational system in the Hindu society. The history of the emergence of the Varna system can be traced down to the Aryans' invasion in India. The Rigveda refers to the fact that the Aryans were the light complexioned individuals of the then Indian society. These light complexioned
NSOU CC-SO-02 74 groups of people were contrasted with the dark complexioned non-Aryans (who were referred as the 'dasa' Varna). In addition to the Varna system of creating a gradation in the society, the Vedic literature also spotlights various other groups who lay outside the Varna system such as Ayogava, Chandala, Nishada and Paulkasa. They too were meant to perform the menial tasks of the society and were not given any respect for the tasks they were assigned to perform by birth. In addition to people, the Varna system also extended itself to the soil composition of Mother Earth. In that fashion, soils can be divided into four main varnas- The white coloured soil is the Brahman soil which smells like pure butter; red colour soils indicate the Kshatriyas who represents blood and tastes bitter; the yellow colour soil (Vichy soil) indicates the Vaishyas which tastes sour and finally the black colour soil which represents the Shudras and tastes like wine. Therefore, the Rigveda mentions about the existence of the varna system in the society. It is in the tenth mandal of Rigveda under the Purusha Sukta verse. Different scholars give varied opinions about the origin of the Varna system. One such explanation points out that the Varna system originated because of the three basic elements or qualities that the universe is made up of, i.e. the Gunas. The three qualities or gunas are- 1. Satva Guna or Neutral nature 2. Rajo Guna or Passionate nature 3. Tamo Guna or hopeless nature. Hence, the origin of the Varna system, where Satva Guna indicates white, Rajas indicates Red and Tamas indicate black. The believers of this theory points out that- people with greater intellectual quality (Satt Guna) took the pledge to protect the society and preserve its knowledge. They were known as the Brahmans. Similarly, people with fighting skills (Rajo Guna) took the pledge to defend the nation against all harm-they came to be known as the Kshtariyas. In the same way, people with qualities of both trading and merchanting (Rajo as well as Tamo Guna) were referred to as the Vaishya and finally, people with selfless virtues within their heart and soul, who dedicated their lives to maintain the purity of the society (Tamo Guna) were referred to as the Shudras. Several Hindus started relating the Varna system with the theory of Karma. Karma indicates action of an individual. Each action bears with it, its own consequence, therefore, a positive action of an individual will bear positive Karma and negative action of an individual (which can bring harm

NSOU CC-SO-02 75 to the society) will bring forth negative Karma to the perpetrator. It is a cause and effect relationship, which many people believed in and maintained that Varna is not related with the ascriptive status of an individual rather it coincides with the type of action he/she is involved with, which finally leads to the allotment of that individual into the Varna hierarchy. The Varna Dharma promotes two kinds of duties among the people (as mentioned in the Vedas)- a) Sa ma nya Dharma: The universal dharma, irrespective of one's varna includes universal moral codes such as restraining oneself from violence, maintaining honesty, considering cleanliness is next to godliness and so on. b) Via esa Dharma: The special duties assigned to members of each specific Varna, such as the Brahmins can only accept kachcha food (raw food) where as the other Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras can accept pakka food (cooked food) from each other. Therefore, the reality of the Varna system cannot be neglected as several scholars have been going on discussing about the same since time unknown. 5.3 Varna : A Theoretical Overview Several scholars have tried to present their own viewpoint into explaining the Varna System. A few such theoretical explanations are pointed below: 5.3.1 The Western Theory : The originators of this theory uphold the view that the Varna system originated with the Aryans coming into India. It was maintained that the original inhabitants of India were the Dashuds, who were defeated by the Aryans. After conquering, the Dashuds (who were dark complexioned) were enslaved and suppressed by the Aryans. Thus, in order to maintain their hold upon the people in India, they started the Varna system where the Dashuds were tagged as the Shudras (due to their dark complexion). The Shudras were also tagged as outcasts and were subjected to perform the menial tasks of the society. Many other scholars reject this theory, as it is not backed by proper evidence. 5.3.2 The Brahminical Theory : This theory supports the divine origin of the varna system. It refers to the late Rigvedic Purusha Shukta. The Purush or the cosmic being is considered as the Lord of Immortality. All the other existences on this planet are equivalent to nothing when it comes to him. Gods once tried to perform a sacrifice with Purusha as the
NSOU CC-SO-02 76 peace offering, spring as the butter, summer as the fuel and autumn as the other associated offerings. But, the Purusha along with the other saints was immolated on the sacrificial grass. It was during this offering that from the mouth of the Purusha emerged the Brahmins, from his arms emerged the Kshatriyas, from his thighs emerged the Vaishyas and from his feet emerged the Shudras. The Bhagvad Gita (the holy book of the Hindus) mentions that the Varna system was not based on hereditary principles rather was based on the law of Karma. It is similar to the concept of retributive punishment where the sin of an individual is determined by the negative actions of his previous life. Many theorists, such as Max Mueller, rejected this theory of the origin of the Varna. 5.3.3 The Marxist Theory : am Sharan Sharma proposed the Marxists theory on Varna. According to this theory, the early Rigvedic society was based on the lines of primitive communism where society was largely egalitarian in nature. The later Vedic period witnessed the rise of agricultural society where surplus production of crops was used to reward the priests. This pattern led to the development of a social hierarchy. Gradually, with the creation of the surplus produce there came the development of the use of iron plough. This moderate development of the society saw the rise of the Brahminical ideology due to which the society was divided into four main classes (each in accordance to one's own occupation). Though this theory seems to be logical in portraying the Marxist concept of class and class struggle through the lines of Varna, but it is not supported with relevant proofs. 5.3.4 B.R Ambedkar's Theory on the Varna System : Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar rejected the divine theory of the varna system. He referred to the Varna System as the one which created uncanny division in the society. He argues that only Lord Buddha questioned this hierarchy in the society in the name of Varna gradation. He opined that the Chaturvarna system promoted nothing but division and ill feelings among the people in the society. It preaches class composed society as an ideal one; it gives a legal stamp to all the misdeeds that people used to carry out in the name of religion; it consideres this gradation as sacred in nature.
NSOU CC-SO-02 77 5.4 Varna System—A Basis for Division of Labour The Varna system also implies vocational division among the people based on one's Varna. The choice of one's occupation is solely based on one's birth into one's own specific Varna. Therefore, division of labour in the society is based on one's rank in the Varna ladder. It is also highlighted from this viewpoint that in order to avoid chaos and confusion in the society, the Varna system created a pre-ordered vocational guidance into which men fall since their birth. Thus, there is no brawl over the selection of one's favourite occupation. It strived to create a smooth functioning society. This hereditary calling of the people expects the Brahmans to take up the job of being a priest in the society; a Kshatriya to be a warrior; a Vaishya to be a trader and a Shudra to be a selfless server of the society who are designated to do all those activities for maintaining the purity of the society. The Varna Dharma does not call for gradation in the kinds of work one is involved with but it solely ensures that whether the society functions properly or not. If people follow the Varna Dharma and maintain their vocations in that order, it is assumed that the we-feeling of the Hindu community will be maintained properly. 5.5 Jati The term "Jati" is derived from the Sanskrit root word, which means to be born. It points out to the social birthright of an individual as well as the lineage to which that individual belongs. A Jati is an endogamous group, which indicates that inter-group marriages are not encouraged within a Jati. The members of a Jati group has an ascribed status that is, they are member of a Jati group by virtue of their birth. It is due to this reason that the members of a Jati from a specific village consider themselves as potential kins. It is a hereditary social group where each group has their own name and its related attributes. Each member of a Jati group is expected to follow and abide by the specific Jati attributes. In many places in India, a member's Jati acts as his/her social identity. This notion of social identity as per one's jati maintains a sense of cohesion among the group members. It leads to the creation of a separate social unit. Members of a village community depend on the other village members to maintain his Jati's style of life. Relations with other Jati members are flexible and not bound with specific Jati rules. The members of a Jati are not bound with their traditional occupational roles. For example, if a Jati's traditional calling is to act as

NSOU CC-SO-02 78 a priest, it is not necessary that he will restrict himself within that occupational calling. He may involve himself with either farming or being a carpenter. It is on the basis of marital relations that members of Jati are demarcated from each other. Villagers used to interchange ideas from members of other Jatis, and this categorization of members from one Jati with another was known as Jati-Cluster. 5.5.1 Jati Cluster: Jati cluster was a social category by which members used to distinguish one Jati member from the other. A group of separate Jatis used to class together under one name, which made it easier for them to deal with people in a complex social structure. Through the jati-cluster category finer distinction between Jati members was made possible. Jati-cluster was done keeping in mind that they had similar traditional occupation, jati related practices and relatively similar rank. For example, in Gujarat two main Jati clusters are the Barias and the Patidars who ranked as cultivators as per their traditional calling. The Patidars were ranked higher than the Barias. Both these Jati clusters differ in their ritual practices and it is easier for the people to categorize and relate to one another in that way. It is ascribed in nature, as one cannot change the Jati roles to which one is born into. Therefore, Jati is a concept that is closely related to the ideas of kinship and lineage. An individual associates oneself with a jati group because his social world is engulfed within it and his identity and existence is a part of the jati's idea of what kind of individual he is. It is both inevitable and considered to be morally proper for an individual to be related to one's Jati. 5.6 Varna and Jati (Caste)—The Difference Varna and Jati represents two different forms of social stratification in India. Most of the people in the society, mistakenly admit both to be two overlapping concepts, but the distinction between the two notes their stark difference. A few points of differences are as follows: a) Numerical : The Varna System is four in number where as jatis are innumerable. The Chaturvarna doctrine promotes the concept of people being divided into four main divisions-Brahmins, Kshtariyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. It represents the four- fold division of the society. Each of the four Varnas has its own set of rules and regulations. On the other hand, jatis are large in number. There are more than two thousand and eight hundred castes and sub-castes in India.

NSOU CC-SO-02 79 b) Status: The Varna system is based on occupation where as the concept of Jati is based on the ascribed status of an individual. For people who are born in which Jati is determined by his birth. For example, a Shudra is a born Shudra. Membership within a Jati is fixed. One cannot change it by any means of wealth, power or prestige. On the other hand, the Varna system was based on the basis of one's occupation or division of labour. It is the Karma of an individual, which determines the Varna he will be entitled to. In Bhagwad Gita Chapter 4, Verse 13, Lord Krishna mentioned that He is the creator of the four categories of occupations based on one's quality and activity. c) Mobility: The Jati system is closed in nature where as the varna system is much more open or flexible in nature. In this context, in the Varna system, a human being has the chance to change his Varna order. If a man is born Brahmin, he can change it to the KshtariyaVarna if he finds himself to be a good, able bodied warrior. Even the Shudras (who were looked down upon by other caste members) can also be a Brahmin. For example, Dronacharya, Kripacharya, Ashwathama originally belonged to the Brahmin Varna but eventually they pursued the Kshatriya career. On the other hand, the Jati system follows closed social mobility because caste members cannot change their caste later in their life. They have to stick to their own given caste ascribed to them since their birth. Thus, Jati membership is unchangeable in nature. d) Equality: The Jati system is based on the principle of inequality where as the Varna system is based on the principle of equality among its members. During the Vedic period, members of all the Varna were given equal socio-economic status as well as education and political opportunities. Mobility of all kinds and forms were allowed to the Varna members. On the other hand, the members of a jati had restricted social mobility and an inbound status differentiation. Opportunities were completely non-existent. The upper caste members used to look down upon the members of the lower caste members. e) Rigidity: Caste system is more rigid than the Varna system. The Varna system was not restricted with several forms of restrictions such as restriction in one's food habit, dressing habit, activities such as educational, political and religious and so on. People had their own freedom to lead a normal social life. In contrast to this, the caste system is more rigid as it places restrictions on each and every social factor. On many occasions, the upper caste members also curb the morals and manners of the lower caste members.

NSOU CC-SO-02 80 f) Sanction: Hinduism is the sanction of the Varna system where as the caste system does not have any sanction of its own. The origin of the Varna system explains the fact that it was divinely ordained (as the members believe that the four Varnas emerged from Prajapatya Brahma). On the contrary, the caste system is exempted from such divine sanctions. The degenerated version of the ancient Varna system was considered to be the origin of the caste system. 5.7 Summary Thus, the existence of the Varna model is present in theoretical terms but not in practical existence. Varna as a form of social stratification is now present in the pages of history. It is the Jati system (in the name of caste system), which is in existence in the modern society. Jati helped in the identification of one's own Varna. It is due to this reason that people tend to overlap the two concepts of Varna and Jati in the current period. Jati is the subdivision of the communities, which was broadly divided into the four Varnas-Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. It was after the British colonization of India, that the concept of Jati got degraded into the concept of the caste system. To conclude, both the Varna and the Jati system are unique to the Indian Hindu society and is an inherent part of the Indian culture since time immemorial. Did you know? 1. The Caste System was originally known as the varnashram. 2. The confusion of castes through intermarriage is known as varnasamkara. It is looked down upon by the members of the society. A girl can marry an upper caste member but not to a lower caste member because that will lead to the degradation of her caste rank. 3. Varnas are largely considered as supercastes. 4. The Scheduled Castes or the Dalits are a part of the fifth Varna which has got no mention in the Vedas. This fifth Varna is kept out from the Chatur Varna system.

NSOU CC-SO-02 81 5.8 Model Questions A. Answer briefly. 5 i) What is a jati cluster? ii) Why are Jatis considered to be an endogamous group? iii) How can you relate the Varna system along with division of labour in the society? iv) What do you mean by sanction? v) Give an example of Jati cluster. vi) How did B.R Ambedkar refer to the Varna system as? B. Answer in detail. 10 i) Write a note on the Varna system in the Indian society. ii) Give a theoretical overview of the Varna system. iii) What do you mean by a Jati? How can you differentiate Jati from Varna? 5.9 References and Suggested Readings Ahuja, R 1993. Indian Social System. Rawat Publications, New Delhi. Ketkar, S. V. 2018. History of Caste in India. Rawat Publications, New Delhi. Mandelbaum G. D. 2016. Society in India: Contunuity and Change and Change and Continuity. Popular Prakashan. Bombay.

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Company Ltd.
NSOU CC-SO-02 82 Unit 6 Jajmani System Structure 6.0 Objectives 6.1 Introduction 6.2 Features of the Jajmani System 6.3 Spotlighting the Jajmani Relationship 6.4 Jajmani System-Norms and Regulations 6.5 Changes in the Jajmani System 6.6 Merits of the Jajmani System 6.7 Demerits of the Jajmani System 6.8 Summary 6.9 Model Questions 6.10 References and Suggested Readings 6.0 Objectives To offer a deep study of Jajmani Relation in India. To understand it as a hierarchical system of division of labour. To understand its relevance in society. To understand the system as a socio-economic relationship between the service -providers and the service- receivers. 6.1 Introduction Jajmani system is an age-old system of occupational obligation. It is related with the concept of caste system in India. Caste is an ancient system among the Hindus to denote the concept of social stratification. In the traditional period, people were economically interdependent on each other. Each individual was specialized in their field of occupation as per the caste they were born into. The caste system 82
NSOU CC-SO-02 83 followed the ascribed status by which an individual is born into a caste; he cannot change his caste on the basis of his achieved status. This specialization of occupation led to the inculcation of an exchange of service in the village. Two groups formed due to this exchange of services-the servicing group i.e. who provided services to the other group and the serviced group i.e. who received the services of the servicing group. This system of exchange was purely based on the principle of caste. It was mainly followed in the village society. It had a durable relation among the members of the two groups. This system of exchange of services in the lines of caste was known as the Jajmani System. The etymological meaning of the word 'jajman' is rooted in the Sanskrit word "Yajman" which means an individual who performs a yajna. Yajna is a ritual among the Hindus performed by a group of sages (Brahmin) as a symbol of devotion and worship of the Almighty. In order to perform a yajna, it is the Brahmin of the village who is called for. This tradition of asking the Brahmin to come and offer his service, later on turned into the Jajmani system. Prof. Yogendra Singh defines the

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Jajmani System as "a system governed by relationships based on reciprocity in inter-caste relations in

village". According to
N.S Reddy, "The service relations which are governed by a hereditary tenure are called Jajman-Praja relations". In the words of Oscar Lewis, "Under

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this system each caste group within a village is expected to give certain standardised services to the families of other castes.

Each one works for certain family or group of families with whom he is hereditary linked." Harold Gould mentioned that the jajmani system is based on the principle of super ordination and subordination of one group upon the other. It was generally the high caste groups who used to be the service receiver from the lower caste groups such as the barbers (Nai), washermen (Dhobis), carpenters (Khati) and so on. The service provider was known as the kamin and the service receiver were known as the jajman. The high caste groups were land-owning families, who used to pay the kamins either in cash or kind (i.e. by providing them with pieces of land or clothes or domesticated animals). The term jajman also refers to that relationship where a Brahmin provides service to members of the caste i.e. by conducting a yajna or puja for the members of the other castes. In this case too, the Brahmin was referred as the kamin and
NSOU CC-SO-02 84 the service receiver was known as the jajman. Thus, the jajmani system has multiple roles in the society-social, economical as well as moral. 6.2 Features of the Jajmani System The jajmani system is unique in India. It has several features, which can be listed one after another— i) The jajmani system is traditional in nature. The origin of the concept of jajmani system is unknown to the people. It is unique to the Hindu group and is closely associated with the caste-based divisions of the Hindu society. ii) The system of jajmani has an occupational obligation between the caste groups. The long-standing relationship between the kamin and the jajman denotes interdependence and mutual obligation towards one another. The kamins are dependent on the jajmans to fulfill their economic needs and the jajmans are dependent on the kamins to meet their required services. iii) The system is closely linked with the families. Families of one caste group with the other are tied with on jajmani lines. It creates a close familiarity between the members of two caste groups. iv) The jajmani system is exclusive in nature. Firstly, it is unique to the Hindu caste system and secondly, if a kamin provides his service to his jajman, then the jajman will seek services from the same service provider. For example, if a barber is providing his service to a particular family, then the service receiving family members will not replace that barber with someone else. v) The relationship within a jajmani system is durable. Both the caste groups are interdependent on each other. If a priest performs the daily worship of a specific family, then he will continue to give his services till his last breath and the jajmans will make sure that the kamin is not replaced by anyone else. vi) The jajmani relationship is hereditary in nature. The kamins will go on providing service on a hereditary basis. If a Brahmin gives his service to a specific family member then on the basis of hereditary calling, the future generation of the Brahmin will go on providing services to the future members of that specific family.

NSOU CC-SO-02 85 vii) The jajmani relationship promotes solidarity. Interdependence among the members intensifies the feelings of solidarity. It promotes vertical solidarity. Different caste groups come closer and develop a deeper bond due to the jajmani system. They continue to stay obligated towards each other. viii) The jajmani relationship has multiple roles. The jajmani system is not entirely an economic system, it is social and moral too. It reduces caste rifts and brings members of other caste groups closer to one another. People find their own mutual benefit within a caste system. Therefore, the jajmani system is a long and well-established relationship in the Hindu community. Several scholars have studied the jajmani system in India, only to find that it has its own set of merits and demerits. The system got introduced so that exchange of relationship continues to take place. Though it appears to be a relationship between the caste groups, but in reality it depicts the interdependence of the families till an indefinite period of time. 6.3 Spotlighting the Jajmani Relationship The jajmani system is also referred to as the traditional form of Indian barter system. The rights of the people involved within the jajmani system are permanent in nature. A kamin can in no way be removed from service by his jajman. This shows the process of mutual dependence upon each other forging social solidarity. The exchange of service that is present within this system is not exclusively economical in nature. Relationships are maintained with the exchange of either cash or kind. In case of any problem confronted by the kamin, the jajman tries his level best to give him a solution. The relationship is not equivalent to that of an employer and his servant but rather one family member helping his other kin in need. But the relationship with two or more castes with each other on the basis of exchanging a few things cannot be regarded as a jajmani relation. A Jajmani relationship is hereditary in nature. A Jajmani relationship is strengthened on the basis of the rituals and the social support. For example, it is the duty of the servicing class to perform rituals and ceremonies such as birth rites, marriage rituals, funerals, daily worship of one's Kula Devta and so on for his jajman. The servicing class receives help from one's jajman in the form of gifts, food, money, clothes, and plots of land and so on. By this the strength of the relationship is maintained for life.

NSOU CC-SO-02 86 It is not only the higher castes performing rituals and is acting as the servicing class; the lower castes also perform those tasks which are considered to pollute the higher caste members. For example, a lower caste member can wash the dirty clothes of his jajman. Thereby, professions such as Dhobi (washer man), Nai (barber), Nain or Dai Ma (midwife) and so on are included within the jajmani relations. The Jajmani relationship denotes the ties between families rather than one's caste. For example, a higher caste family receives services from one particular washer man and not from all the castes who are washer men by profession. Similarly, it is that particular washer man's family who will receive goods and services from his specific jajman and not from any other high caste members. In case of death of a family member, the next generation carries forward the same duties of maintaining Jajmani relationship. In the works of Orenstein, it was found that specific professions (such as being a watchman), enables the servicing class to maintain relationship with the entire village. The watchmen receive goods and services from all the land owning families in the village. Therefore, the Hindu jajmani system is such a social institution which helps to build up network relations within the members of a specific geographical location. This networked relationship has its own set of legalized norms and regulations, which creates a holistic bond among the masses. It helps in the reduction of antagonistic feelings among the members of the other group. The Jajmani relationship comes with its own set of power and authority but it ultimately unites the society as one social whole. 6.4 Jajmani System-Norms and Regulations The jajmani system is one of the oldest patterns of relationship that exists within the Indian Hindu community. Several norms and values are associated with the jajmani system. In India, it was mostly during the harvest time when the landowning families used to pay back to their respective kamins. The jajmans used to give them food grains which were considered to be the traditional mode of payment. However, this is not the only method by which the kamins stay dependent on the jajman. For several other factors such as building a house, choosing a plot to build a house, places for animal grazing and so on, the servicing class is dependent on his jajman. On many occasions, the jajman were also entitled to offer loans of money in case of the kamin's emergency.

NSOU CC-SO-02 87 Harold Gould mentioned in his findings that the magnitude of economic relationship between the jajman and the kamin is huge. For example, if a priest acts as the servicing class in his village, then all the single nuclear units establish separate economic transactions with the kamin. Thereby, a strong chain of power and wealth flow within the jajmani system. Gould in his study (conducted from 1954-1955) found that a barber (Nai) received about 312kgs of grain per year from 15 joint families The transaction involved between the jajman and the kamin also depends upon the kind of service that is relegated to the jajmans. For example, if a washer man tears a cloth of the jajman, then the jajman can withhold him from giving his kamin sufficient amount goods in exchange. On the other hand, if the kamins see that his jajman does not pay him much with goods or services, then he renders minimum amount of service towards his jajman. No matter how much flexibility is maintained within the Jajmani relationship, the concept of purity and pollution stays intact as one of the basic feature of the Indian caste system. If the jajman comes from a lower caste group and the kamin from the upper caste group, the rules of ritual purity and pollution are strictly followed. The jajmans from a higher caste group will act as the subordinate member to his kamin who is from the higher caste group. However, the norms of maintaining a healthy relationship between the kamin and the jajman are not overlooked by any means. A jajman is bound to be paternalistic when it comes to looking after his kamin. The kamin too must act as an obedient service provider to his jajman. Though inequality is evident within the caste system, the Jajmani relationship tries to build a bridge to lessen the widening gaps between the castes. The jajman-kamin relationship is culturally obligated towards one another. The caste panchayats can punish either the kamin or the jajman if they find either of them to be at fault. In the form of punishments, the caste panchayat has the right to withdraw a jajman from receiving services from a specific kamin and vice versa. Therefore, the jajmani system comes with its own set of merits and demerits. However, the jajmani relationship is still not eradicated from the society. Even in this current century, the jajmani system is widely prominent in India.

NSOU CC-SO-02 88 6.5 Changes in the Jajmani System The jajmani system is facing new challenges of the modern society due to which its traditional structure is undergoing both structural and functional changes. Post independence from foreign rule, India's rural structure underwent several socio- economic changes. Several attempts have been taken to improve the condition of the lower caste members and give then their basic right. They are now given the right to vote which is equivalent to the status of the jajmans. Coupled with socio- economic changes, several scientific and technological developments have led to sweeping change in the role of the jajmani system. A few such trending changes are noted below: 1. People in the rural areas no longer depend on their caste system to take up their occupation. The drive of education for all has empowered the rural population, due to which they are focusing more on their achieved status than their ascribed status to choose their field of occupation. This has certainly led to a change in the traditional jajmani system. 2. The importance of cash over kind is making the Jajmani System to fall apart. Traditionally, the jajmans used to lend various things to the kamins for their welfare. But in the recent years the jajmans prefer to give cash in exchange to the services of the kamins. The cash does not always suffice the need of the kamins. Commodity exchange alongside cash used to help the kamins in numerous ways, but the situation has changed with the growing years. 3. Importance of the class system over the caste system has led to the decline of the jajmani system. The status of an individual is judged on the basis of one's class position than one's caste rank. Specially, after the introduction of the British rule in India, the traditional caste rank of an individual to demarcate one's social status has been eroded. Thereby this led to the dissolution of the jajmani relations in the Indian society. 4. Growing industrialization was another important factor to bring about changes in the jajmani relation in India. The British brought the sweeping force of industrialization in India, which made the people to give importance to the class system than the caste system. The growth of English education made the people to realize the evils of the caste system and how it affects the
NSOU CC-SO-02 89 social order. Jobs in the industrial sector were meted out to those who were qualified for the post. One's caste did not affect the kind of job he/ she used to get. Achieved status was given more priority than ascribed status, which led to a change in the traditional jajmani relationship. 5. The rapid growth of urbanization. Urbanization was the movement of the rural people to the urban areas in search of better livelihood. The urban sector had jobs and was freed from the clutches of the evils of the caste system. The lower caste people found educational opportunities and a way to prove their worth and not to stay dependent on the upper castes members throughout their lives. They found jobs, respect and a respectable social status, which ultimately led to the decline of the jajmani relationship in the rural area. Thus, it can be said that the above mentioned reasons led to the development of a new trend in the Indian society. The implementation of English education, developed communication facilities, growth of the print media and increasing acculturation among the people led to the decline of the traditional jajmani relationship. It led to the formation of a new order in the Indian society. Though the Jajmani System is still present in many parts of India but its impact has now declined. 6.6 Merits of the Jajmani System The Jajmani System has its own set of advantages and disadvantages. Several scholars are of the opinion that this traditional system of exchange of services that is unique to the Indian caste system has both its own pros and cons. A few such advantages of the jajmani relationship found in India are as follows- 1. Economic security of the kamins is maintained. The jajmani system provides economic security to its members. The servicing class is assured of their economic security by their jajmans. Not only in terms of economy, have the jajmans provided all sorts of necessary help to their kamins in times of crisis. 2. The jajmani system ensures one's security of occupation. As the system of jajmani relation is hereditary in nature, therefore, the kamins are guaranteed of their profession. For example, if a blacksmith (Lohar) provides metal tools to one specific family, then this chain of relationship will continue down the generation from both the service providing and the service receiving class.
NSOU CC-SO-02 90 3. The jajmani system maintains close and intimate relationship among the members. As it is mentioned earlier, that the relationship between the jajman and the kamin is purely economical in nature, rather it is bound with feelings and a sense of fraternity. The members have a spirit of fellow feeling for which they stand beside each other in terms of crisis. As the relationship is hereditary in nature, the jajmani relation ensures peaceful co- existence with one another. 4. There is a peaceful co-existence among the members within a jajmani relation. The jajmani system is based on the principles of exchange; therefore, the atmosphere of peaceful living is maintained by the members. In case, a servicing class does not provide proper service or the service receiver does not payback properly to the kamins then, the caste panchayats can take decision to ensure the prevalence of peace. 5. The jajmani system regulates division of labour in the society. The demarcation between the servicing class and the service receiver class is wide and clear. Thus, each individual knows what his duty towards one another is. It also helps them to act as a self sufficient community. Each village has their own kamin and a set of jajmans, thus the members do not have to depend on members from the other village to meet their task. Therefore, the jajmani system is functional in the society. Due to its follow-up advantages, it still prevails in the current century. Due to the passage of time, the structure and roles must have changed but the relationship per se remains even till today in rural and urban India. 6.7 Demerits of the Jajmani System Several scholars are of the opinion that the jajmani system in India is an exploitative one. Several reasons have been pointed out in support of this statement. A few such reasons are as follows:- 6. Feelings of social inequality are involved within the jajmani system. The jajmani relationship revolves around the feelings of inferiority and superiority. The servicing class is given a low social stature where as the service receiving class is given a high social stature. For example, though the barber is the kamin to his jajman, still he is looked down upon by the

NSOU CC-SO-02 91 members of other caste, including his jajman. The barber is not given the same social respect which the jajman receives from his community. Due to the feature of hereditary calling within the jajmani system, the future generation of the low caste kamins cannot change their occupation to gain a respectable social status. They do not have any other means to improve their economic condition. On several noted cases, it was found that the jajmans have even humiliated their kamins due to their low caste status. 7. The jajmani system is a source of exploitation. The caste system creates a division in the society. The higher caste member suppresses, dominates, humiliates and even exploits the lower caste members of the society. Though there involves a give and take relationship within the jajmani system, the lower caste members are still subjected to discrimination by the upper caste members. 8. The jajmani system hinders occupational mobility. The kamins and jajmans have a long lasting relationship. The servicing class is bound to provide service to their jajmans for generations after generation. Therefore, it depends upon one's hereditary calling. This system becomes a hindrance for someone's personal development in life. The son of a blacksmith is bound to carry on with that hereditary calling. He cannot choose a separate occupation for himself and make a mark in the society. It is through economic weakness of the lower caste members that the system of dominance is still prominent in the Hindu Caste System. 9. The jajmani system supports the caste system. As mentioned earlier, the hierarchical division inherent in the caste system leads to harassment and trouble between the jajman and kamin relationship. Therefore, the jajmani system has two sides of the same coin. It has its own set of pros and cons. Though the jajmani system tries to promote interdependence in the social system, it also leads to the projection of power-play of one caste over the other. 6.8 Summary Therefore, the prime question that can be asked is that-is the Jajmani System an exploitative system? Is the jajmani system nothing more than a power-play relationship of the jajman over his kamin? Several scholars, such as Beidleman

NSOU CC-SO-02 92 (1959) said that the jajman can be equated as the exploiter and the kamins can be equated as the exploited. People generally conclude that the jajmani relationship is nothing more than a chief instrument of power-play of the jajmans over the kamins. It is a system of coercion and control of the upper caste members over the lower caste. This concept can be equated with that of Karl Marx's class and class struggle, where the haves (i.e. the jajmans) exploits the have nots (i.e. the kamins). Besides this above understanding, many scholars are of the opinion that the jajmani system is a way by the society maintains its solidarity among the members. It is a way by which people can understand the importance of one another and stay interdependent. Firstly, the kamins are not forced to keep a relationship with their jajmans. They are allowed to sell their goods in case they get better profit margin from another group who may not be his jajman. Secondly, in case of any injustice, the kamins can move the caste panchayat and seek for justice. Similarly, if the jajmans see that the kamin is not maintaining a stable relationship with them, they can easily choose another set of kamins from whom they can receive the service. Therefore, the Jajmani System promotes collective action among the people. Each system that exists in the society has its own set of pros and cons. If the caste system creates a division in the society, the Jajmani System is the thread which makes the members of different castes to stay connected and be dependent on each other. Though, the dominance of the Jajmani System has declined over the years, but its influence is still vibrant in the 21st century. Did you know? 1. William Henricks Wiser was the first sociologist who used the word jajmani system academically. The name of his book was "The Hindu Jajmani System: A Socio-Economic System Interrelating Members of a Hindu Village Community in Service". 2. Initially, the jajmani system used to indicate the relation between a jajman and the priest ("purohith") but in later years, other services were added onto the list.

NSOU CC-SO-02 93 6.9 Model Questions A. Answer briefly. 5 i) Define jajmani system. ii) Point out a few norms and regulations in relation to the jajmani system in India. iii) Is the jajmani system exploitative in nature? Discuss. iv) Who are referred to as the jajman and kamin? v) Give an example to explain the jajmani system. vi) Is the jajmani system still prevalent in India? Give example. B. Answer in detail. 10 i) Write a note on the origin and features of the Jajmani System. ii) Discuss the trends which led to the changes in the jajmani system in India. iii) What are the merits and demerits of the jajmani system? 6.10 References and Suggested Readings Ahuja, R 1993. Indian Social System. Rawat Publications. New Delhi. Mandelbaum G. D. 2016. Society in India: Contunuity and Change and Change and Continuity. Popular Prakashan. Bombay.

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NSOU CC-SO-02 94 Unit 7 Dominant Caste Structure 7.0 Objectives 7.1 Introduction 7.2 Dominant Caste: Features 7.3 Sociological Studies in Relation to Dominant Caste 7.4 Functions of the Dominant Caste 7.5 Dominant Caste: Criticisms 7.6 Dominant Caste in Modern India 7.7 Summary 7.8 Model Questions 7.9 References and Suggested Readings 7.0 Objectives Exploration of the concept of dominant caste in India. To provide an insight into the workings of traditional and contemporary rural India. 7.1 Introduction Caste is an ancient system among the Hindus to denote the concept of social stratification. The origin of the caste system dates back to time immemorial. The word 'caste' is believed to have originated from the Spanish word 'casta', which means 'lineage'. The Rigveda highlights the Chaturvarna system, which means there is the presence of four main varnas in the Indian society- The Brahmins who are destined to be priests The Kshatriya who were the warriors The Vaishyas as the traders and finally, 94

NSOU CC-SO-02 95 The Shudras who were meant to be the servant of the society. MacIver and Page have observed, "

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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."

Thus, the caste system is an inherent system of social stratification even in the modern century. It had its own changes with the passage of time, but the core factor still remains. Along with the concept of caste, another noted concept was also attached with it in many parts of India-that is the idea of Dominant Caste. The idea of dominant caste was propounded by an eminent sociologist in India named Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas. This concept was first mentioned by him in

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his essay named "The Social System of a Mysore Village". This essay was written after his

vivid study of the Rampura village. It was in 1948 that Srinivas worked in Rampura and after a few years came up with his work on the dominant caste. A caste is believed to be dominant when it has three prime powers in the society- a) Economic Power b) Political Power c) Numeric Power These powers enable a group to occupy the most powerful authoritative position in the society. Castes with higher ritual ranking were not considered to be the powerful one in the society if they did not possess these three powers. Srinivas made it clear that the concept of dominant caste is not exclusive to the people of Rampura village, but this concept is popular in other states of the country too. For example, Lingayats and Okkaligas were from Mysore villages, Reddys and Kammas were from the villages of Andhra Pradesh, Gounders, Padayachis and Mudaliars are from Tamil Nadu, Patidars are from Gujarat and so on. Thus, M.N Srinivas defined dominant caste as "

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A caste may be said to be dominant when it preponderates numerically over other

castes

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and when it also wields preponderant economic and political power. A large and powerful caste group can be more easily dominant if its position in the local caste hierarchy is not too low."

Srinivas further added that "

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A caste to be dominant, it should own a sizable amount of the arable land locally available, have strength of numbers and occupy a high place in the local hierarchy. When a caste has all the attributes of dominance, it may be said to enjoy a decisive dominance."

NSOU CC-SO-02 96 Srinivas pointed out that the Okkaligas (a middle caste peasant group) were numerically the majority in the village out of the 19 jati groups that were present in the village. They were the biggest landowners and exercised their domination over the other caste groups both politically and economically. Despite them being from the lower caste group in the ritual ranking, they acted as the dominant caste in the village. Thus, a dominant caste can exercise their domination over a set of villages which are closely related and not just on one village. On most occasions, a single clan can dominate and control a number of villages at the same time. One branch of the clan resides in each of the villages and thereby by following the superiority of a clan head, domination is exercised in all the villages. Srinivas also noted that those castes, which had the elements of numerical, economical and political strength, higher ritual status or western education along with better occupational status than the other in the village, could have a decisive dominance over others. 7.2 Dominant Caste: Features M. N Srinivas noted three prime powers that the dominant castes wield to exercise their dominance over others in the village. These powers are (as mentioned earlier) political, economic and numeric power. Along with these powers, one other prime criterion is for those who occupy the topmost rank in the ritual ranking, for example, the Brahmin, Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas. On the basis of these factors, four prime characteristics can be drawn out in detail- a) Political and economic power-The power of a caste is largely determined by the amount of land he owns. It is in that way that he can earn more than the rest through his agricultural income. The more land that a specific caste owns, the more will he be able to provide jobs to the landless farmers in the village. This automatically gives rise to the situation of super-ordination and subordination. Yogendra Singh in his study has noticed that most dominant castes have higher authority over the others in the village, in terms of the land they possess. He finds that jati groups such as Okkaligas have control over Wangala, Rajputs controlled Senapur and the Vaghela Rajputs have control over Cassandra village in Gujarat. These big land owning castes give high regards to education. Thus, the more educated they are, the better jobs they have, which thereby leads to them getting better administrative or urban jobs. A better job comes with better pay scales, which thereby lead

NSOU CC-SO-02 97 to better economic position in the rural areas. This leads to the making of a dominant caste due to economic and political power. b) High ritual ranking-According to the traditional ritual ranking, the Brahmins and the Rajputs have been the dominant caste since time unknown. They enjoy the topmost rank in the caste hierarchy. The Rajputs were the feudal lords of most villages. They were the owners of large property of land. Thus, the traditional ritual purity of the group gave them a certain form of right to exercise their control over others. c) Greater numeric strength-The numeric strength of a group implies that the number of followers have given their votes to select them as the leader of their village. Those caste groups who wield the larger number of votes is selected as the winning candidate. A dominant caste doesn't exercise his power in just one single village, rather they rule in more than one village. The dominant caste members are spread across these clusters of villages so that they can exercise their authority over the members of those villages. By this way, people from the other villages will be aware of their existence. This will lead to the building up of networks and will thereby lead to regional dominance of that area. d) Specific amount of arable lands-In India, landowners occupy bigger portion of lands. In this way, the caste group who will have the larger portion of land will have the authority to exercise their dominance over the others in the village. Power and prestige are not just the two things that they enjoy, they also enjoys people looking up to them as a dominant figure. This is one of the prime reason why in the modern society, people tend to invest in land based properties in order to achieve upward mobility in his group. Thus, with these powers in hand, the dominant castes can not only exercise their authority over the others in the village, but they can also settle disputes belonging to their own group or from people of other jati groups. The existence of the dominant caste in the village discourages the village members to seek for justice from the government or other official sectors. They generally have their full faith on the decisions taken by the members of the dominant caste. The dominant caste members also acts as the village representative in legal matters related to the village. Thus, the people tend to rely on the existence of the dominant caste in the society, which led to the growth of their power in the local level.
NSOU CC-SO-02 98 7.3 Sociological Studies in Relation to Dominant Caste M. N Srinivas was mainly the first sociologist who brought into the light the concept of dominant caste in the academic world. Following him, there were other scholars who conducted studies in rural India and came up with the prevalence of dominant caste in those areas. S.C Dube examined the prime elements of caste dominance by studying four villages in Madhya Pradesh. He opined that a caste group can act as dominant when the power is diffused in the group and is exercised due to the interest of the village at large. The members of the dominant castes were segregated from other villagers in terms of their wielding authority over wealth, power and prestige. In most cases, it was also found that this inequality among the members led them to exploit the non-dominant members of their own group or people from the village. Kathleen Gough studied a village in Tamil Nadu to report on the existence of Brahmin domination over the other village members. Srinivas noted that the exertion of dominance of the caste groups over the non-dominant village members to preserve the ideals of the village and maintain its virtue and harmony. India received its independence from the British rule in 1947. Elected self-governing local councils (or the popularly known panchayats) were set up to look after the administration of rural India. While electing the Panchayat members, most of them were from the dominant caste. As the dominant castes, kept exercising their authorities for all these years and they have greater hold (both economically and politically) in the society, they formed the members of the Panchayat. Louis Dumont opined that he sole factor behind members acting as the dominant caste in a village is due to one's economic power and not their numeric strength. He claimed that this economic power flows from their large land holdings Several scholars noticed that on the basis of one's power, property, wealth and prestige, the dominant castes were internally divided into various rival factions. Control over the land by one individual led to the establishment of one single powerful headman to whom the members of the villagers felt subordinated. On the contrary, if the control over land was dispersed among members of a large dominant jati then there was the creation of a vertical flow of power between the segments of the dominant jatis. It can thus be seen that each village had their own set of dominant caste based on the structure of the village and the kind of power the dominant castes wield.
NSOU CC-SO-02 99 7.4 Functions of The Dominant Castes There are several functions in relation to the dominant caste that can be found in rural area. A few such functions are noted below:— a) The dominant castes acted as the reference group for the other lower caste members in the village. This made them to imitate the practices of the dominant caste members-this led to the development of cultural transmission among the members of the villagers. b) The dominant caste of a village acts as the safeguard of pluralistic culture. They set a normative pattern for the members of the village. For those who violate the norms of the village were given exemplary punishments so that others never repeat it in future. They are the decision-makers of the village, who decides what rewards or punishments to assign for the villagers. c) The dominant castes act as the power holders of the society. They are the representatives of the village who exercise their political or economic influence so that the interest of the village is maintained. Their actions influence the political process of the village. d) They act as the pillars of socio-economic development of their village. They sought out ways to better the position of their village in comparison to others. In many cases, they act as the agent of rehabilitation programmes so that the interests of the members of their village are safeguarded. e) The dominant caste acts as the bridge to the outer world. They are educated, for which they can socialize the members of the village and direct them to better their lives. On most occasions, the members of the dominant caste teach the villagers how to improve their agricultural skills, the importance of using modern technologies to help them in their agricultural activities and so on. They act as the agents of modernization in rural India. 7.5 Dominant Caste: Criticisms The rule of the dominant castes in the Indian subcontinent has been continuing since time unknown. The existence of the dominant caste has led to the rise of other concepts such as

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Sanskritization. According to M. N Srinivas, "Sanskritization is a process by which a lower caste or tribe or any other group changes its customs,

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rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a higher or more often twice- born caste".

Several criticisms have been leveled against the concept of dominant caste. A few such criticisms are as follows- i) Louis Dumont pointed out that there should be a division between powers related to ritual ranking and secular ranking. ii) The dominant caste favours the rule of the few over the majority. Power and prestige in the hands of the few are making them act as the dominant caste. This contributes to the growth of social inequality and social antagonism of the subordinated group against the superordinated group. iii) According to Gardener, dominant castes can have four basic levels or divisions-a) The ruler; b) the regional dominant caste; c) the local dominant caste; and d) dominant caste on the basis of amount of land acquisition. Thus, to him, dominance should not be restricted within the domain of caste only. The concept of dominant caste should be wide ranging. iv) Dominant castes bring modern forces into the rural social structure by which the traditional structure of rural India is having a structural shift. It leads to the process of a wide cultural change. v) D. N Majumdar has noted that it is not on the basis of numeric strength that a group is assigned to be the dominant caste of the village; rather it is largely the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas who act as the dominant caste despite being numerically weak. Out of several scholars who raised questions against the concept of dominant caste in India, we can name T.K Oommen. He has questioned the validity of the concept and has pointed out that Srinivas has not mentioned anything about alternate situations when a numerically weak caste owns most of the village's land, thereby gaining better economic status than the rest in the village; or the other way round that a person or group is numerically strong but economically deprived and falls below the ritually lower caste groups. He has commented that in such situations, the caste members will share the community power. This will lead to the growth of the we-feeling among the community members. He questiones the context of dominance as well as the resources available to the members for dominate others. He notices the prevalence of a "multiple power structure" in a multi-caste village.
NSOU CC-SO-02 101 Srinivas did not point out anything related to this situation. But besides the criticisms leveled against the concept propounded by Srinivas, the basic existence of the dominant forces of caste is still felt in modern India. 7.6 Dominant Caste in Modern India After India's independence from foreign rule, several socio-economic changes have altered the social structure of India to some extent. The traditional structural pattern and its associated rules and regulations have undergone changes. But the concept of dominant caste still prevails in India. Its nature might have undergone changes currently, but the concept as a whole still exists. The traditional pattern of ranking someone higher in the social structure on the basis of one's ritual purity has undergone changes. New systems like universal adult franchise, electoral politics, and the panchayati raj system have changed the rural social structure in India. In the modern political system of India, caste based politics have become a common factor. The politicians use caste as a shield to gain the votes of the people. People from the ritually low ranking castes are now coming up to be represented in the face of India's politics. Many are joining the political parties to stop being the marginalized community and work for the uplift of the lower caste groups. These dominant castes are still acting as the representatives of their villages and are bringing up the local issues in front of the national eyes. Few political parties which have come up in the modern Indian politics are- "The Bahujan Samaj Party of Uttar Pradesh banked on Dalit votes. The Bharatiya Samaj Party emerged with the support of the Pasis and Rajbhars. The Apna Dal became the party of the Kurmis; the Mahan Dal emerged as a party for the Kushwaha caste. In Bihar, the Lok Janshakti Party, the Rashtriya Lok Samata Dal and the Hindustan Awaam Morcha are similar examples." Therefore, new patterns of development are bringing about new sweeping changes in the Indian social structure. Reservations are now given to the lower or backward caste members so that they can educate themselves and stand neck to neck with the other caste groups in the society. Reservation policies were intended to bring about social equality among the people. But the concept of dominant caste didn't get eroded away from the society at large even till today.
NSOU CC-SO-02 102 7.7 Summary Therefore, it can be concluded that the dominancy among the dominant castes was based on dependency and there are several associated factors which help make a caste dominant. The impact of dominant caste can be noticed in all walks of life- in the social, economic as well as the political field. With the growing change in the social structure of India post independence numeric strength has become stronger due to the implication of the adult suffrage in the society. The traditional authority that the dominant castes had over the villagers are now fading away. Despite the decrease in the functioning of the dominant castes over the people, reservation policies coming up for the rights of the lower caste groups, the decentralization of power in the Indian society and the introduction of the Panchayati Raj, the prevalence of the concept of dominant caste can be still felt in the rural structures of India. Did you know? 1. Though there are numerous laws to protect the lower caste members from any crime or inequality still according to reports, one crime is committed against a Dalit every 18 minutes. 2. 70% of Dalit women are still illiterate in India. 3. In the Hindu law book by Manu (Manusmriti), it is mentioned that "If a shudra mentions the name and class of a twice-born contumely [i.e. without proper respect], an iron nail, ten figures long, shall be thrust into his mouth". 7.8 Model Questions A. Answer briefly. 5 i) Briefly mention about two sociological studies on dominant caste in India. ii) Name a few dominant castes found in modern India. iii) Give any two examples of dominant caste as mentioned by M.N Srinivas. iv) Define dominant caste. v) Define caste. vi) Name the book where Srinivas first mentioned the concept of dominant caste.
NSOU CC-SO-02 103 vii) How did T. K Oommen criticize Srinivas's concept of dominant caste? B. Answer in detail. 10 i) Write a note on the development of the concept of dominant caste in the academic field. ii) List the features of Dominant Caste found in India. iii) What are the merits and demerits of dominant caste in India? 7.9 References and Suggested Readings Ahuja, R 1993. Indian Social System. Rawat Publications. New Delhi. Jayapalan, N 2001. Indian Society and Social Institutions. Vol II. Atlantic Publishers and Drishti.

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NSOU CC-SO-02 104 Unit 8 Caste Mobility: Sanskritization Structure 8.0 Objectives 8.1 Introduction 8.2 Features of Sanskritization 8.3 Models of Sanskritization 8.4 Factors Promoting Sanskritization 8.5 Factors Affecting Sanskritization 8.6 Merits of Sanskritization 8.7 The Critique of Sanskritization 8.8 Summary 8.9 Model Questions 8.10 References and Suggested Readings. 8.0 Objectives
Examination of the process of caste mobility in India. To understand how castes can better their social status. To know it as a matter of positional change and not structural change. 8.1 Introduction The caste system is one of the most unique gradational systems found only in India. It is a system of social stratification found among the followers of Hinduism. Several scholars are of the opinion that the caste system has its own set of advantages and disadvantages. Membership within a caste system is based on the system of ascribed status. A member is born into a caste. For example, if a man is born as a Shudra, the person cannot change his caste in this lifetime. Several rules and regulations are imposed within the caste system-such as, rules of endogamy, on 104
NSOU CC-SO-02 105 commensality, on social intercourse and so on. The higher caste members of a caste system, tends to look down upon the lower caste members. Thus, the caste system was rigid in nature, and mobility within the caste system was largely not possible. Social mobility means the movement of one individual from one status to another. Mobility is mainly of two types- 1. Upward social mobility 2. Downward social mobility When an individual moves from one social status to another social status and with that there is the increase of respect and improvement of one's economic position in the society, it is said to be an example of upward social mobility. For example, when a bank peon is promoted as the bank manager it signifies upward mobility. In the same way, downward social mobility implies the demotion of an individual in the society; for example, if a millionaire gets bankrupt and is left with nothing, then this situation implies downward social mobility. But mobility within the caste groups was thought to be impossible as the caste status is ascribed in nature. It is due to the nature of social and cultural change that M. N Srinivas found examples of caste mobility in India. This process of caste mobility was explained by Srinivas as-Sanskritization. Sanskritization denotes such a change where the lower caste members try to change their caste status by imitating the practices followed by the upper caste members over a period of time. The lower caste members made the practices of the upper caste members as a way of life. They mainly used to imitate the practices of the dwija born caste or the twice born caste. This paved the way for social mobility among the lower caste members as there used to be a positional change of status in the society. The concept of Sanskritization was highlighted by Srinivas in

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his book named- "Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India".

He found in his study in Mysore that the lower caste members tried to uplift their caste position by following the practices of the upper caste members over a period of time. This brought about a cultural change among the lower caste members thereby raising their status in the caste hierarchy. As they followed the ideals of the Brahmins to bring about a change in their caste status, Srinivas initially termed this behaviour as-Brahminization. Scholars criticized this use of the term Brahminization, due to which Srinivas
NSOU CC-SO-02 106 changed it to Sanskritization. The term Brahminization was criticized due to several reason- i) Brahminization was a narrower term than Sanskritization. There are divisions even within the category of Brahmin; therefore, the use of the Brahminization would have confused that which Brahmin groups were being referred to. ii) Many lower caste members followed the ideals of their immediate upper caste members (who may not be Brahmins) in order to change their social status. For example, few low caste members in Mysore followed the Lingayat's way of life. The Lingayats were not Brahmins. Thus, due to these reasons, Srinivas dropped the Brahminization and instead used the term Sanskritization to denote this pattern of cultural mobility within the caste groups. Therefore,
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Srinivas
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as-"a process by which a lower caste or tribe or any other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a

higher or more often twice-born caste". 8.2

Features of Sanskritization The process of Sanskritization has the following set of characteristics:- i) Sanskritization is the process of imitating the upper castes so that they can bring about a change in their cultural and social status. The lower caste members used to suffer from various kinds of religious and social disabilities. They were marginalized from the other members of the society. It is due to this reason that they started to practice Sanskritization. ii) Sanskritization goes hand in hand with the economic and political domination of the local dominant castes. Dominant castes were those groups who had economic, political and numeric power to dominate the other members of the society. If a lower caste has these powers, then despite them being members of the lower caste, they used to dominate the other higher caste members of the society. So, on most occasions, the lower caste members followed the practices of the dominant caste in order to uplift their social status. iii) Sanskritization also occurred among those groups who were economically and politically well off but lacked the ritual ranking in the society. Thus,
NSOU CC-SO-02 107 in order to claim their high position, they used to imitate the practices of the upper caste members. This usually led them to have a higher acquisition of social power. iv) Sanskritization denotes a change in the social position of a lower caste group in the society. It does not denote a change in the hierarchical or structural position of a caste group. The lower caste group, that imitates the practices of the higher caste group, remains to be a member of the lower caste group. It is a positional change and not a structural change in the caste ladder. v) Economic development is not an essential precondition for Sanskritization to take place. Though on most occasions, development in the spheres of politics, economy, education, leadership leads to Sanskritization among the lower caste groups. But economic development in itself does not lead to Sanskritization of a group in the society. vi) Sanskritization is not only found among the Hindu lower caste groups, but it is also prevalent among the tribes in India. vii) Sanskritization implies the mobility of a group and not one specific individual or family. It is the entire group who witnesses the mobility. viii) The British rule in India has changed the picture behind Sanskritization. Previously, people used to strive for caste based mobility, but after the British rule, people started to focus on vertical mobility based on the class system instead of the caste system. ix) Achieving Sanskritization takes a few generations. Gaining the status of a higher caste group does not happen overnight. It generally takes two or three generations to take place. Sanskritization is a claim that the lower caste members make in the society. On most occasions, it wasn't accepted by the society. Therefore, Sanskritization was an essential factor among the lower caste members to change their social status. They used to follow all the regulations of the higher caste members in order to attain that positional change in the society. They adopted all kinds of sanskritic beliefs, duties and values so that their claim for mobility was accepted by the society.
NSOU CC-SO-02 108 8.3 Models of Sanskritization Sanskritization is an age old practice in India. It is followed by the lower caste members by imitating the practices of the upper caste members. Harold Gould referred to this practice of Sanskritization and claimed that it is basically a challenge that the lower caste groups have taken up to show that they are nothing less than the higher caste groups. It is the result of an age old domination and subjugation that the upper castes used to do upon the lower castes. Sanskritization used to transmit in the society with the help of a few mediums. These were known as the models of Sanskritization:- x) Cultural Model-The ranking of a caste as high or low depends on the cultural features of a caste. Practices such as wearing the sacred thread after the upanayana ceremony, abstaining from alcohol consumption, following endogamy, rejecting widow remarriage, observing all caste based restrictions, worshipping as per the code of law in Hinduism, giving reverence to Hindu mythology are a few parts of a Hindu upper caste culture. It follows several standards of purity and pollution, in order to maintain the sanctity of the Hindu cultural tradition. If any low caste group follows these do's and don'ts then they are believed to be walking on the path of Sanskritization. xi) Varna Model-The caste system follows the Chaturvarna model. There are four main varnas in Hinduism-Brahmins at the apex, followed by Kshatriya, Vaishyas and the Shudras. The lower caste groups were denied from the basic privileges of the society. They were debarred from numerous social and religious intercourses. The Varna system is thus based on the principle of honour and respect. It is due to this reason that each caste group has their own rank in the caste ladder. The wish to achieve this superior status, that the lower caste members follow the principle of Sanskritization. Thus, the varna model implies how the upper caste groups enjoy the elitist position in the society and how by following the sanskritic beliefs and values, one can achieve a positional change in the society, despite being a member of the lower varna. xii) Local Model-In the Indian society the concept of dominant caste is largely prevalent. A person can be referred to be a member of the dominant caste if he or she possesses economic power, political power and numeric power within his group. The lower caste members followed the lifestyle pattern of

NSOU CC-SO-02 109 the local dominant caste so that they can get an uplifted status in the society. They tried to improve their status by following the ideals and behaviours of the dominant caste groups. It can be said that, Sanskritization is a generation old process. It is the only way by which the lower caste members can achieve caste based mobility in the society. 8.4 Factors Promoting Sanskritization The process of Sanskritization was made popular in India due to the fact that it acted as a kind of social mobility by which the status of the lower caste members got uplifted once they were completely sanskritized. This process of Sanskritization did not occur overnight. Several factors have promoted the concept of Sanskritization in India. A few such factors are noted below- Firstly, developed means of communication led to the spread of Sanskritization. People in the remotest part of the country got to know about this process of social mobility. They thereby applied this process in their day to day lives in order to be sanskritized in the process. Secondly, spread of literacy. As people started to become educated, they understood the process of Sanskritization and the benefits attached with it. They started to imitate the lifestyles of the upper caste members in such a way that after two or three generations, they were referred to be as the members from the high caste groups. In case of following the Brahmin way of life, education helped the lower caste people to read the Shastras and follow them in accordance with the Brahmins. Though the lower caste members were debarred from chanting the Mantras from the Veda but they were allowed to follow the social practices of the upper caste groups. Though, the factors promoting Sanskritization are not mentioned in the Hindu law books but the changes in the social structure and the attitude of the people towards it have led to the growing awareness about this concept. It is one gateway for the people to raise their social status so that the long lived discrimination and marginalization comes to a halt for a specific period of time. 8.5 Factors Affecting Sanskritization Sanskritization denotes caste mobility since time unknown. There are several social factors which affect the process of Sanskritization. A few such factors are
NSOU CC-SO-02 110 as follows- i) Industrialization-this has promoted class based division in the society. People started to favor the achieved status more than the ascribed status of caste. The members of the dominant caste too started getting involved with the forces of industrialization. Thus, people started to fight over class division than one's caste division. This led to the formation of the concept of occupational mobility than caste based mobility. ii) Improved means of communication-Increasing interaction among the people led to the wide exchange of ideas which thereby made the people to focus on class based mobility than caste based mobility. Fight for gaining a better ritual ranking was taken over by vertical mobility on economic level. iii) Spread of education-Education opened the inner eye of the people. They realized that fight to gain a better status in the caste hierarchy is futile, rather better class position can give them an international standard. The new generations realized that caste mobility was not the call of the day. iv) Urbanization-Along with industrialization, urbanization is one such factor which affected the spread of Sanskritization in the modern society. Urbanization implied the movement of the people from rural areas to upper areas in search of better livelihood opportunities. In the urban society, people get influenced by western ideals and values, which thereby leads them to forget about caste based hierarchy. Urbanization influences people to strive for class based mobility rather than caste based mobility in the social system. v) Influence of Westernization-After the advent of the British rule in India, Indians were influenced by the pattern of Westernization. Srinivas defined westernization as "

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the changes in technology, institutions, ideology and values of a non-western society as a result of cultural contact with the western society for a long period".

This contact with the western thought pattern, affected the rigidity of the Indian caste system. People realized the importance of class based social ranking more than caste based social rankings. Therefore, all these aforementioned factors affected the functioning of Sanskritization in India. As the caste system is unique to India, thereby, majority of the Hindu groups in rural and urban areas claimed to go with the flow and start adopting western principles to change their life. The westerners have become the new reference group NSOU CC-SO-02 111 of the Indians. It is no longer the Brahmins or the dominant caste that people largely want to imitate to gain a higher social status. Though, the percentage is much smaller in number but change towards that path has already begun. 8.6 Merits of Sanskritization Several scholars have put forward their own opinion on the merits and demerits of Sanskritization in the society. Eminent figures like Swami Vivekananda propagated the merits of the caste system, similarly there are a few merits in relation to the concept of Sanskritization in India. They are: i) The idea of Sanskritization is not restricted to the Brahmins only. It can include any higher caste groups. ii) There is no harm attached to the concept of Sanskritization. It is a way of life. It is a way by which the lower caste groups imitate the daily life practices of the upper caste groups, which involves no harm to anybody. iii) The only agenda behind following the concept of Sanskritization is to achieve a higher social status. It assimilates the people as one large social group. iv) The idea of Sanskritization is one way of protesting against the traditional caste based division in the society. Traditionally, the higher and lower caste groups were segregated from one another. The higher castes used to dominate the lower caste members in various ways. Sanskritization makes the lower caste members to imitate the practices of the upper caste members by which this traditional segregation comes to a halt. v) M.N Srinivas pointed out that Sanskritization reduces the widening gap between the secular and ritual ranking. Due to the rising concept of the dominant caste secular ranking took over the concept of ritual ranking. For example, if a lower caste member becomes the dominant caste of the area in terms of gaining political, economical and numerical power, then the ritual ranking ceases to exist in that area and secular ranking takes it over. Therefore, for every concept that exists in the society, there also exist its hidden reasons to spread among the people. Without certain merits of a system, the concept would not have existed at the first place.

NSOU CC-SO-02 112 8.7 The Critique of Sanskritization M. N Srinivas introduced the concept of Sanskritization in the academic world, which was regarded as one of the most significant contribution in this field. He wanted to pint out how mobility within the caste system is creating a social change in the rural areas. Apart from the merits of the concept, there are several demerits that have been pointed out by various scholars. A few such criticisms are noted below: i) J. F Stall claimed that there is confusion with the term 'Sankritization', as its relation with Sanskrit is not quite clear. ii) Yogendra Singh pointed out that Sanskritization has failed to be an umbrella concept that is, it did not take into account the aspects related to cultural change both in the past and in the present. He also opined that this concept neglects the non-sanskritic traditions. iii) Sanskritization was not a universal concept in India. Not all caste groups followed the concept of Sanskritization. In few parts of India, people imitated members from other religions who used to hold power and authority in the society. This was not mentioned by Srinivas in his theory. iv) In most of the cases, people followed the concept of Sanskritization as a way of protesting against the socio-economic deprivations by the upper caste members. Sanskritization was equivalent to a challenge to fight against the oppression of the lower caste members against the upper caste members. This basically leads to inter-caste hostility in the society. v) Sanskritization highlights hierarchy in the society. As if, the lower caste groups must imitate the upper caste groups to create a mark in the society. It looks upon the cultural practices of the lower caste groups in a negative light. Therefore, there were a few fallacies in Srinivas' concept of Sanskritization. He failed to point out whether it is the Sanskritized families who face caste mobility or the entire lower caste group attains the mobility. Besides all the criticism leveled against the concept, it can be rightly said that no one else before Srinivas, highlighted the concept of caste- based mobility among the people. The Indian caste system is thought to be a rigid one where no sign of mobility was noticed whatsoever. NSOU CC-SO-02 113 Srinivas made an effort to bring out this concept and discuss it within the sociological parlance. 8.8 Summary It can be concluded by mentioning that M. N Srinivas tried to explain the concept of cultural change in the caste lines. He wanted to point out that how this concept of caste based mobility is bringing a change in the Indian social structure. New forces of westernization, modernization are also affecting the Indian cultural pattern due to the advent of the British rule in India. But these new forces of social change did not change the overall traditional concept of the caste system. The rigidity of the system must have lessened due to ongoing social changes, but the system per se still continues to exist in the society. Did you know? a) Caste has an impact on the economic mobility of India. It is due to the reason that occupational and spatial mobility has largely been the result of the Indian caste system. b) In most parts of northern India, especially in places like Punjab, Islamic traditions were considered to be the basis for cultural imitation. People did not follow the upper caste members to sanskritize. c) D N Majumdar notes in his study of the Mohan village in Uttar Pradesh that if a lower caste member such as a cobbler wears a tilak or bibhuti on his forehead and wears a dhoti, then he is not regarded as a member from the higher caste in this village. Thus, Sanskritization is not universal in India. 8.9 Model Questions A. Answer briefly. (5 Marks) i) How do you differentiate between Sanskritization and Brahminization? ii) Give two examples of Sanskritization in the Indian Village System. iii) Give a critical review of the caste system in India? iv) Define Sanskritization. NSOU CC-SO-02 114 v) What is Westernization? vi) List down a few factors which led to the promotion of Sanskritization in the Indian society. B. Answer in detail. (10 Marks) i) Write a note on the concept of Sanskritization with relevant examples. ii) Point out the features of Sanskritization. iii) List the advantages and disadvantages of the concept of Sanskritization, with proper examples. 8.10 References and Suggested Readings Ahuja, R 1993. Indian Social System. Rawat Publications. New Delhi. Jayapalan, N 2001. Indian Society and Social Institutions. Vol II. Atlantic Publishers and Drishti. Mandelbaum G. D. 2016. Society in India: Contunuity and Change and Change and Continuity. Popular Prakashan. Bombay.

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NSOU CC-SO-02 115 Module III Socal Groups in India: Urban, Rural & Tribal (I)
Unit 9 Agrarian Classes Structure 9.0 Objectives 9.1 Introduction 9.2 Indian Agrarian Structure 9.3 Nature of Agrarian classes in India 9.4 Land Reforms in India 9.4.1 Historical Review of Land Reform in India 9.4.2 The Main Objectives of Land Reform in India 9.4.2.1 Tenancy System of Land 9.4.3 Impact of Land Reforms in India 9.5 Globalization and Crisis in Indian Agriculture 9.6 Important Peasant Movements in India 9.6.1 Telengana movement 9.6.2 Patiala Muzara Movement 9.6.3 Naxalbari Movement of West Bengal 9.6.4 New Farmers' Movement 9.7 Summary 9.8 Model Questions 9.9 References and Suggested Readings 9.0 Objectives The objective of this unit is to examine and understand The structure of Indian agrarian system The nature of agrarian classes. 117

NSOU CC-SO-02 118 The nature and purpose of land reform in India. Impact of globalization on agriculture. 9.1 Introduction India is one of the most complex countries socially. It has a continuity of history and culture which extends back to millennium. India next to China is the world's most populous country. According to the 1951 Census, it has a population of 35,68,29,485 humans. (Desai,2000.pp.l06). Majority of the Indian population lives in rural areas. Out of 35.7 crores of people living in India, 29.5 crores or 82.7% lives in Indian villages. Agriculture is the main occupation of these people. There studying the Agrarian class structure become significant from Sociological point of view. Without understanding their structure, culture and lifestyle the total overview of the country will remain unclear. The rural class structure reveals that how the agrarian India has founded on a balanced self sufficient village economy on the basis of equilibrium and artisan industry. These functions with the help of the village panchayat, caste councils and joint family till the advent of the British rule. The British rule has brought about many qualitative changes and transformations in the rural setting. A.R.Desai points out that the available land per capita is only 9 acres. This highlights an enormous pressure of population on land. New class of creditors and traders were in a rise in the underdeveloped village economy which was changing from the production of subsistence to that of market. However after the British rule structure underwent enormous changes. A.R. Desai gives a picture of the rural class structure after the withdrawal of the British rule from the country. The structure is as follows - Agricultural Landowners - 22.2% Agricultural Tenants - 27.2% Agricultural Labourers - 30.4% Non-Agriculturist - 20.2% (Desai, 2000.) 9.2 Indian Agrarian Structure India is a land of soils. Majority of the people are associated with it. Daniel
NSOU CC-SO-02 119 Thorner aimed to describe and analyse the network of relationship among the various groups of persons who draw their livelihood from the soil. The consequences of such patterns of relationships are important for the analysis of the economy of the country as a whole. Thorner has attempted to reduce the social arrangements on land in different parts of India, into well-defined, precise categories on the basis of three following criterions. 1. Type of income obtained from soil - a)

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Rent b) Fruits of own income c) Wages. 2. Nature of Rights - a) Proprietary or Ownership b) Tenancy c) No right at all. 3. The extent of field work actually performed

a) Absentee, who does not

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work at all. b) Those who perform partial work. c) Total work done

by actual cultivators with family labourers. d) Where work is done entirely for others to earn wages. (Thorner, 1956.) Dhangare has put forward Thorners model of the Agrarian class structure in India, as follows- I. Malik -

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whose income is derived primarily from property rights in the soil and those common interests is to keep the level of rent up while keeping the wage level

low. The rent is collected from the tenants, subtenants and the share croppers. Introduction: India is one of the most complex countries socially. It has a continuity of history and culture which extends back to millennium. India next to China is the world's most populous country. According to the 1951 Census, it has a population of 35,68,29,485 humans. (Desai,2000.pp.106). Majority of the Indian population
NSOU CC-SO-02 120 lives in rural areas. Out of 35.7 crores of people living in India, 29.5 crores or 82.7 % lives in Indian villages. Agriculture is the main occupation of these people. There studying the Agrarian class structure become significant from Sociological point of view. Without understanding their structure, culture and lifestyle the total overview of the country will remain unclear. The rural class structure reveals that how the agrarian India has founded on a balanced self sufficient village economy on the basis of equilibrium and artisan industry. These functions with the help of the village panchayat, caste councils and joint family till the advent of the British rule. The British rule has brought about many qualitative changes and transformations in the rural setting. A.R.Desai points out that the available land per capita is only 9 acres. This highlights an enormous pressure of population on land. New class of creditors and traders were in a rise in the underdeveloped village economy which was changing from the production of subsistence to that of market. However after the British rule structure underwent enormous changes. A.R. Desai gives a picture of the rural class structure after the withdrawal of the British rule from the country. The structure is as follows - Agricultural Landowners - 22.2% Agricultural Tenants - 27.2% Agricultural Labourers - 30.4% a) Big Landlords - holds large tracts of land extending over several villages. They are generally absentee owners or renters with absolutely no interest to

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land management or improvement. b) Rich Landlords - proprietors with considerable holdings but usually in same

villages. They don't perform any field work but engage in supervising cultivation and takes personal interest in the improvement or management of land when and if necessary. II. Kisans - working peasants, having property interest in the land but no actual rights as those of their maliks.

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a) Small Landowners - having holdings sufficient to support a family,

who cultivate land with family labour and who do not either employee outside labour (accept in harvest) or receive rent.
NSOU CC-SO-02 121 b) Substantial Tenants - tenants holding leases under either Ia or Ib tenure rights fairly secure, usually above sufficient level. The rest is IIa. III. Mazdurs - this group generally belongs to those whose earnings are primarily from working on others' land or others' plots. a) Poor Tenants - having tenancy rights but less secure, holdings too small to suffice for a family maintenance and income derived from land often less than that earned by wage labours. b) Share Croppers - either tenant at will leases without security, cultivating land for others on share cropping basis and having least agricultural implements. c) Landless Labourers - those without land. (Edi.Gupta.2012.PP 271-272). 9.3 Nature of the Agrarian Classes in India Roughly there are three principal groups who are termed as proprietors, working peasants and labourers or popularly the malik, kisan and mazdur. Daniel Thorner has discussed the nature of each of these classes and their sub groups. Malik - Malik or proprietors are those groups of people whose agricultural income are derived primarily from property rights from the soil. The family members may have other form of income but the main source of income would be share of produce from agriculture. Typically this share is generated from rent. Usually the rent is in the form of money but it may also be in the form of kind if the tenants are on crop sharing basis. The proprietor always does not rent his land he may also sometimes hire labourers to work for him. He may also sometimes hire a manager to look at the labourers or do by himself. However he will enjoy the status of being a malik if the rent collected from land is more than that of what he himself produce. The malik generally enjoys a high property right inn the soil however this may always not be the case. He may hold directly under the government or may be a superior tenant. Within this group there are two sub groups - (i) Large Absentee Landlords - who typically have holdings in more than one village. (ii)Smaller Proprietor - who resides personally in the village, in which they hold land. Socially, the resident maliks and money lenders form a small and quite distinctive
NSOU CC-SO-02 122 group, within the village. They typically belong to the upper class structure, mainly Brahmins and Thakurs. They live in big houses, wear fine clothes and eat better than the entire villagers. They use all luxuries which are beyond the compass of the debt ridden Kisans. 9.4. Land Reform in India As the Indian Agrarian Structure is based on land, it is important to have a look at the major land reforms, brought it by the British rule as it has a enormous impact on the present Agrarian structure of the country. Land reforms is often connected with re-distribution of agricultural land and hence it is related with agrarian reforms too. In India, there was a practice of land holdings from historic times and it was distributed in a highly unequal manner and have always been used as a source of social power. To get secure access to land for the poor and landless, policies of land reform were implemented to benefit poorer section of society since independence. After that a number of land reforms have been done by the government such as abolition of 'Zamindari' or middlemen as revenue collectors, imposing ceiling on landholdings and awarding of the surplus land's rights to landless, and tenancy reforms (Mearns, 1998). Land reform is described as redistribution of land from the rich to the poor. More broadly, it comprises of regulation of ownership, operation, leasing, sales, and inheritance of land (indeed, the redistribution of land itself requires legal changes). In an agricultural economy such as India with great dearth, and an unequal distribution, of land, coupled with a large mass of the rural population below the poverty line, there are enthralling financial and political opinions for land reform. Purpose of land reforms is efficient use of scarce land resource, redistributing agricultural land in favour of the less privileged class in general & cultivating class in particular. 9.4.1. Historical Review of Land Reforms in India: Land program in post- Independence India has evolved through different phases. During the Mughal period, before the arrival of the British there were numerous changes in the system of land taxation or revenue. Peasants continued to enjoy customary rights over land they occupied and generally could not be evicted unless they failed to pay the required land revenue (land tax) to the state. The task of collecting land revenue was assigned to a class of agents called zamindars (Bhaumik, 1993).

NSOU CC-SO-02 123 When the East India Company (EIC) established in the Seventeenth Century, the agricultural structure underwent fundamental change. The EIC first purchased the right to receive the collected land revenue and later, under the Permanent Settlement introduced in 1793, declared the Zamindars to be proprietors of land in exchange for the payment of land revenue fixed in perpetuity. Zamindars, or those to whom they sold their proprietary rights, typically delegated revenue collection to a series of middlemen. The increasing layers of intermediaries meant that there was considerable increase in rent extracted from the tillers and failure to pay this increased amount resulted in large-scale evictions, widespread disturbance, and declining agricultural production (Bhaumik, 1993). The British sought to stabilize the situation through legislated tenancy reform. The Bengal Rent Act of 1859 placed restrictions on the power of landlords' to increase rent or evict tenants. However, the Act only protected fixed-rent tenants and did not protect bargadars or agricultural labourers. But it only protected those fixed-rent tenants who could prove they had cultivated the land for 12 consecutive years. Constant cultivation was difficult to prove due to poor records and the Act resulted in an increase in evictions by Zamindars to prevent tenants from possessing land for the required time period (Bhaumik, 1993). The 1885 Bengal Tenancy Act also sought to protect long-standing tenants, and was similarly ineffective. During this period, another form of landholder emerged in Bengal. The Jotedars were a rich class of peasants who reclaimed and gained control of large quantities of uncultivated forests and wetlands outside the territory governed by the Permanent Settlement (Bhaumik, 1993). The Jotedars refined some of this land through the direct supervision of hired labour or servants. Nevertheless, the bulk of the Jotedars' land, like much of the land in Bengal, was cultivated by Bargadars. Rural tensions over the dilemma of Bargadars were common in the decades prior to and after Independence. In the 1940s, the Tebhaga movement called for a smaller crop share payment and also created the slogan, "He who tills the land, owns the land." The movement is given credit for shaping post-Independence land reform legislation in West Bengal (Datta, 1988). At the time of Independence, this matter was of great significance. In the decades following independence India passed a significant body of land reform legislation. The 1949 Constitution left the adoption and implementation of land and tenancy reforms to state governments. This led to a lot of dissimilarity in the implementation of these reforms across
NSOU CC-SO-02 124 states and over time. After India's independence, the government took major step to eradicate the systems of zamindaris and Jagirdari, to remove intermediaries between state and peasant. This was the first legislature taken by almost all the states called as Abolition of Jamindari / Jagirdari systems Act. 9.4.2 The Main Objectives of the Land Reforms: These are as follows - 1. To make redistribution of Land to make a socialistic pattern of society. Such an effort will reduce the inequalities in ownership of land. 2. To ensure land ceiling and take away the surplus land to be distributed among the small and marginal farmers. 3. To legitimize tenancy with the ceiling limit. 4. To register all the tenancy with the village Panchayats. 5. To establish relation between tenancy and ceiling. 6. To remove rural poverty. 7. Proliferating socialist development to lessen social inequality 8. Empowerment of women in the traditionally male driven society. 9. To increase productivity of agriculture. 10. To see that everyone can have a right on a piece of land. 11. Protection of tribal by not allowing outsiders to take their land. Land reform legislation in India is categorized in to four main sections that include abolition of intermediaries who were rent collectors under the pre-Independence land revenue system, tenancy regulation that attempts to improve the contractual terms faced by tenants, including crop shares and security of tenure, a ceiling on landholdings with a view to redistributing surplus land to the landless and lastly, attempts to consolidate disparate landholdings. Abolition of intermediaries is generally established to be effective land reforms that has been relatively successful. The record in terms of the other components is mixed and varies across states and over time. Landowners naturally resisted the implementation of these reforms by directly using their political influence and also
NSOU CC-SO-02 125 by using various methods of evasion and coercion, which included registering their own land under names of different relatives to bypass the ceiling, and shuffling tenants around different plots of land, so that they would not acquire incumbency rights as stipulated in the tenancy law. The success of land reform was driven by the political will of particular state administrations, the prominent achievers being the left-wing administrations in Kerala and West Bengal. a) Tenancy Systems of Land: At the time of independence, there existed many types of proprietary land tenures in the country. 1. Ryotwari: It was started in Madras since 1772 and was later extended to other states. Under this system, the responsibility of paying land revenue to the Government was of the cultivator himself and there was no intermediary between him and the state. The Ryot had full right regarding sale, transfer and leasing of land and could not be evicted from the land as long as he pays the land revenue. But the settlement of land revenue under Ryotwari system was done on temporary basis and was periodic after 20, 30 or 40 years. It was extended to Bombay Presidency. 2. Mahalwari: This system was initiated by William Bentinck in Agra and Oudh and was later extended to Madhya Pradesh and Punjab. Under this system, the village communities held the village lands commonly and it was joint responsibility of these communities to make payments of the land revenue. The land ownership is held as joint ownership with the village body. The land can be cultivated by tenants who can pay cash / kind / share. 3. Zamindari: Lord Cornwallis gave birth to Zamindari system in India. He introduced this system for the first time in 1793 in West Bengal and was later adopted in other states as well. Under this system, the land was held by a person who was responsible for the payment of land revenue. They could obtain the land mostly free of charge from the government during the British rule and it is called estate. Landlords never cultivated the land they owned and rented them out to the cultivators. The amount of land revenue may either be fixed once one for all when it was called permanent settlement or settlement with regard to land revenue may only be temporary and

NSOU CC-SO-02 126 may, therefore, be revised after every 30-40 years, as the practice may be. The Zamindari system is known as absentee landlordism. Under this system the whole village was under one landlord. The persons interested can work in the zamindar's land as tenant / labourer based on the agreement with the zamindar. The zamindari system was known to be more exploitive, as the zaminder used to fix / hike the prices of land according to his desire. 4. Jagirdari: It is similar to zamindari system. The jagirdar is powered to control the unproductive masses of village by engaging them in agricultural activities. Because land is controlled by state in India and the relationship between production and land tenure varies from state to state, the national policy recommendations resulted in differing tenancy reform laws in each state. Tenancy is completely banned in some states but completely free in others. Punjab and Haryana have not forbidden tenancy whereas Karnataka has a near complete ban on tenancy. Some states have discussed ownership rights on tenant cultivators except for sharecroppers, whereas West Bengal chose to provide owner- like rights only to the sharecroppers. Tenancy reforms may have indirect effects in the form of reduced tenancy shares if poorly implemented. Most tenancy reform laws also contained provisions concerning the ability of tenants to surrender the land back to the landlord voluntarily. These provisions were used by landlords to wane the impact of the laws. In most states the surrender of land falls under the jurisdiction of the revenue authorities. 9.4.3 Impact of Land Reform in India: Following ere the outcomes of Land Reforms in India. 1. Abolition of Zamindars and Jagirdars: The powerful Zamindars and Jagirdars have become inexistent. The abolition of intermediaries has stopped exploitation. Transfer of land to peasants from intermediaries has reduced disparities. The new proprietorship has given scope for innovation in Land Reforms. The ex-jagirdars and ex-zamindars have engaged themselves actively in other work thus contributing for National Growth.

NSOU CC-SO-02 127 The abolishment of these systems has increased to the new land owners thus adding revenue to the state governments. 2. Land Ceiling: Land is a source of Income in rural India land and it provides employment opportunities. Therefore it is important for the marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, and small farmers. The concept 'ceiling on land holdings' denotes to the legally stipulated maximum size beyond which no individual farmer or farm household can hold any land. The objective of such ceiling is to promote economic growth with social justice. Land Ceiling should be imposed on all kinds of lands such as Fallow, Uncultivable, irrigated and Cultivable land. All the mentioned are inclusive of ceiling Act. The ceiling act varies from state to state on ceiling on two crops a year land. However in most of the places the ceiling is 18 Acres. 3. Land possession and social power: It is observed that the land is not only the source of production but also for generating power in the community. In the Indian system, the land is often transferred from one generation to another generation. However all this lack the documentation of possession of land. In this framework, the government had made it mandatory to register all tenancy arrangements. To summarize, Land reform is the major step of government to assist people living under adverse conditions. It is basically redistribution of land from those who have excess of land to those who do not possess with the objective of increasing the income and bargaining power of the rural poor. The purpose of land reform is to help weaker section of society and do justice in land distribution. Government land policies are implemented to make more rational use of the scarce land resources by affecting conditions of holdings, imposing ceilings and grounds on holdings so that cultivation can be done in the most economical manner. 9.5 Globalisation and Crisis in Indian Agriculture The structural adjustment programme and WTO trade regime in the decade of the 90s, have brought about a new crisis of rural livelihoods. The new economic regime, in a way, has taken us back to the colonial era, where the process of surplus accumulation and utilisation is once again to be mediated by metropolitan capital. a) Withdrawal of State : The state withdrew from its earlier declared role of intervening in the market processes to protect economic space of domestic producers

NSOU CC-SO-02 128 and among them that of small producers and weaker sections. The elaborate structure of controls on domestic and international trade and on investment has been dismantled rapidly. The Essential Commodity Act, Agricultural Produce Marketing Act and Small Scale Industry Reservation Act, restricting movement, storage, marketing and processing of agricultural produce have been modified. The multinationals and big domestic units are now allowed to enter into these activities. Exim policy in the post-liberalisation period has removed import controls on agricultural commodities rapidly - sometimes much ahead of WTO stipulated phase out period. Trade liberalisation has taken place in the background of extremely unfavourable global market conditions for primary commodities. The prices of all primary commodities (including wheat and rice) have fallen dramatically since mid 90s. Falling prices of primary products in US dollars (USD per ton.) Commodity 1988 1995 1997 1999 2001 Wheat (US HW) 167.0 216.0 142.0 - 133.0 Rice (US) 265.7 - 439.0 - 291.0 Cotton (US cents per lb) 63.5 98.2 77.5 - 49.1 Groundnut Oil 590.0 991.0 1010.0 788.0 - Palm Oil 437.0 626.0 93.5 74.7 - Soya bean Oil 464.0 479.0 625.0 71.4 - Soya bean Seeds 297.0 273.0 262.0 - 178.0 Source: Utna Patnaik Agrarian Crisis and Global Deflationism Social Scientist Jan.-Feb. 2002 The infrastructure facilities provided by the government are on the decline. A number of minor and medium size irrigation network projects are left incomplete, not because they are controversial but because of paucity of funds. The last decade saw the privatisation of power sector and the agenda for the coming decade is to privatise water. The ramifications for Indian agriculture will be wide spread. It may shatter the viability of even medium level farmers. The changed priority of the banking sector has slashed down the direct advances to agriculture made by commercial as well as cooperative banks. Schemes to facilitate

NSOU CC-SO-02 129 the credit needs of small and marginal farmers are completely eroded. This has led to an aggressive growth of informal credit markets. Apart from traditional moneylenders, traders of new technology, inputs and equipments have entered these markets. Fertilizer subsidies have been cut down in annual budget exercises and the government has handed over the task of providing seeds to the multinationals and private companies. Finally, in the current parlance the term 'land reform' is being used for advocating removal of land ceiling and tenancy regulations. This would allow the corporate sector to enter into direct farm operations. The big farmers would be able to negotiate profitable deals with the corporate sector and MNCs. Some states like Maharashtra and Karnataka have made significant moves in this direction. b) Entrenchment of Corporate Sector (MNCs) into Indian Agriculture The most fundamental shift in the structure of international political economy of food has been the emergence of transnational agro-food corporations, attempting to organise the production and consumption in national economics geared to their investment and marketing goals. In India, the corporate sector has been prevented from entering direct farm production because of the land ceiling laws. The low ceiling limits do not allow scale intensive farming in which companies are interested. Only the plantation sector has been exempted from the land ceiling regulations. Capitalist farms controlled by foreign companies have existed in this sector since before independence. The average size of large farms in Assam is 88.80 hectares and in Kerala 59.33 hectares. Under the new definition of 'land reform' there is an increasing pressure to allow companies to undertake direct farm production especially in the areas of horticulture, floriculture and agro-forestry. The demand is to substantially extend the land ceiling limit or to remove it altogether. As already mentioned many state governments are prepared to concede this demand. Maharashtra government has already taken the initiative to grant exemption in landholding act to trusts, companies and cooperatives for horticulture purposes, Fallow, waste or khar lands can be purchased by such entities and land under cultivation can be taken on lease. The farm size can be large as 1000 acres. In the meanwhile companies have been acquiring vast tracts of land in Orissa and Southern states for aquaculture. A large number of small and marginal farmers
NSOU CC-SO-02 130 have been uprooted in this process. Several companies are entering agro forestry (teak-planting) circumventing the land ceiling regulations. They buy the land and allot it to individuals on payment of substantial sums and in turn promise them attractive returns. However, the design of agribusiness to control the surplus of the farm sector is far more ambitious than what can be achieved through direct farm cultivation. Agribusiness is fast acquiring control on the input and output flows of the farm sector with the acquiescence of Indian state. The design is to alter the land use pattern geared to their profit interests. The agrarian transition under the state led industrialisation of Indian economy reached an impasse. Concentration of resources both in agriculture and industry led to an industrial growth where space for labour was scarce. Agriculture obliged by containing the unskilled and marginalised mass of workforce within itself. In the 21st century the neo-liberal global regime has brought about inexorable changes world over. The global circuits of production, exchange and finance have qualitatively changed the functioning of national economies. The agrarian question in India is now being resolved in its own ruthless manner by the globalisation process. The increasing control of agribusiness over input and output flows of agriculture will necessarily result in a massive debouching workforce from this sector. Such a trend is already discernable. The workforce, debouched from agriculture, just does not have space outside. Manufacturing and service sector together are quite incapable of accommodating it. The situation admits no other solution but a radical restructuring of the entire production base. For those of us, who owe allegiance to an equitable society ensuring dignified human existence, the 'agrarian question' can then be looked at only in its first layer of meaning - namely to seek the support of uprooted peasantry for overthrowing the existing regime. The trend of agrarian unrest in India can be traced to the period of British rule when the nationalist mass movements took place on a fairly large scale in 1920- 22 and 1930-34. The movement in the 1930s was the result of the economic depression caused by World Weir II which worsened the conditions of the peasants in India. The
NSOU CC-SO-02 131 peasants and workers were actively involved in the struggle for independence during the Civil Disobedience Movement and also due to the emergence of the Left. The first All-India Kisan Sabha was set up in 1936 under the leadership of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati. The period between 1945-47 saw a steep increase in agrarian movements mainly due to the expectations from independence and the dreams of changes in agrarian relations. During the post-independence period, agrarian unrest of various types have taken place, ranging from the legendary Telengana movement and the PEPSU tenant movement to the Naxalite movement. Other lesser known struggles are the Kharwar tribal movement in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar during 1957-58, the Bhil movement in Dhulia (Maharashtra) during 1967-75, the Warlis movement under the leadership of Kashtakad Sangathana headed by Marxist Jesuit Pradeep Prabhu since 1978. The Communist Party of India set up the Bharatiya Khet Mazdoor Union in 1968. 9.6 Important Peasant Movements in India Some of the well-known peasant movements in post-independent India are discussed below. 9.6.1 Telengana Movement: The Telengana peasant movement was strongly associated with the emergence of Communists in Andhra Pradesh in 1942 after the ruling British government lifted the ban on the Communist Party of India because of its pro-war stand. The cause of unrest was rooted in the feudal oppression which the peasants had to suffer at the hands of jagirdars and deshmukhs. The Communists organised the farmers against the British policy of forced grain levy collection. Gradually, the movement started spreading all over Telengana. The Communists achieved greater success when the Nizam of Hyderabad endorsed the decision to stay out of the Indian Union; the Communists organised the anti- Nizam and pro-integration movement in the Warangal, Nalgonda and Khammam districts. It was in this period that the lands taken over by landlords in lieu of debt repayments, during the economic depression of the thirties, were redistributed among farmers.

NSOU CC-SO-02 132 The uncultivated land and forests owned by the government were also distributed to the landless. Minimum wages were increased, and measures were taken against social ills like wife-beating. Even after the success of the armed intervention by the Nehru government against the Nizam, the Communists did not give up their anti- government stance. A bitter confrontation took place between the peasants led by the Communists and the government in which the peasants were subjugated. However, the government responded to the issues raised by the movement. The Jagirdari Abolition Regulation was abandoned in 1949 and the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act was passed in 1950. More than 6,00,000 tenants occupying over one-quarter of the agricultural land were declared 'protected' tenants with the right to purchase land on easy conditions. As a consequence of the movement, land reforms were well implemented in the Telengana region. 9.6.2 Patiala Muzara Movement: The Muzara movement had its origin in the late 19th century, when the princely state of Patiala suffered oppression by the Maharaja of Patiala. The biswedars (local landlords) enjoyed proprieta ry rights on land but the tenants felt these landlords had no legitimate right to the land. The grievance of the tenant found an outlet in the movements such as the Akali and Praja Mandal movements during the 1920s. During the 1930s, a somewhat liberal atmosphere enabled the Congress party to gain hold in many provinces. By then, the Communists were actively involved with the movement from British-ruled Punjab and soon they became the nerve centre of the Muzara movement. By the end of 1948, small armed groups, each comprising 30 to 40 people, used to protect muzaras against the onslaught of the landlords. With the formation of the Congress ministry in 1951, there was a fresh wave of political resurgence. The Agrarian Reforms Enquiry Committee was set up to recommend measures to tackle the issue. The PEPSU Tenancy (Temporary Provision) Act was formulated in 1952 which sought to protect tenants against eviction. After the fall of Rarewala's Congress ministry, President's Rule was imposed. The President issued the PEPSU Occupancy Tenants (Vesting of Proprietary Rights) Act in 1953. The Act enabled the peasants to become owners provided they paid compensation twelve times the land revenue. The Communists condemned the
NSOU CC-SO-02 133 legislation since the lands owned by biswedars were not confiscated without compensation. The Communists, however, gradually lost their complete hold over the peasants. 9.6.3 Naxalbari Movement of West Bengal: After the formation of the first non-Congress United Front government in West Bengal in 1967, the government decided to distribute surplus land among the landless peasants. The initiative raised enthusiasm among the poor whereas the middle and small land owners were not happy that their land would be distributed among sharecroppers. But soon the ruling coalition faced some legal constraints in the grant of pattas, verification of claims, etc. The Communists belonging to Darjeeling district in North Bengal had been organising sharecroppers and tea estate labourers-mostly Santhals, Oraons and Rajbanshi tribals-since the early 1950s. They now argued that land reform was not possible through legal means, so they believed in seizing land through violent means. All the villages of Naxalbari came under their umbrella in 1967, and about 20,000 peasants became full time activists under the leadership of Charu Majumdar. Most of the leaders of the movement belonged to dissident groups differing from the ruling Communists. The differences between Communists and Naxalites (as they came to be known) grew at an alarming pace. Clashes took place between the Naxalite elements and the police. The Communist Party Marxist (CPM) left the ruling coalition and pursued a mediator's role by endorsing the Naxalites and persuading the UF government for an amicable settlement. However, continued police repression led to the end of the Naxalbari movement; all the leaders were either shot down in encounters or jailed. 9.6.4 New Farmers' Movement: A fresh farmers' movement started in 1980 with road-rail roko in Nasik (Maharashtra) under the leadership of the Shetkari Sangathan led by Sharad Joshi. The immediate demand of the farmers was higher prices for sugarcane and onions. Then came Mahinder Singh Tikait, a Jat leader, who organised lakhs of villagers and compelled the then chief minister of Uttar Pradesh to accept their demand for reducing electricity charges to the previous level. The movements which have been able to mobilise rural peasants were Vivasayigal
NSOU CC-SO-02 134 Sangam in Tamil Nadu, the Rajya Ryothu Sangha in Karnataka, Kisan Sangh and Khedut Samaj in Gujarat, and the Bharatiya Kisan Union in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. Most of these peasant movements occurred due to the government policy of paying low agricultural prices for controlling the price of food and raw- materials. As a result the farmers felt victimised in the cause of serving urban interests. The new farmers' movements have attracted media attention on some glaring issues such as remunerative prices for agricultural goods, reduction or elimination of government dues such as electricity charges, canal water charges, interest rate, etc. Indeed, after the Green Revolution, the farmers' movements have become political weapons for securing more power and money. Although these peasant movements are branded as 'new' non-class or supra- class social movements, in reality, these new peasant movements are least interested in societal issues like educational, environmental, or gender-related problems. Most of these 'new' peasant movements have narrow caste-based mobilisation for getting political mileage. 9.7 Summary India is known as an agricultural country since about70% of its population is involved in different types of farming or related activities. The agrarian class structure is comprised of several classes like landowners, tenants, labourers and non-agriculturists. Of the labourers, a considerable section consisted of bonded labourers and marginal farmers. The Government of india has taken measures to free people from debt-bondage. Land reform has also been undertaken by some state governments. The government of West Bengal had adopted a number of measures to improve the lot of thika tenants and marginal farmers. Post -1990s, globalization has also thrown several challenges at the agrarian system in India. 9.8 Model Questions Write Short Notes on the Following. (5 Marks Each) 1. New farmer's movement. 2. Characteristics and composition of the Malik Kisan and Mazdoor. 3. Globalization and agriculture.
NSOU CC-SO-02 135 4. Naxalbari movements. 5. Main objectives of land reforms in India. 6. How are peasant movements different from that of the agrarian movements. Long Questions: (10 Marks Each) 1. Explain the nature if Agrarian class structure of India. 2. Explain the various Indian Agrarian Movements. 3. Explain the nature of land reforms in India and point out its impact on the agrarian class structure of India. 4. Explain Telengana movement as an Agrarian unrest. 5. Explain the impact of globalization on the agrarian class structure of India. 9.9 References and Suggested Readings Ahuja Ram.2017. Society in India.Rawat Publication. New Delhi India. Ahuja Ram.2013. Indian Social System. Rawat Publication. New Delhi. India Desai A.R. 2000. Agrarian Struggles in India 5th ed. (Introduction). Mehra Offset press.India Desai A.R, 1991. The Agrarian Class Structure; in D. Gupta (ed.). Social Stratification. Delhi. Oxford University Press, Dhanagare, D.N., 1991. "

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Pp. 271-275.
NSOU CC-SO-02 136 Unit 10 City and Urban Life Structure 10.0 Objectives 10.1 Introduction 10.2 The Rise of the Cities 10.3 Indian Towns and Cities 10.4 Old Capital Cities 10.4.1 Cities in Islamic Civilization 10.5 Cities and Civilization 10.6 Nature of Traditional Cities 10.7 Nature of City Life 10.8 Urbanization in India 10.8.1 Trends of Urbanization in India 10.9 Concept of Rural-Urban Continuum 10.10 Challenges of City Life 10.11 Summary 10.12 Model Questions 10.13 References and Suggested Readings 10.0 Objectives This unit will give the students some insight into : The rise and transformation of Indian towns and cities. The nature of traditional cities. Trends of urbanization in India and challenges of city life. The issues of rural-urban continuum. 136
NSOU CC-SO-02 137 10.1 Introduction A city is a place which satisfies the needs of the citizens in the best possible way through social and residential arrangements like housing, governing, protecting the society, and division of labor which helps in reaching its goals. Paul Bairoch in his book: Cities and Economic Development said that a place can be quantified as a city, in its true sense only when it supports trade systems and opportunities. As a human invention, cities are scarcely 10,000 years old, but as centuries have passed they have become both much larger and far more numerous. (Macionis and Parrillo, 2015). The Rise of the Cities : Although scattered cities such as Jericho and Catal Huyuk thrived in the period between 7000 and 4000 B.C.E, it was not until about 3500 B.C.E that urban development accelerated to a point where large numbers of cities flourished. To the east of Mesopotamia, along with Indus River of present day India and Pakistan, was a favourable are where early cities emerged. Trade routes linked the Indus cities with Mesopotamian cities through other outposts, such as Tepe Yahya, midway between the two areas. It is also likely that trading in such products as jade linked this area with Central Asia to the east. (Magee 2005). Excavations have shown the remains of two highly developed cities that were centers of a regional civilization beginning about 2500 B.C.E. Both were prominent in Urban history until about 1500 B.C.E. Mohenjo-Daro was situated on the Indus River about 175 miles from the Arabian Sea, Harappa was about 350 miles further north, on one of Indus River tributaries. Each had a population as high as 40,000 and represented an urban civilisation district in many ways. Unlike other Mesopotamia or Egypt for example Mohenjo Daro does not show evidence of a single, all powerful leader or a pre-occupation with temples and god monuments but it does show evidence of existence "good living".Manjhi Taro would have seemed familiar to a modern visitor with the same grid run pattern common to most western cities today. It's remarkable structure of mud baked bricks and burnt wood framing were up to two- storied high and included and elaborate, will built bath area with a layer of natural tar to keep it from leaking. Remarkably it even had a building with an underground furnace, like the Roman hypocausts for heating bathing. Other city- features were a central market place, a large common well, and a settle or administrative centre that may have included a granary for storage of food surplus.
NSOU CC-SO-02 138 Until the mid 20th century it was commonly thought that Mesopotamia, Egypt and the Indus Valley contain the cities from which all later once took their pattern. Archaeological research since then however showed otherwise. Apparently cities emerged in many places around the world independent of one another to other regions where this occurred where China and America. 10.3 Indian Towns and Cities While there has been no obvious cultural link between the Indus cities and the contemporary ones, there is some continuity between the Indo-Aryan cities and the present day cities. In the Vastu Shastra, The signs of town planning a differentiation is made between several kinds of towns according to their main functions such as trade, commerce, manufacturing, administration and military marches (DUTT, 1924, pp.272-85). A Nagara was an ordinary fortified town where inland trade was an important activity, whereas at Pattana was a large commercial port situated on the bank of a river or sea. It was a city of trading castes, the Vaishyas, and was replete with jewels, wealth, silk, perfume and other articles. Drona Mukhi was also a market town lying on the delta of a river or sea shore, frequented by traders. It was also a small marketing centre in the midst of 400 villages. Kheta was a small walled town situated on the plain, near a river or a forest, lying in the midst of villages and having facilities of communication. If a Kheta was combined with local industries such as mining, it was known as Sakhanagara. Kharvata was similar Kheta but was and inland town lying in the midst of above 200 villages. Nee Gama was also a market town but mainly consisting of artisans. It was also a resting place for traders and caravans. Thus it is seen that the different kinds of towns where organised around both inland and marine trade and commerce. The Royal capital Rajdhani was another distinct type of town which was elaborately planned. It had a belt of walls and ramparts circumscribed by ditches and military outposts. Within the Metropolis, separate places where assigned to the palace, Royal officers, the Army, citizens quarters and shops. It had tanks, Wells, Gardens, temples, taverans, and brothels. Durga was a fortified town equipped with an Arsenal and well stored it with food stuff. It was both a seat of chiefs and Kings and a military town. Several military encampments were also distinguished. Thus Sivira was the encampment of a king's army out on a conquest. Senamukha was a military base which was also a serve urban town, a little away from the main city and guarding it. Shaniya was a local fortified town which was the seat of the king with garrison and police. It was not however a permanent capital.

NSOU CC-SO-02 139 Another type of town was organised around education, the university town, called Martha or Vihara, consisting of students and teachers. The town was defended from external attacks and the food supplies where insured. A classic example of a university town was Nalanda which was developed, During Harsha's rule, as the centre of Buddhist learning and educational activities (Puri, 1966, PP. 52-56). The Monks numbered several thousands. The city had symmetrical rows of Monasteries. It had a large campus with lecture halls and residential quarters. Taxila was also a centre of academic traditions, although it combined various other political and commercial interest. Temple towns formed another category with their own characteristic features. They had several successive rings of circumambulatory paths to go around the central lots where the temples where are situated. A number of minors shrines where also set up in these towns temple. A temple town, such as Srirangam, Tirupati, Kashi Or Puri, was the centre of diverse cultural activities. Besides temple towns, There was sacred cities which attracted pilgrims. While somewhere all India pilgrim centers others where regional ones. The former includes Haridwar, Gaya, Nasik, Ujjain, Pushkar and Mathura. All these cities formed part of the sacred Geography of the Hindus, and derived their sacred character from the epics and mythologies. 10.4 Old Capital Cities Of all the different type of cities, the capital is where most vulnerable to extraneous forces. The rise and fall of the cities where closely connected with the political and cultural history of India. Pataliputra, according to Megasthenes, was the greatest city in India at the time of Mayuras. The area of the city was 20 square miles. The fortification had 570 towers and 460 gates. It remained the capital and Metropole is under successive dynasties for about a century and, under the Buddhist influence, it also remained a seat of learning. Ghurye estimates that its population at the time of Chandragupta was a little more than 1 million. His army alone was six lakh strong. The Hindu Gupta Dynasty had, for most of the time, its capital in Ayodhya which hardly came up to the standard of Pataliputra. The Sakas ruled from Ujjain, which was considered a religious centre by the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jains. In South India, Kanchipuram was the capital of Pallavas and the Cholas. It was the home of many different faiths - the Vaishnavites, Saivites, Jains and Buddhists. It

NSOU CC-SO-02 140 was also a set of literary and artistic development. Madura was the capital of the Pandyas. The Metropolis of Vijayanagara rose to prominence in the early years of the 15th century. Portuguese and Italian travellers have given a detailed account of this fortified city. They considered it the best provided city in the world with ample storage, gardens and orchids. 10.4.1. Cities in Islamic Civilization : To the civilisational complex, which was reflected in the urban centers, was added the Islamic civilization. This meant, among other things, the introduction of a new and different style of urbanism. The Muslims emerged as imperial rulers, and by the end of the 13th century Delhi began to develop as their administrative centers. However, Lahore surpassed Delhi in population. Delhi remained the capital for rulers of many Muslim dynasties in the 17th century it had a population of above half 1 million. During the Muslim period cities of Delhi had been built. While Qutub-UD-DIN built Lalkot, Allauddin Khilji established the city of Siri. The Tughlaqs built cities like Jahan- pana and Firozabad. The Sayyids and Lodis built their capital in Agra. But with the Moguls, Delhi once again became the seat of imperial power. The imperial city of Shahjahanabad had a population of about 1 1/2 lakhs. The city grew up to the west of Red Fort. Three main roads radiated from it. Trade and commerce flourished in the city and margins came from distant places. The fair was held on every important festival, where fine muslin, rich brocades and other goods were sold. The city was also the centre of literary and cultural activities. The Urdu language developed in the courts of Delhi. During the Muslim rule many more provincial cities came into prominence, principal among them were Ahmedabad, Lucknow and Hyderabad. The city was the centre of trade in food grains coming from the first fertile district of Kiara. It also traded in drugs and Indigo. 10.5 Cities and Civilizations The concept of civilisation is particularly helpful in the context of analysing the features of traditional urbanism and urbanization. Ghurye (1949) elaborated the Geddesian proposition that a city is the concrete image of a civilisation in his Marathi book Samaja Shastra. Redfield and Singer (1954) worked out in detail the process of

NSOU CC-SO-02 141 primary and secondary urbanization, which was also known as little tradition and great tradition. Little tradition developed into the great tradition with its special intellectual class, administrative officers and rules closely derived from the moral and religious life of the local culture and advanced economic institutions. Milton Singer (1964) elaborated Redfields idea of social organization of tradition with reference to Indian civilisation. He emphasises the conception of Indian civilisation as a coherent structure of rurall networks and urban centers which also acts as a medium for mutual communication of great and little traditions and of other cultural differences between and among tribes and castes, linguistic regions, towns and countries B.S.Cohn and McKim. Marriot (1977) understanding of the cultural role of cities is significant. He argues that cities exist in societies which are organized into states whether they are literate or non-literate. He then considered two coordinate axes of economy and state power to differentiate the cultural roles of the primary urban types. While the variation on the axis of urban economy was from dependent to autonomous, those of State power used to vary from segmentary to bureacucratic to differentiate the cultural roles of the primary urban types. While the variation on the axis of urban economy was from dependent to autonomous, those of state power are from segmentary to bureaucratic. The primary urban types depending on those two axes are: 1. Regal-ritual city is characterised by dependent urban economy and segment to re-state power for forming an ideological role. 2. Sunshine city state had autonomous urban economy and segment to the state power performing more central role 3. Administrative and colonial cities which are characterized by dependent urban economy and bureaucratic state power having administrative role, and 4. Industrial cities with features of autonomous urban economy and bureaucratic state power for forming an industrial roll. 10.6 Nature of Traditional Cities More or less every traditional city shares some basic commonalities in its functioning and elements no matter which ever civilisation belong to. When observed keenly, it is seen that power was mainly vested in the hands of the rulers, the kings and the monarchial governments who asserted their power through laws and rules but primarily through defence. The center of a city generally included a centre place like a pulpit

NSOU CC-SO-02 142 or a market or a building of importance and surrounded by a second wall to depict the idea of that place being a special area to the onlooker. Main buildings and structures usually were made for religious purposes like places of worship or for political purposes like courts and places. Social interactions were not very common. Living arrangements for the ruling class were elaborate and luxurious in comparison to the common people who dwelt in small houses and shanties. Traditional cities were seen to be divided by class differentiations. Divisions were also based in ethnicity and religious groups but not imposed on living conditions as such. Perhaps, at the most, residential areas were allocated differently for different groups. The concepts like work culture was very different from what exists today. Work gave pleasure to the workers. Kin relations and family had much more importance then what one witnesses today. People were well knitted in to the kin web and bonds were much stronger than what is observed today.. The development of education was limited only among the knowledgeable in terms of arts and science. Writing and symbolic art forms were in full growth at the time. However, its impact over the rural areas were very less. Only a few among the lot were the reapers of the benefits. The majority remained illiterate throughout their life unlike the people in modern cities where education has become a necessity for good. Intra-city communication or travelling across cities for work purposes was limited only between cities sharing friendly relations. Urbanism was not growing at the rate which was witnessed after industrialization or during it. Industrialization introduced a whole new concept of urbanism that led to the dilapidation of entire traditional structure as such, giving rise to new ethos which were alien to traditional man. 10.6.1. Modern Ethos : Modernization took birth at the wake of industrialization. Countries facing industrialization like the UK came across modernization right at its beginning leaving behind traditional practices and concepts, industrialization impacted the cities with shades of modernity. Modernization is the process of transformation of the traditional society to a whole new method of technology, industry, economic, political, social and secularist tenets. Modernity introduced a liberal though process among thinkers and freeing the mind from traditional beliefs and arm- chair philosophies. Urban life has increasingly raised the number of city dwellers in industrial countries

NSOU CC-SO-02 143 and developing countries as well. For example, in 1975 around 40% of the world population lived in urban areas, it is guessed that around 15 to 20 years from now this will rise to a considerable extent. India's approximate urban dwellers were studied to be 10.6% in 1921 which increased to 18% in 1951. (Kar.2013). industrialization being a prime force in population mobility from rural to urban areas, had also led to population increase in cities of Britain, Unites States and most other European countries. Modernity and Urbanization has become a major influence in the social and cultural life in every country. 10.7 Nature of City Life Right from the beginning of industrialization, city and its development in the social, cultural as well as economic aspects have been a major topic of discussion among urban and social researchers. The city is in a way bigger settlement than a village or a town and therefore, it forms a bigger web of personal, impersonal, formal or informal relationships all together. Large populations started migrating industrialization from the Rural areas to the cities for better jobs and livelihood options. City life made people severe their ties from the countryside lives and fall for the flashy, city life. However that does not imply that cities were not present in the pre industrialization period. Cities generally flourish due to trading purposes, growing around harbors or near riverbanks to ease trading practices. Development of modern cities has gone through both encouragement and partial condemnation post industrial revolution. While Conservatives like Burke and Corbett despised industrial life for threat of crime, loss of community ties, alienation and mental isolation, radical social thinkers like Marx were weary of the blessings of capitalism and technological advancement to an extent which was barely visible before. 10.8 Urbanization in India Urbanisation is one of the common characteristics of economic development. With the gradual growth of the economy, the process of urbanisation depends on the shift of surplus population from rural to urban areas along-with the growth of some industrialised urban centers. Due to social and economic pressures, people from backward villages started to move towards urbanised centres in search of job, where newly established industries and ancillary activities continuously offered job opportunities to those people migrating to cities.

NSOU CC-SO-02 144 The pace of urbanisation is fast if the industrial growth is fast. The pace of urbanisation gradually declines only when the proportion of urban population to total population of the country becomes too high. 10.8.1 Trends of Urbanisation in India : In India, an increasing trend towards urbanisation has been recorded from the very beginning of this present century. The census data on the rural-urban composition reveal a continuous rise in the rate of urbanisation in India and more particularly during the second half of the present 21st century. The proportion of urban population to total population which was only 11 per cent in 1911 slowly increased to 11.3 per cent in 1921 and then gradually rose to 14 per cent in 1941. With a liberal definition of urban area adopted in 1951, the proportion of urban population suddenly rose to 17.6 per cent. But with a slightly strict definition, the proportion of urban population recorded a small increase to 18.3 per cent in 1961. In the 1971 census, a new definition of an urban unit was adopted and that definition was continued in 1981 census. This definition was as follows: (a) All places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee etc. (b) All other places which satisfy the following criteria: (i) Minimum population of 5,000; (ii) At least 75

100% MATCHING BLOCK 50/104 W

per cent of male working population engaged in non-agricultural

pursuits; and (iii) A density of population of at least 400 persons per sq km (1,000 persons per sq mile). The definition of an urban unit in 1961 census was also similar to the above mentioned definition. Thus the data on rural-urban distribution during the last three censuses are comparable. The proportion of urban population to total population of India as per this new definition was estimated at 20.2 per cent in 1971 census and then marginally rose to 23.7 per cent in 1981. Again in 2001, the total size of urban population in India increased to 285 million as compared to that of 217 million in 1991. This shows that the proportion of urban

NSOU CC-SO-02 145 population to total population of India has increased from 25.8 per cent in 1991 to 27.8 per cent in 2001. The provisional figure of total urban population of India in 2011 is estimated at 377 million which is estimated at 31.16 per cent of the total population of the country. Moreover, the total number of towns in India which was only 1627, gradually rose to 3060 in 1951, 3126 in 1971, 4029 in 1981 and then to 5166 in 2001. In India, towns are classified into six different classes. From the census data, it has been observed that in Class I town (having a population of over 1 lakh) the proportion of urban population concentration has increased from 25.7 per cent in 1901 to 60.4 per cent in 1981. Thus there is an increasing trend towards huge concentration of population in the bigger towns. In Class II and Class III towns together, the proportion of urban population remained almost constant at the level of 26 to 28 per cent during the period 1901- 81. But in the remaining Class IV, Class V and Class VI towns together, the relative proportion of urban population concentration declined sharply from 47.2 per cent in 1901 to only 13.6 per cent in 1981. Besides continuation of urbanisation process, a number of Class II towns have been transformed into a Class I town and the number of Class I towns has thus increased from 74 in 1951 to 216 in 1981. Accordingly, the total population of Class I towns also increased from 273 lakhs in 1951 to 943 lakh in 1981 showing an increase of nearly 245 per cent. During the same period, the number of Class II towns has increased from 95 to 270 and that of Class III towns increased from 330 to 739 in 1981. Total population of Class II and Class III towns increased from 330 to 739 in 1981. Total population of Class II and Class III towns increased by 130 per cent, i.e., from 97 lakh in 1951 to 224 lakh in 1981. While the number of class IV towns has increased from 85 lakh to 149 lakh, the number of Class V and class VI towns and their total population declined sharply during the same period. Again the number of big cities with million plus population has increased from 12 in 1981 to 27 in 2001 and their total population also increased from 42.1 million in 1981 to 73.0 million in 2001. As per 2001 census the size of population of four-cities of India are 11.9 million for Mumbai, 4.58 million for Kolkata, 9.8 million for Delhi and 4.2 million in Chennai.

NSOU CC-SO-02 146 Causes of Rapid Urbanisation in India: Rapid urbanisation is taking place in different parts of the country in and around some big cities and towns of the country. The growing trend of urbanisation as reflected in growing concentration of major proportion of urban population in some big cities. The factors which are largely responsible for such rapid urbanisation are mentioned below: (i) Natural Increase in Population: Rapid unbanisation is taking place as a result of high rate of natural increase in population. Natural increase is taking place when the birth rate in urban areas exceeds the death rate. The natural growth rate of urban population is higher than that of rural due to higher net survival rate arising out of better health and medical facilities.Improvement in health and medical facilities, drinking water supply and sanitation facilities have reduced the incidence of water- borne diseases, communicable diseases etc. Accordingly, the birth rate in urban areas in 1971 was estimated at 30.1 per thousand as compared to the death rate of 9.7 per thousand which subsequently reduced to 24.3 and 7.1 per thousand in 1991. Thus the natural growth rate is stated too high because of large difference between birth and death rates. The death rate in urban areas declined considerably due to better availability of medical and health service, safe drinking water supply and improved sanitation facilities. This natural increase in population is largely responsible for phenomenal growth of population in urban areas i.e. 46 per cent in 1971-81 and 36 per cent in 1980-91 decade as compared to that of 19 per cent and 20 per cent growth rate attained in rural areas of India during these two decades. (ii) Migrations: Rural-urban migration is considered another important factor responsible for rapid urbanisation in India. The rural to urban migrations have been resulted due to many factors during the post independence period. Creation of many activities of manufacturing and trading as a result of industrial development has resulted migration of rural people to urban areas for seeking jobs and higher incomes as well. After the partition of the country in 1947 rural uprooted people started to settle down in urban areas. Poor living conditions and negligible arrangement in respect of education and health have also attracted large number of rural people to migrate and settle in urban areas in search of good education, health facilities, better living conditions and securities of life.

NSOU CC-SO-02 147 As a result of heavy public investments in industry and mining, huge industrial development and sustained agricultural development urbanisation takes place. These "pull factors", compel large number of rural people to migrate to urban areas. However there are certain "push factors" where due to worse economic conditions a number of rural people are pushed out of villages due to economic compulsions. Thus in the current phase of urbanisation both the "pull factors" and "push factors" are very much operational. (iii) Expansion of Industry and Trade: In recent years, urbanisation takes place with the growing expansion of industry and trade in a particular state of region. Growth of an industry with its ancillaries along with localisation of industry would always create a favourable situation for the growth of an urban set up. Similarly, growth of business and trade along with establishment of an active market always provides adequate support toward growing urbanisation in those places related to the development of industry and trade. (iv) Boundary Changes of Towns: With the extension of the boundaries of cities and towns, more and more rural areas are gradually being included in rural areas. Although life in these newly extended areas remains rural initially but the inclusion of these areas into these towns and cities necessarily increases the number of urban population. Consequences of Rapid Urbanisation: The rapid urbanisation is subjected to both healthy and unhealthy consequences and aspects. (i) Healthy Aspects: Rapid industrialisation results the development and setting up of many industrial cities. Along with manufacturing units, ancillaries and service sector started to grow in those urban areas. Secondly, new and additional employment opportunities are created in the urban areas in its newly expanding manufacturing and service sector units. This would result rural-urban migration and "industrialisation-urbanisation process" to set in. Thirdly, growth of cities can give rise to external economies so as to reap the benefit of economies of scale for various services and activities. Finally, urbanisation results changes in attitudes and mind set of the urban people resulting modernisation in behaviour and proper motivation which indirectly helps the country to attain faster economic development.

NSOU CC-SO-02 148 (ii) Unhealthy Aspects: Although development of the economy are very much associated with urbanisaition but it has resulted some serious problems. Firstly, growing urbanisation is largely responsible for increasing congestion in the urban areas. Too much congestion has resulted problems like traffic jams, too much concentration of population, the management of which is gradually becoming very difficult and costly. Secondly, too much of population is another unhealthy aspect of urbanisation which creates urban chaos related to housing, education, medical facilities, growth of slums, unemployment, violence, overcrowding etc. All these would result in deterioration in the quality of human life. Finally, as a result of urbanisation, large scale migration takes place from rural to urban areas. Such large scale migration of active population from rural areas would result loss of productivity in rural areas, leading to poor conditions in village economy. Thus urbanisation, beyond a certain point, would result in unhealthy consequences. (iii) Urban Policy Measures: Considering unhealthy consequences of rapid urbanisation, it is quite important to formulate an urban policy which can provide urban development with minimum undesirable effects. The measures which can be largely followed include: (i) Integrating urbanisation process with the development plans of the country for developing non-agricultural activities like manufacturing services and infrastructure leading to attainment of external economies, (ii) Making arrangement for selective urban development so as to minimise the disadvantages of these large sized towns, (iii) To develop rural districts, by developing towns in highly rural districts, (iv) To develop satellite townships in and around large cities; and (v) Relieving pressure on large urban centres by developing urban amenities in adequate quantities so as to make urban living peaceful. 10.9 Concept of Rural-Urban Continuum a. Conceptual Framework: Rural Urban Continuum is a concept of sociology and settlement geography. The concept that, the size of continuum varies according to the size of town or city. This concept suggests that the population size, depends on the population density and the

NSOU CC-SO-02 149 number of settlement. The continuum at the rural end of the continuum is envisaged as being close knit, highly stable, integrating and homogenous in composition. At the urban end it is supposed to be loose in association, unstable, characterized by great social mobility and has a tendency for inter-individual contacts. The continuum is seen as marking a process of social change. Here social change can occur without any growth of settlement or increase in population, i.e. through the replacement of an original rural population simply by commuters or new settler. It is also possible to find rural societies in urban settings, and urban societies in rural settings. The association between these two setting is not entirely perfect, although the continuum concept still has some validity. b. Definition: Tonnies' (1887) has given the idea of Gemeinschaft (rural) and Gesellschaft (urban) and discussed the difference between tradition and modernity. According to Durkheim, David Emile (1893), "Rural community is based on mechanical solidarity whereas urban community is characterized by organic solidarity". According to MacIver, (1917) "Between the two, there is no sharp demarcation to tell where the city ends and country begins". According to Gist and Halbert, (1945) "The familiar dichotomy between rural and urban is more of a theoretical concept than division based upon the facts of community life". 9 ? Kingsley (1945) has said "the city effects are wider than the city itself". According to Queen and Carpenter (1953) "there is a continuous gradation from rural to urban rather than a simple rural-urban dichotomy". Mukherjee, (1963) prefers the continuum model by taking the degree of urbanization as an useful conceptual tool for understanding rural-urban relations. Frankenberg, (1966) differentiates rural from urban by means of the concepts of rate and network. According to him, in urban areas, there is much greater differentiation of roles and the network of social relationships is less dense. Rao, (1970) points out in the Indian context that although both village and town formed part of the same civilization characterized by institution of

NSOU CC-SO-02 150 kinship and caste system in pre-British India, there were certain specific institutional forms and organizational ways distinguishing social and cultural life in towns form that in village. c. Dynamic Characteristics of Continuum: The dynamic characteristics of rural urban continuum are directly made on the following relations: 1. Agricultural Relations; 2. Business and Financial Relations; 3. Educational and Health Relations; 4. Transport and Communication Relations; 5. Administrative and Political Relations; 6. Social and Cultural Relations; 7. Industrial Relations. 1. Agricultural relations: Near the urban centers the intensity of agricultural activities is generally high, and this tendency is decreased with the increasing distance towards peripheral areas. 2. Trade and financial relation: Retail trade, wholesale trade and other trade related services located in urban centers develop relation between the urban and rural areas. 3. Educational and health relations: The urban centres generally have educational centres in the form of schools, college, technical schools and sometimes post graduate level educations. People from rural areas come to urban areas and make a relationship. Relationship also develops for providing health facility to the surrounding villages. 4. Transport and communication relations: Urban centres act as a convergence point for different modes of transport routes. Urban centres are connected with transport and communication with the neighbouring villages. Urban centres also act as nerve centres, of transportation lines. Roads radiate like spokes of a wheel in different directions from the city centres. So, a relationship is developed between urban and rural areas. 5. Administrative and political relations: Urban centres may act as a place of state capital, district headquarter, subdivisional headquarters. These centres, pull people every day from surrounding areas and create relation between rural and urban areas. Urban centres are the centres of political party offices. People also come to urban areas for political reasons. 6. Social and Cultural Relations: Cultural functions, religions festivals, sports and games fall under social and cultural items of entertainment which are mostly

NSOU CC-SO-02 151 undertaken in urban areas. People both from urban and rural areas take part and establish social and cultural relations. 7. Industrial relations: Industries are mostly located in urban areas or at the periphery of urban areas. But they receive raw materials from rural areas and labourers from both urban areas and surrounding areas. Thus people commute from rural to urban areas or vice-versa. Daily movement establishes a mutual relationship between rural and urban areas. The zone or belt, where commuters move is known as commuter belt. 10.10 Challenges of City Life Living in a city can be very complex to be honest. Here are some of the challenges u can face when living in a city. 1. If you are not very good at conversing with people, living in a city will be hard. You have to constantly deal with various types of people. If not, city life is really hard. 2. Air Pollution: Air Pollution too is becoming a big challenge. Living in city means living between cars and their smoke. If you are not used to a life where you have to constantly deal with smoke and dust, Living in a city is challenging. 3. Joblessness: High levels of unemployment and underemployment Urban labour markets are incapable of absorbing the expanding number of job seekers The result of urban poverty and social exclusion Creates an informal sector Housing Problems: In mega cities of the developing world, population growth is always ahead of housing supply. This create slums or squatter settlements. For example, 50% of Mexico City's population live in slums or squatter settlements. Strategies for meeting housing needs include upgrading projects and core housing projects.
NSOU CC-SO-02 152 Water and Sewerage Problems: Sewerage facilities are often ancient and inadequate. For example, only 11% of Manila's population are connected to the sewerage system. Providing the infrastructure for the collection and treatment of solid and liquid waste is often beyond the resources of many mega cities. Health and Nutrition Problems: Increased poverty leads to a decline in living standards and leads to infectious and parasitic diseases, deficiencies in the physical environment. 10.11 Summary India is an ancient civilization and towns and bigger urban centers were in existence since time immemorial. Cities have come up as centers of commercial activities, political capitals and pilgrimage centers . However, modern cities had come up in the colonial period when nmodern business and commercial activities began and modern modes of transport became available. The rate of urbanization then accelerated first after independence ,and again , in the 1990s ,under the impact of globalization. Rapid economic development, better infrastructural facilities, growth of private sector and employment opportunities in cities facilitate urbanization everywhere and India is no exception. There are thus many push and pull factors to drive people out of rural areas and to bring them to the cities. Rapid and unplanned urbanization often have negative impacts on the environment and rural-urban migration poses big challenges to city life. 10.12 Model Questions A. Write Short Notes on the Following.: (5 Marks Each) 1. Challenges of city life 2. Rural urban continuum 3. Nature of traditional cities 4. Characteristics of a city. B. Long Questions: (10 Marks Each) 1. Explain the challenges of city life in India.
NSOU CC-SO-02 153 2. Examine the history of the rise of the urban industrial cities. 3. What is urbanization. What are its impact. 4. Explain the nature of urbanization in India. 5. Explain the nature of rural-urban continuum in the context of India. 10.13 References and Suggested Readings Ahuja Ram.2017.Society in India.Rawat Publication. New Delhi India. Ahuja Ram.2013. Indian Social System. Rawat Publication. New Delhi.India. Kar Samit.2013.Urban Sociology.Critical Perspectives of City Life. Platinum Publishers.India Macionis J. John and Parrillo N. Vincent. 2015. Cities and Urban Life. 5th ed. Pearson Publisher. Noida. India. Ramachandran.R. 2019. Urbanization and Urban System in India. Oxford University Press.New Delhi. India.
NSOU CC-SO-02 154 Unit 11 Industry and Labour Structure 11.0 Objectives 11.1 Introduction 11.2 Nature of Industrial Society 11.3 History of Labour Movement and Industrialization 11.4 History of Working Class Movements in India 11.5 Summary 11.6 Model Questions 11.7 References and Suggested Readings 11.0 Objectives This unit examines the characteristics of industrialization in India. It also looks into the emergence of working class and its movements in India. It also discusses the history of working class movements in the colonial period in a nut shell. 11.1 Introduction Society refers to a group of people who live in a definable community and share the same culture. On a boarder scale, society consists of people and institutions around us, our shared beliefs and our cultural ideas. Typically, more-advanced societies also share a political authority. The term society has been derived from the Latin word 'socius' which means a companion, association or fellowship. Sociologist Gerhard Lenski (1924-) defined societies in terms of their technological sophistication. So, societies with rudimentary technology depends on fluctuations of their environments, while industrialized societies have more control over the impact 154
NSOU CC-SO-02 155 of their surroundings and thus develop different cultural features. This distinction is so important that sociologist generally classify societies along a spectrum of their level of industrialization from preindustrial to industrial to postindustrial. Under pre industrialized societies are hunting and gathering societies, pastoral societies began around 12,000 years ago; under developing societies we can see horticultural societies emerged between 10,000 and 12,000 years ago, agricultural societies. Then comes industrial societies emerged in 1700, also known as modern societies. 11.2 Nature of Industrial Society One of the major characteristics of our modern era is that we witness a qualitative change in our economic and industrial life. There have some massive development in communication and the electronic reproduction of sound, image and text. Television is central to this rapid change over. All this has not come overnight. It was some time during 18th century that there came industrial revolution in Europe. It was steam power and steam engine which gave emergence to modern society. (Doshi) Before coming up of modernity in the west, there was renaissance followed by enlightenment. Both these movements stood for social justice. For an ordinary person, modernity means industrialization. It means technology, invention, mass production and innovations. One of the feature of traditional civilization, was that most people were engaged in working on land. By contrast, an important feature of industrial societies today is that a large majority of employed population work in factories, offices or shop rather than in agriculture. (Giddens) Traditions gradually got weakened at the hands of modernity. Religion and religious practices received the first blow, follows by the death of monarchy and feudalism. It is for the first time in traditional societies that the importance of cities increased. There were cities in these societies bit they were the centre of administration and pilgrimage. The new cities which emerged from industrialization and urbanization.(Doshi) Large scale organisation, such as business corporation or government agencies come to influence the lives of virtually everyone. Most jobs are to be found new job opportunities are created Major changes were brought in political systems rather than developing new political systems which are more advanced and intensive or differed substantially from the traditional form of political systems, which have been developed due to modernization. In traditional societies, political authorities were the monarchs and

NSOU CC-SO-02 156 emperors had little direct influence on the customs and habits of most of their subjects, who lived in fairly self contained local villages. Industrialization also facilitated transportation and communication making a more integrated 'national' community. The industrial societies were the first nation states to come into existence. Nation states are political communities, divided from each other by clearly delimited border rather than the vague frontier areas that used to separate traditional states.(Giddens) The application of industrial technology has by no means been limited to peaceful processes of economic development. From the earliest phases of industrialization, modern production process have been put to military use, and this has radically altered ways of waging war, creating weaponry and modes of military organisation much more advanced than those of non- industrial cultures. Together, superior economic strength, political cohesion and military superiority account for the seemingly irresistible spread of western ways of life across the world over the past two centuries.(Giddens) Another perspective of modernity besides urban, industrial and democratically created nation states, transport and communication is of development and progress. The founding theorists of sociology are the production of industrialization and modernization. Emile Durkheim (1858), Max Weber (1864) and Karl Marx (1841) belonged to the same European generation. They all witnessed the consequences of modernity. Durkheim in his argument says that in the long run modernity would create differentiation would help the mechanical society to transform into organic society. Social density and social contract, in the long run, would hold society together. Weber has a different interpretation for industrialization and modernity. To him, the industrial society would be a bureaucratic rational society. Marx was of the view that ultimate progress lies in the attainment of socialism.(Doshi) Some of the important processes which led to the development of modernity are (Doshi) Enlightenment (the age of reason): according to social scientists society can be explained scientifically. Hegemony of profiteering: industrialization had come with the ideology of capitalism. Profiteering intensified the desire for building capital empires.
NSOU CC-SO-02 157 Political revolutions: there was decline of monarchy and feudalism due to French and industrial revolution. Intersection of national and international conditions and processes. Birth of counter culture of socialism to capitalism The triumph of liberalism Thus, the idea of modernity is intimately tied to the development of Europe. In its initial stage it developed in art. It was Weber who separated it from religion and metaphysics.(Doshi) 11.3 History of Labour Movement and Industrialization Industrialization in India had began during 1850s when the English East India Company operated few workshops .But the insurrection of 1857 had posed a major challenge to colonial rule. The railway introduced during this time was considered as the harbinger of modern industry in India. In 1862, the British Govt. had formulated "stores purchase policy" for purchasing limited and selected goods from local industries. But the most difficulty at this time was the availability of labour force. During the latter half of 19th century, the labour policy of the govt. had found several ways to compel workers to provide labour for a fixed period of time. Worksmen Breach of Contract Act (1859) was the first labour law in India. It made the breach of contract of employment an offence. Employees and Workmen (Dispute) Act (1860) rendered workers liable to punishment under the Indian Penal Code for breaching contract of employment. The Transport of Native Labourers Act (1863) of Bengal allowed the private contractors to recruit and transport labourers for plantation works. a) 1881 to 1900 : During this period, textile industries had developed in India. In 1854, there was only one textile mill but in 1881, there were 47 mills and by 1900 there were 193 textile mills. During this time, the British Parliament passed the Factories Act. Under the Indian Factories Act (1881) the working hours of children were regulated, provisions were extended to women and basic safety measures were also introduced. But during this time, there were no trade unions. Organizations such as the Servants of India Society had absorbed the Indian labour force into anti-British movement?
NSOU CC-SO-02 158 b) 1900 to 1913 : The most important aspect of this phase was the establishment of mining industries. The enactment of Mines Act (1901) andInland Emigration Act (1901) ensured the safety, welfare and security of labourers. c) 1914 to 1938 : During this time the industries had spread out in many centers of India and expanded in terms of productivity, technology and international markets. The wartime requirement of Britain had disrupted the communication between Britain and India which had consolidated Indian industries to greater self confidence among the capitalists and rapid growth of Indian working class. Labour welfare was introduced by Works'men Compensation Act (1923). In 1936 Payment of Wages Actwas passed which was only confined to manufacturing industries. d) 1939 to 1945 : The needs of the war resulted in the development of industries in India. The state regulation of industries through licenses was established, which was known as "License Quota Permit Raj". The Bombay Plan of 1944 was the blueprint of Indian industrial development which underlined the importance of govt. policies directed towards not only safeguarding industries by licensing also to protect labour by ensuring fair wages and reasonable working conditions. The Defense of Indian Rules contained the provisions for reconciling industrial disputes, prevention of strikes and lockouts and reference of disputes to arbitration and to set up regular machinery for adjusting disputes. e) First Five Years Plan : Industrial adjudication came during this period. Principles of fixed wage and job classification were established. The first Pay Commission was appointed to recommend fixed wages for civil servants. During this time, many Industrial Training Institutes were established. f) Second Five Years Plan : This period envisaged large investment in public sector in order to lay foundation of industrial infrastructure and mobilization of resources. Employees Provident Fund Act (1952) was passed in this period which required both the employer and employee to contribute 8.33% of wages as statutory fund. The Second Five Years Plan undertook numerous schemes to stabilize labour market like Employment Market Information Programme, National Classification of Occupation and Vocational Guidance programme etc. Finally, the Employment Exchange Act was enacted under provision of which notifications of all vacancies were made compulsory.

NSOU CC-SO-02 159 11.4 History of Working Class Movement in India. Post-War colonized India, the advent of Industrialization lead to the emergence and growth of manufacturing and Industries with western technology. Started with building of Railways linking Calcutta, Bombay, Baroda and Raniganj (coal mining center) spread to first textile mill in Bombay, Jute factory in Calcutta, Iron and Steel plant in Jamshedpur and large scale tea plantations. Economists, Socioloists and Plannists have classified non-agricultural workers into organized and unorganized or formal or informal workers, where unorganized could not be sufficiently explained by them. Earlier workers were determined by their condition and capital but now their conditions are being determined by wages, security and other laws provided by the firm. Meanwhile, workers in organized sector can be divided into white and blue collared workers. Strikes by industrial sector workers started in the nineteenth century, Bombay strike marked the beginning followed by strikes by jute, textile, plantation, railway workers on Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Bombay and Madras. Some works by researchers who sought to study working class movements of colonial period are discussed. Panchanan Saha analyse the cause and effect of strikes; how parties help organising workers to lead the strike and how the government dissolves them. Colonial Bombay saw the rise of working class movements made way beside the bourgeoisie nationalist movement. The main concern was, "To what extent did the workers, particularly in Bombay Presidency constitute a working class, which at a political level was at a position to operate independently from the upper classes?" (Georges Lieten, 1983). Eaman Murphy studies the strikes in southern part of India focusing on how worker's origin and recruitment pattern. Rajni Bakshi's study saw role of different leaders and political parties in the strike. His works were also used for further studies. Mukhopadhyay, Joshi, Ghosh and Datta covered various industrial movements and classified them onto 3 categories: (1) descriptive and statistical accounts (2) analysis from the management's perspective and (3) analysis from socio-economic and political perspective. Ramaswamy typified strikes based on issues involved, into six categories; (1) caused by the dispute over rules; (2) the wildcat strike, which is without the sanction of the union; (3) the rite-of-passage strike which is for demanding recognition of the union; (4) the inter union dispute; (5) the tedium-relieving strike; (5) the political strike; and (6) the bread and-butter strike.
NSOU CC-SO-02 160 Strikes in India's factories began to take place initially in an unorganized way since the 1870s. In 1870, one of the first strikes occurred in 1877 at a Nagpur mill (empress Mills) over wages. Then a series of strikes (25 strikes) took place in quick succession between1882-1890. On many occasions the main reason of such strikes was not solely the workers' professional interst, but for nationalist causes as well. For example, in 1908 workers did participate in the six day political mass strike in Bombay in protesr of Tilak's imprisonment. The workers' awakening of their oppression and rights opened the door for modern labour movement in India in 1918 the entire textile mills sector was swept by the demands and movements of the workers. R.P. Dutt has reported (India Today, p. 406) that in the first six months of 1920 there were 120 strikes involving about 150 million workers. Starting from the year 1921 and upto 1945 thousands of strikes and lock-outs took place involving crores of workers altogether. . Wage issue indicates more pay against wage cuts, non-payment on sundays and gazetted holidays, dearness allowance etc.Bonus being another important reason along with more holidays and better infrastructure facilities. Women industrial workers have their own additional issues related to discrimination like victimisation, 'manhandling by workers, ill-treatment along with the other set of issues which all workers face. Inter-union and intra-union rivalry triggers agitation turning into strikes. Infering from a new field of study, Industrial sociology, workers are merely reduced to objects catering to material needs, having no power over any means of production. 11.5 Summary Under the colonial rule the Indian labour class movement steadfastly organized itself to be free of both bourgeois oppression and colonial control. Thus it became the symbol of national emancipation and freedom from capitalistic control. The Indian working class had emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century due to the emergence of various modern industries and modern means of transport. The early nationalists had combined the working class agenda with their nationalist programmes; but trade unions started to be formed since the second decade of the lasr century. In 1926, the British Government had passed the trade union act for recognizing trade unions as legal organizations. Within a short period after that the control of the trade unions was taken over by the newly established Communist Party of India. The labour unions worked relentlessly for increase of wages, improvement of work environment and basic amenities, prevention of child labour, equal wage for equal pay benefits, etc.
NSOU CC-SO-02 161 11.6 Model Questions A. Write short notes on the following. (5 marks) 1. Five years plan 2. Industrial society. 3. Post Industrial Society. 4. Industrialization. 5. Impact of industrialization. B. Long questions. (10 marks). 1. Explain the nature of Industrial society. 2. Analyse the history of the working class movement in India. 3. Explain the nature of working class movement in India. 11.7 References and Suggested Readings Ahuja Ram.2017. Society in India.Rawat Publication. New Delhi India. Ahuja Ram.2013. Indian Social System. Rawat Publication. New Delhi. India. Doshi. S.L.2009. Modernity Post Modernity and Neo-Sociological Theories. Rawat Publication. New Delhi. India. D'Souza Iyer, Radha. 1996. Industrialization, Labour Policies and their Impact on the labour Movement: A Historical Review in Tv Satyamurthy edt. Class Formation and Political Transformation in Post Colonial India Vol.4. Delhi: Oxford Univeraity Press. PP. 105-126. Dutt, R.P. 1970. India To-Day. Manisha. Kolkata. Gidden. 2005. Sociology. 5th Edition.Polity. India. Shah.Ghanshyam.1990.Social Movement in India. A Review of Literature. Sage Publication.
NSOU CC-SO-02 162 Unit 12 Tribe : Profile and Location Structure 12.0 Objectives 12.1 Introduction 12.2 Who are the Tribes? 12.3 Popular Names of Indian Tribes 12.4 Distinctive Features of Tribal Community 12.5 Geographical Distribution of the Tribes 12.6 Problems in Tribal Society 12.6.1 Land Alienation 12.6.2 Bonded Labour 12.6.3 Issues Related to Health 12.6.4 Education 12.7 Solutions to the Problems of Tribal Community 12.8 Linguistic Classification Among Tribes in India 12.9 Summary 12.10 Model Questions 12.11 References and Suggested Readings 12.0

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Objectives After you have read this unit you should be able to describe

The Definition of Tribe. Name of different Tribes in India Distinctive features of Tribal community 162

NSOU CC-SO-02 163 Geographical distribution of Indian Tribes Problems of Tribal community Solution to the Tribal problems 12.1 Introduction The Indian society comprises of individuals belonging to different castes, creeds, races, ethnicities, religious groups and socio-economic backgrounds. Individuals practice their own traditions, cultures and norms. The distribution of the Indian society is on the basis of urban, rural and tribal areas. India is a country where people have come to obtain numerous characteristics, based on region, language, religion and so forth. There are many aspects within the Indian society that create a linkage between individuals belonging to diverse backgrounds. The main purpose of this module is to understand Indian society, with regards to, rural and tribal characteristics, factors contributing to the unity within the Indian society and structure of the Indian society. Primarily the research paper focuses upon the traditional aspects of the Indian society, but in the present existence, there have been changes with the advent of technology and use of modern and innovative techniques and methods. The tribals are the autochthonous people of the land who are believed to be the earliest settlers in Indian Peninsula. They are generally called the adivasis, implying original inhabitants. A tribe is a homogeneous and self contained unit without any hierarchical discrimination. Each tribe enjoyed equal status. Each tribe had its own system of administration. There was decentralization of authority among the tribes. In this unit, an outline of the Indian tribes, particularly their geographical classification, linguistic classification, racial, economic and cultural divisions is given. Tribal people form a major segment of the world population. They are found all over the world. They are called by different names such as 'primitive', 'tribal,' 'indigenous,' 'aboriginal,' 'native,' and so on. India has a large number of tribal people. According to the census of 2001, India is the home to the largest tribal population in the world, a total 104281034 tribal people live in India. In India indigenous people are known as "Tribal people" or "Tribals", they are at the lowest rung of the social hierarchy; they are the poorest and the most marginalized, oppressed and deprived people in the country (Nathan and Kekar, 2004; Rath, 2006). Tribes of this land are heterogeneous and diversified in respect of size of the population, life style, culture and language. National Tribal Policy (Govt. Of India) 2006, identifies 698 tribal communities in
NSOU CC-SO-02 164 India. Scheduled Tribe communities in India are found in different parts of the country. They occupy nearly 15% of the total land of the country and basically they live in the forest and hilly areas, though some of them also live in the plains. On the basis of ecological, social, economical, administrative and ethnic factors they are divided into five regional categories (Tribal Community Report 2014) such as 1. Himalayan Region. 2. Middle Region. 3. Southern Region. 4. Western Region. 5. Island Region. According to the census of 2011, 5.79% of the total population of West Bengal is Scheduled Tribes and 40 different types of tribal community reside in West Bengal. Most of them are found in the Southern, Western and Northern part of the state. 12.2 Who are the Tribes? According to The Oxford English Dictionary the word 'tribe' is derived from the Latin term 'tribus' which was applied to the three divisions of the early people of Rome. The term however has gone through a lot of changes. It meant a political unit consisting of a number of clans. A tribe occupied a definite geographical area. Permanent settlement gave a geographical identity to a tribe. For that reason, tribes were often named after the area. Our country is named after a tribe called 'Bharata.' Even today states like Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura are named after the Mizo, Naga and Tripuri tribes respectively. Some western anthropologists and sociologists argued that the tribes of India belonged to three stocks-the Negritos, the Mongoloids and the Mediterranean. The Negritos are believed to be the earliest inhabitants of the Indian Peninsula, but they have almost disappeared. Some believe that they are still found among the tribes of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, known as the Onges, Great Andamanese, the Sentinelese and the Peniyans. The Mongoloid race is represented by the tribal people in the sub- Himalayan region. They may be divided into two categories, namely the Palaeo Mongoloids and the Tibeto Mongoloids. The Palaeo Mongoloids are represented by the tribes living in Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Manipur. The Tibeto Mongoloids are represented by the tribes living in Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh. They are believed to have migrated from Tibet. The Mediterranean people form a bulk of the tribal population and are generally known as the Dravidians. Verma says: "Dravidians are again divided into two parts [groups]-Kolarians who speak a dialect called Mundari, and the Dravidians proper". It is believed that with the advent of the Aryans, there was a protracted struggle between the Aryansand the Dravidians, then referred to as the 'Dasyus.' The conquered Dravidians were reduced to a servile status
NSOU CC-SO-02 165 and regarded as 'Sudras.' A section of the Dravidians who escaped defeat and did not surrender to the Aryans continued to maintain their independent existence in the remote hills and forests. They are believed to be "the forerunners of the various tribes in India" The term 'tribe' has also been variously understood as 'nation', 'society', 'race' etc. A tribe is ideally characterized as a socially homogeneous, non-hierarchical and non- differentiated, un-stratified unit; having its own dialect, political and cultural institutions. So we have described the tribe as a society with a political, linguistic and somewhat vaguely defined cultural boundary; further as a society based upon kinship where social stratification is absent. But in contemporary India, the 'tribe' of an anthropologist's ideal type can be rarely found, and so some scholars have preferred to consider it as a thing of the past and instead drawn our attention to tribes in transition (Bose, 1981: 191). Beteille for example observes that, like so many definitions of social categories, tribe is also the definition of an ideal type. In India hardly any of the tribes exist as a separate society. They

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have been absorbed, in varying degrees, into the wider society

of India (1977: 13). 12.3 Popular Names of Indian Tribes The tribes of India live in the forest hills and naturally isolated regions and are known as a rule by different names, meaning either the people of forest and hill or the original inhabitants, and so on. The popular names are:Vanyajati (castes of forest), Vanvasi (inhabitants of forest), Pahari (hill-dwellers),Adimjati (original communities), Adivasi (first settlers), Janjati (folk people),Anusuchit janjati (scheduled tribe) and so on. Among all these tribes the term Adivasi is the most popular term. In India, tribes are generally called adivasis, implying original inhabitants. The ancient and medieval Indian literature mention a large number of tribes living in India. Before the introduction of the caste system during the Brahminic Age, people were divided into various tribes. Government of India has specified 427 communities and has included them in the schedule of tribes. These tribes are known as scheduled tribes. They are entitled to special protection and priviledges under the constitution of India. Numerically, the three most important tribes are the Gonds, the Bhils and the Santhals, each having a population of more than 30 lakh. Next to them are the Minas, the Mundas, the Oraons each having a population of more than 5 lakh. Then there are 42 tribes each having a population between one and five lakh. The tribal people of India, who come under the category of Scheduled Tribes (ST's) in terms of the provisions of the constitution

NSOU CC-SO-02 166 of India, constitutes 8.2 percent of the population of the country according to 2001 census. 12.4 Distinctive Features of Tribal Community The characteristics of the tribal society have been stated as follows:. Tribal people generally live in forests and hilly areas. They usually have a geographically well demarcated territory. They earn their living by being dependent upon the natural resources on a large scale. They live by hunting and gathering of fruits, tubers and edible roots. The only traces left by the tribal people of the Palaeolethic Age are the stones that they made use of on the surface of many parts of the Deccan (Von Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph, 1982). These individuals were dependent upon the forests on a large scale for meeting their needs and requirements. The tribal people do not possess much assets, their belongings consists primarily of tools, instruments and some clothing. Amongst the tribal communities, there is no existence of financial economy. They usually practice the barter system. Economically they are self-sufficient and are able to sustain their needs. Their economy is based on the subsistence level, where there is no surplus. They make use of primitive technical methods and do not possess awareness regarding the usage of modern technology and innovative methods. The barter system is when goods are exchanged for goods, for instance, when they give one product, they obtain the other one. Through this system, the tribal communities are able to sustain their living by trading commodities for commodities. Tribal communities have their own language and not any kind of script. The communication amongst the tribal communities takes place on the basis of their own language. The tribal people enjoy a strong sense of freedom and personal independence. They are free to migrate and transfer from one place to another. They are not bound by any rules and regulations and have their own customs, traditions and cultures. The differences between them are characterised by material and intellectual development (Von Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph, 1982). They may differ from each other on the basis of cultures, norms, values and practices. The tribal communities have their own political system. There are two kinds of political systems that are found within the tribal communities. These are both stateless and state. In the earlier period, there was prevalence of the stateless system, it is when there is not any tribal chief. In the stateless system, the law and order within the

NSOU CC-SO-02 167 community was managed through family and kinship ties. The head of the family was responsible and authority was bestowed upon him. Later on, came the state system, when the tribals nominated and elected their own chiefs. In the present existence, this autonomy is not available and they have become part of the local administration. The tribal communities have their own religion. Religious beliefs are considered to be imperative amongst them and they worship their own deities. Their forms of religions are known as animism, which means worshipping of the souls or the ancestors, animatism, which worshipping of any non-living object, such as a stone or wood, totemism, which means worshipping of the tree or any animal, as they possess the belief that their ancestor has assumed the form of a tree, and naturism, in this, they worship objects of nature, such as, river, stream, sun, moon, forest, lake, water bodies, natural resources and so forth. These individuals possess this belief that worshipping of the natural resources will make their living productive. The basic unit of the tribal communities is the nuclear family. The families consist of husband, wife and their children. For carrying out day to day operations of the households and other concerns, husband and wife are equal partners with equal rights. This equality of status means, that family may live with either the husband's or the wife's tribal group. The men usually consult women in case of making of any kinds of decisions, they usually involve women to express their ideas and give suggestions (Von Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph, 1982).The tribal individuals possess a strong sense of belonging to their family and community, they possess this viewpoint that they are the sons of the soil and possess a strong ethnic identity. The tribal individuals are dependent upon the forests and the natural resources to meet their nutrition and health care requirements. In case of illnesses and diseases, they usually obtain medicinal roots and plants from the forests and provide cure to their illnesses and health problems. Proper medical and health care facilities are lacking amongst the tribal communities. Their abilities to get involved in indigenous medicine and magical practices have been productive in the past. But in the present existence, the prevention and cure of illnesses and diseases require specialized medical treatment and consultation with professionals. The tribal communities are gradually possessing awareness regarding advanced and innovative medical and health care facilities. There has been prevalence of agriculture amongst the tribal communities. The kind of agriculture that is prevalent amongst them is known as primitive agriculture. It is known mainly as shifting or slash and burn cultivation. In the present existence,

NSOU CC-SO-02 168 these individuals are leaving these types of agricultural practices. The tribal communities of south India, depended to a great extent upon slash and burn cultivation. The cultivation of products such as, various types of millets, maize, pulses and vegetables were common amongst them. The dwellings of the tribal communities consisted of thatched huts during rains and cold weather and in hot weather conditions, they lived in camps in the open, under overhanging rocks or in temporary leaf shelters (Von Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph, 1982). 12.5 Geographical Distribution of the Tribes The tribes of India, on the basis of geography of India and tribal demography can be classified regionally. Guha (1951, 1955) demarcated three tribal zones. They are (i) northern and northeastern area, (ii) the Central belt and (iii) the Peninsular India. Majumdar and Madan (1956) also refer to these zones and present a somewhat similar distribution. They have called them Northern and North-Eastern Zone, the Central or Middle Zone, and the Southern Zone. Dube (1960) has classified the geographical regions of the tribals into four zones, the North and North-Eastern Zone, the Middle Zone, the South Zone and the West Zone. Again Roy Burman (1971) divided the tribal communities living in different regions into five territorial groups. Taking into consideration the geographical, ecological, social, economic, administrative, ethnic, and racial factors, Vidyarthi and Rai (1976) proposed a four- fold geographical region along with one distinct sub-region of the islands. These are: a) North Zone : This zone covers Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, sub-Himalayan Uttar Pradesh, Bihar. The prominent tribes here are Khasa, Tharu, Bhoksa, Bhotias, Gujjars and the Jaunsaris. Khasas are a polyandrous tribe. Bhotias make carpets and are involved in the Indo-china border trade. The Gujjars are a pastoral tribe. The major problems of the tribes of this zone are inaccessibilty, lack of communication, poverty, illiteracy and land alienation. b) North-Eastern Zone : This zone includes seven north-eastern states, and the major tribal groups here are Nagas, Khasi, Garo, Mishing, Miri, Karbi and the Apatauis. Ecological degradation because of shifting cultivation and inaccessibility due to lack of communication facilities are two major problems of these tribes. Because of a high degree of isolation, the tribes of this sector have not really shared history with the mainstream Indians and have instead shared history with the neighbouring communities. This explains why there is an element of hostility of these tribes with the mainstream.
NSOU CC-SO-02 169 c) Central Zone : This zone has maximum concentration of tribal population. It stretches from southern MadhyaPradesh to South Bihar across northern Orissa. The major tribes lying in this zone are theSanthals, HO, Baiga, Abhujanaria, Muria, Munda and Birhor. The major problems facedby the tribes of this region are land alienation, indebtedness. Among the tribes of this region, the Santhals have discovered a script of their own, called ole chiki. Baigas are a prominent shifting cultivation tribe. Birhors are a very backward tribe of this region and because of extreme backwardness and no secure means of livelihood, they are threatened with extinction. d) Southern Zone : This zone comprises the Nilgiris together with the adjoining hilly regions in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. It is the smallest, the most backward and the most isolated tribal communities on the mainland. Tribes of this region are Toda, Koya, Chenchu and Allars. Todas are a pastoral people who practise buffalo herding. Allars are cave dwellers, who also live on tree tops. Chencus are a very backward tribe who survive mainly on hunting- gathering. The major problem of these tribes are shifting cultivation, economic backwardness, isolation, lack of communication and threat of extinction of langauges. e) Eastern Zone : This zone includes West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa with tribes such as Paraja, Kondhas, Bondas, Bhuniya, Gadabas, Bhuinyas and Saoras. The major problems of the tribes of this zone are economic backwardness, exploitation by forest officials and contractors, land alienation, prevalence of disease and displacement due to industrial projects. f) Western Zone : Rajasthan and Gujarat are included in this zone. Tribes which are found here are Bhils, Garasiya and Meenas. Among them, Meenas are a very advanced and well educated tribe. g) Island Region : Andaman and Nicobar islands, lakshadweep and Daman and Diu included in this zone. Great Andamanese, Santinelese, Jarwas, Onges, Nicobaris and Shampen are tribes of this region. Some of these tribes are extremely backward and are struggling to come out of the stone age mode of livelihood. Most of these tribes are classified as minor tribes which face the threat of extinction. Apart from the problem of survival, prevalence of disease and malnutrition are some other problems of the tribes of this region. The basic strategy of the government for the tribal region is aimed at providing protection to the tribals and bringing about their economic development. The tribal strategy initiated during the Fifth five year plan is a comprehensive, well-knit and
NSOU CC-SO-02 170 integrated programme. Its objective is elimination of exploitation of tribes, protection of their socio-economic development, bridging the gap in development vis-a-vis other areas, improvement of quality of life etc. 12.6 Problems in Tribal Society Over the last 20 - 25 years, the tribal community has been incessantly trying to draw the attention of the world's leading power blocks to save them from perennial miseries. The World Health organisation (WHO) has emphasised that indigenous people have higher rates of infant mortality, lower life expectancy and more cases of chronic illness than the non indigenous populations in their home countries. It is argued that the indigenous people are among the poorest of the poor. They suffer from extreme discrimination and lead a life of misery and destitution. The development discourse, therefore, needs to concentrate on finding an effective strategy to mitigate these crises. Some of the major problems which present day tribal people face can be categorised as problems of poverty, health problems and social problems like lack of education. However, it is more pertinent to look at each categories in greater details by carefully taking into account the nuances of a problem. It is observed that certain types of tribals emerged with their contact with the outsider. Before the Muslim rule, tribals lived fairly in isolation, but during the muslim rule process of revenue collection started. However, the Muslim rulers did not interfere with the tribal customs and traditions. Exploitative contact started during the British rule. This was found mainly because of three reasons: (a) The colonizers wanted to rule over the tribal land (b) they wanted to syphon off resources from tribal areas, which were rich in minerals resources (c) they wanted to preach Christianity under the pretext of rationality. In the post British rule, the non tribals started exploiting the indigenous people in various ways. The basic problems faced by the tribal community in the 21st century are as follows : 12.6.1. Land Alienation: Land as a prime resource has been a source of problem in tribal life because of two related reasons, first, dependency, i.e. tribal dependency on land and second, improper planning from government agencies. Tribal people in India can be classified on the basis of their economic pursuits in the following ways: Foragers, Pastoral, Handicraft makers, Agriculturists, Shifting hill cultivators, Labourers and Business pursuers. All of these occupations involve direct or indirect dependency on land. Land

NSOU CC-SO-02 171 rights and changes in rules go unnoticed. Tribal people are unaware or are made unaware about the rules which govern India's land rights. They do not have access to land records, not even the Record of Rights. This lends them to a higher probability of getting exploited, by the non-tribals and in some cases by the local officials. Wherever lands are given yet the pattas are not given, or pattas handed over yet the land is not shown. There is a discrepancy in demarcation of Scheduled Areas. In some places it is village wise and in some places it is area wise. There should be a clear village-wise demarcation of the Scheduled Area to avoid ambiguities and exploitation of tribal lands. Some of the tribal villages surrounding the Scheduled Areas are administratively called the Tribal Sub-Plan Areas, where land alienation is high and has numerous pending cases. Land alienation within tribes is a serious problem. A special protection should be provided for the local tribes by a process of categorization of tribes both for the purpose of preventing land alienation from lesser-developed tribes, and for a more equal distribution of reservations and other constitutional provisions. As commoners are difficult to manage, tribal people have frequently been denied from their rights over land. Their compulsion led to a situation where tribal people purchased seeds and other components from local money lenders against loan which ultimately caused chronic indebtedness and displacement from land. The unsatisfactory state of land records contributed a lot to the problem of land alienation. The tribal people were never legally recognized as owners of the lands which they cultivated. The second form of land alienation is reported to have taken place due to 'benami' transfers. Another form of land alienation is related to the leasing or mortgaging of the land. To raise loans for various needs they have to give their land as mortgage to the local moneylenders or to the rich farmers. Encroachment is another form of dispossessing them of their lands and this is done by the new entrants in all the places where there were no proper land records. Bribing the local Patwari for manipulating the date of settlement of land disputes, ante-dating etc., are resorted to claim the tribal lands. However, being the natural owners of forests and its adjoining lands the tribal people are being deprived of their rights to own them. They have been relegated from their earlier 'self-reliant' status to a 'dependent' one. Coupled with the exploitation by the non-tribes, the State legislations also proved detrimental to their interests. Therefore, to understand the root causes behind the land alienation process of the tribal communities, its relationship with the changes in the socio-economic structures have to be understood properly.

NSOU CC-SO-02 172 12.6.2 Bonded Labour : Slavery convention (1926) and International Labour Organisation (ILO) (1930) argue that forced labour, bonded labour, etc. are to be defined on the basis of labour and services extracted from a person as a penalty where the person was not involved voluntarily. United Nations Organization sees bonded labour as a special kind of forced labour (1956). However in India bonded labour is characteristically more complex. Major reasons behind bonded labour are link between caste,social structure and bondage, traditional feudal social relations and bonded labour. Small scale and localised quarrying and mining invite labourers from nomadic tribes and rural poor. They are irregularly paid and they remain bonded without proper work place protection. Instances are reported from Haryana, U.P, M.P, Rajasthan, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. India has a strong and substantial Bonded Labour System Abolition act of 1976. It recognises: a) overlap between forced and bonded labour, b) contract labour and interstate migration issues, c) embeddedness within social customs. However, since states showed reluctance, it is challenging to identify bonded labours and accordingly, the Supreme Court has tasked National Human Rights Commission for monitoring the implementation of the act.

12.6.3 Issues Related to Health : Malnutrition, as expected, is the most common health problem among tribal people. In addition, communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, and STDs are major public health problems. Some tribal groups are also at high risk for sickle cell anemia. Generally tribal diets are seen to be deficient in protein, iron, iodine, and vitamins. According to the NFHS-3survey 47% of tribal women are having chronic energy deficiency (CED) compared to 35%among the general population. The most common diseases seen among them are respiratory tract infections and diarrheal disorders. 21% of children suffer at least two bouts of diarrhea every year and 22% suffer from at least two attacks of respiratory infections. Tribal population accounts for 25% of all malaria cases occurring in India and 15% of all falciparum cases like intestinal helminthiasis or worm infection is widely prevalent among tribal children (up to 50% in Orissa and 75% in MP).Skin infections such as tinea and scabies are seen among tribal people due to poor personal hygiene. Sexually transmitted diseases are relatively more common (7.2% prevalence of syphilis among Kolli hills tribals of Tamil Nadu). The prevalence of tuberculosis is high, especially in Orissa. Sickle cell trait prevalence varies from 0.5% to 45%, disease prevalence is around 10%. It is

NSOU CC-SO-02 173 mostly seen among the tribes of central and southern India, not reported in North- East; the prevalence of tobacco use is 44.9% among tribal men and 24% among tribal women. Those who live in remote places and are shy of mixing with the larger community are often the worst sufferers of health hazards. The per capita health expenditure among tribal is higher than regular population. The available health infrastructure, i.e. the number of health care centres, professionals, and the distance is considered to be the determinants of the quality of health care facilities available. However, many recent studies have shown that sometimes even if health care facilities are available, tribal people tend to depend on their traditional system. The World Health Report (2000) has put stress on the importance of healthy delivery and in healthy outcomes, also stressing on the awareness of the generation about hygiene and available health infrastructure. The role of indirect intervention was removal of chronic poverty and a culture change, which was thought to be the prime factor for improvement in health and hygiene. At the time of independence the government system of health care was wholly urban centred. The rural areas depended on traditional faith-healers and voluntary agencies run by the missionaries. The importance lies in making health service facilities available at micro level with more emphasis on this section. As a result the health issues are dealt by clubbing them together with nutrition, sanitation, family planning, health education, awareness generation etc. The village community health workers chosen by village people now follow a decentralized agenda. 12.6.4 Education : Traditionally tribal communities have undergone drastic changes due to large scale migration, encroachment by outsiders and increasing vulnerability of the resources on which they have traditionally depended. Though many measures like scheduling of tribal areas, increasing land transfer and recognition of the rights over resources is encouraged by the Government of India. Yet, these people are facing problems like land alienation, displacement, indebtedness and bonded labour. Many of the problems are rooted in their increasing attachment with dominant culture and lack of basic competence in education. Nehru advocated for adopting a non-isolation strategy for the tribes, but failed to build capacity for them to cope with challenges put forth by modern culture. The capacity building initiatives quite clearly must involve a high emphasis on the education sector, i.e. education for tribal population to gain the NSOU CC-SO-02 174 power and self reliance and to cope with and transform their material reality. The universalization of primary education in India since 1950 is emphasised but remains underperformed. In recent decades a number of incentives are provided, e.g. Sarva Siksha Mission in 2003 - providing elementary education to all children in the age group of 6 - 14 by the year 2010. Mid-day meal scheme of 2001, provides mid-day meal to school going children and has dramatically increased the enrollment rate. However, in the 9th plan special provisions including pre and post matric scholarship and hostel facilities are initiated exclusively for tribal students.. 12.7 Solutions to the Problems of Tribal Community Various solutions have been presented for dealing effectively with the tribal problems. The tribal problems have been approached from three viewpoints. They are as follows: a) Assimilation: Assimilation is one of the ways of dealing with the tribal problems. According to this approach, we cannot deal with tribal problems on the basis of tribal culture and life but should change them to fit the frame of new community. According to this solution advocated by the social reformers and voluntary organizations, assisting and encouraging the tribes to assimilate them with the mainstream of national life, can alone permanently solve the tribal problems. The Christian missionaries on the one hand, and the Hindu social reformers like Thakkar Bapa on the other, have been trying to assimilate them into Christian and Hindu community respectively. This approach has its own limitations as complete assimilation by giving up all of their traditional tribal beliefs, practices and ideas is a difficult task. Any attempt to impose the external cultural practices on them, creates in them guilt feelings, confusions and mental conflicts. This solution may even create economic, religious and moral degradation among them. b) Isolation: Elwin have suggested that they must be kept at a distance from the rest of the society. Keeping them in isolation in some "National Parks" or "reserved areas" would solve two problems: (a) the tribals would be in a position to maintain their independent identity; (b) they would be free from the exploitation of outsiders. The champions of this approach are of the view that sufficient time must be given to the tribal groups to assimilate themselves with the rest of the community. The limitation of this approach is that once they are kept in isolation they are likely to develop vested interests and keep themselves permanently away from others.
NSOU CC-SO-02 175 c) Integration: The third view, which is actively followed in the recent years, is that of integration. The policy of isolation is neither possible nor desirable, and that of assimilation would mean imposition. Hence integration alone can make available to the tribes the benefits of modern society and yet retain their separate identity. This view recommends the rehabilitation of the tribes on the plains along with the mainstream population, but away from their native places such as hills, mountains, forests, etc. This suggestion has also been criticized as this has often been advocated to further the interests of industrialists and capitalists. This solution is not appreciated on the ground that it may create economic and moral decadence to those who are separated from their beloved land to plains. Still, the policy of integration which aims at developing a creative adjustment between tribes and non-tribes has been supported by thinkers and writers like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in 1957 in his foreword to Verrier Elwin's "The Philosophy for NEFA", has laid down five principles, that is, "Panchasheela", the policy of integration. The tribal "Panchasheela" or five principles as has been enunciated by him are as follows: (i) Nothing should be imposed on the tribal people. They must be allowed to develop along the lines of their own genius. We should try to encourage
in every way their own traditional arts and culture. (ii)

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Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected. (iii) Attempt must be made to train and build

up a team of their own people to the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will be of great help for them in the beginning. But too many outsiders must not be sent to the tribal territory. (iv) Over-administering the tribal areas or overwhelming them with too many schemes must be avoided. We should not work against their own social and cultural institutions. (v) The results of the work must be adjudged by the quality of the human character that is evolved and not by statistics or the amount of money spent. The policy of isolation is neither possible nor desirable, and that of assimilation would mean imposition. Hence integration alone can make available to the tribes the benefits of modern society and yet retain their separate identity .The policy of integration which aims at developing a creative adjustment between tribes and non-tribes has been supported by thinkers and writers.

NSOU CC-SO-02 176 12.8 Linguistic Classification Among Tribes in India Most of the tribal communities speak non- Aryan languages which are divided into four linguistic families: (a) Austro-Asiatic - Khasi, Nicobari, Santhali, HO, Mundari (b)Tibeto-chinese - Bhotia, Lepcha, Abor, Miri, Dafla, Garo, Naga (c) Dravidian-Korwa, Badaga, Toda, Kui, Kota, Gondi, Maler, Oraon, (d)Indio-European - Hajong, Bhili. 12.9 Summary The tribes of different parts of India are passing through an accelerated phase of transformation and have greatly disturbed the equilibrium in the traditional society. As a result of their long and continuous contacts with the regional Hindu castes, many tribal groups have long been assimilated as castes in the regional caste hierarchy. Numerous other tribes have undergone selective acculturation and have added selected traits or features of the regional Hindu castes. In this process, they have failed to occupy any rank in the caste hierarchy. The spread of Christianity through the Western missionaries succeeded in bringing about a marked change in the sacred, social, educational and economic status of the converted tribal groups. In recent years, urbanization and industrialization have brought about revolutionary changes in some parts of tribal India. These have led to the development of communications within the tribal areas and with the outside world, introduced monetized economy, spread formal and modern education, led to the extension of facilities like medical and administrative aids and introduction of advanced technology to exploit the mineral, forest, power and other industrial resources. But the rate of change evidently differs among different types of tribes. Moreover, they have retained the traditional elements of their ways of life, though these are modified to a greater or lesser extent. 12.10 Model Questions 1. Short type question (5 marks) A. Define tribes. B. Write down the popular names of Indian tribes.

NSOU CC-SO-02 177 C. Briefly discuss the geographical distribution of Indian tribes. D. Briefly discuss the economical problems of Indian tribes. E. Write down the linguistic classification among the Indian tribes. 2. Answer in detail (10 marks) A. Discuss the major problems faced by Indian tribes. B. Classify the Indian tribes on regional basis. C. Discuss the basic features of Indian tribes. D. Disscuss the major approaches to solve the tribal problems in India. E. Discuss the major problems and the solution of Indian tribes. F. Define tribes. Dicuss the major feature of Indian tribes. G. Discuss the popular names and geographical distribution of Indian tribes. 12.11 References and Suggested Readings 1. Annual Report 2010-2011 & Annual report 2008-2009, Ministry of tribal affairs, Government of India. Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India & 2010 Ministry of Tribal Affairs, StatisticsDivision. Government of India. 2. Bose, Pradip Kumar, (1985). Class and Class Relations among Tribals of Bengal, Delhi. Ajanta publications. 3. Bose, Pradip Kumar, (1985). "social Stratification among Tribes in Tribal Region of Bengal" ICSSR Research Abstract Quaterly, 61(1 and 2), pp.29- 40. 4. Choudhury Buddhadeb and Choudhury Sumita, "On Some Tribal Problems" in Buddhadeb Choudhury (Ed.), Tribal Development in India, Problems and Prospects, Inter India Publications,Delhi, 1982, p. 83-84. 5. Desai, A.R (1977) 'Tribes in Transition' in Ramesh Thapar (ed), Tribe, Cast and Religion in India. Delhi. The Macmillan Company India Ltd, pp. 15-28. 6. Dube.S.C (1977). Tribal Heritage of India: Ethinicity, Identity and Integration (vol.1). New Delhi. Vikash Publications. 7. Elwin, Verrier, The Aborginals, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1943.

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NSOU CC-SO-02 179 Module IV Socal Groups in India: Urban, Rural & Tribal (II)

Unit 13 Tribes : Culture, Economy and Polity Structure 13.0 Objectives 13.1 Introduction 13.2 Culture 13.3 Linguistic Pattern of Indian Tribes 13.4 Dress and Ornament 13.5 Customs, Environment and Religion 13.6 Communitization 13.7 Tribal Economy 13.8 Structural Features of Indian Tribal Economy 13.8.1 Forest-Based Economy 13.8.2 Domestic Mode of Production 13.8.3 Simple Technology 13.8.4 Absence of Profit in Exchange 13.8.5 Community as a Cooperative Unit 13.8.6 Gift and Ceremonial Exchange 13.8.7 Periodical Market 13.8.8 Interdependence 13.8.9 The Plains Agriculture Types 13.8.10 Cottage Industry 13.8.11 Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Labour Types 13.9 Tribal Polity 13.9.1 Chieftainship in Tribal Society 181

NSOU CC-SO-02 182 13.10 Power and Functions of the Chief 13.11 Summary 13.12 Model Questions 13.13 References and Suggested Readings 13.0

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Objectives After you have read this unit you should be able to describe

Cultural traits of Indian Tribes Linguistic pattern of Indian tribes Economical structure of Indian Tribes Tribal polity. 13.1 Introduction The word "tribe" is generally used for a socially cohesive unit, associated with a distinct territory, and considered as politically autonomous. Different tribes have their own cultures, dialects, life styles, social structures, rituals, values, etc. The forest occupies a central position in tribal culture and economy. The tribal way of life is very much dictated by the forest right from birth to death. It is ironical that the poorest people of India are living in the areas of richest natural resources. Historically, tribes have been pushed to corners owing to economic interests of various dominant groups. The tribes are a part of the Indian society and general problems of consciously changing or modernizing Indian society are applicable to them. Before independence, tribes enjoyed an almost untrammeled control over forestland and its produce for their survival. Forest offered fodder for their cattle, firewood to warm their hearths, and above all a vital source of day-to-day sustenance. The wonderful equation between man and nature demolished after independence with the encroachment of rapacious contractors on tribal land and the indiscriminate destruction of forest in the name of development. 13.2 Culture A tribe is an Indian group which possesses certain qualities and characteristics that make it a unique cultural, social, and political entity. The nature of what constitutes
NSOU CC-SO-02 183 an Indian tribe and the very nature of tribes have changed considerably over the course of centuries, but certain characteristics have still remained. A tribe is viewed, historically or developmentally, as asocial group existing before the development of, or outside of, states. Total population of Scheduled Tribes is 84,326,240 as per the Census 2001 which accounts for 8.2% of the total population of country. Majority of the Scheduled tribe population live in rural areas and their population is 10.4 % of the total rural population of the country. It is believed that persons of tribal origin are the earliest among the present inhabitants of our country. The historical study of human civilisation can be possible through the study of tribal Culture. The study of the tribal life will obviously show the way in which human civilisation originated, and may further reveal how the simple way of life of people living in Indian soil became so complex. There has been a continuous interaction between the tribals and non- tribals. As a result, the tribal way of life has been much influenced by their Hindu caste neighbours. In spite of this, they have retained some of the customs and traditions which form the original part of their culture. At this point, we see two things which seem to be in contrast to each other. On the one hand, the tribals are still guided by the principles of their own community and lead a distinct way of life in comparison to their Hindu caste neighbours. On the other hand, there is little difference between the tribals and the non-tribals in the economic way of life, clothing, food habits etc. 13.3 Linguistic Pattern of Indian Tribes The linguistic map of India and the languages found among the tribes indicate that the Dravidian linguistic family is found in the Dravidian region in South India and in a few pockets of middle India in Chhotanagpur and north-western border near Baluchistan. Another linguistic family, Austro-Asiatic, is found in certain pockets in the north-eastern Himalayan region in Meghalaya, in Nicobar Islands and extensively in middle India and adjoining western India. Tibeto-Chinese is the third language which is traced on the map and is prevalent all along the Himalayan region. The Indo- European language is found in the remaining part of India. All these suggest a linguistic drift from north-western to southern India and again in the pockets of middle India in the case of Dravidian languages. There is much controversy regarding the origin of the Austro-Asiatic language. W.Schmidt named the Munda language as Austro- Asiatic. Hutton opined that the Austro-Asiatic language was brought by the Kolarians through the west end of the Himalayas and by the Mon Khmer speaking people from
NSOU CC-SO-02 184 the east of the Himalayas. The Tibeto-Burmese language entered India from the north and spread all along the Himalayas. Thus the tribes of India speak different languages in different regions and groups, and can broadly be classified into four main linguistic families. These are o Austro-Asiatic Family: Mon-Khmer Branch : Khasi and Nicobari Munda Branch : Santhali, Kharwari, Ho, Mundari, Gondi, Kharia, Savara, Khond, Gadaba, etc. o Tibeto-Chinese Family : Siamese-Chinese sub-family: Tai group---Khampti, Phakial, etc. Tibeto-Burman sub-family: Tibeto-Himalayan Branch: Bhotias of Darjeeling Western sub-group of Pro-nominalized Himalayan group: Chamba, Lahauli, Swangli, Kanauri,etc. Non-Pro-minalized Himalayan Group: Rong or Lepcha, Toto, etc. Arunachal Branch: Aka or Hrusso, Abot, Miri, Dafla, Mishmi, etc. Assam-Burmese Branch: Bara or Bodo Group: Plains Kachari, Dimasa or (Hill) Kachari, Garo, Tripura, etc. Naga Group: (i) Naga sub-group: Angami, Ao, Sema, Rengma, etc. Naga-Bodo sub-group: Kachcha Naga, Kabui Naga, etc. (a) Kachin Group: Singpho (b) Kuki-Chin Group: Kuki, Paite, Mar, Thadou, Ralte, Lushai, etc o Dravidian Family: Dravidian group: Korawa, Yerukala, Yarava, Badaga, Toda, Kota, Kurukh or Oraon, Malto or Maler, Kui Kandhi or Khond Gondi, etc.

NSOU CC-SO-02 185 o Indo-European Family: Hajong, Bhili, etc. 13.4 Dress and Ornament The use of particular dress and ornaments among tribes are important marks of distinction in culture. A particular style of dress immediately indicates a particular culture group, and can be a much more direct mark of distinction than language. Dress and ornaments are important both within and outside tribes. Ornaments and styles of dress are often indicators of an individual's status within a given tribe. To the outside world, they immediately distinguish the tribal from mainstream society. Styles of dress and ornaments are also important between tribes themselves, and particular segments of tribes. Particular ornaments can have very culturally specific meanings among proximal tribes. The preference for particular styles of dress also indicates the degree of influence the outside world has had on a tribe. Many times, the men of a particular tribe will adopt Western-style dress, while the women will maintain traditional styles of dress and ornaments. There are a number of factors that influence this, one of the most important is that men tend to have greater interaction with non-tribal cultures, often going to urban centers for employment, or engaging in trade. We will now look at some case studies. With the Mal Paharias, we find that those who live closer to the plains have adopted a style of dress influenced by the larger society. Many of the men wear dhotis and lungis, while the women often wear saris and blouses. Women also wear less clothing as the distance increases from the plains. The Mal Paharias do not use much ornamentation. The women often wear glass bangles bought from weekly markets. The lack of tribe-specific ornamentation could indicate simple tribal tradition, or could demonstrate the process of cultural assimilation and erosion. The Bondo people have very specific styles of dress and ornaments. Traditional dress is found among both men and women. The women of the tribe wear a style of dress which is very scanty. The women's ornaments are very ornate. These ornaments consist of a number of bead necklaces and aluminium necklaces and bracelets. The women also shave their heads and wear headbands of glass or beads. In Bondo culture, children are naked until the age of six or seven. The Bondos produce their own clothing on traditional looms from materials gathered from the forest. The men wear a traditional hand woven loincloth. The Bondos express their unique culture through their style of dress. The means of production of clothing and ornaments is
NSOU CC-SO-02 186 connected with their economic system. Their economy eschews money and is based on the barter system. As compared to the Mal Paharias, the Bondos strongly maintain their culture, which is expressed through both language and dress. A Bondo tribesman is immediately recognizable by the unique style of dress. From these two brief examples it is apparent that maintenance of culture-specific styles of dress and ornamentation is a strong indicator of the vitality of their culture. It also indicates the degree of influence from the outside world on their culture. 13.5 Customs, Environment and Religion Another central mark of distinction is that of cultural customs, religious beliefs, and relation to the environment. These include everything from marriage customs, music, calendrical festivals, religious ceremonies, and economic systems. The maintenance of rituals and marriage customs often survive longer than other marks of distinction such as language and dress and ornaments. These forms of cultural expression are fundamental to the construction of unique tribal identities. Shared cultural practices create a feeling of solidarity among members of a particular tribe, and often differentiate them from other tribes and members of the plains. Rituals and festivals are of central importance to tribal identity, and can even survive in a modified form after religious conversion and prolonged contact with the outside world. Connected with these customs are often unique myths of the origin of the people, and their relation to the environment. The environment can also shape and dictate many of these customs and beliefs as well. 13.6 Communitization In the absence of any formal education, socialisation and knowledge of traditional values, arts and crafts were made possible through institutions known as bachelor's dormitories, among many Mongoloid and Austroloid tribes. Among the Naga tribes like Konyak, Ao, Zemi, Angami, Lotha, Serna and Tangukhuls it was known as Morung, Ariju, Kienga, Kichuk Champa, Dika Chung and Longshim respectively. Mizos call it Zawlbuk, Noctes Paa, Lalungs Samadi Muria Ghotu and GarosNokpantes. Tribes in Jharkhand area like Mundas call it Gitdora and Oraons Dhumkuria. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee and B.R.Choudhury have observed that this common club house system which was widespread among north Indian tribes might have come from Austric predecessors (B. R. Choudhury,
NSOU CC-SO-02 187 p. 159).Scholars point out that similar dormitory system existed in many tribes, in Nigeria, Congo, New Guinea, Borneo, Newzealand and other places till the twentieth century (Ruivah, p. 170). The dormitories among various tribes have some common features like admission restricted to bachelors, common sleeping places, separate houses for boys and girls, strict exogamy, i.e.no permission to marry members of their own common house. Generally dormitories are intended to members of one clan with whom no marriage is allowed. In each village there can be one or more dormitories as required by the population or the clans. Boys' dormitories are strictly forbidden for women while girls' dormitories can be visited by boys; for the tribal's chastity begins only with marriage. The primary loyalty of a tribal boy is to his common house, which is the centre of all social and cultural activities of the village. Not only has it the duty to protect the village from enemies, but it also undertakes public works such as construction and repairs of village roads, water tanks, sowing, harvesting and hunting. It imparts traditional values to the tribe, training in arts and crafts, dancing and singing. 13.7 Tribal Economy Economy simply means economics system of institution. Economy can be understood as an institutional arrangement that facilitates acquisition, production, and distribution of material means of survival for individual and community life. The economic system or its structure is repetitive and relatively permanent. According to Dalton (1969) "an economy is a set of institutionalized activities, which combine natural resources, human labour, and technology to acquire, produce and distribute material goods and specialist services in a structured and repetitive fashion". There are three interrelated features that characterize tribal economy. They are as follows: 1. It is a structural arrangement and has enforced rules for the acquisition and production of material goods and services. 2. In the process of acquisition and production of goods and services, division of human labour, use of natural resources and application of technology (tools and knowledge) are involved. 3. In the distribution process, superficial devices and practices such as market place, device for measuring some types of transaction are involved. Thus economy can be understood as an institutional and normative structure that

NSOU CC-SO-02 188 governs the economic relations among a group of people. This group may range from a tribal village to a modern nation even the entire world. The major economic processes governed by this system are acquisition, production and distribution of goods and services necessary for human survival and sustenance. 13.8 Structural Features Of Indian Tribal Economy The structural features of Indian tribal economy can be divided into a number of segments. 13.8.1 Forest Based Economy : Tribal economy is embedded in and revolves around the forest ecology. Not only their economy, but also the culture and social organization are interwoven with forests. Forest constitutes the major natural resource base for livelihood in all the tribal regions. Tribal people depend on forests for fulfilling their basic needs. They harness the forest resources with the help of simple implements without much technological aid from the outer world. The livelihood of the tribes mainly depends on collection of minor forest produce, hunting of wild animals and fishing in the shallow waters of the forests. They collect edible roots, tubers, fruits, nuts flower, leaves, fiber, bamboo, honey, wax etc for their subsistence. Most of them hunt deer, birds and fish. They use simple indigenous tools such as wooden bamboo pots and vessels, bamboo baskets and sticks for food gathering. In hunting they employ different types of traps and weapons. Availability and adequacy of food from these sources differ according to season. 13.8.2. Domestic Mode of Production : Family constitutes the basic unit of consumption as well as production in the tribal economics of India. In the simple economy of various tribal community all the members of the family together form the unit of production and are directly engaged in economic process of production and consumption. The decision-making process of allocation of labour and produce are governed by the familial stipulations. The household production is mainly geared for fulfilling their consumption needs rather than for the market. It is appropriate to call tribal economy as subsistence economy. The division of labour in the tribal household is based on age and gender. The gendered division of labour is based on the primitive belief that women are physically weak. The boys and girls are allotted different jobs suited to their age.

NSOU CC-SO-02 189 13.8.3 Simple Technology : The development of an economy depends upon the level of its technological advancement. Technology, involves the use of tools and implements in utilization of natural as well as human resources for productive purposes. The tools and implements used in the productive and distributive process of tribal economy are generally crude, simple and indigenously developed without the aid from outside. 13.8.4 Absence of Profit in Exchange : Maximization of profit is the main goal of economic transaction that drives the modern capitalistic economies. But the profit motive is quite absent in the economic dealing in the tribal economies of India. Two major institutional factors i.e. the communal nature of economy and absence of money as a medium of exchange are responsible for this. The mutual obligation and extension of free labour to the fellow beings result in no significant surplus at all. Money as a medium of exchange is almost absent in the tribal economies. Hence, there is no scope for measuring the value of goods and services and storing the profit generated in the exchange process as wealth for posterity. 13.8.5 Community as a Cooperative Unit : Community works as a cooperative unit in tribal societies and economic activities are carried away collectively as a group. Primitive economy is embedded in other community relationships. Dalton held that the factors such as low-level technology, small size of the economy and its relative isolation from outer world contributes to mutual dependence- people sharing many social relationships. In economic interactions, each tribal village community is considered as cooperative unit. The villagers have close economic relations. Most of them are engaged in common economic activities such as grazing the cattle. Their youth jointly graze the cattle and defend their village together. The adult men and women jointly transplant and harvest paddy in each other's field on a reciprocal basis. 13.8.6. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange : Universally, reciprocal gift, giving hospitality to social intimates plays a vital part in tribal economies. Process of distribution in tribal societies is part of non-economic relational matrix and takes the form of gift and ceremonial exchange. Each group, whether a family, a group of kinsmen communities, villagers, or the tribe as a whole, implies appropriate norm of reciprocity. Economic anthropologist Dalton (1971) holds

NSOU CC-SO-02 190 that the tribal mode of transaction is that of reciprocity i.e. material gift and counter gift giving induced by social obligations of kinship. 13.8.7 Periodical Market : Market is a major economic institution that regulates as well as facilitates distribution of goods and services among the people all over. In the rural areas, periodical markets and the system of barter exchange play a vital role in the economic life of Indian Tribes. These periodical markets were weekly, fortnightly, of biweekly and are widespread in the rural areas. These periodical markets, locally known as Bazar and/or Hat, generally serve the tribal villagers within the radius of 5- 10 KMs. and function on a specific place, at regular intervals of time. In these markets, people of different tribes and caste groups come together and conduct their business transaction. 13.8.8 Interdependence : The economic relationship among the various tribal communities are often considered, as one of interdependence while the spirit of competition is almost absent in the tribal economic life. The relationship between tribes, within tribes, or tribal people and non-tribal people are functionally interdependent. Vidyarthi and Rai (1976) observed that the economic functional interdependence is similar to the Jajmani system, found among the Hindu caste groups in most of the regions of the country. Under the jajmani

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system each caste group, within a village, is expected to give certain standardised services to the people of other

caste. The family head served by an individual is known as the jajman, while the man who performs is kamin of the jajman. Economic interdependence among the tribes has been observed in different tribal zones of the country in variety of ways. 13.8.9. The Plain Agriculture Type : The predominant occupation of the tribal population in India is that of settled agriculture or plain agriculture. In its simpler form plain agriculture requires tilling with a pair of animals. Two-third of the tribal population in the country is engaged in settle agriculture as their primary means of survival. However, the agriculture as practiced in tribal India is simple, less productive and at the subsistence level. 13.8.10 Cottage Industry : Among the tribes of India, a good number depends on crafts and cottage industries such as basket making, making of iron and wooden tools, spinning and weaving,

NSOU CC-SO-02 191 metal work for survival. They use simple tools in their day today work. They live in mixed tribal villages and generally have no exclusive villages of their own. They sell their finished products in the periodical markets. 13.8.11 The Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Labour Type : There is no single tribe that can be included under the agricultural labour or industrial labour type. Some of the members of agriculture and artisan tribes have taken the avenues of employment in agriculture and industries as casual labours. Agricultural Development on the one hand and industrialization in the tribal region on the other, has contributed to the emergence of these types of labour among the tribal people in the country. The tribal agricultural workers mostly work in their own locality within a radius of a few kilometers. On the other hand non-agricultural or industrial workers work in different industries. Most of the industrial labours are generally seasonal migrants to distant towns, mines, mills and wage labours in railway and road construction, forestry, civil work, etc. Sometimes they move to their workplaces in distant locations in bands inclusive of both genders. Saharia agricultural labour was found wherever there was high incidence of indebtedness. Education advancement, reservation policy of government of India etc. have prompted a significant proportion of the members to take up the skilled white collar jobs and trades of different kinds. Many individuals and households belonging to the tribes are presently working in government offices, hospitals factories and business enterprises. 13.9 Tribal Polity A tribe's political organization is generally formed to satisfy the basic needs of the group. Though the groups are egalitarian, the leaders of the group, mostly male, enjoy formidable power based on both their ascribed and achieved status. 13.9.1 Chieftainship in Tribal Society : In most of the tribal societies, the system of administration was based on the system of 'chieftainship'. Therefore, the kind of early state formation among the tribal was first seen in the form of Chieftainship system. The term 'Chief' cannot be equated with the term 'King' in many respects. But in some cases, the use of king and Chief seems to be interchangeable as it is confusingly used in many places. However, many a times, tribal Chiefs are also referred to as kings, depending on the size of population

NSOU CC-SO-02 192 they ruled; for example, the ruler of Buganda in Uganda who ruled over nearly two million people was known as the 'King', whereas the Chief implies smaller size of population, for example: Chief of Ubungu in Tanzania who ruled about twenty thousand people. But the use of the terms king or Chief does not have any conspicuous implication in the African context. Likewise, the Mizo word 'Lav' signifies a person who is above all others, the supreme head and military leader in times of war and the repository of an authority within his dominion regardless of the number of subjects he had. Peter Skalnik further observes from his field work in Nanun, South Africa, that kingdoms and monarchies were just states, which carried various epithets such as primitive, archaic, traditional, tribal or early, to distinguish them from the modem state. Marshal Sahlin view that state represents the final stage off our stage evolutionary process through which the early society develops. These are: band, tribe, chiefdom and state. He says that the tribal state wer echaracterised by a segmentary lineage system and this lineage system is a social means of intrusion and competition and tends to be economically and politically autonomous because they are fissioning down the generations and occupying separated territories which too are further differentiated through internal and external intrusion. This segmentation could be genealogical as well as territorial. In this state there is a virtual lack of economic solidarity, the polity therefore is fragmented, materially the society remains in a 'simple Neolithicmode of production' typified by shifting agriculture and simple pastoralism'. It is only when these segments begin to become rank differentiated internally, and several of them also become rank relative to each other, thus creating a more extensive polity, does the tribal society progress into next stages of chiefdom and state. They may form a segmentary hierarchy. A tribe tends to remain egalitarian in that no one of the families is politically superior or more powerful in hereditary ranks than any other. In a tribal system differentiation of structure however, has not been carried to the point where separate bodies of political control, full economic specialization or true full time religious specialization have developed. On the contrary, Elman R. Service observes that, in contrast to the ideal egalitarian tribal system we find cases which involve rise in the prestige of the person holding the office of Chief. 'Chiefdoms' are thus characterized by hereditary ranks. Chiefdoms are closely related to redistribution as a mode of exchange, whereas in the tribes it is typically reciprocal. The chiefdom provides a centralized direction to a hitherto tribal society and gives greater productivity without necessarily any change in

NSOU CC-SO-02 193 technological methods. But they do not have true government. The chiefdom is a development of the segmentary tribal system to higher level of integration. A chiefdom is, however, not a class society. Regarding egalitarian society, it is observed that, 'political authority is uncentralized, and there is no permanent, institutionalized inequality among fundamental social units such as families and villages. Leadership tends to be ephemeral, and the individual leaders that emerge do so because they exibit unusual personal characteristics, like intelligence and bravery, that attracts followers. Leadership status is achieved, not ascribed at birth '. In Mizo society, the Chieftainship was based on the power one derived from his decent, kin connections, control on land, forests, hills and rivers beyond his own village. It is further argued that chiefdoms will inevitably evolve into states, nor as static. Besides, chiefdoms are prone to repeated cycles of political growth, marked by an increase in the power and resources (both human and nonhuman) controlled by the chief, followed by a period of decline. This proved to be true in the case of Sailo (Lusai) Chieftainship as their superiority was attained because of political power over time and subsequently in their interest they developed the notion of superiority by making the Chieftainship hereditary and the most prominent ruling clan in Mizoram became the Sailo. There was a feeling of strong solidarity which gave rise to the feeling of high rank and supra-local solidarity. In rank societies chiefdoms, or authority is permanently centralized in the office of Chief, which exists apart from the person who occupies it and upon his death must be filled by someone of similarly elite descent, high status is largely inherited. However, in the case of Lushai Chieftainship, the leadership was confined to their respective village units. In other words it was one - village authority. Despite the existence of chief clans and the chieftainship, the Lushai society lacked centralised political structure. The villages did not form the smallest unit in the pyramid form of the social structure. Independent village chief did not combine themselves. In fact, the concept of the social structure of the society was alien to the tribe. The state organization and the pyramid-like authority and leadership structure was conspicuous by their absence. There was no gradation of the Chiefs. All the Chiefs were independent in the areas of operation. The political authority naturally was widely distributed and diffused among a large number of villages.

NSOU CC-SO-02 194 13.10 Power and Functions of the Chief In Mesoamerica, Peru, Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Indus valley and China, it is observed that, the origin of bureaucracy can be found in those cases where chiefdoms evolved into the first pristine states through the process of primary state formation worldwide. In Mizo society, the Lushai Chiefs had more than one village and the other villages than his own was under a headman. The main village used to have during pre-colonial period up to 400 houses. In later time its number decreased. The Chief with his upa, zalen and ramhual used to look after the judicial as well as executive matters including the agricultural activities. The headman of a satellite village used to look after his village affairs in consultation with the chief. A big headman was allowed to trace his descent in the Patrilineal line; he used to emphasise his blood relations with the Chief. The sons of concubines only in rare circumstances could become a Chief. The right to rule over the people was enjoyed by the one who had the power and ability to command a large number of people and to repeal any attack by other Chiefs. Thus, chieftainship originated in the physical and intellectual power of a person. Or a person who had the power of giving security to the people became a chief. According to Parry, 'A chief is the repository of all power, and the fountain head of justice. He is also 'the father of his people'. His role is multifunctional despite the institution of the chief's non-chiefly assistant'. As an administrator and supreme head of the village, the Chief enjoyed the right : 1. To order capital punishment to those who committed murder or rape, 2. To seize food stores and property of the villagers who wished to transfer their allegiance to other Chief, 3. To levy tax from traders who were doing business within his jurisdiction, 4. To attach the property of his villagers when he wished or deemed fit, with or without fault on the part of the villagers, 5. To help bawi who were by custom not open to redemption, 6. To freedom of action in relation to making his son Chief within his land, 7. To freedom of action in relation to all kinds of bawi who constituted the means whereby the Chief could cultivate and acquire the ability to sustain his village in peace and in war time, and
NSOU CC-SO-02 195 8. Proprietory rights over lands. It was a fact that the chief had the right over the life and death of his subjects. 13.11 Summary It can be concluded that culture as a learned behaviour is a continuous process which passes from one generation to the other. Therefore, culture is basically a process of evolution. In the evolutionary process of development, different cultures have taken different shape according to the time and social requirement. Hence, there is cultural multiplicity and diversity of various cultural traits among different communities. Some see their own culture as superior and the culture of others as, inferior. This ethnocentric bias has developed cultural relativism leading to cultural typologies like 'barbarism', 'uncultured', 'pre-civilised', 'primitive', etc. But a value neutral analysis proves that every culture is shaped by the prevailing socio-economic milieu and various cultural traits are related to the life pattern and economic activities. Specially, tribal culture is shaped by their economic activities and vice versa. Their polity, religious practices and worldview act as binding forces to keep their society together as a coherent force. Their social practices, marriage system and social system as a whole still retain its uniqueness in spite of cultural contact with their non-tribal neighbours and the impact of modernity. These unique characteristics are said to be the core of tribal society and culture that can be distinctly studied from tribe to tribe and even among the same tribe from place to place. 13.12 Model Questions 1. Short Type Question (5 marks) A. Write down the domestic mode of production among the Indian tribes. B. What do you know about the chieftainship in tribal polity? C. Write a short note on the dress and ornaments as a distinct features of tribal culture. D. Write a short note on tribal economy. 2. Answer in Detail (10 marks) A. Write down the linguistic pattern of tribal community. B. Explain the basic feature of tribal economy.
NSOU CC-SO-02 196 C. Discuss the power and function of the chief in a tribal community. E. Explain the tribal economy system. F. Discuss the tribal polity. G. Discuss the cultural traits of Indian tribes . 13.13 References and Suggested Readings 1. Annual Report 2010-2011 & Annual report 2008-2009, Ministry of tribal affairs, Government of India. Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India& 2010 Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Statistics Division, Government of India. 2. M.L. Patel, "Directions of Tribal Development", VANYAJATI, Vol. XI, No. 2, April 1992, p. 31. 3. Buddhadeb Choudhury and Sumita Choudhury, "On Some Tribal Problems" in Buddhadeb Choudhury (Ed.), Tribal Development in India, Problems and Prospects, Inter India Publications, Delhi, 1982, p. 83-84. 4. Verrier, Elwin, The Aborginals, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1943. 5. Ghurye, G.S., The Tribals so called and their Future, Gokale Institute of Politics and Economics,Puna, 1943. 6. Hayami Y, Godo Y 2006. Development economics, New Delhi. Oxford University Press. 7. Konar AK 2008. Emerging Threat to Sustainability of Goddess's Groves: An Empirical Ethnological observation in The Tribal Communities of Purulia District in West Bengal, India. A Minor Research Projects sponsored by University Grant Commission of India, Kolkata. 8. Bose, Pradip Kumar, 1985. Class and Class Relations among Tribals of Bengal, Delhi: Ajanta publications. 9. Bose, Pradip Kumar, 1985. "social Stratification among Tribes in Tribal Region of Bengal" ICSSR Research Abstract Quaterly, 61(1 and 2), pp.29-40. 10. Desai, A.R 1977 'Tribes in Transition' in Ramesh Thapar (ed), Tribe, Cast and Religion in India. Delhi : The Macmillan Company India Ltd, pp. 15-28. 11. Dube.S.C 1977. Tribal Heritage of India: Ethinicity, Identity and Integration (vol.1). New Delhi. Vikash Publications.
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NSOU CC-SO-02 198 Unit 14 Village : Structure and Change Structure 14.0 Objectives 14.1 Introduction 14.2 Studies on Indian Villages 14.3 The Village as a Community 14.4 Characteristics of Indian Villages 14.5 The Changes in Village Community in Different Spheres 14.6 Summary 14.7 Model Questions 14.8 References and Suggested Readings 14.0

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Objectives After you have read this unit you should be able to describe

Studies in Indian villages. Village as a community. Chacteristics of Indian villages. Changes in village community. 14.1 Introduction Among the earliest human groups, gathering was the main source of food. Gradually man acquired the skill and knowledge in agriculture. With the development of agriculture, people began to lead a settled life and human communities became more stationary. The emergence of village signified that man has passed from nomadic mode of collective life to the settled one. India is a land of villages. A great majority of villages are small with only around five hundred population each. Mahatma Gandhi's view that India lives in villages still holds good, at least from the demographic point of view. The village social life has its own peculiar characteristics. The village social 198

NSOU CC-SO-02 199 life norms strengthen the authoritarian and hierarchical norms in administration. The village social life, based on the hierarchical exchange relations greatly influence the behavior of civil servants in public organizations. Sociologists think that for defining an Indian village, its population, physical structure, and modes of production are definitely important. Usually, a village has less than five thousand individuals. Agriculture is the main occupation of the Indians and a majority of people in India live in the villages. Our villages help in strengthening our social bonds and bringing stability to our society in many ways. Our villages also help our society in another way namely that of preserving our culture. Village habitations have been an enduring feature of all human societies from the very dawn of human civilization and the idea of the village has occupied an important place in India. It has been one of the core categories

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through which India has been imagined and imaged in modern times.

It has preserved Indian culture and has its own social, cultural, economic and political importance. It has retained some of its individual features despite the passage of time. 14.2 Studies on Indian Villlages According to M.N. Srinivas, "The studies of village communities which are currently being carried out in the different parts of the country would provide the future historian with a vast body of facts about rural social life, facts collected not by travelers in a hurry, but by men who are trained to observe keenly and accurately. These studies therefore constitute valuable contributions to the social, political, economic and religious history of our country. The study of Indian Rural Society has helped in developing certain analytical categories. Srinivas has pointed toward a social process, which he termed as Sanskritization, through which the lower castes try to bring about changes in their life-ways to obtain greater ritual purity, and thereby attain a higher status in the ritual hierarchy of castes. Marriott discovered the processes of Universalisation and Parochialization which explain the complexity of Indian civilization and the communication channels that exist between the Great and Little traditions of the country. S.C. Dube suggests that "the concepts of Great and Little Traditions, sanskritization, and universalization and parochialization offer us a good starting point, and from here we should build step by step a series of hypotheses and concepts that would ultimately lead to meaningful generalizations regarding the structure and processes of Indian

NSOU CC-SO-02 200 society." He says, The structural-functional approach provides us with more or less satisfactory conceptual tools for the study of village communities. Robert Redfield's "folk-urban continuum' provides one such conceptual framework." Redfield brings out the idea that folk societies gradually transform themselves into village communities and isolate themselves from the ideal types. In India, both sociologists and anthropologists are jointly exploring the village community with a largely common methodology. In the year 1955, Dube's Indian Village, Majumdar's Rural Profiles (ed.), Marriot's Village India(ed.), and Srinivas' India's Villages (ed.) were the major publications. An Introduction to Rural Sociology in India, an anthology edited by A.R. Desai, appeared in a revised and enlarged version in the year 1959. Yogesh Atal points out that "every village has a distinct 'personality' of its own. It has its distinctive structure, network of kinship-affiliations, caste-composition and dominance, and leadership patterns. The south Indian village is different in many respects from a north Indian village. "On "village studies" in India, Prof. Ramkrishna Mukherjee suggests that there is the need to take up these studies from the perspective formulated and interpreted by cultural and social anthropologists and sociologists and we may also note the distinct importance of portraying the peculiar and specific way of life of a village. Prof. Mukherjee emphasizes that the merit of "village studies" usually conducted by social anthropologists and sociologists cannot be denied but the point remains that the two streams of "village studies" carrying the imprint of economists or social anthropologists or sociologists must meet at relevant sites. He maintains that until and unless the "economic" and "social" perspectives towards "village studies" meet at critical points, it is not possible to obtain a composite understanding of village life and a balanced view of the dynamics of village society. 14.3 The Village as a Community Distinguishing between "association" and "community", Maclver defines "community" as "circle of people who live together, so that they share not this or that particular interest, but a whole set of interests wide enough and comprehensive enough to include their lives" while an association "is a group specifically organized for the purpose of an interest or group of interests which its members have in common". In the light of the above definition it must not be assumed that in all areas noted in the Census Report, there were in existence village communities in the sense of

NSOU CC-SO-02 201 close corporations of people living a more or less common life. It is true that village community must have existed in some form or other in nearly every part of India; and evidences of its survival are still found, though less easily distinguishable in some places than others. While the "Indian village" is ancient, the actual villages have had short histories in the constant process of founding, conquest, destruction and depopulation. There are certain regions, however, where the system of village communities does not appear to have existed at all, as is evident from the earlier discussion. And, therefore, when we speak of village community and its self-governing institution we do not mean what is almost entirely an artificial creation for revenue and administrative purposes but one where the feeling of community centering on the village is the strongest, where it is a social unit of settlement of the village type. This also includes the village consisting of a central unit with one or more satellite hamlets together constituting a social unit. In areas like Kerala and Himachal Pradesh the emergence of community feeling centering on the village is very weak or virtually absent. In such areas where the settlement pattern is of homestead or dispersed hamlet type, the introduction of settled administration has tended to the formation of artificial villages as local units. But whenever the term "village" is applied, it must be understood to mean little more than the administrative area occupied by a group of people and does not necessarily connote any settled corporate life. The assumption that the "Indian village" is a community has, as already noted, a strong basis in historical fact even present fact more or less. The people living in a village had intimate social and economic relationships which were regulated by tradition and institutions which had evolved over centuries, unlike the comparatively superficial or transitory interests and ties which bind the neighborhood or a residential suburb in a modern city. 14.4 Characteristics of Indian Villages Villages play an important part in Indian life. From the prehistoric times, the village has been enjoying an important place as the basic unit of Indian social structure. India can righty be called a land of villages. The bulk of her population lives in the villages. According to the census of 1991, about 75 per cent of the total population lives in villages. There are 5, 75, 721 villages in the country, 26.5 per cent of the total rural population lives in small villages (under 500 persons). 48.8 per cent in medium sized villages (between 500 and 2,000 persons), 19.4 per cent in large villages (between 2,000 and 5,000 persons). The basic charactaristics of Indian villages are as follows:

NSOU CC-SO-02 202 (i) Isolation and Self-Sufficiency: Almost till the middle of the 19th century, the villages in India were more or less self-contained, isolated and self-sufficient units. The inhabitants of the village had very little to do with the people outside. All of their essential needs were satisfied in the village itself. This feature of the Indian village is described graphically as follows: Each village tends to be self-contained, in each will be found persons with permanent rights in the lands as owners or tenants with hereditary occupancy rights; of these some cultivate all they hold, others with large areas at their disposal rent out to tenants on a yearly agreement a part or whole of their lands; below these in the scale are agricultural labourers, some have a field or two on rent, some work in the fields only at times of pressure and are mainly engaged in crafts, such as leather work, or in tasks regarded as menial. In all but the smallest village, there are one or two skilled artisans, carpenters or blacksmiths who provide and repair the simple agricultural implements, bullock gear and water-lifts. The household requirements are supplied by a shop or two whose owners usually provide the first market for the village produce and add to their earnings in money-lending. In short, it was more of a society within itself. However, changing political and economic conditions are putting an end to the isolation and self-sufficiency of the Indian village. The rapid development of the means of transport and communication has broken the barriers between the village and city. The former is now socially and even economically connected with the neighbourhood city or town. Political parties have made village the centre of their activities as much as the city. (ii) Peace and Simplicity: The second feature of an Indian village is the atmosphere of simplicity, calmness and peace prevailing therein. In the village there is no noise and little sophistication. The humdrum activities of modern civilization are rarely seen there. Though occasionally a car or a bus rolling along the kutcha road enveloped in thick clouds of dust may be seen there, but, on the whole, life in the village moves with traditional quietude and peace. The villagers lead a simple life, eat frugally, dress simply, and live in mud-walled houses completely lacking in the trappings of modern civilization. But here also the old order is yielding place to a new one. The mud-walled houses are giving place to well designed buildings. Fashion is making its inroads in the life of young men and women of the village. Here and there notes of music issue from dry cell radio. However, this change is gradual and slow.

NSOU CC-SO-02 203 (iii) Conservatism: The inhabitants of the village are strongly attached to old customs and traditions. Their outlook is primarily conservative and they accept changes with extreme reluctance. They love old ways and are less eager to follow the advice of zealous social reformers regarding their marriage and other customs. Writing on Indian villages, Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote, "they seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasties tumble down; revolution succeeds revolution. Hindu, Pathan, Moghul, Maratha, Sikh, English all the masters change in turn, but the village communities remain the same." (iv) Poverty and Illiteracy: Probably the most glaring and also depressing features of Indian villages are the poverty and illiteracy of the village people. They are generally poor with a very low income. They take coarse food and put on rough clothes. The pressure on land is high resulting in fragmentation of holdings and poor productivity. Besides poverty the village people are steeped in ignorance and illiteracy. The opportunities for education are meagre in the villages. The village school is generally in a dilapidated condition. Facilities for higher education are practically nil. Due to poverty the villagers cannot send their sons to city for education. Due to illiteracy they cannot improve upon their agriculture or supplement their income by other means. Poverty is thus the cause and effect of illiteracy and the backwardness of the villagers. However, recently the need has been realised for rural reconstruction. An all India organisation under the name of 'All India Kissan Sammelan' has been formed to focus the attention of the government on the problems of peasantry class. There is greater realisation now that the country can march ahead only if its villages are prosperous. The governments, both at the centre and states, have launched numerous schemes like total literacy programme, fertilizer subsidy, crop insurance, free power, concessional water-rate, minimum procurement price and low-interest loans for liquidating illiteracy and removing poverty of the people living in the villages. Agricultural production is becoming more and more mechanized and agricultural products are fetching high prices. (v) Local Self-government: The villages in ancient India enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy or self-government. The villagers managed their own affairs through the traditional institution of Panchayat. The central government had neither the inclination nor the means for interfering with the self-government of villages.

NSOU CC-SO-02 204 With the advent of Britishers in India and their introduction of a highly centralised system of administration the importance of Panchayats began to decline. Their judicial powers were taken over by the British courts and the officers were appointed to look after the administrative affairs of the villages. This change produced unpleasant results. Since the times of Lord Ripon attempts were made to revive the old system of village local self-government, but the progress was very slow in this direction. With the attainment of freedom now fresh efforts are being made to strengthen the panchayat system and make Panchayats play a better part in the work of national reconstruction. The 73rd Amendment Act, 1993 has laid the foundation of strong and vibrant Panchayati Raj institutions in the country. (vi) Pattern of land ownership: The pattern of land-ownership, tenancy and labour frequently cuts across the village. The land which is included within the boundary of an official or administrative village is not always owned by those residents in it. Some of the land is usually owned by people in neighbouring villages or towns. During the last hundred years or more, there has come into existence a class of absentee landowners, people who reside in towns but own land in villages. Again, members of a village are commonly found to own some land in neighbouring villages. Even tenants and labourers are occasionally found cultivating land lying in another village. In some irrigated areas where the density of population is high, it is not unknown for a tenant to cultivate land lying six or seven miles from where he is staying. (vii) External trade: It is often assumed that trade and commerce did not touch villages in India. This assumption was perhaps true only of villages in the tribal areas. In the non-tribal areas, however, village economy has for a long time been integrated in varying degree with regional, national and even international trade and commerce. In certain regions, such as Gujarat, and Kerala and Coromandel coasts, there was a high degree of integration of village economy with the economy of the wider world. These coastal areas had maritime commerce with overseas countries since at least the beginning of the Christian era. The exports of Gujarat included, for instance, agricultural and forest produce as well as finished goods. In the former category may be mentioned indigo, cotton, wheat, rice, tobacco, edible oil, ghee, honey, lac, hides, dried ginger and myrobalan. In the latter category there were goods of three kinds: firstly, goods such as cotton cloth, yarn, cushions. canopies, carpets and cotton tape, which were manufactured mostly by urban artisans but the raw materials; for which were supplied NSOU CC-SO-02 205 by villagers; secondly; goods such as precious stones which were manufactured by urban artisans from indigenous minerals; and thirdly, goods such as silk cloth and objects of metal and ivory which were manufactured by urban artisans from imported raw materials." (viii) Dependence on towns: The villagers also depended upon towns for certain specialized services. Whenever they wanted to build a brick-and-mortar structure, whether it was a dwelling house, a well a hospice (dharmasala), a village meeting house (chavadi), or a pigeon-tower (chabuturi), they had to call in brick-layers and limeworkers from nearby towns. They also get their gold and silver ornaments made by a town smith. Though mud pots and pans were popular in the house, the few metal vessels which were in use, and the immense metal utensils for cooking community dinners, were bought and repaired in the town. The florist, the tailor, the washerman, the vahivancha (genealogist) and the grain parcher were all to be found only in the towns and very large villages. (ix) Weekly markets: There are also single-caste milages. Where these villages are of artisans, they sell their goods in nearby towns, or more frequently, in the weekly markets. The latter are an eloquent testimony to the Indian village's lack of self-sufficiency. They also imply a certain amount of monetization of the economy which in turn means that the village was part of a wider politico-economic system. Weekly markets again vary in their range. Some are patronised by people living in a few neighbouring villages while others are patronised by people spread over a wide area. Occasionally, there is also a certain amount of specialisation in weekly markets; one market is famous for trade in cattle, another in sheep and poultry, a third in woollen blankets, and so on. Pilgrimages also take the villager beyond the village, and occasionally into a different language area. The periodical festival of a deity attracts devotee and others from nearby villages, and a bazaar springs up around the temples. The prospect of buying and selling at the festival is as strong an attraction as the religious one. There are fairs which are famous for the sale of cattle, and nowadays, cattle are moved by lorry by a distance of two or three hundred miles to reach a fair. Such fairs occur all over the country and they reveal the fact that the peasant's social and economic universe is very much wider than his village. (xi) Political structure: The assumption that the Indian village community was not influenced by, and did not in turn influence, the wider political structure, is also facile. This assumption is a result of looking only at the top and not at the base of
NSOU CC-SO-02 206 the political structure, a result of concentrating on the history of kings and generals and not of the people. At the village or slightly higher level, there was usually the dominant caste, the members of which owned a good deal of the available arable land, and also wielded political power in addition. Each such caste had a leader whose position was further strengthened by ties of kinship and affinity, and by his capacity to confer favours on his clients. Such chieftains stood at the base of the political pyramid everywhere in India. Above them was the Raja or king, the viceroy of an Emperor, and the Emperor himself, in ascending order of importance. The lower-level authority acknowledged the supremacy of the higher authority when he paid tribute, and declared his independence from the latter when he stopped payment. There was a continuum of power relations from the lowest to the highest levels, and changes at each level were followed by changes at the other levels. In 'orthodox' histories changes at the higher levels are said to be the cause of change at lower levels, but not the other way round. 14.5 The Change in Village Community in Different Spheres (i) Caste System: The British rule in India gave a serious blow to the caste system in the villages. The economic policy and the laws of British rulers induced the different castes to adopt occupations other than the traditional ones. The hold of caste panchayat was loosened. The status of a village man was determined on the basis of his economic position and personal attainments. The restrictions on food, dress, mode of living and other matters imposed under caste system were removed. Even untouchability was weakened. Thus caste system has now lost its traditional hold in the villages, however, casteism is getting strengthened on account of selfish political interests. (ii) Jajmani System: 'Social Stratification in India, the "Jajmani" system, a feature of village community in India has now weakened due to the governmental efforts to raise the status of the lower castes and impact of urbanisation. The occupations adopted by the village people are not entirely hereditary or based on caste system, nor the payment for services rendered by the lower caste is in kind; it is now mostly cash payment. (iii) Family System: The joint family system is no longer the peculiar characteristic of the village community. Nuclear families have taken its place. The family control over its members in matters of diet, dress and marriage has weakened. The family is

NSOU CC-SO-02 207 no longer an economic unit. Several activities which once were carried within the family are now performed by outside agencies. The education of village girls has raised the status of rural women. (iv) Marriage System: Change can also be seen in the institution of marriage. Although inter-caste marriages are rare and parents continue to dominate the mate- choice, yet the boys and girls are consulted by the parents in the matter of mate- choice. Love marriages and divorces are almost non-existent. The individual qualities like education, economic pursuit, beauty and appearance of the marriage partners are given preference over the old family status. There is now less expenditure on marriages. The marriage rites also have been minimised. The custom of child marriage is being abolished. (v) Living Standards: The standard of living in the village community is gradually going higher. The rural diet no more consists of coarse food only. It now includes vegetables, milk, bread, tea and vegetable ghee. The dress is getting urbanized. The youths put on pants and the girls put on frocks and Bell Bottoms. Even the old ladies put on blouses instead of shirts. The mill cloth is used in place of handloom cloth. Gold ornaments have replaced the old heavy silver ornaments. The young boys live bare-headed with well combed long hair while the girls use cosmetics. There are now 'pucca' houses to live. These are now better ventilated, well furnished, and in some cases electrified too. The ceiling fans can also be seen in some houses. Lanterns have replaced the earthen lamps in most houses. Gobar gas plants have also been installed in some houses. The sanitary habits of the people have improved. They now use soap for bath and washing the clothes. The safety razors are used for shaving. The drainage system is also better one. The primary health centres have made the village people health conscious. The threat of epidemics has lessened due to the vaccination and other preventive measures taken to the villages. The family planning program has been understood by the village people who now adopt measures to limit the family size. Schools have been opened. In some villages degree and post degree colleges can also be found. Agriculture Institutes and other Rural Institutes have also been opened in some villages. (vi) Economic System: Change has also taken place in the economic field. The educated rural youth seeks jobs in the cities rather than settling on the land. The demand for new scientific instruments of agriculture is increasing. The farmers have
NSOU CC-SO-02 208 been taught new methods to raise their production. The rural cooperative societies have lessened the woes and miseries of the village people in getting seeds, fertilizers and credit. The 'Sahukara' system is on the wane. More and more banks are being opened in the villages. The Government gives financial assistance and other facilities for setting up industries in the villages. The per capita income has increased. Economic exploitation has decreased and the farmers get good price for their products. (vii) Political System: The setting up of 'panchayats' has led to the growth of political consciousness among the village people. The newspapers, radio and television in some areas have added to the political knowledge of the villagers. However, the political parties have divided the people into groups and led to groupism among them. Caste conflicts and group rivalries have increased. The community feeling has decreased. Selfishness and individualism are growing. 14.6 Summary It is thus evident that the Indian village is not a static community. It is dynamic. Sir Charles Metcalfe was wrong to hold that the village communities in India seem to last where nothing else lasts.The villages in India are at present passing through a transitional period. From the sociological point of view the old social relations, bonds and ties have disappeared. The community consciousness is steadily decreasing. Politics of the country has made deep inroads into the peaceful life of the village people and has divided them into political and sub-caste groups. The joint family system is fast disintegrating and morality has gone down. The only feature of the village community now left is agriculture. In India the task of rural reconstruction is a big and complicated affair, not to be accomplished easily. As we have seen above, 75 per cent of population lives in villages. To raise the standard of living of 64 crores of people is no easy task. However, the trends show that considerable progress is under waydespite great difficulties. A Ministry of Rural Development has been formed at the centre to look after the overall task of rural development and co-ordinate the different schemes in this direction. Agricultural development along with irrigation and generation of electric power had the highest priority in the First Plan. Both the short term and long term objectives of the First Plan were by and large achieved. In the Second Plan new targets of agricultural production were laid down which have been more than achieved. In the Third and Fourth Plans also adequate importance was
NSOU CC-SO-02 209 given to the task of rural reconstruction. The successive plans also have given due attention to the programme of rural development. Various schemes like Small Farmers Development Project (SFDP), Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Project (MFAL), Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP), Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Applied Nutrition Programme (ANP) and finally Jawahar Rozgar Yojna Programme have been in vogue for the upliftment of rural masses. The rural school is undergoing transformations under the impact of Operation Blackboard. It is now better equipped and adequately staffed. The introduction of labour-saving machinery has shortened farm hours, decreased the difficulty of labour and increased the amount of leisure time. Link roads are being constructed in the villages, electricity provided, sanitary conditions improved, health facilities provided and well-equipped hospitals with qualified doctors opened.Many of the conveniences and comforts of the city are being introduced into rural homes. The 73rd Amendment Act, 1993 has sought to make the Panchayati Raj System more effective and role playing in the field of rural development. With the passing of theunattractive, barren and drudgery features of village home, it is hoped, there would come a new appreciation of the deeper rural values so that the young men would not flee to the cities, depriving the village of energetic and educated rural leadership. 14.7 Model Questions 1. Short type question (5 Marks) A. What is jajmani system? B. Explain the political system in Indian villages. C. Write down the major charaterstics of Indian villages. D. Write down the changes in village economy system. 2. Answer in detail (10 Marks) A. Explain the village as community. B. Write down six major characterstics of of Indian villages. C. Explain the changes in living standered of village communities. D. Explain the changes in political system of village communities. E. Write down the importance of local self govt. In Indian villages.
NSOU CC-SO-02 210 F. Explain the changes in the village communities. G. Illustrate the major characterstics of Indian villages. 14.8 References and Suggested Readings 1. Ahuja, R., Indian Social System, Rawat Publications, Jaipur and New Delhi, 2005. 2. Bailey, F.G., Tribe, Caste, Nation, Manchester University, Manchester, 1957. 3. Bougle, C., "The Essence and the Reality of the Caste System," in Contributions to Indian Sociology, No. 2, 1958. 4. Desai, A.R., Rural Sociology in India, Popular Prakashan, 1959. 5.

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NSOU CC-SO-02 211 Unit 15 Village Solidarity Structure 15.0 Objectives 15.1 Introduction 15.2 Solidarity Structure within the Household 15.2.1 Peasant Household 15.2.2 Greater Discipline and Interdependence 15.2.3 Dominance of Family Ego 15.2.4 Authority of the Father 15.2.5 Closer Participation in Various Activities 15.2.6 The Father-Son Relationship 15.2.7 The Brother-Brother Relationship 15.3 Solidarity Structure at the Village Level 15.4 Solidarity Structure within the Caste System 15.4.1 Solidarity Structure within Intra-caste Relationship 15.4.2 Solidarity Structure within Inter-caste Relationship 15.5 Solidarity Structure within the Jajmani System 15.6 Summary 15.7 Model Questions 15.8 References and Suggested Readings 15.0

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Objectives After you have read this unit you should be able to describe-

Solidarity structure within various lavels of family. Solidarity Structures at the Village Level. 211
NSOU CC-SO-02 212 Solidarity Structures in the Caste System Solidarity Structures Within the Jajmani System 15.1 Introduction Among the institutions that compose the society, the family is the most important. It has been its very foundation. It plays

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a decisive role in the material and cultural life of

the mass aggregate and in moulding the psychological characteristics of an individual as well as its collectivity. In fact, according to some thinkers, family and familism impress their stamp on the entire rural as well as urban structure. Familism permeates them from top to bottom. A systematic study of village family, its structure, functions, evolutions and interrelations with other institutions are necessary to study the village solidarity. In almost all fully developed agrarian societies, depending on plough agriculture, the patriarchal joint family is the basic of social solidarity in the rural areas. There are three aspects to the structure of solidarity which must be considered in analyzing any relationship between the differentiated roles-"the various positions and activities distinguished" allocated through the nine different criteria of: age, generation, sex, economic allocation, political allocation, religion, cognition, nonhuman environment and solidarity. we shall use Levy's definitions for each of the three following aspects: content, strength and intensity. The content of any relationship is defined as "... the type of relationship that is to exist and the members between (or among) whom it is to exist." The strength of any relationship is defined as "...the relative precedence or lack of precedence taken by this relationship over other relationships of its general sort, and over other obligations and commitments in the larger social sphere." The intensity of the relationship is defined as "... the state of affect involved in the relationship." There are two possible types of variation in the state of affect: first, the type of affect involved (e.g. love, hate, anger, joy, respect, etc.); and second, the degree of affective involvement that is expected (e.g. whether the relationship is to be intimate or one of avoidance). If we grant the above by way of explaining and defining the structure of solidarity then it follows that the structure of solidarity is crucial in at least two circumstances: first, where the frequency of interaction is high; and second, where relationships are strategic to the system (strategic relationships may have a high incidence of interaction, but this need not be the case).

NSOU CC-SO-02 213 It is neither possible nor is it desirable for the purposes to treat all of the relationships which can occur between roles within the village. Theoretically we should find it necessary to analyze only the relationships which exist between roles in the village social system, but, as per the role differentiation, the solidarity structure of the lower level social units (the household) must be considered as well because they so colour the upper level relationships that the upper level relationships cannot be fully understood without knowledge of lower level relationships. Thus, we must begin by discussing the structure of solidarity as it functions at the level of the household. 15.2 Solidarity Structure Within the Household Of the many possible relationships which exist between members of the household there are two which must be understood in order to comprehend the structure of solidarity at the village level. These are the father-son relationship and the brother- brother relationship. At the village levels females do not figure as possibilities for the roles which are to be allocated. At the household level, females do affect the content, strength, and intensity of the above mentioned male relationships, but ideally at least they should not affect the content, strength or intensity of the village level relationships. The

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rural family is far more homogeneous, stable, integrated and organically functioning than the

urban family. The ties binding the members of the formal, for instance, the husband and wife, the parents and children are stronger and last longer than those in the case of urban family. The Indian village still remains a cluster of joint families though due to a number of historic-economic causes, the joint family has been exhibiting a tendency of slow and steady disintegration. 15.2.1 Peasant Household : Another essential

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characteristic of the rural family is that it is generally based on peasant household. All its members are engaged in the agricultural occupation.

Work is distributed among them mainly on lines of age and sex distinctions. "The community household, common land and common economic functions along with the common kinship bond create the peasant household." Since the members of rural family form a single economic unit and constantly co-operate with one another in agricultural operations, since they

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hold property in common usually managed by the eldest member of the family. Since also they spend most of their time together,

the psychological traits they develop are similar.
NSOU CC-SO-02 214 15.2.2. Greater Discipline and Interdependence : The rural family is characterised by greater discipline among its members than the urban family. Further, since there is considerably less state or public provision for meeting the educational, cultural, or social needs of the people in the rural area than in the urban. The rural family attempts also to satisfy these needs of its members. It thus serves as a school, a recreation centre, as well as a maternity or non-maternity hospital. 15.2.3 Dominance of Family Ego : The interdependence of the members of the rural family and the dependence of its individual member on it are therefore, far greater than in the case of the urban family. This welds its members into a homogenous, compact, egoistic unit, strengthens emotion of solidarity and co-operation among them and fills them with family pride. They develop more collective family consciousness and less individualistic emotion. In a rural society, a family is discredited if any of its individual members perpetrates an infamous act. Similarly, the glory of his or her achievement accrues to the family from which he or she springs. The urban family in contrast to the rural family, is less authoritarian of the family even at the cost of their lives. 15.2.4 Authority of the Father : Since the rural family is more integrated and disciplined unit than the urban family, the head of the rural family exercises almost absolute power over its members. It is he who distributes the work of the peasant household among the family members on lines of sex and age differences; arranges marriages of sons, daughters, nephews and nieces; administers a joint family properly according to his wisdom; and trains the youngsters for future agricultural work and social life. All initiative and final authority are vested in him. In fact, "the head of the family has had the rights and authority to be the ruler, the priest, the teacher, the educator and the manager of the family." Thus, the family, through its head, subordinates its individual members to itself. The later are completely submerged in the family; hence, they hardly develop any individuality or personality. 15.2.5 Closer Participation in Various Activities : One striking feature of the rural family lies in the fact that its members, being

NSOU CC-SO-02 215 engaged in work connected with the peasant household, spend practically the whole day together. In contrast to this, the members of the urban family engage in different occupations or being educated outside home, spend only a small portion of the day together. Even the recreational centres such as clubs and others lie outside the home. Hence, the home becomes only a temporary nightshed for the members of the urban family. 15.2.6 The Father-Son Relationship : Before continuing, we must mention another major problem which we have been unable to solve. Social relationships are dynamic, not static. Ideally the role of both father and son does not change with time, nor does the solidarity structure which orders the relationship. Actually the content of the relationship changes drastically over time as does the strength and intensity. The father-son relationship is not the same when the father is twenty-five and the son five as it is when the father is sixty and the son forty. The best that we can do in these circumstances is to examine the father-son relationship at different stages in its development. In a social system which is characterized as patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal, and it can be safely be assumed that the type of relationship will be that of superordinate- subordinate. The father has complete control over the actions of the son. However, the situation is never clear-cut because the young father is as dominated by his father, as he is dominant over his young son (ideally he is dominated whether the father is still alive or not). The following rather lengthy quote, from G. Morris Carstairs' book, The Twice Borndescribes the kind of relationship which exists between father and son among the upper castes in the village he was observing: In striking contrast to all this attentive mothering, the child's father is an aloof seemingly unwelcome figure. The reason for this is that a man, so long as he remains under his own father's roof, must keep up the fiction of denying that he leads an active sexual life of his own. Not to do so is to be disrespectful. Consequently, a man and his wife can never talk to each other naturally, in his parents' presence; nor is it proper to either of them to show affection for their own children in front of their elders. This obligatory suppression of any overt show of tender feelings is relaxed only when the child cries. Then his needs take precedence even over the grandparents' authority, so that he will be handed over to his mother, often with the command "Give him the breast." A father, however, experiences no such exception to the demand that he remain impassive and detached. Even if his wife or child falls ill he must contain his
NSOU CC-SO-02 216 feelings and surrender the responsibility of tending them to his own parents. This taboo perpetuates in each generation the tension which exists between father and son; and it is very strong. Young Chauthmal, who lived in his father Bhurmal's house, had a boy of eighteen months, and often the grandfather could be seen carrying this child in his arms, or dandling him while they sat at their shop-but never Chauthmal: " I don't like to fondle him, even when we are alone in our room," he said: "if I did, he might get into the habit of running to my knee in the bazaar, and that would not look right." ... On the other hand, there were three among my younger informants who disregarded the rule, and openly fondled their young children. They were able to do so because in each case their fathers were dead, and they were the heads of their several households: but still the consensus of opinion condemned their unashamed display of affection... the usual father-child relationship, then, was drained of spontaneous warmth of feeling. Instead it was governed by strict obligations on either side...the obligation of each to the other, of financial support and instruction on the one hand, and dutiful service throughout one's father's life (and after his death) on the other, were constantly emphasized, but personal intimacy was conspicuously absent. The above observations, made on the content, strength and intensity of the father- son relationship among the three highest castes in the village of Deoli, are made on a situation, where, in fact, there is more opportunity to live up to the ideal father-son relationship. Among the lower castes one would not expect these observations to be made for at least two reasons. As Carstairs observed, it is the presence of the grandfather and/ or grandmother which constrains the behaviour of the father with respect to the son in the upper castes. Among the lower castes the presence of grandfathers and grandmothers within the family is even more unlikely than among the upper castes where the probability is only about fifty-fifty that both parents will be surviving at the time of the son's marriage. There is a fairly good correlation between caste ranking and wealth (the higher the caste, the more likely that caste will be wealthy) and there is a fairly high correlation between wealth and life expectancy. The second reason is that among the lower castes there is very little opportunity for a father to accumulate wealth over which he has control in his old age. In a wealthy household, the aged father has no real need of physical strength; he merely needs the mental ability to make decisions concerning its disposition. The father can be traditionally oriented because he has the power to back his position. Among the poor lower castes, when a man loses his physical powers, as he inevitably must, he can hope that his son will follow tradition and provide for him in his old age. Thus,

NSOU CC-SO-02 217 when the son is the main contributor or only source of household income, he need not pay attention to the demands of his father. It is much easier in the poorer households for the son to take over from his father and begin to make decisions about the disposition of the household income. Concomitantly the poorer household heads may exhibit different behaviour patterns towards their sons than is found among the wealthy, high-caste households. Fathers and sons will probably spend more time, more pleasantly and less formally, with one another. A third factor which is probably not as important as the first two is that while there is a lot of direct contact between father and son among poor households, this does not hold among wealthy households. The father in the wealthy household appears, and more likely is, as a more distant figure to the son. He does not have many direct dealings with him. Mother, grandparents, teacher and possibly servants will stand between him and his father. Even among wealthy households, however, it is possible for the father to fly in the face of tradition with respect to his behaviour towards his son. While it is important to know that extreme variations can and do exist with regard to the content, strength and intensity of the father-son relationship, so we can say that normal type of solidarity structure that exists between some roles on the village level more nearly resembles that of the wealthy household than that of the poorer households. The intervention of caste into the structure of solidarity at the village level resembles the intervention of the mother, grandparents, teacher and servants at the household level. We shall discuss shortly which roles in the village seem to have a solidarity structure modeled after the solidarity structure of the father-son relationship, but before we do so, let us discussed the solidarity structure of the brother-brother relationship on which other village roles are based. 15.2.7 The Brother-Brother Relationship : One cannot say that the brother-brother relationship is a strong one except in certain circumstances. There are a number of other household relationships which can and do assume precedence over the brother-brother relationship. Some examples are the father-son, mother-son and husband-wife relationships. The differentiation of brothers occurs on the basis of relative age. The eldest son is expected to take over the household and ritual obligations of the father after the father's death. Neither the eldest brother nor the younger brother(s) have much power to make decisions while the father is alive (and capable of making decisions) so that the difference in roles is

NSOU CC-SO-02 218 not much emphasized. As the brothers grow up they receive the same sort of treatment from others in the household. The younger brother may in fact receive more attention simply because it is the older brother who will have the advantage when the father dies. In addition, the above brothers inherit equally from the estate from the father- although the senior son may be granted something extra from the estate to compensate for the extra ritual expenses being head of the family. Although in theory the elder brother should stand in the same kind of relationship to his younger brother as the father stands to his son, this kind of relationship cannot be maintained- particularly after the father is dead. The father can control his son because whatever wealth the household has is in his name, but each brother has his own source of wealth if any. In principle, the same subservience was postulated in relation to one's elder brother. Younger siblings often show the same respect to the elder brother the father usually enjoys. May be , in their everyday activities they do not wait for the permission of the elders , in general, however ,in not so distant past elder brothers were accorded, at least in public, the deference due to their position in the family; and the same restraint was observed by a younger brother in suppressing all show of affection towards his wife and children before an elder brother, as before his father. Family conventions require that husband will not display any affection for the wife in front of the elders including the elder brother. Even if she is sick, the husband should not say this to his elder brother-but if younger brother is there, he can be asked to go for medicine. Traditionally village people believe that every man has got five fathers, and it is his duty to obey them without question, whatever they ask him to do. They are, his father, his elder brother, his king, his guru and his friends. It would seem from the above that the distinction between brothers is perhaps most important after childhood; and its all the more important that brothers stick together in economic and political matters because they have more power as a group than as individuals. This combined with the power of traditional respect for the elder brother means that it will be the elder brother who makes decisions after taking into consideration the attitudes and desires of his younger brother. Often the brothers will maintain joint property even though they have set up separate households. The ideal is a joint household, but this is difficult to maintain because the wives so often quarrel with one another about who is to make what kinds of decisions within the household.

NSOU CC-SO-02 219 Sometimes brothers do quarrel and decide to go separate ways. This is usually at the instigation of their respective wives. What happens in effect is that the wives have forced their husbands to give precedence to the husband-wife relationship over the brother-brother relationship. When the brother-brother relationship is forced to give precedence to other relationships, it may break down completely. Brothers actually join political factions which are opposed quite bitterly to one another. They may even be the heads of these factions. 15.3 Solidarity Structures at the Village Level During the rest of this chapter, we shall be discussing the solidarity structures which exist for relationships at the village level. Just as the individual is the basic unit of the household so on the village level the household is the basic unit. The eldest male is the head of the household and in any relationships outside of the household at the village level, the head of household represents the household. Households are interacting and the points of interaction are the respective household heads. There are essentially two types of relationships into which households enter at the village level: first, those in which caste is involved; and second, those which have to do with jajmani system. 15.4 Solidarity Structures Within the Caste System Solidarity structures order the relationships which exist in both intra-caste and inter-caste situations. we shall discuss first the intra-caste situation and second the inter-caste situation. 15.4.1 Solidarity Structures within Intracaste Relationships : The relationships of an intracaste nature are ordered in much the same fashion as the brother-brother relationship is ordered. The behaviour which is manifested by the interaction of brothers is very similar to that manifested when the household heads who make up the caste panchayat interact. Membership in the caste panchayat is ascribed to the same degree that the male sibling group is ascribed within the household. Relative age is important in determining who will be the head of the caste panchayat. However, instead of relative age as the prime selective factor for panchayat leadership, it is the size and wealth of the household which the individual represents. That individual who has the largest and wealthiest household behind him will be the ranking member of the caste panchayat unless of course he is much younger than any of the

NSOU CC-SO-02 220 other panchayat members. As the head of the household is responsible for the behaviour of all the members of the household, so the head of the caste panchayat will be held responsible for the behaviour of the members of the caste resident within the village. This responsibility is more theoretical than real, although it does have realistic elements, because, just as the eldest male of the sibling group does not have absolute authority over his siblings and must secure their consent in some sort of household council, so that ranking panchayat member must secure the consent of his fellow members. More simply stated the ranking member of the caste panchayat and the eldest male of the sibling group are each in their setting the first among equals. Like the sibling group there are times when other relationships take precedence over this particular one. Inter-caste relationships seem to take precedence over intra-caste relationships just as the father-son relationship takes precedence over the brother-brother relationship. There is a greater frequency of interaction at the intra-caste level and less power differential between the heads of households in the same caste and hence there would seem to be a greater possibility for affection to be manifested for the relationships to be more intimate. The development of intimate and affectionate relationships depends, upon the size of the caste. If there are only four or five households living within the village it is much easier for household heads to behave as siblings toward one another. Just as one can imagine it to be a difficult thing for a large sibling group to act in concert in all matters so it is difficult for a caste panchayat of twenty or thirty members to maintain agreement on all matters affecting them. Normally, what happens is that, factions appear. There will be several groups of household heads within the Panchayat-each group acting as a unit with a head who interacts with the heads of the other groups. 15.4.2 Solidarity Structures in Inter-caste Relationships : If the behaviour patterns manifested in intra-caste relationships bear close resemblance to those of the brother-brother relationship, then inter-caste relationships bear a similar resemblance to the father-son relationship. Just as the father gives orders and instructions to the son and expects them to be carried out, so a higher caste gives orders and instructions to a lower caste and expects them to be obeyed.As the son is responsible to the father and the father is responsible for the son so is with the upper caste and lower caste. As the son depends upon his father for support but not vice versa, so the lower castes depend upon the upper castes but not vice versa. As the father-son relationship takes precedence over any other relationship for the son but not vice versa, so the upper caste-lower caste relationship takes precedence over
NSOU CC-SO-02 221 any other relationship (at the village level, of course) for the lower caste but not vice versa. Just as the father-son relationship is cold, distant and formal so the inter-caste relationship is cold, distant and formal. As the father-son relationship appears to be asymmetrical so does the inter-caste relationship appear. 15.5 Solidarity Structures Within the Jajmani System The second type of relationship at the village level which involves the head of the household acting as the representative of the unit is the jajmani-kamin relationship. This relationship is in content essentially an economic one-although it does have definite political overtones-in which the kamin is in an inferior and dependent position relative to the jajman. The relationship is defined by the type of service which is exchanged between jajman and kamin households. As in the caste oriented relationships the point of contact is the heads of the two households, but in some ways the relationship can be regarded as an unwritten contract between two households so that the relationship can exist through more than one generation. It is up to each head of household to see that the terms of the agreement are lived up to. In the case of the joint household- brothers after the death of the father-it is the eldest brother who as head of household assumes the rights and duties of the previously existing agreement. If the jajmani household is small and the kamin household is large, it may be that the services of only part of the kamin household are needed. In that case the unneeded portion of the joint household will have to form a new relationship with another jajmani. The situation may, of course, be reversed. The content of the jajman-kamin relationship is very similar to that of the father- son relationship. The kamin is in an inferior position with respect to the jajman because of his caste and occupation, and the behaviour patterns manifested in interaction patterns between the two are very similar to those between father and son. The kamin always shows a great deal of respect, deference and obedience to his jajman. The jajman in turn expects this and so long as that kind of behaviour is forthcoming treats the kamin as though he were a son. The relationship for the jajman is not a strong one just as it is not for the father in the father-son relationship. For the kamin, the relationship with his jajman may take precedence over any of the others he might form at the village level. For example, the kamin will observe his obligations to his jajman before he observes the obligations he has, to his caste panchayat.
NSOU CC-SO-02 222 15.6 Summary Solidarity structures at the village level operate to order the significant relationships- intra and intercaste and jajman-kamin relationships-in a manner very like the father- son and brother-brother relationships at the household level. The village can be viewed almost as the household writ large with each household as an individual writ large. 15.7 Model Questions 1. Short type question (5 Marks) A. Write a short note on solidarity structure in inracaste relations. B. Write a short note on solidarity structure in intercaste relations. C. What do you mean by structure of solidarity? 2. Answer in detail (10 Marks) A. Explain the brother-brother relationship in relation to the village solidarity system. B. Explain the father-son relationship in relation to the village solidarity system. C. What do you mean by structures of solidarity within jajmani system? D. How does the structure of solidarity affect the various relationships within household? E. What do you mean by solidarity structure in the caste system? Give a comparison between the intercaste and intracaste order of relationships. 15.8 References and Suggested Readings 1. Ahuja, R. Indian Social System, Rawat Publications, Jaipur and New Delhi, 2005 2. Bailey, F.G. Tribe, Caste, Nation, Manchester University, Manchester, 1957 3. Desai, A.R. Rural Sociology in India. Popular Prakashan. 1969. 4.

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NSOU CC-SO-02 224 Unit 16 Kinship : Principles and Pattern Structure 16.0 Objectives 16.1 Introduction 16.2 Definition 16.3 Significance of Kinship 16.4 Main Approaches to the Study of Kinship System in India 16.5 descent Approach 16.5.1 Principles of Descent 16.5.2 Types of Descent 16.6 Functions of Descent Groups 16.7 Inheritance Rules 16.8 Rules of Residence 16.9 Patriarchy and Matriarchy 16.10 Alliance Approach 16.11 Types of Kinship 16.12 Degree of Kinship 16.13 Kinship Terms 16.14 Kinship Usage 16.15 Summary 16.16 Model Questions 16.17 References and Suggested Readings 224
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Objectives After you have read this unit you should be able to describe:

Definition of kinship system; The significance of kinship; Main approaches to the study of kinship in India; The principles of descent; The types of descent; 16.1 Introduction Man does not live alone in society. From birth till death he is surrounded by a number of people. Some of these people are his relatives, some are friends, and some are neighbours while all others are strangers and unknown to him. He is bound to all these people who are related to him either on the basis of blood or marriage. The relations based on blood or marriage may be close or distant. The bond of blood or marriage which binds people together in groups is called kinship. According to the Dictionary of Anthropology, kinship system includes society recognized relationships based on supposed as well as actual genealogical ties. These relationships are the result of social interaction and are recognized by society. A society is a network of interlocking groups which are related to each other through institutionalized patterns. One of the most important structural subsystems of allsocieties is the kinship system. Kinship groups occupy an important place in anindividual's life. The kinship system includes socially accepted relationshipsbased on fictional as well as actualancestral ties. These relationships are establisheddue to social interaction and accepted by the society. According to Murdock "it is astructural

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system of relationship in which kins are bound to one another by complexinter-locking ties. Kinship

is one of the most fundamental principles for organizingindividuals into social groups, roles, categories, and genealogy." 16.2 Definition of Kinship There are multiple definitions of kinship given by different sociologists and anthropologists in different periods of time. These definitions reflect different aspects of kinship in society. For the benefit of our discussion we are presenting here some NSOU CC-SO-02 226 of these definitions. 1. Robin Fox: "Kinship is simply the relations between 'kin' that is persons related by real putative or fictive consanguinity". 2. Aberchrombie and others: "The social relationships deriving from blood ties (real and supposed) and marriage are collectively referred to as kinship". 3. A.R. Radcliffe Brown : Kinship is "

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a system of dynamic relations between person and person in a community, the behaviour of any two persons in any of these relations being regulated in some way, and to a greater or less extent by social usage".

To put it simply we can say the bond of blood or marriage which binds people together in group is called kinship. So the

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kinship system refers to a set of persons recognized as relatives either by virtue of a blood

relationship or by virtue of a marriage relationship. In sociology, all blood relationships are known by a technical term, consanguinity. Similarly, all relationships through marriage are given the term affinity. For example, the relationships between mother and son/daughter, sister and brother/sister, father and son/daughter are consanguinal, while relationshipsbetween

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father/mother-in-law and daughter/son-in-law are affinal.

Mostly,

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it is the social recognition of these relationships that is more important than the actual biological ties. Networks built around kin relationships play a significant role in both rural and urban social life in India. 16.3

Significance of Kinship As described above, the

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kinship system refers to a set of persons recognised 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 affinity. Most of us tend to regard the kinship system into which we are born and in which weare reared as natural. It will seem natural and right to us that certain close relatives should be tabooed as marriage and sexual partners, and we feel quite certain that disastrous consequences would follow any infringement of the taboos. We may similarlythink it natural that certain classes of persons be preferred as marriage partners, or wemay on the contrary think it very unnatural that any persons be so designated. We all have very strong ideas, too, about what is the correct and proper behaviour ofdifferent kin towards each other-deference, respect, familiarity, avoidance, kindliness, protectiveness,
NSOU CC-SO-02 227 and so on, as the case may be. All such aspects of kinship relation stend to be taken for granted unless, or until, one is confronted with the kinship practices of other peoples. Initially, different practices may appear as disgusting or inhuman, exotic or fantastic, strange or primitive, etc. Earlier anthropologists spent a great deal of labour on trying to work out the various stages through which they believed kinship systems had progressed in the course of human history. However strange other peoples' kinship practices may at first appear to be, a closer look will usually show them to be functional. They are useful for the maintenance of the society as a whole, contributing to its continuity over time and containing the conflicts that might potentially disrupt it. This is not to say that all practices are for the best for all members of the society and for all time. One certainly need not justify customs like sati, female infanticide, childmarriage, amniocentesis or killing of the female foetus etc. One would here try to understand how these practices are (or were) consistent with the principles and valuesat work in the wider society. 16.4 Main Approaches to the Study of Kinship System in India Sociological studies of kinship in India cover descriptions, comparisons and analytical problems based on the findings from various regions.

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Approaches to the study of kinship can be broadly classified under two headings (i) the Indological approach and (ii) the Anthropological approach.

Here, we will discuss these approaches one by one. 1. Indological Approach : As the

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social institutions of Indian society are rooted in literary and learned traditions, many sociological studies have made use of textual sources for explaining

the ideological and jural bases of our institutions. For example, K.M. Kapadia (1947) has used classical texts to describe Hindu kinship. Hindu Social Organisation by P.H. Prabhu (1954) is also based

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on Sanskrit texts. Similarly, Irawati Karve (1940, 43-44 and 1958) and G.S. Ghurye (1946, 1955) have extensively worked on Indian kinship system. Both have

used textual sources to explain kinship pattern in different regions of India from a socio-historical perspective. We can, therefore, say that

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Indological approach to the study of kinship has provided a framework to understand the elements of continuity and change in the system (see Jain 1994). 2. Anthropological Approach: Descent and Alliance : Anthropologists have looked at kinship systems from the point of view of descent and alliance.

NSOU CC-SO-02 228 16.5 Descent Approach 'Descent' refers to the social recognition of the biological relationship that exists between the individuals. The 'rule of descent' refers to a set of principles by which an individual traces the descent. 16.5.1 Principles of Descent : Descent is the principle whereby a child is socially affiliated with the group of his or her parents. In some societies the child is regarded as a descendant equally of both the father and the mother, except that titles and surnames are usually passed down along the male line. Such a system is termed Bilateral or Cognatic. The individual belongs simultaneously to several descent groups - those of the two parents, the four grandparents, the eight great-grandparents, and so on. This link is limited only by memory or by some conventionally determined cut-off point at, say, four or five degrees removal. In small intermarrying communities, membership will probably overlap, and in case of dispute or feud, the individual might find his or her loyalties divided. There are some cognatic systems where the individual has the right by descent to membership of several cognatically recruited groups, but this right is actualised only if the person is able to reside in a particular group's territory. Modern nationality laws often make this type of requirement. 16.5.2 Types of Descent : Kinship in our society is used for establishing clear-cut corporate social units. Each one of us is a member of such a cooperating and closely bound group ofpeople. One

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can depend upon the help and support given by such people. Suchcooperating local groups are always larger than elementary families of spousesand their children. When these groups are recognised or defined on the basis ofshared descent, anthropologists call them descent groups.

Formally speaking thereare six possible avenues for the transmission of descent group membership, fromparents to children. These are: a. Patrilineal Descent : According to this rule, descent is traced through the father's or men line. Here the descent criterion is restricted to males, and only descendants of a common ancestor of the male line will be recognised as kin. These are known as agnatic or patrilineal kin. b. Matrilineal Descent : Here the descent of the individual is traced through
NSOU CC-SO-02 229 the mother or female exclusively. The descendants are called here uterine or matrilineal kin. These two modes of tracing the descent are called "unilineal", that is, they select one "line", either the male or female. These principles or rules are not necessarily mutually exclusive within society. c. Bilateral Descent : Where attributes are transmitted equally through both parents. Here no uni-lineal group can be formed but group structure can be cognatic, that is, the group of kin persons on the father's and mother's side. Membership can be acquired through either the father or the mother. d. Double (duo-lineal or bi-lineal) : 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. e. Parallel descent : A very rare form of descent where descent lines are sex specific. Men transmit property to their sons while women to their daughters. f. Cross or alternative type descent : This is also very rare. Here men transmit property to their daughters and women to their sons. 16.6 Functions of Descent Groups Apart from the function of exogamy, unilineal descent groups tend to be 'corporate' in several other senses. Their members may often come together for ritual and ceremonial functions, for instance, for collective worship of lineage gods, totems or ancestors. The descent group will have a built-in authority structure, with power normally exercised by senior males, and it may well own corporate property. An individual's economic rights and responsibilities will be defined by his or her position in the descent group 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 centralised state structure. Lineages cannot expand indefinitely in a single locality and often segment into smaller, more manageable and economically viable lineage segments. You can see the lines of segmentation of the ground, as it were. Consider the pattern of land ownership in an Indian village; or at the pattern of village or urban settlement; a particular quarter of the village or town may be inhabited by the descendants of a single founding ancestor. Often, the large havelis are divided among brothers or step-brothers, and these quarters are

NSOU CC-SO-02 230 further divided among their descendants. In case a line dies out, the property would be reconsolidated. Given the range of social functions that descent groups may potentially perform, it is little wonder that concern with the principles of unilineal descent has dominated the work of many students of comparative kinship. However, even these scholars realize that unilineal descent is not the whole story. In ancient Rome, women after marriage severed all contact with their natal group. In certain slave societies, the slave has no 'family' of his or her own. In patrilineal systems, the mother's father, mother's sister, and especially the mother's brother, are important relationships which need further discussion. To take note of the importance of relationships, the scholars have identified another principle. This has been termed the principle of complimentary filiation which explains the significant ritual and social roles of the mother's brother(s) in the lives of their sister's children. It reminds us that, in most societies, an individual is a child of both parents, in whichever way descent is formally reckoned. 16.7 Inheritance Rules Rules of inheritance tend to co-ordinate with the reckoning of descent in most societies, but not necessarily in a one-to-one manner. In fact, it is quite often the case that certain types of property pass from father to son, and other types from mother to daughter. In most parts of India, in the past, immovable property such as land and housing, was inherited only by sons. In the absence of sons, except under rare circumstances, it goes to the nearest male relatives on the father's side. On the other hand, movable property in the form of cash and jewellery is given to the daughter at the time of her marriage, with a certain amount of jewellery also passing from the mother-in-law to the daughter-in-law. In addition to property of various kinds, rights and obligations, esoteric knowledge, crafts and skills, etc., might be passed on in accordance with kinship roles. Succession to office to chieftainship, kingship, etc. and to other social roles and statuses, is also very often determined by kinship criteria. In such cases, the individual's status is said to be 'ascribed', not 'achieved'. It is commonly asserted that ascriptive status is accorded more importance in modern, industrial societies. There is a great deal of truth in this statement, but one should not underestimate the importance of kinship connections in modern societies too. Often one finds that in a family if father is a doctor or lawyer the son or daughter is also likely to choose the same occupation. Most of the Indian
NSOU CC-SO-02 231 women who have been successful in the political domain are either daughters, sisters or wives of people who have been active in politics. One such example is the Nehru family of India. 16.8 Rules of Residence Rules of residence, meaning residence after marriage, are an important variable in a kinship system, and substantially affect the quality of personal relations within the kin network. If the husband and wife set up their own independent home after marriage, as is usually the case in modern western society, residence is said to be Neolocal. Where the wife goes to live with the husband in his parents' home, residence is described as Virilocal, Patrilocal, or Patrivifulocal, and where the husband moves to live with the wife, it is termed Matrilocal. Rules of residence may or may not 'harmonise' with the rules of descent.On the whole, patrilineal descent systems correlate with either neolocal or patrivifulocal residence patterns. However, matrilineal descent systems may be combined with all three types of residence. It is also combined with what is called Avanculocal residence, that is, residence with the mother's brothers. 16.9 Patriarchy and Matriarchy A society is said to have a patriarchal structure when a number of factors coincide, i.e. when descent is reckoned patrilineally, when inheritance of major property is from father to son, when residence is patrilocal, and when authority is concentrated in the hands of senior males. There is, however, no society on earth, nor any society actually known to have existed, whose features are the exact reverse of these. For even in matrilineal, matrilocal systems, which are fairly rare, major property is usually controlled by males. And authority is normally exercised by males, though women may well have a higher status in the family and greater powers of decision-making than in the patriarchal set up. Some anthropologists assert that in societies with very simple technology and minimal property, relations between the sexes are relatively egalitarian, whether descent is formally matrilineal, patrilineal or bilateral, but others insist that women, and children, have played subordinate roles in all human societies. For this reason, the term 'matriarchy', though often found in the literature, is probably a misnomer, best avoided, and there is certainly no conclusive evidence to support the view that matriarchy was a universal early stage in the development of kinship systems.

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In India, we generally find the patrilineal and matrilineal descent systems. Of the

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two, patrilineal system is more common. The description and analysis of kin relationships in a descent group have given us a fairly comprehensive sociological understanding of certain types of kinship systems in India.

For example, E.K. Gough (1956) has

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discussed the unity of the lineage with corporate rights on land. She has focused on roles and inter-personal relationships in the wider kinship.

T.N. Madan (1965) has studied

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the role of kinship as an organising principle in the Kashmiri Brahmin society. He has brought out the strong patrilineal ideology

that characterises kinship system of the Kashmiri Pandits. We already see in detail how

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the study of descent groups has helped our understanding of patrilineal kinship system in North India. Sociologists like, A.C. Mayer, T.N. Madan, Oscar Lewis

while studying

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kinship organisation in North India, have taken the descent approach. They have described in detail various levels of kin groups and their activities. In sociological studies the terms 'line', 'lineal', 'lineage' etc. with or without the prefix 'patri' or 'matri'

have in the past been used in at least four different ways. 1. They have been used

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to denote corporate descent groups, i.e., lineage proper, 2. Often employed to denote the chosen line of inheritance, succession etc. in a given society, 3. In the study of relationship terminologies the expression "two line prescription"

has sometimes been used

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to refer to terminological structures which are consistent with "bilateral cross-cousin marriage", 4. Regardless of which lines (matriline or patriline or both)

are chosen

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for the above three purposes, lineal relatives refer to one's ascendants or descendants. Lineal relatives are those who belong to the same ancestral stock in a direct line of descent. Opposed to lineal relatives are collaterals who belong to the same ancestral stock but not in a direct line of descent.

All of these usages, except the fourth,

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are context specific. i.e., they refer to particular situations. Here, social relations and groups

are emphasised

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and sociologists study them in terms of interaction, norms and values of a particular society. For example, some scholars, following the

theory of lineages or descent groups,

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have discussed the relation between mother's brother and sister's son in patrilineal societies. They use the idea of 'complementary filiation', i.e., the relationship ego one has with the relatives on the mother's side in a patrilineal society. In a matrilineal society it refers to the relationship ego one has with the relatives on his father's side. In a patrilineal society a person's maternal group is the affinal group of that person's father.

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This is the group, from which the person's father has taken a wife. For this reason some sociologists like to consider the question of affinity in its own right, rather than as a complementary set of relationships. We may say that in descent approach, the emphasis is laid on social organisation of descent groups.

As a result, there is little focus on the 'affinity' aspect of relationships. Now, in the next sub-section we

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look at the approach, which focuses on relationships arising out of marriage alliance. 16.10 Alliance Approach

Another concept that figured prominently in the study of kinship systems in India is that of alliance. Kinship includes the consideration of

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the patterns and rules of marriage. When a sociologist pays special attention to these aspects of kinship, we say that he/she is following the alliance approach to understand the patterns of kinship. Many studies of kinship in India have focused on marriage as an alliance between two groups and on kinship terminology, as a reflection of the nature of alliance. Because of their concentration on relationships arising out of marriage, we say that these studies follow the alliance approach. The main exponent of this approach is Louis Dumont (1950, 1953, 1957 a and b, 1959, 1962 and 1966). He has emphasised the role played by marriage in the field of kinship in South India. By showing the opposition between consanguines and affines as reflected in the Dravidian kinship terminology, Dumont has made an important contribution to our understanding of kinship system in India in general and of South India in particular. He has applied to South India a structural theory of kinship. It brings out the repetition of intermarriage through the course of generations. This pattern highlights the classification of kinsmen into two categories of parallel and cross relatives. The alliance approach to the study of kinship has helped sociologists to discuss and explain the distinction between bride-givers and bride-takers. In addition, it has also included the discussion on the notion of hypergamy (i.e., the bride takers are always superior to bride-givers), practice of dowry in relation to hypergamy and ideas of exchange in marriage. 16.11

Types of Kinship Most of the sociologist and anthropologist agree that kinship is based on two broad catagories : birth and marriage. Some others thinker say third category of kinship involves social ties. These three types of kinship are: 1. Affinal Kinship: The bond of marriage is called 'affinal' kinship. When a
NSOU CC-SO-02 234 person marries, he establishes relationship not only with the girl whom he marries but also with a number of other people in the girl's family. Moreover, it is not only the person marrying who gets bound to the family members of the girl but his family members also get bound to the family members of the girl. Thus, a host of relations are created as soon as a marriage takes place. For examples, after marriage a person becomes not only a husband but he also becomes brother-in-law and son-in-law. Here it may be noted that in English language a number of relations created by marriage are referred to by the same term. Thus, the same term brother-in-law is used for bahnoi, sala, jija and saddhu. On marriage a person also becomes foofa, nandoi and mausa. Likewise a girl on marriage becomes not only a wife but also becomes a daughter-in-law, a chachi,/bhabhi,/ devrani/ jethani/ mami etc. Thus marriage creates a host of relationships which are called affinal kinship.. 2. Consanguineous Kinship: The bond of blood is called consanguineous kinship. The consanguineous kin are related through blood whereas the affinal kin are related through marriage. The bond between parents and their children and that between siblings is consanguineous kinship. Siblings are the children of the same parents. Thus, son, brother, sister, uncle (chacha), elder uncle (tau) nephew and cousin are consanguineous kin, i.e. related through blood. In this connection, it may be pointed out that an adopted child is treated as if it were one's own biologically produced child. Thus, blood relationship may be established not only on biological basis but also on the basis of social recognition. 3. Social kinship: Schneider argued that not all kinship derives from blood (consanguineal) or marriage (affinal). There are also social kinships, where individuals not connected by birth or marriage may still have a bond of kinship, he said. By this definition, two people who live in different communities may share a bond of kinship through a religious affiliation or a social group, such as the Kiwanis or Rotary service club, or within a rural or tribal society marked by close ties among its members. A major difference between consanguineal or affinal and social kinship is that the latter involves "the ability to terminate absolutely the relationship" without any legal recourse, stated Schneider in his 1984 book, "A Critique of The Study of Kinship".

NSOU CC-SO-02 235 16.12 Degree of Kinship On the basis of nearness or distance, relatives can be classified in several categories. Some relatives are very close, direct and near, for example, father-son, sister-brother, husband-wife. They are called primary kin. According to Dr. Dubey, there are eight such primary kins. They are

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husband-wife, father-son, mother-daughter, father-daughter, mother-son, younger-elder brothers, younger-elder sisters and sister-brother. 1. Secondary Kins:

They are primary kin of primary kin. In other words, they are related through primary kin. They are not our primary kin but are the primary kin of our primary kin, hence our secondary kin. For example, father's brother (chacha) and sister's husband (bahnoi) are secondary kin. The father is one's primary kin and his brother is the primary kin of father. Therefore, father's brother is my secondary kin, the primary kin of primary kin. Similarly, sister is my primary kin but her husband is my secondary kin. 2. Tertiary Kins: There are tertiary kins. They are secondary kin of our primary kin and the primary kin of our secondary kin. Thus the wife of brother-in-law (sala) called sarhaj in Hindi, is tertiary kin because brother-in-law is one's secondary kin and his wife is the primary kin of brother in-law, similarly, the brother-in-law ofone's brother is one's tertiary kin because the brother is the primary kin and his the brother-in-law is the secondary kin of the brother. 16.13 Kinship Terms Kinship terms are those terms which are used in designating kin of various types. Morgan made an important study of kinship terms. He classified these terms into (i) Classificatory system, and (ii) Descriptive system. (i) Classificatory System: Under the classificatory system the various kin are included in one category and all are referred to by the same term. Thus, the term 'uncle' is a classificatory term. It is used for chacha, mama, mausa, foofa, tau, etc. Similarly the terms 'nephew' 'cousin' and 'in-law' are classificatory terms. The Sema Naga of Assam use aja for mother, father's brother's wife, and mother's sister. Among kuki clans, hepu, is used for father's father, mother's father; brother's son; wife's brother wife's brother's son. Thus, people of various age groups are designated by the same term. Among the Angami Nagas, the same terms are used for members of opposite sexes. The word she
NSOU CC-SO-02 236 stands for elder brother, wife's elder sister; husband's elder brother, elder sister's husband, brother's wife; father's brother's wife. In Hindi the word 'Sambadhin' is a classificatory term as it refers to father and mother of daughter- in-law and of son-in-law. (ii) Descriptive System: Under descriptive system one term refers to only one relation. It describes the exact relation of a person towards another. For example, father is a descriptive term. Similarly, mother is a descriptive term. In Hindi we have mostly, descriptive terms. Thus the terms chacha, mama, mausa, tau, sala, bahnoi, nandoi, bhanja, bhatija, bhabhi, devar, etc. are descriptive terms and designate the speakers's exact relation. It may be remarked that there is no place in the world where either the pure descriptive or the pure classificatory system is used. Both the systems are found prevalent. 16.14 Kinship Usages The study of kinship system does not end with the description of various kin and the basis of their classification but it also includes the study of behaviour patterns of different kin. Every relationship involves a particular type of hebaviour. The behaviour of a son towards his father is one of respect while the behaviour of husband towards wife is one of love. The behaviour of a brother towards his sister is one of affection. There are some usages which regulate the behaviour of different kin. These usages are called kinship usages. Some of these usages are the following: (i) Avoidance : In all societies the usage of avoidance is observed in one form or another. It means that the two kin should remain away from each other. In other words, they should avoid each other. They should not only avoid sexual relationship but in some cases avoid seeing the face of each other. Thus, a father-in-law (sasur) should avoid daughter-in-law. The son-in-law should avoid the mother-in-law. The purdah system in the Hindu family illustrates the usage of avoidance. Different explanations have been given for the usage of avoidance. Two of them are functionalist explanations given by Fred Eggan and G.P. Murdock. According to them, avoidance serves to foster further and more serious trouble between relatives. The third is the Freudian explanation according to which avoidance represent a sort of institutionalized neurotic symptom.
NSOU CC-SO-02 237 (ii) Joking Relationship: It is the reverse of avoidance relationship. Under it a relation is permitted to tease or make fun of the other. The relationship between devar-bhabhi, jija-sali, is joking relationship. The joking may amount to exchange of abuse and vulgar reference to sex. (iii) Teknonymy : The word 'teknonymy' has been taken from the Greek word and was used in anthropology for the first time by Taylor. According to this usage a kin is not referred to directly but he is referred to through another kin. A kin becomes the medium of reference between two kin. Thus in traditional Hindu family a wife does not utter the name of her husband. She calls him through her son or daughter. He is referred to by her as the father of Guddu or Tannu. (iv) Avunculate : This kinship usage is a peculiar feature of matriarchal system. It gives the maternal uncle (mama) a prominent place in the life of his nephews and nieces. He has special obligations towards them which exceed those of father. He has a prior right over their loyalties. He comes first among all male relatives. (v) Amitate : When a special role is given to the father's sister, it is known as amitate. The father's sister gets more respect than the mother. (vi) Couvade : This is a queer usage which is found among many primitive tribes like

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the Khasis and the Todas. Under this usage, the husband is made to lead the life of an invalid along with his wife whenever she gives birth to a child. He refrains from active work

and takes sick diet. He observes the same taboos which are observed by his wife. This kinship usage thus involves both the husband and wife. Kinship usages accomplish two major tasks. First, they create groups; special groups; special groupings of kin. This marriage assigns each mother a husband, and makes her children his children, thereby creating a special group of father, mother and children, which we call "family". The second major function of kinship usages is to govern the role relationships betweenkin; that is how one kinsman should behave in a particular kinsman's presence, or what one kinsman owes to another. Kinship assigns guidelines for interactions between persons. It defines proper, acceptable role relationship between father and daughter between brother and sister, between son-in-law and mother-in-law and between fellow lineage members and clansmen. Kinship thus acts as a regularizer of social life.

NSOU CC-SO-02 238 It may, however, be noted that rules governing the relationship between a pair of kinsmen may be highly "patterned" in some societies to allow little leeway for spontaneity or individual differences, while in other societies, such rules may be less "patterned" so as to leave much room for individualised behaviour. 16.15 Summary Marriage is a universal social institution. It is associated with mutual rights and obligations. It serves protective, regulatory, emotional and economic functions. Marriage ties result in formation of kinship network which organize individuals into social groups. In Hindu society marriage is deeply linked with religion and considered a sacrament. Hindu Marriage is a sacrament although certain changing trends can be observed due to various factors like urbanisation, industrialization, legislations and education. The classical thinkers like Durkheim views family as an important institution for maintaining social order and a moral society. Weber considers marriage as an essential institution which regulates the behaviour and desires of individuals. The modern thinkers relates marriage customs to habitus and cyclical changes in marriage to changes in economic system. Becker has analysed marriage on the basis of gains to trade model. Ulrich Beck elaborates on risks associated with marriage in the contemporary risk society. The post-modern thinkers like Foucault emphasize on deconstructing the institutions of family and marriage. Due the forces of globalization, modernization and legislations, changing trends can be observed in Hindu marriage. In spite of several changes, due to several customs and traditions, gender inequality can be observed in certain marriage practices and rituals. Divorce and widowhood are considered to be a stigma for women in Indian society. The issue of remarriage of women is associated with several religious and cultural practices. 16.16 Model Questions 1. Short question (5 Marks) A. Define kinship system. B. Write down the significance of kinship. C. What is the alliance approach to the kinship system? D. What is affinal kinship? E. What is social kinship? F. What do you mean by 'rules of residence'?

NSOU CC-SO-02 239 2. Answer in detail (10 Marks) A. Discuss the types of kinship. B. Write down the functions of kinship. C. Discuss the descent approach of kinship. D. Discuss the alliance approach of kinship. E. What do you mean by inheritance rules? F. Discuss the major approach to the study of kinship. G. Define the kinship system ? Illustrate the types of kinship. H. Explain the kinship term as classified by Morgan ? write down the significance of kinship. 16.17 References and Suggested Readings 1. Ahuja, R. 1993, Indian Social System, Rawat Publications, Jaipur. 2. Arensberg, C.M. and Kimball, S.T. 2001, Family and community in Ireland, Journal of Marriage and Family, Harward University Press, Pg.107. 3. Ember, Carol R. and Ember, M. 1995, "Anthropology 7th Edition, Prentice Hall of India, New Delhi 4. Emery, R.E. 2013, Cultural Sociology of Divorce: An Encyclopedia, Sage Publications, Los Angeles, Pg. 75. 5. Johnson, H.M. 2006, Sociology: A Systematic Introduction, Pg. 178-180, Allied Publishers, Mumbai. 6. Koos, 1953, Marriage, The free press, Illinois. 7. Lundberg, G.A. 1958, Sociology 3rd edition, Harper's Social Sciences, Pg. 63- 67, Harper & Row, New York. 8. Mazumdar, H. T., 2001, Grammar of Sociology : Man in Society, Asia House Publishing, Pg. 582. 9. Mondal, S. R. 2012, Interrogating Globalization and Culturein Anthropological Perspective. The Indian Experience, Journal of Globalization Studies, Volume 3. 10. Murdock, G.P. 1949, Social Structures, Pg. 8, Macmillan, New York.

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NSOU CC-SO-02 241 Module V Religion: Tradition and Modernity

Unit 17 Religion and Society Structure 17.0 Objectives 17.1 Introduction 17.2 Sociological Approach of Religion 17.2.1 The History of Religion as a Sociological Concept 17.2.2 Classical sociology: Emile Durkheim 17.2.3 The Protestant Work Ethic in the Information Age 17.2.4 Karl Marx on Religion 17.3 Anthropological Approaches 17.4 Types of Religious Organizations 17.5 Religion and Social Change 17.6 Summary 17.7 Model Questions 17.8 References and Suggested Readings 17.0 Objectives The unit looks into the subject of religion to understand its associated aspects like— The Sociological Approach. The history of religion. Important sociological theories of religion. Anthropological Approach to understand primitive rituals and beliefs. Inter-relationship between religion and social change. 243

NSOU CC-SO-02 244 17.1 Introduction Modern societies have generally been recognized as sites of human engagement that undermine the role of the spiritual/transcendental in the actual course of everyday human existence everywhere this has rarely been the case. The general trend of thinking within the social sciences and more specifically within sociology has been that the growing rationalization and secularization of human knowledge must result in a state of disenchantment of the transcendental, more specifically, the world of religion. While it is true that there are modern societies where religion has been successfully relegated to the domain of the private and the personal, it is equally true that in other modern societies, religion persists, one might even say that in many of these societies religious consciousness co-exists with its modern counterpart. In acknowledging this relationship of religion and society, it is important to stress at the very outset that notwithstanding the modernist contention on religion both within sociology and other fields of the social sciences there has been an active intellectual engagement that seeks to understand and probe the various dimensions of this society-religion interconnection. Within sociology this relationship has been viewed in many different ways not only highlighting the specificities of theoretical traditions but also the methodological underpinnings of that which constitutes religion in the modern world. From its location in the discipline of sociology, this module attempts to explore the multi-faceted relationship that exists between religion and society not only as an ongoing theoretical concern but also as an empirical object that merits its own sets of observations, analysis and interpretation. It may be useful to point out here that as a subject of sociological engagement, religion has from the very beginning occupied an important place of theoretical engagement within the discipline of sociology. In their own ways all the major classical sociologists from Marx, Durkheim, Weber etc., invested a huge amount of intellectual engagement with the field of religion. Given the vast diversity of religious practices that exist within society, the issue of identity emerges as significant not only in the domain of the religious context but also in terms of how these identities come to be represented in the everyday life of the believers. On the one hand, we consider how Hindu nationalism emerges as an ideology in the context of modern Indian society, on the other, we look at the growth of secularism and how secularism as an ideology and practice has sought to configure a distinctive relationship between religion and society in modern India.Continuity and change in the context of religion-society interrelationship. While continuity and change
NSOU CC-SO-02 245 affects the working of this relationship in all societies everywhere in the world, it is both relevant and significant to understand how a religion changes for its practitioners as a result of diverse forces that act upon it both internally and externally. 17.2 Sociological Approach of Religion From the Latin religio (respect for what is sacred) and religare (to bind, in the sense of an obligation), the term religion describes various systems of belief and practice concerning what people determine to be sacred or spiritual. Throughout history, and in societies across the world, leaders have used religious narratives, symbols, and traditions in an attempt to give more meaning to life and understand the universe. Some form of religion is found in every known culture, and it is usually practiced in a public way by a group. The practice of religion can include feasts and festivals, God or gods, marriage and funeral services, music and art, meditation or initiation, sacrifice or service, and other aspects of culture. While some people think of religion as something individual because religious beliefs can be highly personal, religion is also a social institution. Social scientists recognize that religion exists as an organized and integrated set of beliefs, behaviours, and norms centred on basic social needs and values. Moreover, religion is a cultural universal found in all social groups. For instance, in every culture, funeral rites are practiced in some way, although these customs vary between cultures and within religious affiliations. Despite differences, there are common elements in a ceremony marking a person's death, such as announcement of the death, care of the deceased, disposition, and ceremony or ritual. These universals, and the differences in how societies and individuals experience religion, provide rich material for sociological study. In studying religion, sociologists distinguish between what they term the experience, beliefs, and rituals of a religion. Religious experience refers to the conviction or sensation that one is connected to "the divine." This type of communion might be experienced when people are praying or meditating. Religious beliefs are specific ideas that members of a particular faith hold to be true, such as that Jesus Christ was the son of God, or believing in reincarnation. Another illustration of religious beliefs is that different religions adhere to certain stories of world creation. Religious rituals are behaviours or practices that are either required or expected of the members of a particular group, such as bar mitzvah or confession (Barkan and Greenwood 2003).
NSOU CC-SO-02 246 17.2.1 The History of Religion as a Sociological Concept : In the wake of 19th century European industrialization and secularization, three social theorists attempted to examine the relationship between religion and society: Émile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Karl Marx. They are among the founding thinkers of modern sociology. As stated earlier, French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) defined religion as a "

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unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things".

To him, the sacred meant extraordinary-something that inspired wonder and which seemed connected to the concept of "the divine." Durkheim argued that "religion happens" in society when there is a separation between the profane (ordinary life) and the sacred. A rock, for example, isn't sacred or profane as it exists. But if someone makes it into a headstone, or another person uses it for landscaping, it takes on different meanings- one sacred, one profane. Durkheim is generally considered the first sociologist who analyzed religion in terms of its societal impact. Above all, Durkheim believed that religion is about community: it binds people together (social cohesion), promotes behaviour consistency (social control), and offers strength for people during life's transitions and tragedies (meaning and purpose). By applying the methods of natural science to the study of society, he held that the source of religion and morality is the collective mind-set of society and that the cohesive bonds of social order result from common values in a society. He contended that these values need to be maintained to maintain social stability. Religion then provided differing degrees of "social cement" that held societies and cultures together. Faith provided the justification for society to exist beyond the mundane and partial explanations of existence as provided in science, even to consider an intentional future: "for faith is before all else an impetus to action, while science, no matter how far it may be pushed, always remains at a distance from this". But what would happen if religion were to decline? This question led Durkheim to posit that religion is not just a social creation but something that represents the power of society: when people celebrate sacred things, they celebrate the power of their society. By this reasoning, even if traditional religion disappeared, society wouldn't necessarily dissolve.
NSOU CC-SO-02 247 17.2.2 Classical Sociology: Émile Durkheim : Durkheim's sociological analysis of religion in The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (1912) was an example of this. In this work he was not interested in the theological questions of God's existence or purpose, but in developing a very secular, sociological question: Whether God exists or not, how does religion function socially in a society? He argued that beneath the irrationalism and the "barbarous and fantastic rites" of both the most primitive and the most modern religions is their ability to satisfy real social and human needs. "There are no religions which are false" he said. Religion performs the key function of providing social solidarity in a society. The rituals, the worship of icons, and the belief in supernatural beings "excite, maintain or recreate certain mental states" that bring people together, provide a ritual and symbolic focus, and unify them. This type of analysis became the basis of the functionalist perspective in sociology. He explained the existence and persistence of religion on the basis of the necessary function it performed in unifying society. Whereas Durkheim saw religion as a source of social stability, German sociologist and political economist Max Weber (1864-1920) believed it was a precipitator of social change. He examined the effects of religious belief on economic activities and noticed that heavily Protestant societies-such as those in the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and Germany-were the most highly developed capitalist societies and that their most successful business and other leaders were Protestant. In his writing The Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1905), he contends that the Protestant work ethic influenced the development of capitalism by overturning the traditional anti-materialist Christian values of poverty. 17.2.3 The Protestant Work Ethic in the Information Age : Max Weber (1904) posited that, in Europe in his time, Protestants were more likely than Catholics to reflect the values of hard work and savings conducive to capitalist ideology. Focusing on Calvinism, he showed that Protestant values influenced the rise of capitalism and helped create the modern world order. Weber thought the emphasis on community in Catholicism versus the emphasis on individual achievement in Protestantism made a difference. Weber's century-old claim that the Protestant work ethic led to the development of capitalism has been one of the most important and controversial topics in the sociology of religion. In fact, some scholars have found little merit to his contention when applied to contemporary society.
NSOU CC-SO-02 248 The work ethic in the information age has been affected by tremendous cultural and social change, just as workers in the mid to late 19th century were influenced by the wake of the Industrial Revolution. Factory jobs tend to be simple and uninvolved and require very little thinking or decision making on the part of the worker. Today, the work ethic of the modern workforce has been transformed, as more thinking and decision making is required. Employees also seek autonomy and fulfillment in their jobs, not just wages. Higher levels of education have become necessary, as well as people management skills and access to the most recent information on any given topic. The information age has increased the rapid pace of production expected in many jobs.
17.2.4 Karl Marx on Religion: German philosopher, journalist, and revolutionary socialist Karl Marx (1818-1883) also studied the social impact of religion. He believed religion reflects the social stratification of society and that it maintains inequality and perpetuates the status quo. For him, religion was just an extension of working-class (proletariat) economic suffering: "Religion

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is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people".

In reviewing the development of the Sociology of Religion, it is necessary to comment on some contributions that stood outside the positivistic, evolutionary tradition. In his early works with Engels, Karl Marx (1818-1883) concentrated on the political aspects of religion and its use or abuse as a means of moral and intellectual repression. According to Marx, the discussion of labour in a capitalist society, the development of the structure of the market and the consequent exploitation of labour by subjugating humans to the products of their own labour, led to a condition of alienation of humans. Humans, who were unable to unable to regulate their own world, turned to religion. This approach precisely shifted the focus to a more materialist, pragmatic critique of religion. Marx observed that there is a parallel between religious and socio-economic activity. Marx and Engels saw religion as a social product, emerging out of social relations. Religion did not exist all by itself, independent of the social and economic forces. It became a means to control the masses and an instrument in legitimizing injustice. It was during the Renaissance and the Reformation that the authority of religious

NSOU CC-SO-02 249 institutions was questioned. Science, up until then had been under the direct control of the Church. A protest against religion began with the understanding that it was necessary to get rid of religion if humanity had to progress, as it posed as an obstacle to scientific, rational thought. Up until then, science had been but a humble hand maiden of the Church. At the same time for the growth of material production, the bourgeois required a science that could explain the physical properties of natural objects. When science and reason rebelled against the Church, the bourgeoisie joined this struggle. Along with a struggle against feudalism, it was also a struggle against an older belief system that restricted rational thought. It was the bourgeoisie class that attempted to replace the Church's feudalism with a religious belief system more compatible with industrial growth and materialism. This led to the resultant Protestant Reformation. (Engels 1880) Protestantism was more compatible with materialism since it preached a doctrine of 'calling'. For the bourgeois, Protestantism justified accumulation of wealth, while for the lower classes it promoted a strong work ethic of hard work. In his work The Introduction to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right (1844), Marx wrote, 'Religion

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is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world. It is the opium of the people'.

Fear had created the gods. The helplessness of the oppressed in their struggle against the exploiters led to a belief in a better life beyond the grave. The hope of a reward in the form of seeking heaven after death caused them to be more humble in accepting their sufferings on earth. Escape is the essential thing that religion offered the oppressed. While for those who are the owners of means of production, it offered an ideology, a system that legitimized poverty, injustice and suffering as the will of God. Marx states thus, 'The social principles of Christianity preach the necessity of a ruling and an oppressed class, and all they have for the latter is the pious wish that the former will be charitable...The abolition of religion, as the illusory happiness of the people, is required for their real happiness. The demand to give up the illusions about its condition is the demand to give up a condition which needs illusions. Religion was a false consciousness, an illusionary happiness. It preached the existence of a class structure and validated its unjust nature. A critique of religion was necessary according to Marx, so as to make humans see reason, to think and act and shape their reality according to reason. For Marx, religion was only an illusion, God a human creation and not the other way round. Religion and the capitalist mode of production both were the causes of man's alienation albeit in different ways. Religion stripped humans of their most
NSOU CC-SO-02 250 valued ideals and projected them onto a supernatural being, a deity. Like any other dominant ideology, religion then legitimizes the ideas of the ruling class, in this case, the bourgeois. Capitalism on the other hand, projected human-like values to the products of human labour, alienating man's labour. Religion's ideological function is, for Marx, related to the idea of reification. Reification occurs when the social character of labor becomes objectified and obscured by ideologies in which "divine law" (rather than human beings with particular interests) is viewed as the true author of social relations. Reification thus conceals that which is actually arbitrary and socially changeable by representing it as immutably given. As such, reification is an excellent form of social control, since the workers control themselves rather than forcing the owners to control them in visibly unjust or brutal ways. As religion robs humans of their merits projecting them to a god, so does the capitalist economy rob us of our labour, transforming it to another commodity, into the hands of those who can buy it. Religion strips humans of qualities and assigns them to a supernatural being, thus being just another kind of fetishism. Thus Engels wrote in Anti-Duhring (1878) how we have already seen, more than once, that in existing bourgeois society, men were dominated by the economic conditions created by themselves, by the means of production which they themselves have produced, as if by an external force. So religion would not vanish unless the social conditions that accompanied a belief in religion were removed. As long as humans were made to believe that an external force held some power over them, whether economic or social, religion would exist and accompany the ongoing class struggles. For Durkheim, Weber, and Marx, who were reacting to the great social and economic upheaval of the late 19th century and early 20th century in Europe, religion was an integral part of society. For Durkheim, religion was a force for cohesion that helped bind the members of society to the group, while Weber believed religion could be understood as something separate from society. Marx considered religion inseparable from the economy and the worker. Religion could not be understood apart from its ideological role in perpetuating or mystifying the inequalities of capitalist society. Despite their different views, these social theorists all believed in the centrality of religion to society.

NSOU CC-SO-02 251 17.3 Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ritual and Belief in Non-Western Societies a) Edward Burnett Taylor on Beliefs as Mistaken Inferences in 'Primitive' Culture: A leading figure of nineteenth-century evolutionary anthropology, Edward Taylor, in Primitive Culture (1871), argues that the study of culture and civilization allows for the understanding of the general laws of human thought and action. Just as one finds uniform laws in the realm of nature, one can apply the same principle to civilizations. According to Taylor, the job of the student of culture is to find general principles of human action. One can embark on this study by analyzing "survivals", those elements in the present that are carried over from the past, reflecting beliefs, customs and conditions of an older time. Survivals include traditional games, popular sayings, customs, and 'superstitious belief'. According to Taylor, many parallels have been observed between ancient human tribes and the existing savage tribes and hence, by studying the present-day 'savage-tribes', one could learn about this story of civilization. In his book Theories of Primitive Religion (1965) E.E. Evans-Pritchard critiques the theories of evolutionary anthropologists. The way both Taylor and Frazer argue is a form of a priori speculation. It proceeds by imagining oneself in place of a person living in primitive conditions and recreating the logic that would lead one to uphold primitive beliefs. "A logical construction of the scholar's mind is posited on the primitive man, and put forward as an explanation of his beliefs." It is possible that this is how 'primitive' beliefs came about, but there is no way to verify it. b) Functional (and Structural) Explanations of Belief and Ritual by Bronisaw Malinowski (1884-1942) goes back to the distinction between magic and religion, as well as magic and science. His work emerges as a critique of those who do not demarcate a scientific approach from a magical one within primitive society. According to Malinowski, it is not possible to carry on everyday life without sound generalizations and logical reasoning, which are needed for normal activities and are the basis of production. However, no matter how extensive one's knowledge, there will always be limitations, and it is never possible to completely eradicate an unexpected turn of events. He traces the need for, and existence of, a special type of ritual activity (known as magic) in both modern and primitive society, where one realizes the impotence and limits of knowledge. Ordinary work and skill is never replaced by magic, which shows that science doesn't develop out of magic (as Frazer had claimed).
NSOU CC-SO-02 252 The force of magic can only be produced within a traditionally-defined dramatic and emotional milieu, which creates the atmosphere of the supernatural. He emphasizes the functional nature of magic in terms of individual psychology and its cultural and social value. One finds a different kind of functionalism in Alfred Radcliffe-Brown (1881- 1955), who also draws on the structuralism of Durkheim. In his influential work, The Andaman Islanders, he examines different types of social action and devotes significant attention to "ceremonial customs." In interpreting these customs, he shows how "every custom and belief of a primitive society plays some determinate part in the social life of the community, just as every organ of a living body plays some part in the general life of the organism." (Radcliffe-Brown in Morris 1987: 124) According to Morris, Radcliffe-Brown's interest is not in historical origins of social institutions, but in the interpretation of their "meaning," or their function. c) Ritual in terms of Rebellion, Communities and Mystification : When theorizing ritual, Max Gluckman's work and subsequently Edward Norbeck's critique pose an interesting question. Durkheim's idea of ritual as confirming group solidarity didn't quite fit for Gluckman, who in his work on South East Africa looked at examples of certain rites where people in a subordinate position performed a reversed role in the ritual. For instance, women would assert dominance over men in a certain rite. Gluckman called these "rituals of rebellion" embedded in a "repetitive social system", where the act of rebellion had rebels but no revolutionaries, and ritual eventually supported the same structure. Edward Norbeck in his critique suggests that instead of rituals of rebellion, these could be seen as simply part of a larger category of rituals that allow for a momentary relaxation of social rules. Thus, ritual could be seen as exaggerating "real conflicts" but affirming unity despite conflict. (Morris 1987: 248-251) The terms 'rites of passage', usually associated with initiation rituals, came into usage more broadly as a concept when developed by Arnold van Gennep. The term depicts transition and change of status through ritual. The ritual can be for different occasions such as marking a new stage in a person's life or change of seasons or rituals associated with territorial movements, initiation into groups etc. All rites of passage have an underlying pattern with three phases: the first stage is a separation from the previous state, place, time or status. d) The characteristics of the liminal personae ("threshold people") are necessarily ambiguous, since they cannot be identified with the web of classifications

NSOU CC-SO-02 253 that normally persist. This ambiguity is expressed in diverse ways. It may include subjecting the liminal entities to nudity or disguising them as monsters, inflicting some arbitrary punishment, expecting humble behavior, erasing distinctions of rank or status or rendering them uniform. "It is as though they are being reduced or ground down to a uniform condition to be fashioned anew and endowed with additional powers to enable them to cope with their new situation in life." What Turner finds interesting about liminality is the space it produces, characterized by lowliness and sacredness, allowing for homogeneity and comradeship. In such rites, one is presented with a momentary image of a generalized social bond that has ceased to exist and yet it is about to be classified into a variety of hierarchical, structural bonds. According to Turner, the liminal phase is not simply a distinction between "sacred" and "secular"; rather, "this 'sacred' component is acquired by the incumbents of positions during the rites de passage, through which they changed positions. Something of the sacredness of that transient humility and modelessness goes over, and tempers the pride of the incumbent of a higher position or office." (Turner 2002 [1969]: 360). Turner states that this isn't simply about giving legitimacy to existing social structures but is rather a recognition of an "essential and generic human bond, without which there could be no society". Liminal situations are also almost everywhere attributed to magico-religious properties and often accompanied by ideas of danger, inauspicion, pollution, taboo etc. Turner suggests that this should seen from the perspective of maintaining the status quo, and thus the form of the communitas must appear as dangerous or anarchical and have to be surrounded by conditions and prescriptions. e) Ritual as Mystification : Peter Van Der Veer compares Maurice Bloch's approach towards studying rituals to Clifford Geertz's, for whom symbols, as vehicle, allow for meaning to be communicated. These symbols constitute the worldview of a society, and ritual does the significant job of retaining this worldview by making it seem real. While society actually changes over the course of time, ritual action retains the traditional worldview. Bloch, also interested in studying symbols, critiques the functionalist, intellectualist and the symbolist approach for assuming that rituals are as they are in order to fulfill one particular function that is explanation. According to Bloch, even a less simplified approach like Turner's which brings together the symbolic, emotional and sociological aspects of ritual doesn't quite situate the symbolic in the social. This, he states, is not

NSOU CC-SO-02 254 possible to do on a short-term scale. He thus attempts to study the circumcision of the Merina in Madagascar as a symbolic system being created in history. (Bloch 1986: 8) 17.4 Types of Religious Organizations Religions organize themselves-their institutions, practitioners, and structures-in a variety of fashions. For instance, when the Roman Catholic Church emerged, it borrowed many of its organizational principles from the ancient Roman military, turning senators into cardinals, for example. Sociologists use different terms, like ecclesia, denomination, and sect, to define these types of organizations. Scholars are also aware that these definitions are not static. Most religions transition through different organizational phases. For example, Christianity began as a cult, transformed into a sect, and today exists as an ecclesia. Cults, like sects, are new religious groups. In popular usage, this term often carries pejorative connotations. Today, the term "cult" is used interchangeably with the term new religious movement (NRM). However, almost all religions began as NRMs and gradually progressed to levels of greater size and organization. In its pejorative use, these groups are often disparaged as being secretive, highly controlling of members' lives, and dominated by a single, charismatic leader. Controversy exists over whether some groups are cults, perhaps due in part to media sensationalism over groups like polygamous Mormons or the Peoples Temple followers who died at Jonestown, Guyana. Some groups that are controversially labelled as cults today include the Church of Scientology and the Hare Krishna movement. A sect is a small and relatively new group. Most of the well-known Christian denominations in North America today began as sects. For example, the Presbyterians and Baptists protested against their parent Anglican Church in England, just as Henry VIII protested against the Catholic Church by forming the Anglican Church. From "protest" comes the term Protestant. Occasionally, a sect is breakaway group that may be in tension with larger society. They sometimes claim to be returning to "the fundamentals" or to contest the veracity of a particular doctrine. When membership in a sect increases over time, it may grow into a denomination. Often a sect begins as an offshoot of a denomination, when a group of members believes they should separate from the larger group.

NSOU CC-SO-02 255 Some sects evolve without growing into denominations. Sociologists call these established sects.Established sects, such as the Hutterites or Jehovah's Witnesses in Canada fall halfway between sect and denomination on the ecclesia-cult continuum because they have a mixture of sect-like and denomination-like characteristics. A denomination is a large, mainstream religious organization, but it does not claim to be official or state sponsored. It is one religion among many. For example, The Church of England in Canada, the Presbyterian Church, the United Church, and Seventh-day Adventist are all Christian denominations. The term ecclesia, originally referring to a political assembly of citizens in ancient Athens, Greece, now refers to a congregation. In sociology, the term is used to refer to a religious group that most members of a society belong to. It is considered a nationally recognized, or official, religion that holds a religious monopoly and is closely allied with state and secular powers. Canada does not have an ecclesia by this standard. One way to remember these religious organizational terms is to think of cults (NRMs), sects, denominations, and ecclesia representing a continuum, with increasing influence on society, where cults are least influential and ecclesia are most influential. 17.5 Religion and Social Change Religion has historically been a major impetus to social change. In early Europe, the translation of sacred texts into everyday, non-scholarly language empowered people to shape their religions. Disagreements between religious groups and instances of religious persecution have led to mass resettlement, war, and even genocide. To some degree, the modern sovereign state system and international law might be seen as products of the conflict between religious beliefs as these were founded in Europe by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which ended the Thirty Years War. As outlined below, Canada is no stranger to religion as an agent of social change. Secularization At the same time that religion is still a major force in Western society, it is within a backdrop of societies becoming more and more secularized. Secularization as a social and historical process has been outlined by the sociologist Jose Casanova as three interrelated trends, all open to debate: 1) the decline of religious beliefs and practices in modern societies, 2) the privatization of religion, and 3) the differentiation

NSOU CC-SO-02 256 of the secular spheres (state, economy, science), usually understood as "emancipation" from religious institutions and norms. Historical sociologists Émile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Karl Marx and psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud anticipated secularization, claiming that the modernization of society would bring about a decrease in the influence of religion. Weber believed membership in distinguished clubs would outpace membership in Protestant sects as a way for people to gain authority or respect. Religious independent schools teaching from kindergarten to grade 12 receive varying degrees of public funding across Canada. In British Columbia, these schools are countering the student population declines found in the public schools and have generally increased enrolments annually. The power of the sociological study of religion goes well beyond how we think and behave over religion. These views and behaviours spill over in fundamental ways into other important arenas within our lives. Whether we consider our views on politics, homosexuality, or our children's education, the sociological study of religion provides valuable insights into our collective behaviour. 17.6 Summary Three different perspectives in the study of religion were discussed. While Marx held a strong critical view of religion, Durkheim appraised it as the glue that held social groups together. Weber on the other hand made a comparative analysis of world religions and the way in which religious worldviews and socio-economic activities influence each other. The common thread that links these scholarly works is their attempt to grapple with large scale changes that gripped the European society. Sociological terms for different kinds of religious organizations are, in order of decreasing influence in society, ecclesia, denomination, sect, and cult. Religions can be categorized according to what or whom its followers worship. Many of the classical sociological theories predicted that levels of religiosity in Western societies would decline due to the process of secularization. The clash of secular and religious values in modern society produces issues that are difficult to resolve.
NSOU CC-SO-02 257 17.7 Model Questions 1. Answer briefly the following questions: (5 marks) a) Define religion as a sociological concept. b) What are the anthropological approaches to the study of rituals and beliefs in non western countries? c) Point out the three major theoretical perspectives on religion. d) Write a short note on cult. 2. Answer in detail the following questions: (10 marks) a) Write a detailed note on Durkheim about religion. b) Contrast the views of Weber and Marx on religion. c) Discuss in detail the different religious organizations. d) Explain he relationship between Religion and Social Change. e) Elaborate views of three sociological thinkers on religion. f) Analyse Anthropological approach of rituals and beliefs in non western countries. g) Describe the theoretical perspective on religion and religious organization 17.8 References and Suggested Readings Bowie, Fiona. 2000. The Anthropology of Religion: an introduction, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. Dillon, M. 2003. Handbook of the Sociology of Religion. Cambridge University Press Durkheim, Émile. 1933 [1893]. Division of Labor in Society. Translated by George Simpson. New York: Free Press. Durkheim, Émile. 1947 [1915]. The Elementary Forms of Religious Life. Translated by J. Swain. Glencoe, IL: Free Press. Johnstone, R. L. 2015. Religion in society: A sociology of religion. Routledge. Marx, K 1844. The Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right; Cambridge University Press, 1970. Edited: Joseph O'Malley; Translated: Annette Jolin and Joseph Morris, Brian. 1987. Anthropological Studies of Religion: An Introductory Text. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Weber, M.1993. The Sociology of Religion; Translated: Ephraim Fischoff, Boston: Beacon Press.
NSOU CC-SO-02 258 Unit 18 Religion as an Institution Structure 18.0 Objectives 18.1 Introduction 18.2 Religion: A Sociological Definition 18.3 Functions of Religion 18.5 Role of Religious institutions in Society 18.6 Summary 18.7 Model Questions 18.8 References and Suggested Readings 18.0 Objectives From this unit students will come to know of : How religion is defined in sociology. What functions it performs in society. What role religion plays in social life. The nature and scope of religion as a social institution. 18.1 Introduction In viewing religion as an institution, sociologists evaluate its impact on human societies. As an institution, religion has operated to standardize the religious emotions, beliefs and practices, and to spread and perpetuate them. It is a powerful instrument of social control and social integration. It is a strong bond of social unity through promoting a community of thought. It deals with divine sanctions as well as with present and future rewards and punishments. Through this, it exercises a profound influence on one's behaviour. In viewing religion as a social institution, sociologists have also evaluated its impact on individuals and society as a whole. As an institution, religion is characterized by its universality, its rituals, its sacredness and its persistence. 258
NSOU CC-SO-02 259 Religion can be viewed from individual and societal points of view both. The functions of social cohesion and social control are oriented towards the larger society while providing emotional and social support and other psychological explanations are more oriented towards the individual. Although religion, like all other institutions, has changed, it continues to be a potent force, rather with more vigour in our lives throughout the modern neo-liberal risky world. The assertion that 'God is dead' is not true for a large part of world's population. Despite the incredible growth in the importance of science and empiricism since 19th century, which has caused many people to regard religion as a superstition, an irrational belief and religiously and spirituality among people is increasing in some or the other way. At many times, religion persists in the face of scientific evidence. Even, the men who call themselves as scientists are not fully devoid of religious beliefs and they take part in many religious rituals in the home as well as at workplace. We often hear a doctor saying that he or she will do his/her best to save the life of the patient but it is ultimately He (God) who saves. This proves that religion has always been present and has also been a prominent institution. In traditional societies the religious and non-religious spheres of life are not sharply differentiated. But, in modern industrial societies, religion and society are not the same. The emergence of different modes of life experience leads to different meanings about life, producing a religious differentiation. Religion may still provide cohesion, but now only for sub-groups of society. 18.2 Religion - A Sociological Definition Societies make distinctions between the sacred (anything that is considered to be part of the supernatural world and that inspires awe, respect and reverence) and the profane (anything considered to be part of the ordinary world and, thus, commonplace and familiar). This distinction is the basis for of all religions (systems of roles and norms that are organized around the sacred realm and that bind people together in social groups). Religion is a basic institution, yet it exists in many different forms because different societies give sacred meaning to a wide variety of objects, events and experiences. Religion is not just defined in terms of superhuman agents but also in terms of textual traditions. Religion in Fitzgerald's (2000) opinion is vaguely used to refer to rituals directed towards God and that it becomes a habitual reflex than a deliberate

NSOU CC-SO-02 260 and sustained policy. Religion may also be used deliberately as a non-theological analytical category to make distinctions between religious and the non-religious. Fitzgerald (2000) outlines certain assumptions that lie behind the phenomenology of religion, such as, it is a universal phenomenon to be found in principle in all cultures and all human experiences. Another pervasive assumption is that religions are defined by a common faith in the transcendent or the divine-belief in superhuman agencies, or preferably in one Supreme Being, who gives meaning and purpose to human history. In his opinion, religion should be studied as an ideological category, as an aspect of modern western ideology and as a basis of modern form of theology, with a specific location in history. Thus, according to him, the ethnocentric Judeo-Christian theological semantic association of the word religion has not been sufficiently neutralized. Attempt is made to smuggle in some ecumenical assumptions about what can and cannot be sacred or transcendental. With the onset of the twentieth century, other faiths aspired for world religions and described their eligibility based on dominant characteristics of a recognized religion. The world religions according to Weber (1946); are the five religions (Confucian, Hinduist, Buddhist, Christianity, and Islam, Judaism) or religiously determined systems of life-regulation which have known how to gather multitudes of confessors around them. According to him, the religiously determined way of life is itself profoundly influenced by economic and political factors operating within given geographical, political, social, and national boundaries. Marx too accepts the view that religion represents human self-alienation. He declared in a famous phrase that religion has been the opium of the people. Religion defers happiness and rewards to the after-life, teaching the resigned acceptance of existing conditions in this life. Attention is thus diverted from inequalities and injustices in this world by the promise of what is to come in the next. Religion has a strong ideological element, religious beliefs and values often provide justifications for inequalities of wealth and power. In Marx's view religion in its traditional form will and should disappear. Ambedkar (1987) also illuminates that religion is an institution or an influence and like all social influences and institutions, it may help or it may harm a society which is in its grip. It is a force which can be accepted as good without examining the form it takes and the ideal it serves.

NSOU CC-SO-02 261 18.3 Functions of Religion Religion is a cultural universal because it fulfills several basic functions within human societies. It is a basic requirement of group life. In sociological terms, these include both manifest and latent functions. Among the manifest (open and stated) functions of religion are included defining the spiritual world and giving meaning to the divine. Religion provides an explanation for events that seem difficult to understand. By contrast, latent functions or religion are unintended, covert, or hidden. Functionalists suggest that religion is a requirement for society and individual both because it serves both manifest and latent functions. 1. Religion as an Integrative Force: Durkheim believed that the primary function of religion was to preserve and solidify society. It functions to reinforce the collective unity or social solidarity of a group. Sharing the same religion or religious interpretation of the meaning of life unites people in a cohesive and building moral order. The social cohesion is developed through rituals such as reciting prayer in the honour of God, institutions of worship (church, temple, mosque, etc.), performing Namaz, and multitudes of observances and ceremonies practised by different groups. The unifying rituals of different faiths are also observed by individuals on the most significant occasions such as birth, marriage and death. This integrative function of religion was particularly apparent in traditional, pre-industrial societies. Durkheim was particularly concerned with a perplexing question, 'How can human societies be held together when they are generally composed of individuals and social groups with diverse interests and aspirations'. In his view, religious bonds often transcend these personal and divisive forces. It gives people certain ultimate values and ends to hold in common. 2. Creating a Moral Community: Religion provides a system of beliefs around which people may gather to belong to something greater than themselves in order to have their personal beliefs reinforced by the group and its rituals. Those who share a common ideology develop a collective identity and a sense of fellowship. Members of moral community also share a common life. This moral community gives rise to social community through the symbolism of the sacred that supports the more ordinary aspects of social life. Religion then legitimizes society. It provides

NSOU CC-SO-02 262 sacred sanction for the social order and for its basic values and meanings. 3. Religion as Social Control: Frank E. Manuel (1959) had said that 'religion was a mechanism which inspired terror, but terror for the preservation of society'. While conservatives have valued religion for its protective function, radicals have also often recognized that religion can be a support of the established order, and have, consequently, been critical of religion. Friedrich Engels, a life-long close associate of Karl Marx, once noted that religion could make the masses 'submissive to the behests of the masters it had pleased God to place over them'. Durkheim also emphasized that besides acting as an integrating force, religion also reinforces social control in oppressive society. Religious beliefs can influence the conduct of those who believe in them. It keeps people 'in line' through folkways and mores. It

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provides a foundation for mores of society. Religious sanctions are sought for certain desirable patterns of behaviour to persist in society

in the forms of mores. Thus, many taboos in various cultures have religious sanctions, e.g., the taboo against eating of pork in Jewish and Muslims and cows meat in Hindus. 4. Provides Rites of Passage: Religion helps us in performing ceremonies and rituals related to rites of passage (birth, marriage, death and other momentous events) which give meaning and a social significance to our life. 5. Religion as Emotional Support: Religion is a sense of comfort and solace to the individuals during times of personal and social crises such as death of loved ones, serious injury, etc. This is especially true when something 'senseless' happens. It gives them emotional support and provides consolation, reconciliation and moral strength during trials and defeats, personal losses and unjust treatments. It provides a means whereby man can face the crises and vicissitudes of life with strength and fortitude. The concepts of karma and transmigration among Hindus and Jesus Christ as son of God and prayer among Christians seek to provide such fortitude and strength. Thomas O'Dea (1970) writes, 'Men need emotional support in the face of uncertainty, consolation when confronted with disappointments and anxiety.' It is often said that visiting places of worship and holy premises serves as outlets for releasing tension and stress.

NSOU CC-SO-02 263 Religion offers consolation to oppressed peoples also by giving them hope that they can achieve salvation and eternal happiness in the afterlife. Religion increases the 'God will provide' the attitude. 6. Religion Serves a Means to Provide Answers to Ultimate Questions: Why are we here on earth? Is there a supreme being? What happens after death? All religions have certain notions and beliefs that provide answers to the above questions. These beliefs are based on the faith that life has a purpose, and there is someone or something that controls the universe. It defines the spiritual world and gives meaning to the divine. Because of its beliefs concerning people's relationships to a beyond, religion provides an explanation for events that seem difficult to understand. 7. Religion as a Source of Identity: Religion gives individuals a sense of identity- a profound and positive self-identity. It enables them to cope effectively with the many doubts and indignation of everyday life. Religion may suggest people that they are not worthless or meaningless creatures and thus helps them alleviating the frustrating experiences of life which sometimes force a person to commit suicide. According to Thomas Luckman (1983), 'The prime function of religion is to give personal meaning to life'. In industrial societies, religion helps to integrate newcomers by providing a source of identity. For example, Bangladeshi immigrants in India, after settling in their new social environment, came to be identified as Indian Muslims. In a rapidly changing world, religious faith often provides an important sense of belonging. 8. Legitimating Function of Religion: According to Max Weber (1930), religion may be used to explain, justify or rationalize the exercise of power. It reinforces the interests of those in power. Even in societies not as visibly ruled by religious dogma, religion legitimates the political sector. For example, India's traditional caste system defined the social structure of society. According to one theory, caste system is a creation of the priesthood (Brahmins)-the uppermost stratum of this system, but it also served the interests of political rulers by granting legitimacy to social inequality. Marx has acknowledged that religion plays an important role in legitimating the existing social structure. The values of religion reinforce other social institutions and the social order as a whole and as a consequence it perpetuates social inequality in society.

NSOU CC-SO-02 264 9. Psychologizing Religion: The notion of 'positive thinking' serves as an example of psychologizing religion. It provides peace of mind, promises prosperity and success in life, as well as effective and happy human relations. It is thus a source of security and confidence, and also of happiness and success in this world. But at times religion can be debilitating and personally destructive. Persons convinced of their own essential wickedness can suffer extreme personal difficulties. As Kingsley Davis (1949) noted, 'Like other medicines, it (religion) can sometimes make worse the very thing it seeks to remedy. Innumerable are the psychoses and neuroses that have religious content'. But, in this role, religion is not always harmful. Many times, it serves as a liberating and integrating force for individuals. For instance, it helps in bringing change (sobriety) to seemingly hopeless alcoholics. 10. Religion Acts as Psychotherapy: In modern world, religion has also become a supporting psychology-a form of psychotherapy. Now, God is conceived of as a humane and considerate God. Such a hopeful perception helps the sufferer in alleviating his/her personal and social crisis. A new vocation of religious practitioner has recently come up in the mental health field as a helping professional. It already existed in village India and other places in the form of shamans, priests and magicians (shamans are treated as super-humans endowed with supernatural powers in some tribal societies). 11. Religion as an Agent of Social Change: While religion supports the status quo in its priestly function, it inspires great change in its prophetic function. It can enable individuals to transcend social forces; to act in ways other than those prescribed by the social order. Mahatma Gandhi, Jesus, Thomas More all died upholding spiritual beliefs that were not those of the social order in which they lived. Religion, in its prophetic function, provides individuals with an unshakable foundation of social criticism which later on becomes the basis for social change. Many religious groups of the world protested against Vietnam and Iraq wars and an age-old Buddha statue in Afghanistan. 12. Religion as an Agent of De-politicization: According to Bryan Wilson (1976), religion functions as an agent of de-politicization. Marxists suggest that by inducing a 'false consciousness' among the disadvantaged, religion lessens the possibility of collective political action. In simpler terms, religion keeps people away from seeing their lives and societal conditions in political terms.

NSOU CC-SO-02 265 13. Religion Controls Sexuality: According to B. Turner (1992), 'religion has the function of controlling the sexuality of the body, in order to secure the regular transmission of property via the family'. In feudalism, and now in capitalism, religious control of sexuality is an important vehicle for the production of legitimate offspring. In the end, it may be said that in spite of being regarded as superstition, religion is persisting for such a long time as a social institution because of its varied functions cited above that it performs for the welfare of the individual and the society both. At many times, even the so-called educated people regard religious laws as superior to the man-made laws. In primitive and traditional societies and even some sections of modern societies, despite all-round attack over it, religion is a pervasive matter, and religious beliefs and rites play an important part in the activities of various kinds of groups-from family to occupational groups. Though inhabitants and citizens of a 'modern' society, many remain traditional in their religious and moral outlook. For some, this means that religious authority and principles override that of secular law. 18.4 Nature and Scope of Religion The theological concept of religion which is reflected in the popular ones centers round as supernatural power, other than independence, of human experience. The assurance of God's being comes in this approach, not from any internal experience but, from the faith in an external revelation, primary emphasis thus, seems to be on belief and faith and not on inner experience, though even this approach has to recognize that man's religion is conditioned to a large extent by man's interest in his own destiny. On the other hand, man's inner experience is of primary importance for the psychoanalytical writers and humanist thinkers with existentialist sympathies. If man experiences God, argues Ludwig Furbish, this experience gives us greater information about the man himself than about God, God being regarded by him as the projected image of man himself. No man of religion would agree with this reduction of God to a creation of the human mind. Religion, as it is generally understood, is not only based on a central revelation, but its entire development is also determined in a way by that revelation thus, the most basic tenet of Christianity is God's revelation to mankind in and through Christ, the son of god. This forms not only the basis of the Trinitarians concept of god and the entire church creed regarding the atonement, resurrection etc, the faith in Christ as the saviors and the son of god has been the greatest determining factor in the religions experience of the Christians- For example, the awareness or
NSOU CC-SO-02 266 experience of the Divine presence is more often interpreted by Christian mystics and saints as that of Christ the son and not that of god, the father. 18.5 Role of Religious Institutions in Society As religion so its institutions also play an important role in social life. None can deny the fact that the different kinds of social institutions such as, domestic, economic and political influence on religious institutions. But it is also true that these institutions are sometimes influenced by religious institutions. An important aspect of religion is prayer and different classes of people belonging to different castes of society assemble I religious institutions for performing prayer and worship. By these activities there forms common feelings which thereby further generate a common sentiments and fellowship amongst the worshipers of a particular religion. Sometimes it is found that the members of a particular religion unite together, and for the greater interest of the society they perform different humanitarian activities. It is evident from the above that religious institutions perform not only their religious activities, they also discharge different types of activities related to social welfare such as, charitable hospitals, schools, homes for the homeless. These institutions also run orphanages and collect money for the poor people. It cannot be denied that religion has an external form of social control. The different activities of the people and their different spheres of social life are still influenced by religious rites and ceremonies. People generally express their religious feelings through rituals and ceremonies. It is also true that almost all the aspects of lives of primitive people were covered by religious practices, although these were crude in nature and did not have any precise organization. We find that there are different important occasions in our social life such as, birth, marriage, harvesting, hunting, death etc. and in all these activities religious rites were performed in primitive societies. By doing these activities there developed a common feeling s and actions which are very much other than religious functions. Not only in primitive societies but also in modern societies religious activities occupy an important place. The different occasions of social life, such as birth, death, marriage etc. religious rites are performed. Similar activities are found in the events related with economic life also. Moreover, it is found that, in almost all communities religious rites are common practices during various occasions in social life such as, inauguration of a new building, oath taking etc. From the above description of the role of religion in social life, it is evident that a regular order of procedure is developed by religion in society and thus it helps to control the society. Religion helps to shape the character

NSOU CC-SO-02 267 of an individual and thereby it moulds social life. It brings forth the sense of social value in the mind of people. In obeying the social laws or to respect the elders and to show sympathy towards the feelings of others, or to discharge the social obligations faithfully, the role of religion is immense. In those cases it acts as a teacher. Not only this, a sense of fellow feeling amongst the people belonging to different communities is also taught by religion. Moreover, religion teaches that the man?s love and services to God will be real only if he loves and serves humanity. In developing moral consciousness amongst people, religion acts as an inspiring factor. Religion enforces uniformity of behaviour and it strengthens social solidarity and thereby acts as an instrument in stabilizing social order. In primitive age the influence of religion was very great in controlling society and this feature is not totally lost even today. Social life of primitive people were controlled by inspiring God-fear in their minds but in modern age people are inspired not by fear but by the hope for the attainment of virtuous and noble life. Thus by fostering patriotic sentiments in men, religion helps to maintain social integration. In describing the role of religion Dr. S. Radhakrishanan says that religion has innumerable effects. Religion not only guarantees values but it also gives meaning to life. Moreover, the confidence to go on adventures is also inculcated in our mind by religion. Thus narrating the role of religion he says, "Religion is the discipline which touches the conscience and helps us to struggle with evil and sordidness, saves us from greed, lust and hatred, releases moral power and imparts courage in the enterprise of saving the world". 4 People live in the third world countries such as, India, Africa, Brazil etc. derive their sense of life from religion and as such religion is very important to them. They get the answers of many questions that appear in their minds. The questions such as, who we are? What is the purpose of life? What is life and what is death? Is there anything after this life? - are very common for human being and they are curious to have answers of these questions. But in the third world countries science is not so developed to answer these questions. Thus, it is religion from which they seek to get answers of these questions. 18.6 Summary The study of 'religion' further makes clear the relation between institutionalised values of the specific societies and the legitimation of power. The term 'religion' requires introducing the category of 'religion' into the context of non-western and indigenous societies. Such studies are needed to clarify why a shift in the meaning of 'religious' or 'secular' is of crucial importance, which would identify a lacuna in

NSOU CC-SO-02 268 contemporary research in the social sciences and religious studies. The convergence of religious studies with cultural studies and anthropology into the field of humanities/ social science/ethnographical studies will encompass the field of 'religion' to useful analytic categories such as soteriology, ritual, politics, culture/tradition, social organisation, customary practice (caste system in India) etc., while simultaneously paving the way towards a genuine decolonisation of the study of religions in India. Religion restricts free thinking of human beings. It produces a sense of numbness in man and thereby makes him insensible to the actual happenings of the world. It teaches people to live in the world of determinism. People forget the capacity of their free thinking and which ultimately makes them blunt in analyzing the natural phenomena scientifically. It is true that in primitive society science was not so developed and people were ignorant about the happenings of natural phenomena. At that time religion was necessary to control the barbarous and ignorant people. People were satisfied with the answers given by religious institutions. Even in mediaeval period people were convinced that the sun moves round the earth and challenging which the great scientist Galileo, on a charge of heresy, had to spend the rest of his life under house arrest. But now it is scientifically proved that the earth moves round the sun. Thus if institutional religion is eradicated from the society, people will live peacefully and there will be less possibility of quarrels and bloodshed amongst the people. They will also be able to understand the happenings of natural phenomena scientifically. 18.7 Model Questions 1. Answer briefly the following questions: (5 marks) a) What are the main functions of religion? b) Give two sociological definition of religion. c) Give two scopes of religion. d) Note down broadly different types of religion. e) Briefly point out how religion establishes connection with emotion. 2) Answer in detail the following questions: (10 marks) a) Discuss in details the major functions of religion. Do you think religion plays an important role in ones social life? Give reasons. b) Evaluate the sociological definition of religion and identify the nature of religion.

NSOU CC-SO-02 269 c) "Religion a social institution after family and marriage"....give suitable points to elaborate the above statement. d) "Religion is the belief in Spiritual Beings" critically evaluate the saying. e) Differentiate between sociological and personal functions of religion. f) Explain in details different types of religion. g) Write in detail the role of religion in society. 18.8 References and Suggested Readings 1. Ambedkar, B. R. (1987). Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches Vol. 3. 2. Chryssiydes,George.,D. 1999."Exploring New Religions" (Continuum, London & Bloomsberry) 3. D.Fitzgerald Timothy(2000). The Ideology of Religious Studies. Oxford University Press, New York elhi) P.14-16. 4. Jhingran Saral.1980."The Roots of world Religions" (Books & Books, NewDelhi) P.6-8 5. Yinger John Milton. 1970."Types of Definitions-The scientific study of Religion" (Collier Macmillan Ltd, London) P.4-6 6. "Problems and Perspectives of Social philosophy" Vol.4 (International Congress of Social philosophy, 2004) P.286 7. Radhakrishnan,S: Religion and Society; George Allen and Unwin, London, 1947.

NSOU CC-SO-02 270 Unit 19 Relation Between Magic, Science and Religion Structure 19.0 Objecives 19.1 Introduction 19.2 Religion 19.3 Science 19.4 Magic 19.4.1 Magic and Science 19.4.2 Magic and Religion 19.4.3 Science and Religion 19.5 Summary 19.6 Model Questions 19.7 References and Suggested Readings 19.0 Objectives This unit examins intimately the relations between magic-science and religion. From this unit students will learn about - Religion, Science and Magic. The difference between these three. The inter-connection between religion, magic and science. 19.1 Introduction In every primitive community, studied by trustworthy and competent observers, there have been found two clearly distinguishable domains, the Sacred and the Profane; in other words, the domain of Magic and Religion and that of Science.The credit of 270

NSOU CC-SO-02 271 having laid the foundations of an anthropological study of religion belongs to Edward B. Tylor. In his well-known theory he maintains that the essence of primitive religion is animism, the belief in spiritual beings, and he shows how this belief has originated in a mistaken but consistent interpretation of dreams, visions, hallucinations, cataleptic states, and similar phenomena. The extended and deepened outlook of modern anthropology finds its most adequate expression in the learned and inspiring writings of Sir James Frazer. In these he has set forth the three main problems of primitive religion with which present-day anthropology is busy: magic and its relation to religion and science; totemism and the sociological aspect of early faith; the cults of fertility and vegetation. It will be best to discuss these subjects in turn. Magic, based on man's confidence that he can dominate nature directly, if only he knows the laws which govern it magically, is in this akin to science. Religion, the confession of human impotence in certain matters, lifts man above the magical level, and later on maintains its independence side by side with science, to which magic has to succumb. While science is based on the conception of natural forces, magic springs from the idea of a certain mystic, impersonal power, which is believed in by most primitive peoples. This power, called [MB 20] mana by some Melanesians, arungquiltha by certain Australian tribes, wakan, orenda, manitu by various American Indians, and nameless elsewhere, is stated to be a well-nigh universal idea found wherever magic flourishes. According to the writers just mentioned we can find among the most primitive peoples and throughout the lower savagery a belief in a supernatural, impersonal force, moving all those agencies which are relevant to the savage and causing all the really important events in the domain of the sacred. Totemism, to quote Frazer's classical definition, is an intimate relation which is supposed to exist between a group of kindred people on the one side and a species of natural or artificial objects on the other side, which objects are called the totems of the human group. Totemism thus has two sides: it is a mode of social grouping and a religious system of beliefs and practices. As religion, it expresses primitive man's interest in his surroundings, the desire to claim an affinity and to control the most important objects: above all, animal or vegetable species, more rarely useful inanimate objects, very seldom man-made things.

NSOU CC-SO-02 272 Primitive religion, as fashioned by modern anthropology, has been made to harbor all sorts of heterogeneous things. At first reserved in animism for the solemn figures of ancestral spirits, ghosts and souls, besides a few fetishes, it had gradually to admit the thin, fluid, ubiquitous mana; then, like Noah's Ark, it was with the introduction of totemism loaded with beasts, not in pairs but in shoals and species, joined by plants, objects, and even manufactured articles; then came human activities and concerns and the gigantic ghost of the Collective Soul, Society Divinized. 19.2 Religion Malinowski saw religion as basically a way of utilizing belief in inferred, imaginary supernatural beings and forces to satisfy the emotional needs of the "savage." He said nothing about the civilized folk, but one assumes he was, as usual, sideswiping them via the Trobriands. He never forgot his self-imposed mission to confront his elite European readers with an ironic reflection of themselves. One can also assume that, like many early-20th-century social scientists, he expected religion to wither away in the near future. Malinowski's "religion" was strongly individualistic and psychological. He rejected Durkheim's idea of religion (Durkheim 1995/1912) as the projection of society, and, by implication, Marx' somewhat similar (though materialist) view. He dismissed Durkheim's theory as mere mysticism, which, along with much else, proves that he did not understand Durkheim very well. Religion is now almost invariably defined as belief in supernatural beings. However, Malinowski (and others of his time) differentiated religion from magic, which also depends on supernaturals. And belief in supernatural beings is generally not considered adequate to make a religion. For Scott Atran, author of one recent major book on the anthropology of religion, Mickey Mouse doesn't count, and neither do devoutly held but allegedly "factual" or "scientific" belief systems like Marxism; religion must involve not only supernaturals but also counter-evidential beliefs and emotional sacrifices. Others disagree, finding Marxism and "capitalism" more like religion than like science or spirituality. In general, most anthropologists have defined religion as belief in supernaturals. Many other social scientists, on the other hand, seem to stay with Durkheim, and define religion as a social institution characterized by rituals and moral codes. However, Malinowski, as well as many historians and theorists of religion, saw religion as

NSOU CC-SO-02 273 basically defined by spiritual emotion-specifically, a sense of awe and reverence. Often this is opposed to the coldly practical sense that is alleged to animate science. Yet, many scientists feel awe, reverence, and veneration when contemplating the universe. Conversely, many, perhaps most, religious people seem to view religion simply as routine social practice. It is something they do without much feeling. Recent events have reminded us that still other people, worldwide, have violent hatred as their sole religious emotion. The emotional phenomenology of religion is too complex and diverse to be defining. Recent anthropological accounts of religion tend to exaggerate the distinction from science by highlighting the aspects of religion that seem most exotic and irrational to the writers. The problem here is that religion, everywhere in the world, is far more often a matter of going politely and sociably to church, temple, ch'a'chaak, or witchetty grub ceremony, there to sit patiently and be bored to death. The ordinary humdrum side of religion is far more common, typical, and important to believers than the exotica. By contrast, spirituality is, by definition, emotional; it is the individual's experience of awe, reverence, entrancement, enchantment, or similar emotions or transcendent feelings, inspired by natural or supernatural entities or forces. Religion usually stimulates spirituality, and may be influenced by it. The current claim that "secularism" or "secular humanism" is a "religion" does not make the grade by any standards. First, secularism has no supernaturals-by definition. Second, it has no communitas; nobody purports to be part of the secularist church or congregation or communion, nor does secularism have festivals, rituals, temples, or anything else to show. Third, it has no body of beliefs. The few secular humanists out there do agree on some facts, but they have no litmus test, no professions that they must accept. Indeed, skeptics differ enormously in world views-they are united only by skepticism. 19.3 Science The division between magic, science, and religion was also important to Lévi- Strauss (1962) and others of the time. All the thinkers of the structural and cognitive traditions of the 1960s emphasized the rational, systematic, empirical side of traditional knowledge, Lévi-Strauss' "science of the concrete." In the 1950s and 1960s, interest in such systems climaxed in the development of the field of "ethnoscience." This field arose from the researches of several of George Murdock's students, sent to work in

NSOU CC-SO-02 274 Micronesia and the Philippines (Conklin 1957; Frake 1980). The word was coined from the earlier term "ethnobiology," introduced by John Harshberger in 1895. Soon, terms like "ethnobiology," "ethnozoology" and "ethnoornithology" followed. The word "ethnoscience" seems to have disappeared somewhere in the intervening years, but the other terms persist, in spite of an attempt by Scott Atran to substitute "folkbiology" and other "folk-" words (Medin and Atran 1999). Many of these systems are as purely empirical, self-correcting, developing, and truth-driven as any western science (Anderson 2000, 2003, 2005). They also share with scientists a concern with insight, sensed experience, testing and probing, and the like (David Kronenfeld, personal communication, comment on draft of this paper, 2004). As science, they are limited more by lack of scope and equipment than by lack of some (mythical?) scientific mentality or method. However, many, as we shall see, have supernatural entities built into them. These problematize still more the basic distinction. Insight and sensed experience are basic to both science and religion, narrowing somewhat the gap between them. As ethnoscience was developing, the term "science" was being subjected to a great deal of critique. For thousands of years-ever since the Greeks began to talk of scientia-it had had something like the straightforward, common-sense meaning that Malinowski knew. It referred to systematized knowledge, as opposed to faith (belief without evidence) on the one hand and techne, mere craft, on the other. Considering all folk explanations, and classifying the traditional ones as "religion," Edward Tylor classically explained magic and religion as, basically, failed science (Tylor 1871). He came up with a number of just-so stories explaining how religious beliefs could have been reasonably inferred by fully rational people who had no modern laboratory devices to make sense of their perceptions. Malinowski's portrayal of religion as emotiondriven was part of a general reaction against Tylor in the early 20th century. Indeed, Tylor discounted emotion too much. On the whole, however, there is still merit in Tylor's work. Postmodernists dismiss science-and sometimes all truth-claims-as just another social or cultural construction, as solipsistic as religion and magic. Some anthropologists still believe, or at least maintain, that cultural constructions are all we have or can know. This is a self-deconstructing position; if it's true, it isn't true, because it is only a cultural construction, and the statement that it's only a cultural construction is only a cultural construction, and we are back with infinite regress and the Liars Paradox.

NSOU CC-SO-02 275 The extreme cultural-constructionist position is all too close to, and all too usable by, the religious fundamentalists who dismiss science as a "secular humanist religion." Both the postmodernists and the fundamentalists are, alas, all too often answered only by the self-styled apologists for science who maintain that science is True and is All Facts. Thus, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish science from religion. However, we can say that science is made up of facts that are empirically proved and ideas that can be theoretically proved, or at least tested, while religion is made up of things that must be taken on faith because they simply cannot be proved or disproved by any evidence. Stephen Jay Gould (1999) has recently given us a strong argument for this position, and for the fundamental complementarity-and therefore the fundamental difference-of religion and science. Yet Gould has to admit that his own science, paleontology, cannot be directly tested-and that not only traditional religions, but also modern fundamentalist religions, make a number of statements that can be tested. At least, like paleontological ideas, they could be proved or disproved if we had a time machine. The reality of six-day creation in 4004 BC, Noah's flood, and Joshua's musical destruction of Jericho have all been established as fact to fundamentalists' satisfaction; geology, archaeology, and other sciences are bent to their ideas. The same objective data serve to disprove the same events, of course, in the eyes of other observers. Gould simply argues that this is a mistake-the religious are trying to do science, and shouldn't mix the two. The fundamentalists, of course, disagree. As Gould points out, the "conflict between science and religion" is an 18th and 19th-century invention. (Admittedly, it had an ancestry going back to the 17th century.) Before then, people did not think the two were mutually exclusive or occupied different spheres. Gould tries to eliminate the conflict, but only by making the difference even more profound. Religion is heavily involved with morals, while science is traditionally considered to be values-neutral. The separation owes a great deal to David Hume's argument that one cannot deduce an "ought" from an "is" (of course, Hume was more nuanced and subtle than this canned, though useful, summary of his philosophy; see Hume 1975). Religion can prescribe morality, justifying it from divine law. Science cannot. Supposedly, it is about "is," not about "ought." Ethical bias in science is often seen as a contamination, inevitable or not. (The fundamentalist claim that science is really a religion of "secularism," faked up to sell evil and cutthroat morals under the name of "evolution," is based on complete lack of knowledge of science.)

NSOU CC-SO-02 276 In short, separating religion from science and both from magic is analytically important, valuable, and interesting, but it must always be a somewhat arbitrary separation. It is constantly being problematized by the messiness of the real world and the messiness of real human thought. No matter how defined, "religion" and "science" (to say nothing of "magic") are ideal types-idealtypen-that do not describe the real world very neatly. Ethnoscience and folk science studies have been criticized for using the term "science" broadly enough to include a good deal of mystical and supernatural belief. Modern science is not-it is internationally constructed and stated, and is proved by tests rather than by social usefulness. Religion can be seen as partly based on plausible but wrong inferences about ultimate cause. Thus, in explaining the world, people naturally infer spirits and gods. There appears to be a genuinely natural tendency for people to assume that trees, rocks, and animals are "people," in some sense-having volition, consciousness, and humanlike will. The Durkheimian observation that religion is a projection of the social order naturally follows from this (a point Atran rather misses). There is obviously a great deal more than this to what we normally call "religion," but inferences about the "people" out there clearly comprise one of the building blocks from which religion is made. In short, inferred black-box causal arguments, once they are superseded, can get called either "science" or "religion," depending largely on the whims and prejudices of the person doing the calling. Magic, science, and religion as very useful terms, but terms that are limited in their application. 19.4 Magic Magic never originated, it never has been made or invented. All magic simply ''was from the beginning an essential adjunct of all such things and processes as vitally interest man and yet elude his normal rational efforts. The spell, the rite, and the thing which they govern are coeval. Thus, in Central Australia, all magic existed and has been inherited from the alcheringa times, when it came about like everything else. In Melanesia all magic comes from a time when humanity lived underground and when magic was a natural knowledge of ancestral man. In higher societies magic is often derived from spirits and demons, but even these, as a rule, originally received and did not invent it. Thus

NSOU CC-SO-02 277 the belief in the primeval natural existence of magic is universal. As its counterpart we find the conviction that only by an absolutely unmodified immaculate transmission does magic retain its efficiency. The slightest alteration from the original pattern would be fatal. There is, then, the idea that between the object and its magic there exists an essential nexus. Magic is the quality of the thing, or rather, of the relation between man and the thing, for though never man-made it is always made for man. In all tradition, in all mythology, magic is always found in the possession of man and through the knowledge of man or man-like being. It implies the performing magician quite as much as the thing to be charmed and the means of charming. It is part of the original endowment of primeval humanity, of the mura-mura or alcheringa of Australia, of the subterrestrial humanity of Melanesia, of the people of the magical Golden Age all the world over. Magic is not only human in its embodiment, but also in its subject matter: it refers principally to human activities and states, hunting, gardening, fishing, trading, love- making, disease, and death. It is not directed so much to nature as to man's relation to nature and to the human activities which affect it. Moreover, the effects of magic are usually conceived not as a product of nature influenced by the charm, but as something specially magical, something which nature cannot produce, but only the power of magic. The graver forms of disease, love in its passionate phases, the desire for a ceremonial exchange and other similar manifestations in the human organism and mind, are the direct product of the spell and rite. Magic is thus not derived from an observation of nature or knowledge of its laws, it is a primeval possession of man to be known only through tradition and affirming man's autonomous power of creating desired ends. Thus, the force of magic is not a universal force residing everywhere, flowing where it will or it is willed to. Magic is the one and only specific power, a force unique of its kind, residing exclusively in man, let loose only by his magical art, gushing out with his voice, conveyed by the casting forth of the rite. It may be here mentioned that the human body, being the receptacle of magic and the channel of its flow, must be submitted to various conditions. Thus the magician has to keep all sorts of taboos, or else the spell might be injured, especially as in certain parts of the world, in Melanesia for instance, the spell resides in the magician's belly, which is the seat of memory as well as of food. When necessary it is summoned up to the larynx, which is the seat of intelligence, and thence sent forth by the voice,
NSOU CC-SO-02 278 the main organ of the human mind. Thus, not only is magic an essentially human possession, but it is literally and actually enshrined in man and can be handed on only from man to man, according to very strict rules of magical filiation, initiation, and instruction. It is thus never conceived as a force of nature, residing in things, acting independently of man, to be found out and learned by him, by any of those proceedings by which he gains his ordinary knowledge of nature. To most types of magical ritual, therefore, there corresponds a spontaneous ritual of emotional expression or of a forecast of the desired end. To most features of magical spell, to the commands, invocations, metaphors, there corresponds a natural flow of words, in malediction, in entreaty, in exorcism, and in the descriptions of unfulfilled wishes. To every belief in magical efficiency there can be laid in parallel one of those illusions of subjective experience, transient in the mind of the civilized rationalist, though even there never quite absent, but powerful and convincing to the simple man in every culture, and, above all, to the primitive savage mind. Thus the foundations of magical belief and practice are not taken from the air, but are due to a number of experiences actually lived through, in which man receives the revelation of his power to attain the desired end. We must now ask: What is the relation between the promises contained in such experience and their fulfilment in real life? Plausible though the fallacious claims of magic might be to primitive man, how is it that they have remained so long unexposed? The answer to this is that, first, it is a well-known fact that in human memory the testimony of a positive case always overshadows the negative one. One gain easily outweighs several losses. Thus the instances which affirm magic always loom far more conspicuously than those which deny it. But there are other facts which endorse by a real or apparent testimony the claims of magic. We have seen that magical ritual must have originated from a revelation in a real experience. But the man who from such an experience conceived, formulated, and gave to his tribesmen the nucleus of a new magical performance — acting, be it remembered, in perfect good faith — must have been a man of genius. The men who inherited and wielded his magic after him, no doubt always building it out and developing it, while believing that they were simply following up the tradition, must have been always men of great intelligence, energy, and power of enterprise. They would be the men successful in all emergencies. It is an empirical fact that in all savage societies magic and outstanding personality go hand in hand. Thus magic also coincides with personal success, skill, courage, and mental power. No wonder that it is considered a source of success.

NSOU CC-SO-02 279 This personal renown of the magician and its importance in enhancing the belief about the efficiency of magic are the cause of an interesting phenomenon: what may be called the current mythology of magic. Round every big magician there arises a halo made up of stories about his wonderful cures or kills, his catches, his victories, his conquests in love. In every savage society such stories form the backbone of belief in magic, for, supported as they are by the emotional experiences which everyone has had himself, the running chronicle of magical miracles establishes its claims beyond any doubt or cavil. Every eminent practitioner, besides his traditional claim, besides the filiation with his predecessors, makes his personal warrant of wonder-working. It can be said without exaggeration that the most typical, most highly developed, mythology in primitive societies is that of magic, and the function of myth is not to explain but to vouch for, not to satisfy curiosity but to give confidence in power, not to spin out yarns but to establish the flowing freely from present-day occurrences, frequently similar validity of belief. The deep connection between myth and cult, the pragmatic function of myth in enforcing belief, has been so persistently overlooked in favor of the etiological or explanatory theory of myth that it was necessary to dwell on this point. 19.4.1 Magic and Science: First of all, magic is surrounded by strict conditions: exact remembrance of a spell, unimpeachable performance of the rite, unswerving adhesion to the taboos and observances which shackle the magician. If any one of these is neglected, failure of magic follows. And then, even if magic be done in the most perfect manner, its effects can be equally well undone: for against every magic there can be also counter-magic. If magic, as we have shown, is begotten by the union of man's steadfast desire with the wayward whim of chance, then every desire, positive or negative, may — nay, must — have its magic. Now in all his social and worldly ambitions, in all his strivings to catch good fortune and trap propitious luck, man moves in an atmosphere of rivalry, of envy, and of spite. For luck, possessions, even health, are matters of degree and of comparison, and if your neighbor owns more cattle, more wives, more health, and more power than yourself, you feel dwarfed in all you own and all you are. And such is human nature that a man's desire is as much satisfied by the thwarting of others as by the advancement of himself. To this sociological play of desire and counter-desire, of ambition and spite, of success and envy, there corresponds the play of magic and counter-magic, or of magic white and black. Magic is akin to science in that it always has a definite aim intimately associated

NSOU CC-SO-02 280 with human instincts, needs, and pursuits. The magic art is directed towards the attainment of practical aims. Like the other arts and crafts, it is also governed by a theory, by a system of principles which dictate the manner in which the act has to be performed in order to be effective. In analyzing magical spells, rites, and substances we have found that there are a number of general principles which govern them. Both science and magic develop a special technique. In magic, as in the other arts, man can undo what he has done or mend the damage which he has wrought. In fact, in magic, the quantitive equivalents of black and white seem to be much more exact and the effects of witchcraft much more completely eradicated by counter-witchcraft than is possible in any practical art or craft. Thus both magic and science show certain similarities, and, with Sir James Frazer, we can appropriately call magic a pseudo- science. 19.4.2. Magic and Religion: Both magic and religion arise and function in situations of emotional stress: crises of life, lacunae in important pursuits, death and initiation into tribal mysteries, unhappy love and unsatisfied hate. Both magic and religion open up escapes from such situations and such impasses as offer no empirical way out except by ritual and belief into the domain of the supernatural. Both magic and religion are based strictly on mythological tradition, and they also both exist in the atmosphere of the miraculous, in a constant revelation of their wonder-working power. Magic, the specific art for specific ends, has in every one of its forms come once into the possession of man, and it had to be handed over in direct filiation from generation to generation. Hence it remains from the earliest times in the hands of specialists, and the first profession of mankind is that of a wizard or witch. Religion, on the other hand, in primitive conditions is an affair of all, in which everyone takes an active and equivalent part. Every member of the tribe has to go through initiation, and then himself initiates others. Everyone wails, mourns, digs the grave and commemorates, and in due time everyone has his turn in being mourned and commemorated. Spirits are for all, and everyone becomes a spirit. The only specialization in religion — that is, early spiritualistic mediumism — is not a profession but a personal gift. One more difference between magic and religion is the play of black and white in witchcraft, while religion in its primitive stages has but little of the contrast between good and evil, between the beneficent and malevolent powers. This is due also to the practical character of magic, which aims at direct quantitative results, while early religion, though essentially moral, has to deal with fateful,

NSOU CC-SO-02 281 irremediable happenings and supernatural forces and beings, so that the undoing of things done by man does not enter into it. The maxim that fear first made gods in the universe is certainly not true in the light of anthropology. In order to grasp the difference between religion and magic and to gain a clear vision of the three-cornered constellation of magic, religion, and science, let us briefly realize the cultural function of each. The function of primitive knowledge and its value have been assessed already and indeed are not difficult to grasp. By acquainting man with his surroundings, by allowing him to use the forces of nature, science, primitive knowledge, bestows on man an immense biological advantage, setting him far above all the rest of creation. The function of religion and its value we have learned to understand in the survey of savage creeds and cults given above. We have shown there that religious faith establishes, fixes, and enhances all valuable mental attitudes, such as reverence for tradition, harmony with environment, courage and confidence in the struggle with difficulties and at the prospect of death. This belief, embodied and maintained by cult and ceremonial, has an immense biological value, and so reveals to primitive man truth in the wider, pragmatic sense of the word. Magic fixes upon these beliefs and rudimentary rites and standardizes them into permanent traditional forms. It enables man to carry out with confidence his important tasks, to maintain his poise and his mental integrity in fits of anger, in the throes of hate, of unrequited love, of despair and anxiety. The function of magic is to ritualize man's optimism, to enhance his faith in the victory of hope over fear. Magic expresses the greater value for man of confidence over doubt, of steadfastness over vacillation, of optimism over pessimism. 19.4.3 Science and Religion : Science is not a mess of facts; it's a system that is meant to represent the world accurately and empirically. It necessarily includes a lot of black-box variables that is hypothesized but is generally under examination, and that often turn out to be wrong. Religion is not just a bunch of supernatural beliefs; it too is a system, in which emotionally compelling beliefs collectively represent social contracts and sell social ethics. Magic partakes uncomfortably of both, and is thus a dicey term, very hard to use beyond a low level of abstraction. Thus, when we focus on religion as supernaturals, we are focusing on the wrong thing. We should be focusing on religion as part of society, the part that stirs deep emotions to persuade its membership to follow the social codes. There is some truth to the old cliché that "the Indians" live in a religious or
NSOU CC-SO-02 282 spiritual world, but that cliché misses the point, which is that the Indians live in a world about which they know an incredible amount of factual information and toward which they have an intensely ethical stance. The detailed factual knowledge and the free-standing moral philosophy are not separable from each other, or from the supernatural beliefs. The problem of deducing an "is" from an "ought" is resolved by seeing the "oughts" as natural laws, part of the "ises." The need to represent factual knowledge and ethical treatment of resources in one system means that Native American systems of thought cannot be separated into "religion" and "science." There is thus a very basic, very fundamental way in which we cannot see these systems in terms of "religion" and "science." This has often been pointed out in anthropology, but it needs continual reassertion. 19.5 Summary "Science," then, can be seen as the ideal word to use if one is looking at the empirical, evidence-driven side of a knowledge system. Science is empirical, and rests on open-minded inquiry. It is done by individuals who are concerned with verifiable, empirical results, and often with probing further into new realms. "Religion" is used if one is looking at the belief-driven or tradition-driven side of human knowledge. It is based on widely-shared social beliefs, usually of very long standing and of very high levels of perceived antiquity and legitimacy. Science and religion, however, overlap broadly when one looks at inferred explanatory variables, and also when one looks at complex and emotional attitudes toward the world. Magic-basically a sciency agenda done in a religious way-disappears analytically, though the concept still may have uses for someone somewhere. These terms, when applied to societies other than modern western or western-influenced ones, do not refer to identifiable and institutionalized sectors of activity (as they do in the modern US). Instead (as Malinowski knew) they provide a rather arbitrary classification system for knowledge, imposed in a thoroughly etic way. Other societies have their own, quite different, systems for classifying knowledge. Usually, their cultural models do not include a natural/supernatural split. Thus, "magic, science, and religion" are not very adequate terms to represent traditional knowledge systems.
NSOU CC-SO-02 283 Classifications are about being useful, not about being cast in stone. We of the modern international scholarly community have found a particular way of classifying knowledge to be rather useful. Perhaps it is not so useful now. Meanwhile, other cultures have classified knowledge in radically different ways. These often overlap our classification system. This does not mean they are wrong; it means they serve different purposes. Traditional people usually do not want to separate environmental knowledge from ethics, or either one from ritual." 19.6 Model Questions 1. Answer briefly the following questions: (5 marks) a) Write a short note on magic. b) Write a brief note on science. c) Briefly state meaning of religion. d) Distinguish between science and religion. e) Distinguish between magic and science. 2. Answer in detail the following questions: (10 marks) a) Define magic and show its relation with science and religion. b) How religion is related with magic? Elaborate with suitable examples. c) Explain in detail how science is related with magic. d) Evaluate the relation between religion science and magic. e) Critically illustrate the relation between religion, society and magic. 19.7 References and Suggested Readings 1) Atran, Scott. 2002. In Gods We Trust. New York: Oxford University Press. 2) Hume, David. 1975. Enquiries Concerning Human Undestanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals. Ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge (orig. 1777). Oxford: Oxford University Press. 3) Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1948. Magic, Science and Religion. Glencoe, IL: Free Press. 4) Popper, Karl. 1959. The Logic of Scientific Discovery. London: Hutchinson.
NSOU CC-SO-02 284 Unit 20 Religion and Globalisation / Social Conflict Structure 20.0 Objectives 20.1 Introduction 20.2 Globalization and Religion in the Contemporary World 20.3 Religion as Transnational Institution 20.4 Religion as Cultural and Political Resource 20.5 Religion and Religions as Globalizing System 20.6 Religion, Globalization and the Human Condition 20.7 How Globalization has Encouraged Hinduism: The Case of India 20.8 Impact of Globalization Upon Diasporic Religious Communities 20.9 Summary 20.10 Model Questions 20.11 References and Suggested Readings 20.0 Objectives The unit gives important insights into: Relations between and other institutions in contemporary world. The impact of globalization on religion. Religion as cultural and political resource and many other related issues. 20.1 Introduction Religion and globalization can, in various manifestations, be seen as partners. History pays testimony to the fact that the growth and influence of Christianity was a result of a link between its own global ambitions and the expansion of various 284

NSOU CC-SO-02 285 political and economic regimes. Elements of similar historical pattern can be found in Buddhism, Islam, and other faiths as well. Globalization has led to massive social changes in the world. Undoubtedly, religion is not immune from these changes and their burgeoning effects brought about by globalization. This also includes rapid changes in the moral beliefs and value system of people. New religious networks are emerging which are transnational in character. As globalization disembeds religions from their historic homelands and scatters them around the world we can clearly observe how social processes try to globalize a particular religion. For instance, the way Hindu temples and ashrams are becoming increasingly transnational and how African and Korean churches are booming in Europe and North America (Nanda, 2009) is relatively a new phenomenon. John Zavos (2012) refers to three organizations: the National Council for Hindu Temples (NCHT), the Hindu Council UK (HCUK) and the Hindu Forum of Britain (HFB). Together these three organizations purporting to represent Hindus have developed a public profile in the UK over a period of 30 years. They have a significant role to play in the public representation of Hindu - ness. It is also surprising to see how in most of Europe, including in France where the age of enlightenment originated, beliefs in occult powers and reincarnation (Johnson, 2007) have gained firm grounds. Therefore, we can say that globalization has played a tremendous role in the revivalism and resurgence of some religions as they are today not relegated to the few countries where their roots began (Azzouzi, 2013). It is here, that Arjun Appadurai's idea of mediascape and technoscape (1996) needs to be mentioned. When we see growing number of T.V. channels, radio stations and print media founded solely for advocating religious values, the role of media in the globalization process becomes observable. For instance, we see how India's devotional channels like Aastha, Sanskar, MH1 Shraddha, Bhakti TV and God Asia are gaining popularity. Taking Islam as an example, we find T.V channels like Iqrae, Ennass, Majd, El Houda, Erahma, etc. which are purely religious channels created for the purpose of strengthening and the fortification of Islam (Azzouzi, 2013). Besides, as the technology grew under globalization, improvements in the transportation means contributed considerably to the emergence, revivalism and fortification of religion. Rise of Spiritual Market: The neo : Hindu cults driven by a new concept of guru who is leader of a spiritual movement or organization now focus on this - worldly concerns derived from
NSOU CC-SO-02 286 modern western technologies of self healing, highlighting transcendental meditation and yoga rather reincarnation and karma in South Asian religious cultures. New rituals and new gods are being invented in the market where spiritualism is mixed with capitalism and consumerism. Examples are plenty to illustrate the process of commodification of religion. The Gayatri Parivar's novel and scientific interpretation of the Gayatri Mantra and the horse yajna invented a whole new way of explaining the significance of a ritual. Nanda (2009) notes that apart from popularizing the Gayatri Mantra and yajnas, the Parivar also offers courses in moral upliftment and stress management to the government and private sector professionals. Besides, the local gods and goddesses which were until recently associated with the more plebeian masses, are finding new homes in swanky new suburbs with malls and multiplexes. Globalization if on the one hand has led to the commodification of religion. 20.2 Globalization and Religion in the Contemporary World Although it is doubtful whether we can confidently propose an idea of 'global religion' in the present times because a global religion would have to presuppose a global community where people must share common beliefs, experiences and sentiments. Turner (2006) argues that unfortunately global networks are too thin and fragile to serve as the social carriers of a shared set of symbols and practices. Globalization may bring about the unpacking of local cultural complexes. It may also create multifarious local identities so much so that diversity is seen in local spaces. To illustrate with examples, Caribbean Pentecostal Churches, Nigerian 'Aladura' Churches or branches of the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa in Britain and Ghanaian Pentecostal churches are so different from any British religious institution (Lehmann, 2004). Turner (2006) further argues that in the globalized world, local (or mass religion) and the elite religion interact to result in religious glocalisation which means "the simultaneity — the co-presence — of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies" (Robertson, 1992). For instance, Vale Do Amanhecer is a rapidly expanding Brazilian religion where elements of Christianity, Brazilian indigenous beliefs and European spiritism appear merged together with Afro - Brazilian traditions. Oomen (2003) argues that there is no possibility of a global culture as there are four interrelated processes involved in its creation: homogenization, pluralization, traditionalization and hybridization. Homogenization refers to popularization and diffusion of cultural symbols to reduce cultural diversity (Jennings, 2010). The homogenization thesis proclaims that global culture is becoming standardized around a Western or American

NSOU CC-SO-02 287 pattern. Rapid communication and constant flow of products across the borders often give us the impression of homogenization. For instance, popularity of blue jeans or pop music or democratic ideas can be seen as part of homogenizational process. It is important to remember here, that homogenization can often lead to hegemonization i.e. assimilation of the minority and weaker groups into the mainstream. From the religious perspective, it can be seen that the attempts of extreme Hindu right, the Sangh Parivar in India is believed to impose its homogenizing fascism on the lines of Brahmanic ethos. There have been repeated attempts by such Hindutva groups to bring homogeneity by forced conversions and communal tensions. Increasing incidences of violence against Muslims, Christians and Dalits especially in the decade of 1980s were conducted by different organizations like BJP, VHP, Bajrang Dal, Hindu Jagran Manch and Hindu Munnani for the specific agenda of homogenization of Hindutva politics (Puniyani, 2000). T.N Madan (1993) on the contrary says that Hinduism which is demographically dominant and even hegemonic is nothing but a federation of faiths. It has both horizontal and vertical distribution rather than a single homogenous religion. In this line, we can say that pluralism and not homogeneity is inherent in Hinduism because it comprises many regional cultural groups. Pluralization implies existence and practice of more than one forms of culture simultaneously. In the process of adaptation we retain some of the traditional aspects and intertwine them with some modern aspects this is a process usually referred to as hybridization. For instance, Sri Sri Ravi Shankar who has built a global spirituality programme conduct 'rock satsangs' in his Bangalore ashram almost every evening where people sing along and dance to his devotional songs. It is one of the clearest manifestations of hybridization where rock music is blended with traditional and devotional touch to cater to the needs of Indian masses. Following Arjun Appadurai (1996), we can call such global markets for religion as the 'religioscape of modernity.' Bryan turner (2006) argues that glocalisation has also somewhat blurred the distinction between what Weber (1996) calls virtuoso and mass religion. He differentiates between the two as this: the religion of the elite satisfies the moral and intellectual needs of religious virtuosi and the religion of the masses caters to the thaumaturgical interests of the disprivileged by people from all rungs of Indian society can be seen as an apt example of glocalisation. The way Sanskritic texts like Upanishads and Vedas are now open to the mass interpretation were kept reserved for the elite Brahmnins in India.
NSOU CC-SO-02 288 Lehmann (2004) says that the interaction of religion and globalization seems to change boundaries in two ways: one, which he calls cosmopolitan, brings old practices to new groups in new settings - a variant of disembedding. For instance, reshaping of Eastern religion outside Asia in the form of transcendental mediation, yogic breathing practices, etc. The other variant, which he calls global, extends and intensifies transnational links among groups similar in their practices and creates tightly knit communities of people. 20.3 Religion as Transnational Institution The relative absence of religion from many globalization perspectives and theories is in some respects quite surprising, especially when one looks at the issue historically. Of the forces that have in the past been instrumental in binding different regions of the world together, in creating a larger if not exactly a geographically global system, economic trade and political empire have certainly been the most obvious; but in conjunction with these, it is equally clear that what we today call religions have also at times played a significant role. The more or less permanent displacement of large numbers of people from diverse regions and cultural backgrounds to many other parts of the world, but notably from non-Western to Western countries, has like few other phenomena brought home to an increasing range of observers just how much humanity is now living in a single world where identity and difference have to be renegotiated and reconstructed. Dialogical theories of globalization and those that stress globalization from below have been particularly apt to analyze the consequences of global migration, but the issue is not missing from many that understand globalization primarily in economic or political terms. Like global capitalism or international relations, this question is not susceptible to easy understanding on the basis of theories that take a more limited territory, above all a nation-state or a region like Europe, as their primary unit of analysis. In the context of the various other structures that make the world a smaller place, global migrants in recent times maintain far stronger and more lasting and consequential links with their countries of origin. Globalization approaches allow a better understanding of why they have migrated, what they do once they migrate, and the dynamics of their integration or lack thereof into their new regions. Given that religious institutions, religiously informed worldviews, and religious practice are so often instrumental in these processes, the growing number of efforts
NSOU CC-SO-02 289 to understand religion's role among global migrants is not surprising. Such contributions have focused on the concrete religious institutions of the migrants in their new homes, the immigration and integration policies and attitudes of the host countries, the transnational links and flows that the migrants maintain, and the influence of these diasporic communities on the global religions that are usually involved. Not infrequently in such analyses, the sorts of transnational religious organizations and movements just mentioned are salient topics, since the migrant communities are often instrumental in bringing about, developing, and maintaining their global character. Moreover, the consideration of the role of transnational religious institutions in the context of global migration already implicates the second way that religion has been understood as a significant contributor to globalization processes, and that is as a cultural, but especially political resource. 20.4 Religion as Cultural and Political Resource The role of religion in providing, broadly speaking, cultural resources in a global context is not limited to the situation of migrants, however. Globalization, irrespective of which meaning one favors, implies a kind of compression of space in which the upheaval and uprooting characteristic of the migratory experience are the lot of a great many of the world's people, whether they leave their homes or not. Parallel circumstances in Africa and Latin America can serve to make this similarity clear. Both these continents have large regions and large populations that are effectively excluded from the main globalized power structures, yet their lives are nonetheless profoundly affected by them. Religion and religious institutions are important resources for responding to the situation. In Latin America, for instance, one reason for the rapid rise of Pentecostal Christian churches along with significant growth among Afro-Brazilian religions like Candomblé and certain Roman Catholic movements is that these institutional religious forms provide people with ways of understanding themselves and coping in a world where their situation is changing and often precarious. They afford people narratives with attendant life practices by which they can give themselves a meaningful and dignified place in this world. Religion lends them a measure of power. Even more clearly, in sub-Saharan Africa above all Christian and Islamic organizations, centers, networks, and movements offer large numbers of people at least some access to an institution that actually functions reasonably to their benefit. Although they are localized institutions and largely in the control of local people, a far from insignificant part of the appeal of these religious establishments is that they

NSOU CC-SO-02 290 have links to and represent access to the wider globalized world. This has always been one of the attractions of both Christianity and Islam; they have in effect been global religions for many centuries. In today's world they continue to fill that role. The degree to which religions contribute to the globalized circumstance as well as their character as globalized institutions becomes evident in these cases. As noted earlier, the one phenomenon that has attracted the most attention to the global significance of religions is the proliferation of effective religio-political movements in almost all regions of the world. From the rise of Hindu nationalism in India and the heavy political involvement of certain Buddhist organizations in Japan to the many highly politicized Islamicist movements in countries as diverse as Iran, Indonesia, and Nigeria, politicized religion has been a constant feature of the global world since at least the 1960s and in many respects well back into the nineteenth century. Although the literature often analyzes them under the somewhat tendentious label of fundamentalisms, two of their most basic features illustrate quite clearly how relevant they are for theories of globalization and how they manifest the global nature of so much contemporary religion. 20.5 Religion and Religions as Globalizing System A further theoretical approach to the role of religion and religions in globalization goes beyond the idea that religious worldviews and institutions have participated in the process. It focuses on the degree to which both modern institutional forms and modern understandings of religion are themselves manifestations of globalization. With the centuries-long development of what is today a globally extended society, religion came to inform what is today a globally extended religious system consisting primarily of a series of mutually identified and broadly recognized religions. These religions, in virtually every region of the globe, include Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism, but a variable list of other religions receives almost as broad legitimacy. Among these are Judaism, Sikhism, Daoism, and Jainism, followed again by another set of less consistently or more regionally accepted ones such as Bah???, Shint?, Candomblé, African Traditional Religions (ATR), Scientology, and so forth. The idea that religion manifests itself through a series of distinct religions may seem self- evident to many people, including a great many of their adherents. Yet that notion is historically of quite recent provenance. In Europe, where this understanding first gained purchase, it dates back at the earliest to the seventeenth century. Elsewhere, such as in most regions of Asia, one must wait until at least the nineteenth century.

NSOU CC-SO-02 291 Its development and spread is entirely coterminous with the period most theories identify as the prime centuries of globalization. A strict corollary of this theory, a consequence of the selective nature of this religious system, is that new religions will constantly try to form and that much religiosity will escape the system. The existence of this global religious system, simultaneously at the global and local levels, therefore spawns its constant development and the constant challenging of the way it operates. That idea leads logically to consideration of the religiousness of the global system itself. 20.6 Religion, Globalization and the Human Condition More than a few theories of globalization explicitly address what one might call its ideal dimension, the way it shapes how people understand the nature and purpose of the world and their place in it. Given that such questions of ultimate concern or purpose often appear as defining features of religion, this ideal dimension can also be conceived as its religious dimension, although thereby not necessarily referring to the role of religious traditions and institutions in it. One can divide the analyses of this dimension of globalization according to whether it is seen as a positive or negative feature, and whether unity or diversity of vision dominates. Unitary but negative visions share most of these characteristics but reject the idea that any of these developments can have a positive outcome. Sometimes these take world-rejecting communitarian directions, advocating retreat from the globalized world. Ironically perhaps, it is not uncommon for these visions to espouse precisely the sort of egalitarian values typical of the positive versions but insist that this is only possible in a separated-and usually quite small-scale-society. Some subdivisions of environmental and back-to-nature movements exemplify this possibility. In many respects they are mirror images of globalized society, and in that respect reflections of it. By contrast, there are those rejections of a unitary globalization that insist on the unique validity of a particular culture or society. Some so-called fundamentalist visions fall in this category, but it must be stressed how comparatively rare they are. The Afghan Pashtun Taliban, in contrast to most Islamicist perspectives, may have been one of the few. Pluralist visions of the world are variations on the unitary ones, putting greater stress on, respectively, the difference or the irreconcilability of diverse worldviews. The clash of civilizations model made famous by Samuel Huntington is representative of a negative version, dependent as it is on the idea-not to say ideal-that quasi-

NSOU CC-SO-02 292 essential civilizations with particular characteristics actually exist logically prior to the globalized context in which mutually identifying them might make sense. Pluralist positive perspectives, by contrast, are even more mere variations on the unitary variety: the value of pluralist and egalitarian inclusion here is simply more strongly emphasized. What is therefore especially noteworthy of all these representations of globalization's ideal dimension is just how close they are to one another. Without in the least underplaying the degree to which globalization entails vast differences in power and influence among different regions and different people; without denying the significant contestation, even conflict, between different visions of what the global world is or should be; this seeming narrowing of alternative world visions may in the end be one of the most powerful symptoms of the social reality which the idea of globalization seeks to name. 20.7 How Globalization has Encouraged Hinduism: The Case of India The phenomenon of globalization buttresses the neo - liberal ideology too. The core of neo - liberalism is the belief that unconstrained market forces will bring prosperity, democracy and peace to all people in all societies. The underlying principle is that the borderless markets should lead without the government intervention (Nanda, 2009). While privatization, disinvestment and deregulation are the pillars of neo - liberalism the state is not made entirely irrelevant. The state's topmost priority under the regime of neo - liberal globalization is to facilitate the smooth running of the markets. Much of the contemporary critique of neoliberalism can be traced to the works of Karl Polanyi (1944). He argues that the laissez - faire system came into existence with the help of the state. Expansion of the free market and the self protective reaction against it by the state and the society is called 'double movement' (D. Hall, 2007). Polanyi's hope lay with society and the nation-state but today they have been rendered less powerful with the rise of globalization (Ritzer, 2011). On the contrary, what is emerging is that neo liberalism is changing the texture of democracy: the accumulation of private profit has become the highest social good that the government promotes. Meera Nanda (2009) writes that when government becomes more like a for-profit corporation, the citizens are rendered to the position of consumers. Their relationship with the state changes from that of citizens to that of clients of government services. This model of market place is encouraged by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund where the better off and more educated 'customers -
NSOU CC-SO-02 293 citizens' manage to get more choices while the poor are bypassed. With the fall in public investment and growth of the commercialized agriculture in Andhra Pradesh, as noted above, many poor farmers and indebted laborers committed suicide. A triangular relationship that has emerged between the state, the corporate and the Hindu leaders in India which Meera Nanda (2009) calls a 'state - temple - corporate complex' has created new institutional spaces where maximization of profits through Hinduism is renewing itself. She further writes that Indian state and its functionaries operate on the unstated assumption that Hinduism is not merely one religion among other religions of the Indian people, but rather the national ethos, or the way of life, that all Indians must learn to appreciate, if not actually live by. There are two broad areas where an outright influence of globalization can be seen upon Hinduism in India: education and tourism (Nanda, 2009). With the commercialization of higher education in India new priest training schools and deemed universities are mushrooming. Meera Nanda records how such universities produce English - speaking, computer - using pujaris, astrologers, vaastu shastris and other providers of religious services. Gurus and swamis are entering into the business of conferring degrees in priestcraft and astrology and even setting up modern institutions with a traditionalist bent. The best example could be Sri Sri University set up by the spiritual leader Shri Shri Ravi Shankar in 2009 which boasts its tag line as 'Holistic modern education combined with ancient Indian values'. Besides, Swami Vivekananda Yoga Anusandhana Samsthana (SVYAS) in Bangalore and Bihar Yoga Bharati in Fort Munger in Bihar offer advanced degrees all the way to Ph.Ds in yogic sciences. Further, the Sandipani Pratishthan established in 1987, an autonomous organization of the Ministry of Human Resource Development funds gurukuls all across the country and serves as their accrediting body. Another sector where the corporate and even the state are making a common cause with Hinduism is the religious tourism. It is quite common to see how temple management departments are actively trying to turn some remote temple into a pilgrimage spot by inventing a history behind it. For instance, the newly invented rituals like gold car in temples of Tamil Nadu or the reenactment of the Shiva and Parvati wedding. Another example to show government's involvement in propagating religious tourism can be seen in the fact that how Devaswom board of the Sabarimala temple in Kerala in full complicity with the government's electricity board was involved in the fraud of lighting the 'divine light' also called Makaravilakku for which millions of pilgrims turn out every year ('Makaravilakku is lit by hand: Tantri' in The Hindu, May 28, 2008).

NSOU CC-SO-02 294 20.8 Impact of Globalization Upon Diasporic Religious Communities The internet and other means of mass communication holds the diasporic community together as it provides an obvious method for dialogue within and between diasporic groups but at the same time, Turner (2006) notes, that the unintended consequence of globalization is often that the diasporic politics and their intellectual elites come to depart radically from tradition, building up their own internal notions of authority, authenticity and continuity. The globalization of religion in the twentieth century has strong connections with the evolution of a global business ethic and global corporations. One aspect of the Appadurai's global religioscape is the adoption and adaptation of religions to the social needs of new middle classes. For instance, in the Welsh countryside of Great Britain, Turkish migrants have brought their 'whirling dervishes' to village life, where the local inhabitants are made to believe that whirling is psychologically good for them. Yoga practices from Hinduism have been widely adopted in the West where practice is stripped of its spiritual significance and developed merely as a meditation technique. Such flows of religious beliefs in the globalized world also threaten to denude them of their authentic meaning and significance. 20.9 Summary Globalization refers to the historical process by which all the world's people increasingly come to live in a single social unit. It implicates religion and religions in several ways. From religious or theological perspectives, globalization calls forth religious response and interpretation. Yet religion and religions have also played important roles in bringing about and characterizing globalization. Among the consequences of this implication for religion have been that globalization encourages religious pluralism. Religions identify themselves in relation to one another, and they become less rooted in particular places because of diaspora and transnational ties. Globalization further provides fertile ground for a variety of noninstitutionalized religious manifestations and for the development of religion as a political and cultural resource. Peter Berger (2003) says that virtually all religious communities are today, if not globalizing, reaching across the borders of their traditional territories. But they differ in their intention or capacity to create new forms of modernity. For instance, we
NSOU CC-SO-02 295 discussed Oomen's take on homogenization, traditionalization, pluralization and hybridization. Globalization has not only disembedded religions from their historic homelands but also led to the resurgence of spiritual market. Next, we also saw how with the advent of globalization and neoliberalism Hindu religiosity is facilitated by the Indian state and corporate interests. Meera Nanda (2009) argues that new religiosity of middle class Indians which has been aggravated by globalization is openly ritualistic, ostentatious and nationalistic. Globalization also opened the avenues for private education which is today surreptitiously bringing religion into the school and college instruction. The Indian state entered into partnership with the corporate in order to accumulate capital has opened new institutional spaces where Hinduism can renew itself. The effect of globalized economy can also be seen on diasporic communities who negotiate with their religion in different forms. 20.10 Model Questions 1. Answer briefly the following questions: (5 Marks) a) What is globalization? Identify its features. b) Why religion is known as a transnational institution? c) How religion becomes a political resource? d) Briefly state the interconnection between Religion and globalization. 2. Answer in detail the following questions: (10 Marks) a) Write a broad outline of the rise of spiritual market in the era of globalization. b) Write a detailed note on relationship between religion, globalization and human condition. c) Analyse the relation between globalization and religion...give suitable examples to enrich your answer. 20.11 References and Suggested Readings 1) Ahmed, Akbar S. Islam, Globalization and Postmodernity. London, 1994. 2) Appadurai, Arjun. Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization. Minneapolis, 1996. 3) Bauman, Zygmunt. Globalization: The Human Consequences. London, 1998.
NSOU CC-SO-02 296 4) Berger, Peter L., and Samuel P. Huntington, eds. Many Globalizations: Cultural Diversity in the Contemporary World. Oxford, 2002. 5) Braman, Sandra, and Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammedi, eds. Globalization, Communication and Transnational Civil Society. Cresskill, N.J., 1996 6) Stackhouse, Max L., and Peter J. Paris, eds. God and Globalization: Religion and the Powers of the Common Life. Harrisburg, Pa., 2000. _____ Special Notes: i) The role of the caste panchayats are to solve cases and to bring out solutions so that the internal regulation of the village stays strong. It promotes solidarity among the members of the village. It is mainly operated by the elderly members of the village. ii) Sanskritization was coined by M.N Srinivas in

100% **MATCHING BLOCK 103/104** **W**

his book "Religion and Society among The Coorgs of South India".

It is one form of caste based social mobility.

65% **MATCHING BLOCK 104/104** **SA** Sampat Kale sir Assignment.pdf (D30263465)

According to him, "Sanskritization is a process by which a lower caste or tribe or any other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a higher or more often twice-born caste."

iii) Parashuram was regarded as the Brahma Warrior. He was believed to be the incarnation of Lord Vishnu as per the Hindu mythology. iv) One of the most popular Hindu mythology is the Mahabharata. Bhishma was one of the most important figures over there. He was popular for his vow to remain celibate all his life. He was blessed with a boon to have wish-long life. He was one of the unparalleled warriors of his time.

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Bhattacharyya, Swapan Kumar.1990. Indian Sociology: the role of Benoy Kumar Sarkar,.

Bhattacharyya, Swapan Kumar 1990 Indian Sociology: The Role of Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

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2/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Professor and Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology in 1921, on the very day the university started

Professor and Head of the Department of Economics and Scoiology on the very day when the university started

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3/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Patel, Sujata. (ed.) 2011, Doing Sociology in India. Genealogies, Locations and Practices. New Delhi.

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4/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	61%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

Rawat Publication. Uberoi, Patricia, Sundar, Nandini, Deshpande Satish. (ed.) 2007. Anthropology in the East. Founders of Indian Sociology and Anthropology. Ranikhet. Permanent Black.

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A Rule of Property for Bengal: An Essay on the Idea of the Permanent Settlement (1963) 2. Elementary Aspects of Insurgency in Colonial India (1983) 3.

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Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat: Kheda District, 1917-1934 (1981) 3. The Coming of Devi: Adivasi Assertion in Western India (1987) 4. Peasant Resistance in India: 1858-1914 (1992) 5. Subaltern Studies VIII: Essays in Honour of Ranajit Guha (1994)

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7/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

to do battle for their human rights. He was driving them to action by acting himself.....Ambedkar was displaying energy by his own action; arousing their faith by showing faith.'

to do battle for their human rights. He was driving them to action by acting himself. Ambedkar was displaying energy by his own action; arousing their faith by showing faith.

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8/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

self- improvement, self- progress, self- dependence, self-respect, and self- confidence.

SA chanpter three-origin and development of caste system.docx (D40662830)

9/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	73%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Raja Rammohan Roy, B.G.Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru and Shyamaprasad Mukhopadhyay on the one hand, and

Raja Rammohan Roy, B.G. Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru and Shyama Prasad Mukherjee on the one hand and

W https://studyres.com/doc/15632460/perspectives-of-indian-society-i

10/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

Dhanagare, D.N.1993. Themes and Perspectives in Indian Sociology. Jaipur. Rawat Publications. Guha,

Dhanagare, D.N. (1993), Themes and Perspectives in Indian Sociology, Jaipur: Rawat Publications. Guha,

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Oxford University Press. Hardiman,David.1995. The Coming of Devi. Adivasi Assertion in Western India.

Oxford University Press. 10. Hardiman, David 1987. The Coming of the Devi: Adivasi Assertion in Western India.

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12/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	61%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Oxford University Press. NSOU CC-SO-02 56 Kaviraj, Sudipta. 1992. The Imaginary Institution of India. Subaltern Studies. Vol. VII. 1-39.

Oxford University Press: New Delhi Kaviraj, Sudipta. 1992 The Imaginary Institution of India, in Subaltern Studies VII, (

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Biography of David Hardiman and his Contribution to Indian Sociology. Article shared by

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14/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	6 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	6 WORDS

self-improvement, self-progress, self-dependence, self-respect and self-confidence.

SA chanpter three-origin and development of caste system.docx (D40662830)

15/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	35 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	35 WORDS

caste is agroup having two characteristics; (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born, (ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group".

caste is, "a social having two characteristics— I) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born. II) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group".

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16/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	52%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

of the Caste System 4.3 Theories on the Origin of the Caste System 4.4 Evolution of the Caste System 4.4.1 Caste in

Of The Caste System In India | ipl.org • IPL • The Origin Of The Caste System In India The Origin Of The Caste System In

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17/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	42 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	42 WORDS

caste as "a collection of families, bearing a common name, claiming a common descent, from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same hereditary calling and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogenous community".

Caste is a collection of families, bearing a common name, claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to following the and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community. -

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18/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

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."

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.

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19/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	62%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

six main features of the caste system in his noted work "Caste and Race in India" (1969). The following are the prime features of the caste system- i. Segmental Division:

SA babi.docx (D109428965)

20/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

the origin of the caste system. They associated the development of the caste system

the origin of the caste system. Analyzing the processes of development of the caste system,

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21/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

from the mouth of the Supreme Being, the Kshatriyas from the arms, the Vaishyas from the thighs, and the Shudras from the feet.

from the mouth of the Supreme Being, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaishyas from the thighs and the Sudra from the feet

W https://triumphias.com/blog/sociology-paper-ii-the-caste-system/

22/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	75%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

The Special Marriage Act of 1872 legalized inter-caste and inter-religious marriages. Therefore, the

SA chanpter three-origin and development of caste system.docx (D40662830)

23/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

his book "Religion and Society among The Coorgs of South India".

his book 'Religion and society among the Coorgs of South India

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24/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Shankar Rao C. N. 2013. Sociology of Indian Society. S. Chand &

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25/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	38 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	38 WORDS

caste is a group having two characteristics; (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; (ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group." The

caste is, "social group having two characteristics— I) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born. II) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group". the

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26/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	36 WORDS	65%	MATCHING TEXT	36 WORDS

According to him, "Sanskritization is a process by which a lower caste or tribe or any other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a higher or more often twice-born caste."

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27/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Jajmani System as "a system governed by relationships based on reciprocity in inter-caste relations in

jajmani system as a system governed by relationship based on reciprocity in inter-caste relations in

W http://dspace.lpu.in:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/430/3/DSOC201_SOCIAL_STRUCTURE_AND_SOCIAL_CHA ...

28/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Shankar Rao C. N. 2013. Sociology of Indian Society. S. Chand &

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

29/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

this system each caste group within a village is expected to give certain standardised services to the families of other castes.

this each caste group within a village is expected to give certain standardised services to the families of other castes,

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30/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS

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."

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.

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31/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Shankar Rao C. N. 2013. Sociology of Indian Society. S. Chand &

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32/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	68%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

his essay named "The Social System of a Mysore Village". This essay was written after his

SA babi.docx (D109428965)

33/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

A caste may be said to be dominant when it preponderates numerically over other

SA babi.docx (D109428965)

34/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	32 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	32 WORDS

and when it also wields preponderant economic and political power. A large and powerful caste group can be more easily dominant if its position in the local caste hierarchy is not too low."

SA babi.docx (D109428965)

35/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	46 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	46 WORDS

A caste to be dominant, it should own a sizable amount of the arable land locally available, have strength of numbers and occupy a high place in the local hierarchy. When a caste has all the attributes of dominance, it may be said to enjoy a decisive dominance."

a caste to be dominant, it should own a sizable amount of the arable land locally available, have strength of numbers, and occupy a high place in the local hierarchy. When a caste has all the attributes of dominance, it may be said to enjoy a decisive dominance.

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36/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	79%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

Sanskritization. According to M. N Srinivas, "Sanskritization is a process by which a lower caste or tribe or any other group changes its customs,

SA Sampat Kale sir Assignment.pdf (D30263465)

37/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

Kolenda, P 1995. Caste in Contemporary India: Beyond Organic Solidarity. Rawat Publications.

Kolenda, P. 1997 Caste in Contemporary India : Beyond Organic Solidarity, Rawat Publications:

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38/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	66%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a higher or more often twice- born caste".

SA Sampat Kale sir Assignment.pdf (D30263465)

39/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

his book named- "Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India".

his book ' Religion and society among the Coorgs of South India

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40/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS

as-"a process by which a lower caste or tribe or any other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a

as "a process by which a caste or a tribe or other group changes its customs, rituals, and way of life in the direction of a

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41/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

the changes in technology, institutions, ideology and values of a non-western society as a result of cultural contact with the western society for a long period".

the changes in technology, institutions, ideology and values of a non-western society as a result of cultural contact with the western society for a long period "(

W http://dspace.lpu.in:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/430/3/DSOC201_SOCIAL_STRUCTURE_AND_SOCIAL_CHA ...

42/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Shankar Rao C. N. 2013. Sociology of Indian Society. S. Chand &

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

43/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	39%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

Rent b) Fruits of own income c) Wages. 2. Nature of Rights - a) Proprietary or Ownership b) Tenancy c) No right at all. 3. The extent of field work actually performed

rent' or 'fruits of own cultivation' or 'wages'). Second, the nature of rights held in land (such as 'proprietary' or 'tenancy' or 'share-cropping rights' or 'no rights at all'). Third, the extent of field-work actually performed (

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44/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

work at all. b) Those who perform partial work. c) Total work done

work at all' or 'those who perform partial work' or 'total work done

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45/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

Shankar Rao C. N. 2013. Sociology of Indian Society. S. Chand & Company Ltd. Srinivas, M. N. 1995.

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

46/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

whose income is derived primarily from property rights in the soil and those common interests is to keep the level of rent up while keeping the wage level

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

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47/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

land management or improvement. b) Rich Landlords - proprietors with considerable holdings but usually in same

land management or improvement; b) the rich landowners, proprietors with considerable holdings but usually in the same

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48/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

a) Small Landowners - having holdings sufficient to support a family,

a) small landowners, having holdings sufficient to support a family;

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49/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	61%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS
The Model of Agrarian Classes in India", in D. Gupta (ed.), Social Stratification, Delhi: Oxford University Press,			the Nature of Caste in India'' in Gupta, Dipankar (ed.), Social Stratification, Delhi: Oxford University Press. 24		

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50/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	9 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	9 WORDS
per cent of male working population engaged in non-agricultural			per cent of male working population engaged in non-agricultural		

W http://dspace.lpu.in:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/430/3/DSOC201_SOCIAL_STRUCTURE_AND_SOCIAL_CHA ...

51/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
Objectives After you have read this unit you should be able to describe			OBJECTIVES After you have studied this unit you should be able to : z describe		

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52/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS
have been absorbed, in varying degrees, into the wider society			have been absorbed in varying degrees into the wider society.		

W http://dspace.lpu.in:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/430/3/DSOC201_SOCIAL_STRUCTURE_AND_SOCIAL_CHA ...

53/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	58%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS
Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected. (iii) Attempt must be made to train and build			Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected. o try to train and build		

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54/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
Objectives After you have read this unit you should be able to describe			OBJECTIVES After you have studied this unit you should be able to : z describe		

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55/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS
system each caste group, within a village, is expected to give certain standardised services to the people of other			system each caste group within a village is expected to give certain standardised services to the families of other		

W http://www.fimt-ggsipu.org/study/ballb116.pdf

56/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS
Objectives After you have read this unit you should be able to describe			OBJECTIVES After you have studied this unit you should be able to : z describe		

W https://kupdf.net/download/sociology-notes-from-ignou_5b0481b8e2b6f523370da73d_pdf

57/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

through which India has been imagined and imaged in modern times.

through which India has often been imagined and imaged in modern times.

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58/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

Dube, S.C., Indian Village, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1955. 6.

Dube, S.C. 1955 Indian Village. Routledge and Kegan Paul: London

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59/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS

Dumont, L., Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications, Vikas Publications, New Delhi, 1970. 7. Ghurye, G.S., Caste and Class in India, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1950. 8.

Dumont,L.,1988 Homo Hierachicus: The Caste System and its Implications. Oxford University Delhi Ghurye,G.S.,1950, Caste and Race in India, Popular Prakashan, Bombay

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60/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Ketkar, S.V., History of Caste in India, Ithaca, New York, 1909. 9.

Ketkar, S.V. 1909 History of Caste in India, Ithaca: New York

W https://triumphias.com/oss/file-download.php?file-id=20181219_134936_823425558_939770892.pdf

61/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

Delhi, 1969. 11. Srinivas, M.N., Caste in Modern India and Other Essays, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1964.

Delhi Srinivas, M.N. 1962 Caste in Modern India and other essays, Asian Publishing House: Bombay

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62/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Objectives After you have read this unit you should be able to describe-

OBJECTIVES After you have studied this unit you should be able to : z describe

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63/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

a decisive role in the material and cultural life of

a decisive role in the material and cultural life of

W http://dspace.lpu.in:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/430/3/DSOC201_SOCIAL_STRUCTURE_AND_SOCIAL_CHA ...

64/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

rural family is far more homogeneous, stable, integrated and organically functioning than the

rural family is far more homogeneous, integrated, and organically functioning. The

W http://dspace.lpu.in:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/430/3/DSOC201_SOCIAL_STRUCTURE_AND_SOCIAL_CHA ...

65/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	60%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

characteristic of the rural family is that it is generally based on peasant household. All its members are engaged in the agricultural occupation.

characteristic of the rural family is that it is generally agriculture-oriented, i.e., a very large majority of its members are engaged in the agricultural occupation.

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66/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

hold property in common usually managed by the eldest member of the family. Since also they spend most of their time together,

hold property in common usually managed by the oldest member of the family, and since they spend most of their time together,

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67/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	59%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

Dube, S.C. Indian Village, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1955 5. Dumont, L. Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications, Vikas Publications.

Dube. S.C. 1955. Indian village. London: Dumont, Louis. 1970. Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its implication. New: Vikas publications. 7.

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68/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Ketkar, S.V., History of Caste in India, Ithaca, New York, 1909. 8.

Ketkar, S.V. 1909 History of Caste in India, Ithaca: New York

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69/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

Delhi, 1969. 10. Srinivas, M.N., Caste in Modern India and Other Essays, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1964.

Delhi Srinivas, M.N. 1962 Caste in Modern India and other essays, Asian Publishing House: Bombay

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70/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Objectives After you have read this unit you should be able to describe:

OBJECTIVES After you have studied this unit you should be able to : z describe

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71/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

system of relationship in which kins are bound to one another by complexinter-locking ties. Kinship

system of relationship in which kin are bound to one another by complex inter–locking ties". 5.1 Kinship

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72/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	35 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	35 WORDS

a system of dynamic relations between person and person in a community, the behaviour of any two persons in any of these relations being regulated in some way, and to a greater or less extent by social usage".

a system of dynamic relations between person and person in a community, the behavior of any two persons in any of these relations being regulated in some way and to a greater or less extent by social usage.

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73/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	67%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

kinship system refers to a set of persons recognized as relatives either by virtue of a blood

kinship system refers to a set of persons, whom we recognise as relatives by virtue of blood

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74/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	6 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	6 WORDS

father/mother-in-law and daughter/son-in-law are affinal.

Father/mother-in-law and daughter-/son-in-law are affinal.

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75/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS

it is the social recognition of these relationships that is more important than the actual biological ties. Networks built around kin relationships play a significant role in both rural and urban social life in India. 16.3

it is the social recognition of these relationships that is more important than the actual biological ties. You may already know that networks built around kin relationships play a significant role in both rural and urban social life in India.

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76/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	67%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

kinship system refers to a set of persons recognised as relatives, either, by virtue of a blood

kinship system refers to a set of persons, whom we recognise as relatives by virtue of blood

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77/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

Approaches to the study of kinship can be broadly classified under two headings (i) the Indological approach and (ii) the Anthropological approach.

Approaches to the study of kinship can be broadly classified under two headings (i) the Indological approach and (ii) the Anthropological approach.

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78/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

social institutions of Indian society are rooted in literary and learned traditions, many sociological studies have made use of textual sources for explaining

social institutions of Indian society are rooted in literary and learned traditions,many sociological studies have made use of textual sources for explaining

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79/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	72%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

on Sanskrit texts. Similarly, Irawati Karve (1940, 43-44 and 1958) and G.S. Ghurye (1946, 1955) have extensively worked on Indian kinship system. Both have

on Sanskrit texts. I would add the examples of Irawati Karve (1940, 43-44 and 1958) and G.S. Ghurye (1946, 1955). Both of them have extensively worked on the Indian kinship system. Both have

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80/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	45 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	45 WORDS

Indological approach to the study of kinship has provided a framework to understand the elements of continuity and change in the system (see Jain 1994). 2. Anthropological Approach: Descent and Alliance : Anthropologists have looked at kinship systems from the point of view of descent and alliance.

Indological approach to the study of kinship has provided a framework to understand the elements of continuity and transformation in the system. ii) Anthropological/sociological approach: descent and alliance Anthropological and sociological studies have looked at kinship systems from the point of view of descent and alliance.

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81/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	39 WORDS	69%	MATCHING TEXT	39 WORDS

can depend upon the help and support given by such people. Suchcooperating local groups are always larger than elementary families of spousesand their children. When these groups are recognised or defined on the basis ofshared descent, anthropologists call them descent groups.

can depend upon the help and support of such people. You would observe that such cooperating local groups are always larger than elementary families of spouses and their children. When these groups are recognised or defined on the basis of shared descent, we call them descent groups.

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82/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

In India, we generally find the patrilineal and matrilineal descent systems. Of the

In India, we generally find the patrilineal and matrilineal descent systems and of the

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83/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	32 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	32 WORDS

two, patrilineal system is more common. The description and analysis of kin relationships in a descent group have given us a fairly comprehensive sociological understanding of certain types of kinship systems in India.

two, patrilineal system is more common. The description and analysis of kin relationships in a descent group have given us a fairly comprehensive sociological understanding of certain types of kinship systems in India (

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84/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

discussed the unity of the lineage with corporate rights on land. She has focused on roles and inter-personal relationships in the wider kinship.

discussed the unity of the lineage with corporate rights on land. She focused on roles and inter-personal relationships in the wider kinship.

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85/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

the role of kinship as an organising principle in the Kashmiri Brahmin society. He has brought out the strong patrilineal ideology

the role of kinship as an organising principle in the Kashmiri Brahmin society. He brought out the strong patrilineal ideology,

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86/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

the study of descent groups has helped our understanding of patrilineal kinship system in North India. Sociologists like, A.C. Mayer, T.N. Madan, Oscar Lewis

The study of descent groups helped our understanding of patrilineal kinship system in North India. Sociologists/ anthropologists like, A.C. Mayer, T.N. Madan, Oscar Lewis

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87/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	38 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	38 WORDS

kinship organisation in North India, have taken the descent approach. They have described in detail various levels of kin groups and their activities. In sociological studies the terms 'line', 'lineal', 'lineage' etc. with or without the prefix 'patri' or 'matri'

kinship organisation in North India, followed the descent approach. They described in detail various levels of kin groups and their activities. In sociological studies, sociologists have used in the past such terms as ‘line’, ‘lineal’, ‘lineage’ etc. with or without the prefix ‘patri’ or ‘matri’

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88/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS

to denote corporate descent groups, i.e., lineage proper, 2. Often employed to denote the chosen line of inheritance, succession etc. in a given society, 3. In the study of relationship terminologies the expression "two line prescription"

To denote corporate descent groups, i.e. lineage proper. b) To denote the chosen line of inheritance, succession etc. in a given society. c) In the study of relationship terminologies, we use the expression “two line prescription”

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89/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

to refer to terminological structures which are consistent with "bilateral cross-cousin marriage", 4. Regardless of which lines (matriline or patriline or both)

to refer to terminological structures, which are consistent with “bilateral cross-cousin marriage”. d) Regardless of which lines (matriline or patriline or both)

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90/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	48 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	48 WORDS

for the above three purposes, lineal relatives refer to one's ascendants or descendants. Lineal relatives are those who belong to the same ancestral stock in a direct line of descent. Opposed to lineal relatives are collaterals who belong to the same ancestral stock but not in a direct line of descent.

for the above three purposes, lineal relatives refer to one's ascendants or descendants. Lineal relatives are those who belong to the same ancestral stock in a direct line of descent. Opposed to lineal relatives are collaterals; they belong to the same ancestral stock but not in a direct line of descent.

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91/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

are context specific. i.e., they refer to particular situations. Here, social relations and groups

are context specific, that is, they refer to particular situations. Here, we emphasise social relations and groups

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92/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

and sociologists study them in terms of interaction, norms and values of a particular society. For example, some scholars, following the

and sociologists study them in terms of interaction, norms and values of a particular society. For example, following the

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93/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	68 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	68 WORDS

have discussed the relation between mother's brother and sister's son in patrilineal societies. They use the idea of 'complementary filiation', i.e., the relationship ego one has with the relatives on the mother's side in a patrilineal society. In a matrilineal society it refers to the relationship ego one has with the relatives on his father's side. In a patrilineal society a person's maternal group is the affinal group of that person's father.

have discussed the relation between mother's brother and sister's son in patrilineal societies. They use the idea of 'complementary filiation', i.e. the relationship an ego has with the relatives on the mother's side in a patrilineal society. In a matrilineal society it refers to the relationship an ego has with the relatives on the father's side. In a patrilineal society a person's maternal group is the affinal group of that person's father.

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94/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	52 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	52 WORDS

This is the group, from which the person's father has taken a wife. For this reason some sociologists like to consider the question of affinity in its own right, rather than as a complementary set of relationships. We may say that in descent approach, the emphasis is laid on social organisation of descent groups.

This is the group, from which the person's father has taken a wife. For this reason some sociologists like to consider the question of affinity in its own right, rather than as a complementary set of relationships. You may say that in the descent approach, the emphasis is on social organisation of descent groups.

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95/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

look at the approach, which focuses on relationships arising out of marriage alliance. 16.10 Alliance Approach

look at the approach, which focuses on relationships arising out of marriage alliance. Alliance approach

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96/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	228 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	228 WORDS

the patterns and rules of marriage. When a sociologist pays special attention to these aspects of kinship, we say that he/she is following the alliance approach to understand the patterns of kinship. Many studies of kinship in India have focused on marriage as an alliance between two groups and on kinship terminology, as a reflection of the nature of alliance. Because of their concentration on relationships arising out of marriage, we say that these studies follow the alliance approach. The main exponent of this approach is Louis Dumont (1950, 1953, 1957 a and b, 1959, 1962 and 1966). He has emphasised the role played by marriage in the field of kinship in South India. By showing the opposition between consanguines and affines as reflected in the Dravidian kinship terminology, Dumont has made an important contribution to our understanding of kinship system in India in general and of South India in particular. He has applied to South India a structural theory of kinship. It brings out the repetition of intermarriage through the course of generations. This pattern highlights the classification of kinsmen into two categories of parallel and cross relatives. The alliance approach to the study of kinship has helped sociologists to discuss and explain the distinction between bride-givers and bride-takers. In addition, it has also included the discussion on the notion of hypergamy (i.e., the bride takers are always superior to bride-givers), practice of dowry in relation to hypergamy and ideas of exchange in marriage. 16.11

the patterns and rules of marriage. When you find a sociologist paying special attention to these aspects of kinship, you can say that he/she is following the alliance approach to understand the patterns of kinship. Many studies of kinship in India have focused on marriage as an alliance between two groups and on kinship terminology, as a reflection of the nature of alliance. Because of their concentration on relationships arising out of marriage, you can safely say that these studies follow the alliance approach. The main exponent of this approach was Louis Dumont (1950, 1953, 1957 a and b, 1959, 1962 and 1966). He focused on the role played by marriage in the field of kinship in South India. Dumont focused on the opposition between consanguines and affines as reflected in the Dravidian kinship terminology, and made an important contribution to our understanding of kinship system in India in general and of South India in particular. Following the implications of Levi-Strauss's theory, Dumont (1971: 89-120) applied to South India a structural theory of kinship that brought out the repetition of intermarriage through the course of generations. This pattern highlighted the classification of kinspersons into two categories of parallel and cross relatives. The alliance approach to the study of kinship has helped sociologists to discuss and explain the distinction between bride-givers and bride-takers. In addition, it has also included the discussion on the notion of hypergamy (i.e. the bride-takers are always superior to bride-givers), practice of dowry in relation to hypergamy and ideas of exchange in marriage.

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97/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	57%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

husband-wife, father-son, mother-daughter, father-daughter, mother-son, younger-elder brothers, younger-elder sisters and sister-brother. 1. Secondary Kins:

husband-wife, father-son, mother-son, father-daughter, mother-daughter, younger brother-elder brother, younger sister-elder sister and brother-sister. Secondary kins:

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98/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

the Khasis and the Todas. Under this usage, the husband is made to lead the life of an invalid along with his wife whenever she gives birth to a child. He refrains from active work

the Khasi and the Todas tribes makes the husband to lead the life of an invalid along with his wife whenever she gives birth to a child. He refrains from the active work,

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99/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things".

unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things

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100/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people".

is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people" (1848/1964,

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101/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	77%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world. It is the opium of the people'.

is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people" (1848/1964,

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102/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	59%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

provides a foundation for mores of society. Religious sanctions are sought for certain desirable patterns of behaviour to persist in society

provides a foundation for mores of society even today. Hence, we find that since time immemorial, religious sanctions are sought for doing certain desirable patterns of behaviour by the individual in society.

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103/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

his book "Religion and Society among The Coorgs of South India".

his book 'Religion and society among the Coorgs of South India

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104/104	SUBMITTED TEXT	35 WORDS	65%	MATCHING TEXT	35 WORDS

According to him, "Sanskritization is a process by which a lower caste or tribe or any other group changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a higher or more often twice-born caste."

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NSOU CC - SO - 03 1 PREFACE In a bid to standardize higher education in the country, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has introduced Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) based on five types of courses viz. core, discipline specific, generic elective, ability and skill enhancement for graduate students of all programmes at Honours level. This brings in the semester pattern, which finds efficacy in sync with credit system, credit transfer, comprehensive continuous assessments and a graded pattern of evaluation. The objective is to offer learners ample flexibility to choose from a wide gamut of courses, as also to provide them lateral mobility between various educational institutions in the country where they can carry their acquired credits. I am happy to note that the university has been recently accredited by National Assessment and Accreditation Council of India (NAAC) with grade ''A''. UGC (Open and Distance Learning Programmes and Online Programmes) Regulations, 2020 have mandated compliance with CBCS for UG programmes for all the HEIs in this mode. Welcoming this paradigm shift in higher education, Netaji Subhas Open University (NSOU) has resolved to adopt CBCS from the academic session 2021-22 at the Under Graduate Degree Programme level. The present syllabus, framed in the spirit of syllabi recommended by UGC, lays due stress on all aspects envisaged in the curricular framework of the apex body on higher education. It will be imparted to learners over the six semesters of the Programme. Self Learning Materials (SLMs) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. From a logistic point of view, NSOU has embarked upon CBCS presently with SLMs in English / Bengali. Eventually, the English version SLMs will be translated into Bengali too, for the benefit of learners. As always, all of our teaching faculties contributed in this process. In addition to this we have also requisitioned the services of best academics in each domain in preparation of the new SLMs. I am sure they will be of commendable academic support. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stakeholders who will participate in the teaching-learning based on these study materials. It has been a very challenging task well executed, and I congratulate all concerned in the preparation of these SLMs. I wish the venture a grand success. Professor (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar Vice-Chancellor
2 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Printed in accordance with the regulations of the Distance Education Bureau of the University Grants Commission. Netaji Subhas Open University Under Graduate Degree Programme Choice Based Credit System ((CBCS) Subject : Honours in Sociology (HSO) (Introduction to Sociology) Course Code : CC - SO - 03 First Print : December, 2021
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NSOU CC - SO - 03 7 Module - I : On The Plurality of Sociological Perspecive Unit - 1 The Nature and Task of Sociological Perspectives Structure 1.1 Objectives 1.2 Introduction: 1.3 Why there is Plurality in a Sociological Perspective? 1.4 Sociological Theory: Definition and Features 1.5 Building Blocks of Sociological Theory 1.5.1 Issues and Approaches in Sociological Theory 1.6. Elements in Sociological Theory 1.6.1 Types of Generalization: 1.6.2 Basic Concepts and schemes of Classification: 1.6.3 Explanatory Theories: 1.7 Types of Sociological Theory 1.7.1 Speculative Theories vs. Grounded Theories 1.7.2 Grand Theory vs. Miniature Theory 1.7.3 Macro Theories vs. Micro Theories 1.8 Major schools of sociological thought and their basic assumptions 1.8.1 Functionalism 1.8.2 Structuralism 1.8.3 Conflict theory 1.8.4 Interactionism 1.9 Conclusion 1.10 Summary

8 NSOU CC - SO - 03 1.11 Questions 1.12 References 1.13 Suggested Readings 1.14 Glossary 1.1 Objectives After going through this unit, you can understand the meaning of sociological perspective and why there is plurality of perspectives in sociology. the meaning, features and basic elements of sociological theory and various scholarly debates relating to the development of such theories. different types of and different schools of sociological theory. 1.2 Introduction Sociology, defined as the scientific understanding of society (i.e. the web of human interrelationships arising out of human interactions), strives to analyze, explain and understand social phenomena- ranging from the occurrence of unit interaction to the vast array of social change- in a systematic way that allows for every single social occurrence to be understood with all-round satisfaction in its light. Sociologists are also interested in developing a systematic way or schema of approaching social phenomena through the process of thought that inculcates variety of information in a rigorous and objective way so as to create a synthesized view of society. This synthesized view of society, developed by a particular way or schema of approaching social phenomenon, is called sociological perspective. Since the emergence of the discipline it has been the centre of concern, ambiguity and dispute. However, the eternal spring of challenge, creativity, and innovation on the other hand is still there. The sociological perspective may be defined as an approach to understand human behaviour by placing it within its broader social context. 1.3 Why is there a plurality in sociological perspective? The history of the emergence of sociology as an academic discipline entails that the discipline was born as an answer or solution to the resultant necessity aroused at the confluence of two dialectical intellectual forces that had been swaying the intellectual sphere in Europe,
NSOU CC - SO - 03 9 namely the Enlightenment Philosophy of the late 18 th Century and the Counter- Enlightenment Philosophy (Romantic Conservative Philosophy) of the early 19 th Century. The 18 th century philosophy of Enlightenment offered reason and empiricism (importance of fact, proof, evidence) to be the twin pillars of knowledge; advocated strong arguments in favour of individual freedom and liberty; emphasized on human capability in controlling the world around them and strived for seeking true knowledge in every sphere by mastering the skill and methods of natural sciences. As was promised by the French Revolution, in the post-revolution scenario man was to develop a secular society based on the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. In reality it was evident that men through their struggle had indeed succeeded in dishevelling the older form of society that had been fettered by monarchy and religious orthodoxy; but the emerging society not only appeared non- conforming to the design they had dreamed of, but proved also to be out of their control. According to Gouldner (1977:13-17), the new society appeared to be a world of contradictions: a world created by man, but not the creator's world, i.e. man could no more control the emerging shapes, forms, features and processes that the society continued to display. Hence, the concepts of society and culture, which form the foundation of the emerging academic social science called 'sociology', developed as ambiguous conceptions, as being creations of man and as having lives and histories of their own- life independent of the men who create, embody and enact them. In sociological analyses the concepts of culture and society were continued to be expressed as autonomous things-independent and existing for themselves (sui generis meaning 'in and of itself'). They came to be viewed as any other 'natural' phenomena having laws of their own, and the discipline that studied them came to be viewed as 'natural' science. Man accepted defeat in his effort to control the social world and this defeat was expressed in the duality of ambivalence that featured into the 'objectivity' of the emerging academic social science, nay, sociology: i) man's effort to accommodate to alienation, and ii) expression of his muted resentment towards this alienation. While the assumption of the autonomy and uncontrollability of society and culture as normal and natural condition generated the core of the repressive component of sociology, the feature of suppressed resentment allowed for the liberating potential of the discipline. Sociology thus develops a total conception of man that promoted the distinctiveness of the discipline, featuring a unique contradiction which constituted the core of the concept: man as the controlled product of society and culture (the dominant focal view), and man as the maker of society and culture (the subsidiary but promising view).
10 NSOU CC - SO - 03 The ambivalence or contradictions inherent in the domain assumptions- Man, Society and Culture- led to the development of different perspectives and different schools of Sociology; and shaped the basic charter of Sociology as an academic discipline. 1.4 Sociological Theory: Definition and Features Development of theory lies at the core of any study of science. For a scientific study of society sociology should develop theories like other scientific disciplines. Now, what is a theory? According to Turner (1974), "theory is a mental activity. It is a process of developing ideas that can allow us to explain how and why events occur."

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A theory is a set of propositions that provide an explanation by means of a deductive or inductive system

and its major functions are description, explanation and prediction based on hardcore empirical facts. In the case of Sociology,

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a theory is a set of interrelated concepts used to describe, explain, and predict how society and its parts are related to each other. Theories are sets of interrelated concepts and ideas that have been scientifically tested and combined to clarify, and expand our understanding of people, their behaviours, and their societies.

The basic characteristics of a scientific theory are: i) it aspires to transcend the time and space limit, and hence generic, timeless and universal in character; ii) it

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is stated in neutral, objective, and unambiguous terms so that the theory means the same thing to all who examine it; and,

iii) it is designed to be repeatedly and

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systematically tested with replicable methods against the facts of particular empirical settings.

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Sociological theory is a set of assumptions, assertions, and propositions, organized in the form of an explanation or interpretation, of the nature, form, or content of social action. 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. Therefore, the important characteristics of sociological theory are as follows i. Sociological theories are abstract generalizations. ii. Sociological theories are logical propositions. iii. Sociological theories are conceptualizations regarding social phenomena. iv. Sociological theories are empirical generalizations. v. Sociological theories are factual. NSOU CC - SO - 03 11 vi. Sociological theories are provisional in nature. vii. Sociological theories are verifiable. 1.5 Building Blocks of Sociological

Theory As we have already discussed, the history of its very emergence led to different and varying perspectives or approaches in understanding social organization, development of theory in sociology also led to various arguments and debates among the sociologists relating to its nature, scope and levels of analysis. Nevertheless, all the theories have been following four common elements which are considered the building blocks of sociological theories: concepts, variables, statements and formats.

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Concepts: Generally, concepts denote phenomena. A concept describes the aspects of the social world that are considered essential for a particular purpose. Concepts are constructed from definitions. A definition is a

statement or system of terms used to express the meaning of a word or word group or a sign or symbol; a statement expressing the essential nature of something that

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allows visualizing the phenomenon that is denoted by the concept. It enables all investigators

universally and instantaneously to point at

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the same thing and to understand what it is that is being studied. Thus, concepts that are basic elements for building theory must strive to communicate an uniform meaning to all those who use them. However, since concepts,

especially used in social sciences,

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are frequently articulated with the words of everyday language, it is difficult to avoid words that

may suggest

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varied meanings— and hence point to different phenomena for varying groups of people. It is for this reason that many concepts in natural sciences are expressed in technical or more neutral languages, such as the symbols of mathematics. In sociology, expression of concepts in such special languages is sometimes not only impossible but also undesirable. Hence the symbols (

words/ terms) used to develop a concept must be chosen and

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defined as precisely as possible so that they point to the same phenomenon

unambiguously and universally. It is hard to reach a perfect consensus in defining a concept

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with conventional language, a body of theory rests on the assertion that researchers will ultimately define concepts unambiguously. The concepts of theory

are of two types: concrete and abstract.

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Some concepts relate to concrete phenomena at specific times and places. Other, more abstract, concepts depict phenomena that are not related to concrete times or places. For example, in the context of small-group research, concrete concepts would refer to the persistent interactions of particular individuals (

e.g. 2 nd semester undergraduate students of a particular department
12 NSOU CC - SO - 03 of a particular college under the University of Calcutta in the year 2019),

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whereas an abstract conceptualization of such phenomena would refer to those general properties of face-to-face groups that are not tied to particular individuals interacting at a specified time and location. Whereas abstract concepts are not tied to a specific context,

time and space, concrete concepts are. Although it is important

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that some of the concepts of theory go beyond specific times and places, it is equally critical that there be procedures for making these abstract concepts pertinent to observable situations and occurrences. The utility of an abstract concept can be demonstrated only when the concept is brought to analyze some specific empirical problem encountered by

researchers. As a formal procedure for attaching abstract concepts to observable events, some argue that the

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abstract concepts should be accompanied by a series of statements known as operational definitions, which are sets of procedural instructions telling researchers how to go about discerning phenomena in the real world that are denoted by an abstract concept. Others argue, however, that the nature of our concepts in sociology precludes such formalistic training. At best, concepts can be only devices that must change with the changes in society, and so we can only intuitively and conditionally apply abstract concepts to the actual analysis. Variables:

While building theory, two general types of concepts are used: (1) those that simply label phenomena (e.g. social group, social class etc.) and never reveal the ways in which the concepts may differ in terms of properties like size, volume, weight, age etc in reality; and (2) those that refer to phenomena with their variable properties so as to attribute them with certain ability to respond to the wide differences found in social world.

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Concepts that denote properties as size, weight, density, velocity etc. refer to differences in degree among phenomena.

This second type of concepts is called variables, which aims at describing varying states of particular events denoted by concepts. According to Turner (1974), if Sociology is to follow the path of other natural sciences, concepts are to be translated into variables so that they can help visualize

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how variation in one phenomenon is related to variation in another

phenomenon. However, Sociologists, who are hardly interested to view the discipline on the same boat with natural sciences, are more interested in making the concepts more sensitizing, more alert and concerned towards grasping the dynamic nature of important social processes than in converting each and every concept into variable, i.e. into some measurable metrics.
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Statements and Formats: The concepts of theory must be connected to one another and these connections among concepts constitute theoretical statements. These statements

not only identify

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the way in which events denoted by concepts are interrelated, they also provide an understanding of how and why events should be connected. When these theoretical statements are grouped together, they constitute a theoretical format (

Turner 1974). As there are ample disputes among sociologists regarding the scientific status, degree of subjectivity and objectivity in sociology, there are dramatic debates relating to the structure of theoretical statements and their organization into

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formats. There are five basic approaches in sociological theory for generating theoretical statements and formats: (1)

meta-theoretical schemes, (2) analytical schemes, (3) discursive schemes, (4) propositional schemes, and (5) modelling schemes.

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Concepts are constructed from definitions; theoretical statements link concepts together; and statements are organized into five basic types of formats.

However, these five formats can be executed in a variety of ways. So, in reality, there are more than just five strategies for developing theoretical statements and formats. Moreover, these various strategies are not always mutually exclusive; rather in executing one of them, we are often led to another as a kind of next step in building theory. Yet—and this point is crucial—these various approaches are often viewed as antagonistic. Moreover, even within a particular type of format, there is constant battle over the best way to develop theory. This rancour represents a great misfortune because in a mature science —which, sad to say, sociology is not—these approaches are viewed as highly compatible. Before pursuing this point further, we need to discuss in more detail each of these approaches. 1.5.1 Issues and approaches in Sociological Theory 1)

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Meta-theoretical schemes deal with the basic issues that a theory must address. In many sociological circles, meta-theory is considered

a crucial precondition to adequate theory building. Some of the basic questions that the meta-theoretical scheme seeks answer to are: i. What is the basic nature of human activity about which a theory must be developed? ii. What is the appropriate way to develop theory and what kind of theory is possible? iii. What is the critical problem that the theory in Sociology must concentrate on?

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The philosophical debates like idealism versus materialism, induction versus deduction, causation versus association, subjectivism versus objectivism, and so on are re-evoked 14

NSOU CC - SO - 03 and analyzed with respect to social reality. A great deal of theories studied in sociology is, in fact,

meta-theoretical activity. 2)

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Analytical Scheme is a classification scheme that denotes the key properties, and interrelations among these properties, in the social universe. There are many different varieties of analytical schemes, but they all share an emphasis on

typologizing, i.e. classifying basic properties

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of the social world. Explanation of an empirical event comes whenever a place in the classificatory scheme can be found for

that

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empirical event. There are two basic types of analytical schemes: (1) naturalistic schemes, which try to develop a tightly knitted system of categories that is supposed to capture the way in which the invariant properties of the universe are ordered and (2) sensitizing schemes, which are more loosely assembled categories of concepts intended only to sensitize and orient researchers and theorists to certain critical processes. 3) Discursive Schemes are typically easier to understand than those that are more formal, but the weakness is that the variables and forces highlighted and the dynamic relations among them are vague and imprecise. Even with certain vagueness in language, it is still possible to recognize the basic theoretical argument and convert it into a more formal format like an analytical model or propositional scheme.

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Propositional Scheme is a theoretical statement that specifies the connection between two or more variables. It tells us how variation in one concept is

caused by or related to

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variation in another. Propositional Schemes vary perhaps the most of all theoretical approaches. They vary primarily along two dimensions: (1) the level of abstraction and (2) the way propositions are organized into formats. Some are highly abstract and contain concepts that do not denote any particular case but all cases of a type. By using these two

above mentioned

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dimensions, several different types of propositional schemes can be isolated: (a) axiomatic formats, (b) formal formats, and (c) empirical formats.

We shall examine each of these schemes below: a) Axiomatic

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Formats: An axiomatic organization of theoretical statements includes a set of concepts some of which are highly abstract in nature; others, more concrete. Second, there is always a set of existence statements that describe those types and classes of situations in which the concepts and the propositions that incorporate them apply. Third, propositional statements are stated in a hierarchical order. At the top of the hierarchy are axioms, or highly abstract statements, from which all other theoretical statements are logically derived. The axioms should be consistent with one another, although they do not have to be logically interrelated. The axioms should be highly abstract; they should state relationships among abstract concepts. These relationships should be law-like in that the more concrete theorems derived from them have not been disproved by empirical investigation.

b) Formal Formats:

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Formal theories are loose versions of axiomatic schemes. The idea is to develop highly abstract propositions that are used to explain some empirical event. Some highly abstract propositions are seen as higher-order laws, and the goal of explanation is to visualize empirical events as instances of this covering law. Deductions from the laws are made, but they are much looser, rarely conforming to the strict rules of axiomatic theory. Moreover, there is recognition that extraneous variables cannot always be excluded, and so the propositions have a condition that if other forces do not interfere, then the relationship among concepts in the proposition should hold true. c) Empirical Formats:

They

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consist of generalizations from specific events, in particular empirical contexts. They are too tied to empirical contexts, times, and places. In fact, they are generalizations that require a theory to explain them. There are other kinds of empirical generalizations also, which are often termed as middle-range theories, 16

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because i) they are more abstract than a research finding, and ii) their empirical content pertains to variables that are also found in other domains of social reality. 5) Analytical Modelling Scheme is a diagrammatic representation of social events. The diagrammatic elements of any model include: (1) concepts that denote and highlight certain features of the universe; (2) the arrangement of these concepts in visual space so as to reflect the ordering of events in the universe; and (3) symbols that mark the connections among concepts, such as lines, arrows, vectors etc. The elements of a model may be weighted in some way, or they may be sequentially organized to express events over time, or they may represent complex patterns of relations and other potential ways in which properties of the universe affect one another. In sociology, most diagrammatic models are constructed to emphasize the causal connections among properties of the universe. That is, they are designed to show how changes in the values of one set of variables are related to changes in the values of other variables. Sociologists generally construct two different types of models, which are known as analytical models and causal models. Analytical models are more abstract

and tend to

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highlight more generic properties of the universe, and they portray a complex set of connections among variables. In contrast, causal models are more empirically grounded

and provide for a more detailed interpretation of an empirical generalization. 1.6. Elements in Sociological Theory In view of the century long enormous debate and discussion among scholars regarding how theory should be developed in sociology to grasp the dynamics of social world comprehensively, Tom Bottomore suggests examining sociological theory as it has developed up to the present time, under three headings: A) Types of generalization, B) Basic Concepts and schemes of Classification, and C) Explanatory Theories. 1.6.1 Types of Generalization: Following M. Ginsberg, Bottomore suggests six types of generalizations in social science: i. Empirical relationship between concrete phenomena (e.g. urban life and rate of divorce). ii. Generalizations formulating the conditions under which institutions or other social formations arise (e.g. various accounts of the origin of capitalism). iii. Generalizations asserting that changes in a given institution are regularly associated with changes in other institution (e.g. Marx's theory of changes in class structure and changes in different institutions)

NSOU CC - SO - 03 17 iv. Generalizations asserting phase-sequence of various kinds (e.g. attempts to distinguish the 'stages' of economic development by Bucher, Schmoller and others). v. Generalizations describing the main trends in the evolution of humanity as a whole (e.g. Comte's law of the three stages, Marxist theory of development from primitive society to communist society etc.). vi. Laws stating the implications of assumptions regarding human behaviour (e.g. some laws in economic theory). These types of generalizations are diverse in range and level and there are disputes regarding the extent to which they can be regarded as validated. However, sociological theorizing should, from the empirical correlations which have been established, be increasingly committed to the construction of broader generalizations, which then can be open to test by further research. Thus the discipline may reach nearer to cumulative theory construction like other sciences. The sociologists will get a device to curb the harmful propensity for fresh departures and choosing specific facts while curbing out others in order to favour a particular generalization or theory. 1.6.2 Basic Concepts and schemes of Classification: Concepts serve two purposes: i) they distinguish and help denoting phenomena which had not until then been considered as forming separate classes; and ii) they serve as shortened description of phenomena and as instruments for further analyses and study. Construction of a strong conceptual framework was emphasized by the founding fathers of sociology, like Durkheim (social fact) and Max Weber (ideal types), who introduced and defined concepts, while writing their explanatory theories. In the field of classification we find the following schemes in sociological theorizing: i) Various attempts to classify societies (e.g. Karl Marx's attempt on the basis of economic criteria, attempt of Comte and Hobhouse against the criteria of the level of intellectual development etc.) ii) Classification of social groups on the basis of their size, structure, pattern of interaction, duration, recruitment of members and so on. iii) Classification of social relationships (e.g. Hobhouse's distinction between three broad 'types of social union' based respectively upon kinship, authority and citizenship, Durkheim's distinction between two types of social solidarity: mechanical and organic,
18 NSOU CC - SO - 03 distinction between community and society made by Tonnies, Von Wise's distinction of social relationships on the basis of their tendency towards association , or dissociation, towards their diminishing or increasing the social distance between individuals.etc.) iv) Classification in terms of social action originated by Max Weber v) There is a new trend of classifying phenomena with the character of industrial societies and with the changes in the economically underdeveloped societies. 1.6.3 Explanatory Theories: Generally speaking, explanatory theories are meant to answer the question "why?" This may take two forms: i) causal explanations which is of the kind "because of....." , and ii) teleological explanations which are of the kind "in order that.....". The later kind may be further differentiated into: explanation in terms of purpose and explanations in terms of end-states. According to many of the classical sociologists, as a generalizing science sociology should aim at establishing causal connections and causal laws. But explanations of human individual behaviour at first appearance fall in the category of teleological, in terms of purposes. Hence, there is a significant dispute between scholars regarding whether the discipline should take shape as an 'interpretative science' or continue as a 'natural science of society'. However, the effort of classical sociologists and their followers to develop grand all-encompassing theories of society has been failed as the grand schemes (Functionalism of Durkheim and Radcliff Brown, Conflict theory of Karl Marx) faced rigorous criticism for serious reasons, from scholars advocating for 'interpretative science', the trend of building all-embracing explanatory theory has lost its pace. It is a hopeful sign that attention is being paid to theories that keep close to the empirical data, and thus to verification. But sociological theory still suffers from an excessive specialization which has separated theory and research, and from some misinterpretation about the nature of scientific theory. 1.7 Types of Sociological Theory 1.7.1 Speculative

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Theories vs. Grounded Theories Speculative theories are abstract, impressionistic and rooted in a philosophical system. The

founding fathers of sociology,

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Comte and Spencer, have synthesized the findings of a variety of disciplines to derive a formidable collection of theoretical statements to explain social processes and organizations. These are essentially theories generated by logical

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deduction from a priori assumptions. They are based on certain methodological and philosophical assumptions and generate theoretical entities and conceptual schemes. Grounded theories, on the other hand, are based on the findings of empirical research and they are appropriate to their specific uses. They produce specific sociological laws, principles and empirical generalizations. Grounded theory is

partly a

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theoretical framework and partly research methodology. It combines theory and research and serves as a guide for many social science researchers in their projects. Grounded theory is an attempt to develop theories from an analysis of the patterns, themes, and common categories discovered in empirical research. It emphasizes research procedures when developing theories. 1.7.2 Grand Theory vs. Miniature Theory A grand theory is a broad conceptual scheme with systems of interrelated propositions that provide a general frame of reference for the study of social processes and institutions. However, it is different from speculative theory. The grand theory is rooted in the empirical world - however loosely, whereas speculative theories are based on philosophical systems. The

grand theory is a comprehensive formulation. It provides a master scheme of general sociological orientations. Grand theories are full of jargon and intuitive statements.
The system theory of Talcott Parsons

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and Sorokin's theory of socio-cultural dynamics are examples of grand theories. Miniature theories are what Merton called as Middle range theories,

i.e.,

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theories intermediate to the minor working hypotheses evolved during the day-to-day routines of research, and the all inclusive speculations comprising a master speculative scheme from which it is supposed to derive a very large number of empirically observable uniformities of social behaviour. The miniature theories are partial, more specific and their frame of reference is considerably limited. They are less pretentious than the grand theories. Merton's theory of reference groups is an example of such a theory. 1.7.3 Macro Theories vs. Micro Theories Macro theories are broader in scope and encompass

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array of laws while micro theories have a narrower frame of reference. Macro theories are concerned with total societal patterns. Theories of society, culture and institutions constitute the tradition of macro sociology. Micro sociology is concerned with interactions among the units of society. Small group theories represent the micro tradition in contemporary sociology. The distinction between the two types of theories is based on the size of the unit of analysis rather than the level of analysis. Macro theories deal with society as a whole. Micro theories deal with the 20 NSOU CC - SO - 03 subsystems that constitute the whole. System theory

of Talcott Parsons is macro whereas Homan's exchange theory is an example of micro-level theory. Macro theories belong to the

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grand theory category; Micro theories come under miniature theories. 1.8 Major schools of sociological thought

and their basic assumptions 1.8.1

88% **MATCHING BLOCK 44/320** W

Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

social needs. The basic concern of functionalism is to explain

93% **MATCHING BLOCK 45/320** W

the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued survival over time. Many functionalists argue that social institutions are

mutually interdependent and interconnected to form a stable and coherent

95% **MATCHING BLOCK 46/320** W

system and that a change in one institution will inculcate change in other institutions. Societies are seen as coherent, bounded and essentially relational constructs that function like organisms, with their various parts or social institutions working together to maintain and reproduce them. The various parts of society are assumed to work for the overall social equilibrium. All social and cultural phenomena are therefore seen as being functional in the sense of working together to achieve this

stable unified

95% **MATCHING BLOCK 47/320** W

state. These components are then primarily analysed in terms of the functions they play. A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part,

in order to maintain the unity of the system.

94% **MATCHING BLOCK 48/320** W

Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent elements- norms, customs, traditions, institutions

and so on. The founding fathers of Sociology, like Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, and Herbert Spencer etc. were the great advocates of Functionalist theory of society. Later Functionalist trend of theorizing was developed by social anthropologists like Bronislaw Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown; and eminent sociologists like Talcott Parsons, and Robert K. Merton were other two important figures in the functionalist school of Sociology.

89% **MATCHING BLOCK 49/320** W

A common analogy, popularized by Herbert Spencer, presents these parts of society as "organs" that work toward the proper functioning of the "body" of society as a whole. 1.8.2 Structuralism

Another important theoretical approach to the concept of social structure is structuralism (sometimes called French structuralism), which studies the underlying, unconscious regularities of human expression—that is, the unobservable structures that have observable
NSOU CC - SO - 03 21 effects on behaviour, society, and culture. French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss derived this theory from structural linguistics, developed by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. According to Saussure, any language is structured in the sense that its elements are interrelated in non-arbitrary, regular, rule-bound ways; a competent speaker of the language largely follows these rules without being aware of doing so. The task of the theorist is to detect this underlying structure, including the rules of transformation that connect the structure to the various observed expressions.
In structuralism all
elements of human culture, including literature, are thought to be parts of a system

86% **MATCHING BLOCK 50/320** W

of signs. The major propositions of Structuralism are listed below: i. The underlying elements of the structure remain constant, and it is the varying relationships between them that produce different languages, systems of ideas, and types of society. ii. There is the proposition that what appears to us as solid, normal, or natural, is in fact the end result of a process of production from some form of underlying structure. iii. Structuralism transforms our commonsense notions of individuals. Individuals are seen as the product of relationships, rather than as the makers of social reality. iv. Structuralism holds the view that history is discontinuous and marked by radical changes. 1.8.3 Conflict Theory

Whereas the functionalist perspective views society as composed of different parts working together to maintain social solidarity and stability, the conflict perspective views society as composed of different groups with varying interests competing for power and resources.

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 51/320	W

Conflict Theory claims that society is in a state of perpetual conflict and competition for limited resources. Marx and Weber were the major proponents of conflict theory. Conflict Theory assumes that those who have wealth

and/power

65%	MATCHING BLOCK 52/320	W

perpetually try to increase their resources at the expense and suffering of others (majority) in a society. It is a power struggle which is most often won by wealthy elites and lost by the common people of common means. Power attributes its owner the ability to get what

s/he wants irrespective of and insensitive to the will of others. When power is legitimized either by tradition or by charismatic qualities of certain individuals or by rational legal institutions it is transformed into authority.

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 60/320	SA	Four sociological theories.docx (D147302220)

The origins of the conflict perspective can be traced to the classic works of Karl Marx.

Ralph Dahrendrof, Lewis Coser etc. are other proponents of conflict perspective in sociological theory. The following are three principal assumptions of conflict theory:
22 NSOU CC - SO - 03 i.

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 53/320	W

Competition over scarce resources is at the heart of all social relationships. Competition rather than consensus is characteristic of human relationships.

ii.

97%	MATCHING BLOCK 54/320	W

Inequalities in power and reward are built into all social structures. Individuals and groups that benefit from any particular structure strive to see it maintained. iii. Change occurs as a result of conflict between competing interests rather than through adaptation. Change is often abrupt and revolutionary rather than evolutionary. 1.8.4 Interactionism Interactionism –

or Symbolic Interactionism- is a broad sociological perspective. It is a micro action theory and is interpretative rather than objective in nature. Associated with George Herbert Mead and Max Weber, it is a perspective that views society as the product of human interactions, and the meanings that individuals attach on those interactions. Instead of trying to explain human behaviour in the context of large social structures or fundamental conflicts in society, they look on a smaller level, suggesting that human beings have agency and are not always swayed by the forces outside their control; and they can create their own meanings. Weber recognized that both the small-scale interactions and social structures influenced human behaviour. It

94%	MATCHING BLOCK 55/320	W

is a theoretical perspective that derives social processes (such as conflict, cooperation, identity formation etc.) from human interactions. It is the study of how individuals act within society.

This perspective in sociology

99%	MATCHING BLOCK 56/320	W

has grown in the latter half of the twentieth century and has become one of the dominant sociological perspectives in the world today. Interactionism was first linked to the work of James Parker. George Herbert Mead, as an advocate of pragmatism and the subjectivity of social reality is considered a leader in the development of interactionism. Herbert Blumer expanded on Mead's work and coined the term "Symbolic Interactionism". Symbolic Interactionism is a theoretical approach to understand the relationship between humans and society. The basic notion of Symbolic Interactionism is that human action and interaction are understandable only through the exchange of meaningful communication or symbols. In this approach, humans are portrayed as acting as opposed to being acted upon. The main principles of Symbolic Interactionism are: i. Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them ii. These meanings arise from social interaction

iii.

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 57/320	W

Social action results from a fitting together of individual lines of action

NSOU CC - SO - 03 23 The focus of Symbolic Interactionism lies

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 58/320	W

on the concrete details of what goes on among individuals in everyday life.

It studies how individuals in society

92%	MATCHING BLOCK 59/320	W

use and interpret symbols not only to communicate with each other, but also to create and maintain impressions of themselves, to create a sense of self, and to create and sustain what they experience as the reality of a particular social situation. From this perspective, social life consists largely of a complex network of countless interactions through which life takes on shape and meaning. 1.9

Conclusion In this module, you have learned about how different theoretical paradigms are used in sociology to understand the social world. A paradigm is a broad viewpoint, perspective, or lens that permit social scientists to have a wide range of tools to describe society, and then to build hypotheses and theories. Paradigms are also considered as guiding principles or belief systems. In the sociological texts, the word 'paradigm' is used interchangeably with perspective, theory, or approach. We have already discussed here three main perspectives that we find in sociology: the functionalist perspective, the conflict perspective, and the Symbolic Interactionist perspective. However, we do not suggest that they are all inclusive; there are others and more specific topic-based variations of each of the aforementioned three theories. In order to provide you with a better understanding of the pluralistic nature of sociological understanding, in this concluding part of the module, I am presenting a very common every day event in our life- food consumption- as viewed from different sociological perspectives. Eating, i.e. food consumption is a very common daily occurrence in human life all over the world. We eat for meeting physical need; we also eat to celebrate important moments in our lives. Eating may be individual action; may involve sharing; it may be group activity. Eating habits, i.e., the items we eat, the way we eat, the manner we process our food may be source of similarity and difference among human beings. If viewed from a larger context, i.e., the context of society, the condition of food system in our country is at the core of numerous social movements and policies, political issues, and economic debates. Now, let us explore the event of food consumption as analyzed from the three main sociological perspectives mentioned above: From the perspective of structural-functionalism, a researcher may find interest in the role of agriculture (basis of food production) in the national economy and its evolution through ages from the most primitive era of manual farming to contemporary mechanized

24 NSOU CC - SO - 03 production. Another study may focus on the interconnectedness and interdependence between various functions (for example, farming, harvesting, packaging, marketing and mass consumerism) that take place in food production. This may further lead to the examination of how the entire process of production, distribution and consumption of food in a particular society is functioning to maintain social solidarity and equilibrium through the elaborate system of division of labour and mutual interdependence among different groups of people in modern society. Conflict perspective may invoke interest of scholars in studying variation in the pattern of food consumption between different social classes, in order to reflect the severe presence of inequality within society that reveals the difference of nutrition among different classes due to differential access to nutritious food in capitalist society, and therefore, differential access to basic life chances predominating in modern capitalist society. Another study may reveal interest in how power differential in contemporary society plays its role in the regulation of food, and how people's right to information comes into conflict with corporation's thrust for profit, and government's role in mediating the two opposing interests. Symbolic Interactionism inspires micro-level studies. Hence a sociologist may study how particular food items carry symbolic meaning in religious rituals; or how homogeneity in food consumption forms an important part of identity for a particular group, while evoking hostility to another group as the latter consumes a particular kind of food which the former considers to be a taboo; or, role of food in the interaction of people in social gatherings (wedding ceremony, family dinner, picnic etc.). Hence the numerous events in the laboratory of sociologists, i.e., our society, await the sociological minds to explore and understand them from multiple angles, varied perspectives and pluralistic viewpoints; and thus to enhance knowledge and widen their understanding in order to develop a critical, inclusive and sympathetic science of human society. 1.10 Summary We have introduced our learners to our approach to sociology. The diversity in such perspectives have been explained. We tried understanding the primary block of sociological theory as well as its types. Major schools have been discussed along with their assumptions.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 25 1.11 Questions A. Answer briefly (6 marks) i. What do you understand by sociological perspective? ii. Why are there different perspectives in Sociology? iii. What is sociological theory? What are its main features? iv. How are variables important in sociological theorizing? v. Write a short note on conceptualization and classification in sociological theory. vi. Write the differences between: (a) speculative theory and grounded theory (b) grand theory and miniature theory (c) macro theory and micro theory in Sociology. vii. What do you understand by Symbolic Interactionism? viii. What are the basic assumptions of conflict perspective in sociology? B. Answer in detail (12 marks) i. Discuss the basic building blocks of sociological theory. ii. Following Bottomore, analyse the development of sociological theory. iii. Discuss in detail different schools of sociological thought. iv. Following Gouldner, discuss the ambivalence or contradictions inherent in the domain assumptions in Sociology. v. How statements are organized into formats in sociological theory? vi. Define sociological theory. Discuss its features and types. C. Essay Type Question (20 marks) i. How did different perspectives develop in Sociology? ii. Write an essay on the development of theory in Sociology. iii. Discuss critically how different perspectives in Sociology attempt to understand social reality.
26 NSOU CC - SO - 03 1.12 References Bottomore, T. B. (1971). Sociology: A Guide to Problems and Literature (Chapter 2 pp.29-47), London: Allen and Unwin Gouldner, A. (1977). Sociology's Basic Assumptions. In Thompson, Kenneth and Jeremy Tunstal (eds.). Sociological Perspectives. (Pp. 13-17). New York: Penguin Books Ltd. Turner , J. H. (1974). The Structure of Sociological Theory (3 rd edition), Dorsey series in sociology, USA: Dorsey Press 1.13 Suggested Readings Abraham, M.F. (1982). Modern Sociological Theory-An Introduction (pp. 1-38). NY: Oxford University Press. Wallace, R. A. & Wolf, A. (2006). Contemporary Sociological Theory-Expanding the Classical Tradition (pp. 1-24). New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall. https://www.britannica.com/topic/ 1.14 Glossary Sociology The scientific understanding of society, i.e., the web of human interrelationships arising out of human interactions Sociological perspective A broad viewpoint, or lens that permits social scientists to have a wide range of tools to describe society, and then to build hypotheses and theories. There are different perspectives in sociology to understand social phenomena. These are also considered as guiding principles or belief systems. In the sociological texts, the word 'perspective' is used interchangeably with paradigm, theory, or approach. Enlightenment An intellectual movement in 18th century Europe. The Enlightenment Philosophers offered reason and empiricism (importance of fact, proof, evidence) to be the twin pillars of knowledge; advocated strong arguments in favour of individual freedom and liberty; emphasized on human capability in controlling the world around them and strived for seeking true knowledge in every sphere by mastering the skill and methods of natural sciences.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 27
Theory A theory is

81% **MATCHING BLOCK 73/320** W

a set of interrelated concepts used to describe, explain, and predict how society and its parts are related to each other. Sociological theories are sets of interrelated concepts and ideas that have been scientifically tested and combined to clarify, and expand our understanding of people, their behaviours, and their societies.

Concept

94% **MATCHING BLOCK 61/320** W

Concepts denote phenomena. A concept describes the aspects of the social world that are considered essential for a particular purpose. Concepts are constructed from definitions.

It enables all investigators universally and instantaneously to point at

100% **MATCHING BLOCK 62/320** W

the same thing and to understand what it is that is being studied.

The concepts of theory are of two types: concrete and abstract. Definition A statement or system of terms used to express the meaning of a word or word group or a sign or symbol; a statement expressing the essential nature of something that allows visualizing the phenomenon that is denoted by a concept. Variables

100% **MATCHING BLOCK 63/320** W

Concepts that denote properties as size, weight, density, velocity etc. refer to differences in degree among phenomena.

This type of concepts is called variable, which aims at describing varying states of particular events denoted by concepts. Statement

85% **MATCHING BLOCK 64/320** W

The concepts of theory must be connected to one another and these connections among concepts constitute theoretical statements. These statements

not only identify

76% **MATCHING BLOCK 65/320** W

the way in which events denoted by concepts are interrelated, they also provide an understanding of how and why events should be connected.

Format When

100% **MATCHING BLOCK 66/320** W

these theoretical statements are grouped together, they constitute a theoretical format. .

100% **MATCHING BLOCK 67/320** W

There are five basic approaches in sociological theory for generating theoretical statements and formats: (1)

meta-theoretical schemes, (2) analytical schemes, (3) discursive schemes, (4) propositional schemes, and (5) modelling schemes. Speculative

100% **MATCHING BLOCK 68/320** W

Theories Speculative theories are abstract, impressionistic and rooted in a philosophical system.

94% **MATCHING BLOCK 69/320** W

These are essentially theories generated by logical deduction from a priori assumptions. They are based on certain methodological and philosophical assumptions and generate theoretical entities and conceptual schemes 28

NSOU CC - SO - 03 Grounded Theories

95% **MATCHING BLOCK 70/320** W

Grounded theories, on the other hand, are based on the findings of empirical research and they are appropriate to their specific uses. They produce specific sociological laws, principles and empirical generalizations. Grounded theory is

partly a theoretical framework and partly research methodology. Grand

90%	MATCHING BLOCK 71/320	W

Theory A grand theory is a broad conceptual scheme with systems of interrelated propositions that provide a general frame of reference for the study of social processes and institutions. The grand theory is rooted in the empirical world

and provides a master scheme of general sociological orientations. Miniature Theory

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 72/320	W

Miniature theories are what Merton called as Middle range theories,

i.e.,

93%	MATCHING BLOCK 82/320	W

theories intermediate to the minor working hypotheses evolved during the day-to-day routines of research, and the all inclusive speculations comprising a master speculative scheme from which it is supposed to derive a very large number of empirically observable uniformities of social behaviour.

Macro Theories Macro theories are broader in scope and encompass an

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 74/320	W

array of laws while micro theories have a narrower frame of reference. Macro theories are concerned with total societal patterns. Theories of society, culture and institutions constitute the tradition of macro sociology. Micro

Theories

92%	MATCHING BLOCK 75/320	W

Micro sociology is concerned with interactions among the units of society. Small group theories represent the micro tradition in contemporary sociology

Function

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 76/320	W

A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part,

in order to maintain the unity of the system.

88%	MATCHING BLOCK 77/320	W

Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

social needs. The basic concern of functionalism is to explain

90%	MATCHING BLOCK 78/320	W

the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued survival over time.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 29

96%	MATCHING BLOCK 79/320	W

Societies are seen as coherent, bounded and essentially relational constructs that function like organisms, with their various parts or social institutions working together to maintain and reproduce them. The various parts of society are assumed to work for the overall social equilibrium

Structuralism An important theoretical approach to the concept of social structure is structuralism, which studies the underlying, unconscious regularities of human expression-that is, the unobservable structures that have observable effects on behaviour, society, and culture. Conflict theory The conflict perspective views society as composed of different groups with varying interests competing for power and resources.

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 80/320	W

Conflict Theory claims that society is in a state of perpetual conflict and competition for limited resources.

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 81/320	W

Change occurs as a result of conflict between competing interests

and it is often abrupt and revolutionary rather than evolutionary Symbolic Interactionism It is a micro action theory and is interpretative rather than objective in nature. It is a perspective that views society as the product of human interactions, and the meanings that individuals attach on those interactions. Instead of trying to explain human behaviour in the context of large social structures or fundamental conflicts in society, they look on a smaller level, suggesting that human beings have agency and are not always swayed by the forces outside their control; and they can create their own meanings.
30 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Unit - 2 General Arguments of Functionalism Structure 2.1 Objectives 2.2 Introduction 2.3 Structural Functionalism 2.4 Functionalism Defined 2.5 General Arguments 2.6 Conclusions 2.7 Summary 2.8 Questions 2.9 References 2.10 Glossary 2.1 Objectives Helping students to understand: The meaning and importance of the concept 'function' in sociological theory Background and Development of functionalism as a theory Basic assumptions and features of Functional theory Development of Structural Functionalism- its basic features How functional theory views society Importance of Functional theory in sociology 2.2 Introduction: Theories in sociology offer different perspectives which allow the readers to view our social world and human behaviour in it from different aspects. A perspective is simply a way of looking at the world. A theory is a set

86%	MATCHING BLOCK 83/320	SA	Four sociological theories.docx (D147302220)

of interrelated propositions or principles designed to answer a question or explain a particular phenomenon;

and it comes out with a perspective. Sociological theories help us to explain and predict the social world
NSOU CC - SO - 03 31 in which we live. Functionalism or Functional perspective is the oldest and till date, one of the most dominant perspectives in sociology, as other perspectives in the discipline emerged either as a challenge to or in support of it. Abandoning the numerous partial explanations and deterministic theories (e.g. of classical economic theory: man as economic being- rational and utilitarian pursuing his self-interest and social order emerging out from open competition in free markets), when social science was looking for a more comprehensive theoretical and methodological tool for the analysis of various social phenomena and their interrelatedness, functionalism emerged in the tradition of great sociological theories deliberating its own orientation to that great convention while continually developing them (Eisenstadt 1976:181). It offers sociology a new and powerful paradigm to explain a wider variety of social events; and the nature of its investigation involves: i) examining the role that any social phenomenon (institution, activity, event, behaviour and so on) plays in society and the way it is related to other social phenomena; and ii) explaining it in essentially social terms (Davis 1959:757772). The functionalist perspective sees

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society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability.

This approach looks at society through a macro-level orientation and broadly focuses on the social structures that shape society as a whole.

48%	MATCHING BLOCK 90/320	SA	Four sociological theories.docx (D147302220)

The functionalist perspective is based largely on the works of Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, and Robert Merton. Functionalism views society as a system of interconnected parts that work together in harmony to maintain a state of balance and social equilibrium for the whole.

According to this approach, each of the social institutions contributes important functions for society. As for example, family provides a context for reproducing, nurturing, and socializing children; education offers a way to pass on a society's skills, knowledge, and culture to its younger generation; politics offers a means of governing members of society; economics contributes in the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services; and religion stands to provide moral guidance and an outlet for worship of a higher power, thus promoting solidarity. The quest for social order (or how society remains relatively stable) led the classical sociologists (who were also the early functionalists) like Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim etc. to borrow heavily from the Biological Sciences, especially the extension of the many analogies between society and organism (Spencer's organismic analogy and social evolutionism, Durkheim's concept of organic solidarity etc.), and offer the view that: i) society is more than the summation of its parts (primarily institutions); ii) it is independent and existing of itself (suigeneris meaning 'in and of itself'); iii)
32 NSOU CC - SO - 03 each of the constituent parts

80%	MATCHING BLOCK 85/320	W

of society is organized to meet different needs and each has particular consequences for the form and shape of society;

and iv) it is the parts, which being mutually interdependent and interconnected to each other, contribute to the maintenance of the social whole which they belong to.

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 86/320	W

Thus functionalism is simply a view of society as a self- regulating system of interrelated elements with structured social relationships and observed regularities. Functionalism

is often named as a consensus theory as it is characterized by the idea that society requires shared norms and values in order to function properly. Institutions in society (such as the family, education, the media, etc.) have clear social functions, which ensure there is a broad consensus about the norms and values of society and which enable organic and orderly social change. Functionalists often use the human body or organic analogy to explain how the different aspects of society are all interconnected and interdependent and problems in one area of society might be symptoms of dysfunction elsewhere. 2.3 Structural Functionalism This perspective is often called "structural functionalism", as it focuses, firstly, on the functional requisites, or "needs", of a social system that must be satisfied for the survival of the system as a whole; and secondly, on the relating structures that meet these requisites. Functionalism perceives the task of sociological analysis as to look for and study the social structures that perform the tasks that are necessary requisites for the sustenance of the social system. Over the years, functionalism manifests itself in a great variety of approaches so as to influence and in return being flourished by the field of social anthropology as well (e.g. B. Malinowski's individualistic functionalism which treats

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 87/320	W

social and cultural systems as collective responses to fundamental biological needs of individuals modified by cultural values;

and R. Brown's emphasis on

81%	MATCHING BLOCK 88/320	W

structured social relationships which focuses on the function of each element in the maintenance and development of a total structure); and

two major theorists of this perspective, namely Robert K. Merton and Talcott Parsons have often been referred to as structural Functionalists. The uniqueness of the structural functional model also lies in the fact that its origin and development can be traced from a variety of authors and their intellectual theoretical writings. In 1945, Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore published a famous paper, which was a short summary of their theses on social stratification; and that is considered as one of the important contributions in the realm of structural functionalism. Robert Merton is another well known social anthropologist, who provided some important structural functional theoretical statements. Including Talcott Parsons and Robert K, Merton, all

NSOU CC - SO - 03 33 of these theorists pursued their academic career mostly in the United States; and hence, this approach is often associated with sociology in the United States. Wallace and Wolf (2006) have mapped out the path of development of structural functionalism from the writings of classical sociologists like, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, and Durkheim, who were of European origin. Later, the functional approach was developed from the 1930s through the 1960s in the United States. Parsons studied Durkheim and Weber, and translated some of their writings into English. Parsons thus became a major interpreter of these European theorists in America, and his interpretation may be considered to have developed the influence of these writers in a particular way. Although a liberal within the American context, Parsons used concepts and models from Weber and Durkheim to establish a sociological approach which countered the Marxian view. It was the sociological approach that dominated entire American sociology from the 1940s through to the early 1970s so strongly that without a few exceptions, Marxian concepts and approaches were almost entirely absent from sociology textbooks. While this approach was not conservative in the sense that it never called for return to an earlier society, it also did not advocate for or offer support to any radical change. Politically, it was harmonized with the cold war liberal and pluralist political approach that became dominant in American universities during this period. Part of this was also aimed at countering any influence of communism, socialism, or Marxism. In the 1960s, the structural functional approach started encountering multiple attacks from theoretical and political stances and ultimately was discredited. It was unable to explain a number of features of American society, such as poverty, social change, dissent, and the continuing influence and political and economic power of the wealthy. As sociologists began to read more of Weber and Durkheim, it became clear that the structural functional interpretation missed much of the subtlety of these writers. Marxist analysis of social structure and social change also attracted scholars of social science. Further, feminist approaches debated continuously against functionalism, arguing that the structural functionalists provided a rationalization for male privilege and ignored the past and potential contributions of women. Functionalism was not as influential among Canadian sociologists as in case of the sociologists of the United States. Sociology in Canada was influenced by some of the British and European approaches. The structural functional model also did not seem to have the same applicability here as in the U.S. partly because equality of opportunity and individualism were not as highly developed here. The different ethnic groups and their history have also been considerably different in Canada than in the United States. When Canadian sociology did develop, some of the political economic approaches were
34 NSOU CC - SO - 03 incorporated into Canadian sociology to create a somewhat different discipline than in the U.S. As a consequence of challenges and disputes in the 1970s, structural functionalism became unpopular in the realm of sociology. However, it is still an important model in the study of sociology. First, outside sociology itself, structural functional approach received growing acceptance. In addition, some of the structural functional arguments are used by those in power to justify inequalities and explain the value of their contribution to society. This is a consensus model, one which can be used to support the social order. Second, it may be regarded as the sociological equivalent of many economic models of inequality. In particular, it fits well with the human capital model of education and the economy and complements some models of liberalism in the political sphere. For example, the notion of equality of opportunity should be a crucial part of this model. Third, even though it may provide an inadequate model of explanation, it may be useful as a model for description. Much of the quantitative information concerning the structure of society has been developed by sociologists working in the functionalist perspective. While the exact connection of these quantitative studies to the structural functional approach may not be clear, much quantitative analysis makes many of the same assumptions as do functionalists. Some of these have provided very useful data for understanding society and investigating the nature of social inequality. 2.4 Functionalism Defined What is functionalism? A Modern Dictionary of Sociology defines functionalism as, "The analysis of social and cultural phenomena in terms of the functions they perform in sociocultural system. In functionalism, society is conceived of as a system of interrelated parts in which no part can be understood in the isolation from the whole. A change in any part is seen as leading to a certain degree of imbalance, which in turn results in changes in other parts of the system and to some extent to a reorganization of the system as a whole." (Theodorson and Theodorson 1969:167) The functionalist perspective highlights the interconnectedness of society by focusing on how each part influences and in return, is influenced by other parts. For example, the increase in single-parent and dual-earner families has resulted in less availability of parental care to children's homework and study, which in turn contributed to the number of children who are failing in school. As a result of changes in technology, colleges are offering more vocational training programs, and many adults are returning to these
NSOU CC - SO - 03 35 educational institutions to learn new skills that are required in the workplace. The increasing number of women in the workforce has led to the formulation of policies against sexual harassment and job discrimination. Functionalism is

90%	MATCHING BLOCK 89/320	W

concerned with the overall features of social structure and the general nature of social institutions;

hence it falls under the category of macro-sociological theory. In functionalist theory, the different parts of society are primarily composed of social institutions, each considered to fulfil different needs. Family, government, economy, media, education, and religion- all institutions are important to the understanding of this theory. According to functionalism, an institution only exists because it serves a fundamental role in the functioning of society. If it no longer serves a role, an institution will die away. When new needs evolve or emerge, new institutions will be created to meet them.

88%	MATCHING BLOCK 91/320	SA	Four sociological theories.docx (D147302220)

Functionalists use the terms functional and dysfunctional to describe the effects of social elements on society. Elements of society are functional if they contribute to social stability and dysfunctional if they disrupt social stability.

Some aspects of society can be both functional and dysfunctional. For example, crime is dysfunctional in that it is associated with physical violence, loss of property, and fear. But according to Durkheim and other functionalists, crime is also functional for society because it leads

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to heightened awareness of shared moral bonds and increased social cohesion.

Following the above stated definition, we can define function as any act or event or process that is contributing for the maintenance of the whole. Accordingly, the act or event which is not contributing to the maintenance of the whole, and/or which is interrupting or contrary to the maintenance of the stability of the whole is referred to as dysfunction; and these ultimately leads to reorganization of the parts in order to bring back social stability. Thus, while focusing primarily on social order, stability and equilibrium, functionalism recognizes and provides answer to social change as well.

72%	MATCHING BLOCK 92/320	W

Functionalism emphasizes the harmony and order that exist in society, focusing on social stability and shared community values. From this perspective, disorganization in the system, such as deviant behaviour, leads to change because

social

76%	MATCHING BLOCK 93/320	W

components must adjust to attain stability. When one part of the system is dysfunctional, it affects all other parts and creates social problems, prompting social change. 2.5

General Arguments Sociologists have further identified two types of functions: manifest and latent (Merton 1968). Manifest functions are consequences that are intended and commonly recognized. Latent functions are consequences that are unintended and often hidden. For example, the manifest function of education is to spread knowledge and skills to society's young generation. But pre-primary schools also serve as babysitters for parents engaged in
36 NSOU CC - SO - 03 different works, and colleges offer a place for young adults to grow political orientations. The baby-sitting and political functions are not the intended or commonly recognized functions of education; hence they are latent functions. (Mooney, Knox, and Schacht, 2007) The basic assumptions of functionalism are as follows: i. The parts of a social system are mutually interrelated and interdependent. ii. A social system tends to retain a 'normal' state of affairs, or state of equilibrium, comparable to the normal or healthy organism. iii. There is a way by which all parts of a system tend to reorganize in order to maintain the state of equilibrium. That means,

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if all goes well, the parts of society produce order, stability, and productivity. If all does not go well, the parts of society then must adapt to recapture a new order, stability, and productivity.

iv.

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Social consensus, order and integration are key beliefs of functionalism as this allows society to continue and progress because there are shared norms and values that mean all individuals have a common goal and have a vested interest in conforming and thus conflict is minimal.

v Some basic features of structural functionalism that became popular from the 1930s as the dominant theoretical approach in American Sociology are as follows: i. The theorists

98% **MATCHING BLOCK 96/320** W

coined pivotal concepts, such as 'role', 'norms', and 'social systems' that came to form the basic building blocks of contemporary sociology. Moreover, a few concepts

used by the theorists,

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such as 'role model' and 'self –fulfilling prophecy', have entered our colloquial vocabulary as well. ii. It is most well known not for the specific concepts that it introduced but rather for the meta-theoretical framework on which it is based.

iii. It envisions society as a system of interrelated parts, and it emphasizes

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how the different parts work together for the good of the system. The classic structural functionalist image of society is as an organism such as body, with different parts working together

in

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an interdependent way. iv. In addition, structural functionalism emphasizes 'systems within system'. For instance, while

a College

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can be considered its own self contained 'system' or unit, it is also a component of

the University to which it is affiliated; the University is the component of the Higher Education system of a state; again the Higher Educational system is one component of the whole Education system of the state; as well as the Administrative system, Legal system, Judicial system, Economic system etc. are components of a larger social system as a whole, the State. v. It typically emphasizes how the various systems and sub systems work together.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 37 2.6 Conclusion We have tried introducing you to the concept of function in sociological theory. We have traced the emergence and development of functionalism as a theory. We tried outlining the general arguments of functional theory. We also trained the development of structural functionalism as well as briefed you about its features. Therefore, functionalism is a theory that attempts to explain the apparent stability and internal integeration of society as well as to create and restore equilibrium. 2.7 Summary We spoke here about functionalism in general and as well as structuralism. We explained their in general arguments and characteristics 2.8 Questions A. Answer briefly (6 marks) i. What do you understand by functionalist perspective in sociology? ii. Write a short note on importance of the concept of function in sociology. iii. What do you understand by structural functionalism? What are its main features? B. Answer in detail. (12 marks) i. How is Functionalism related to Biology? -Explain in detail. ii. Discuss the path of development and importance of Structural Functionalism in Sociology. iii. Discuss the nature of investigation offered by functional perspective in Sociology. C. Essay Type Question. (20marks) i. Explain in detail how functionalism as a theory and methodology views society. ii. Critically evaluate the importance of functional perspective in Sociology. 2.9 References: Davis, K. (1959). The Myth of Functional Analysis as a Special Method in Sociology and Anthropology. American Sociological Review 24, 757-72.
38 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Eisenstadt, S.N. (1976). The Form of Sociology: Paradigms and crises (p.181). New York: John Willey and Sons.

76% **MATCHING BLOCK 102/320** W

Merton, R.K. (1957). Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe Illinois: The Free Press

Theodorson, G.A. & Theodorson, A.S. (Eds.). (1969). A modern Dictionary of Sociology (p.167). New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. Wallace, R. A. & Wolf, A. (2006). Contemporary Sociological Theory- Expanding the Classical Tradition (pp. 26). New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall. Mooney, L. A., Knox, D. & Schacht, C. (2007). Understanding Social Problems (5th edition). U.S.: Thompson/Wadsworth Suggested Reading:

66% **MATCHING BLOCK 121/320** W

Abraham, M.F. (1982). Modern Sociological Theory- An Introduction (pp. 1-38). NY: Oxford University Press. Turner, J. H. (1974). The Structure of Sociological Theory (3

rd edition), Dorsey series in sociology, USA: Dorsey Press Wallace, R. A. & Wolf, A. (2006). Contemporary Sociological Theory- Expanding the Classical Tradition (pp. 26). New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall. https://www.britannica.com 2.10 Glossary Sociology The scientific understanding of society, i.e., the web of human interrelationships arising out of human interactions Sociological perspective A broad viewpoint, or lens that permits social scientists to have a wide range of tools to describe society, and then to build hypotheses and theories. There are different perspectives in sociology to understand social phenomena. These are also considered as guiding principles or belief systems. In the sociological texts, the word 'perspective' is used interchangeably with paradigm, theory, or approach. Enlightenment An intellectual movement in 18 th century Europe. The Enlightenment Philosophers offered reason and empiricism (importance of fact, proof, evidence) to be the twin pillars of knowledge; advocated strong arguments in favour of individual freedom and liberty; emphasized
NSOU CC - SO - 03 39 on human capability in controlling the world around them and strived for seeking true knowledge in every sphere by mastering the skill and methods of natural sciences.
Theory A theory is

81% **MATCHING BLOCK 103/320** W

a set of interrelated concepts used to describe, explain, and predict how society and its parts are related to each other. Sociological theories are sets of interrelated concepts and ideas that have been scientifically tested and combined to clarify, and expand our understanding of people, their behaviours, and their societies.

Concept

94% **MATCHING BLOCK 104/320** W

Concepts denote phenomena. A concept describes the aspects of the social world that are considered essential for a particular purpose. Concepts are constructed from definitions.

It enables all investigators universally and instantaneously to point at

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the same thing and to understand what it is that is being studied.

The concepts of theory are of two types: concrete and abstract. Definition A statement or system of terms used to express the meaning of a word or word group or a sign or symbol; a statement expressing the essential nature of something that allows visualizing the phenomenon that is denoted by a concept. Variables

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Concepts that denote properties as size, weight, density, velocity etc. refer to differences in degree among phenomena.

This type of concepts is called variable, which aims at describing varying states of particular events denoted by concepts. Statement

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The concepts of theory must be connected to one another and these connections among concepts constitute theoretical statements. These statements

not only identify

76% **MATCHING BLOCK 108/320** W

the way in which events denoted by concepts are interrelated, they also provide an understanding of how and why events should be connected.

Format When

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these theoretical statements are grouped together, they constitute a theoretical format. .

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There are five basic approaches in sociological theory for generating theoretical statements and formats: (1)

meta- theoretical schemes, (2) analytical schemes, (3) discursive schemes, (4) propositional schemes, and (5) modelling schemes. 40 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Speculative

100%	MATCHING BLOCK 111/320	W

Theories Speculative theories are abstract, impressionistic and rooted in a philosophical system.

95%	MATCHING BLOCK 112/320	W

These are essentially theories generated by logical deduction from a priori assumptions. They are based on certain methodological and philosophical assumptions and generate theoretical entities and conceptual schemes Grounded Theories

95%	MATCHING BLOCK 113/320	W

Grounded theories, on the other hand, are based on the findings of empirical research and they are appropriate to their specific uses. They produce specific sociological laws, principles and empirical generalizations. Grounded theory is

partly a theoretical framework and partly research methodology. Grand

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Theory A grand theory is a broad conceptual scheme with systems of interrelated propositions that provide a general frame of reference for the study of social processes and institutions. The grand theory is rooted in the empirical world

and provides a master scheme of general sociological orientations. Miniature Theory

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Miniature theories are what Merton called as Middle range theories,

i.e.,

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theories intermediate to the minor working hypotheses evolved during the day-to-day routines of research, and the all inclusive speculations comprising a master speculative scheme from which it is supposed to derive a very large number of empirically observable uniformities of social behaviour.

Macro Theories Macro theories are broader in scope and encompass an

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array of laws while micro theories have a narrower frame of reference. Macro theories are concerned with total societal patterns. Theories of society, culture and institutions constitute the tradition of macro sociology. Micro

Theories

92% **MATCHING BLOCK 118/320** W

Micro sociology is concerned with interactions among the units of society. Small group theories represent the micro tradition in contemporary sociology

Function

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A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part,

in order to maintain the unity of the system.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 41

88% **MATCHING BLOCK 120/320** W

Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

social needs. The basic concern of functionalism is to explain

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the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued survival over time.

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Societies are seen as coherent, bounded and essentially relational constructs that function like organisms, with their various parts or social institutions working together to maintain and reproduce them. The various parts of society are assumed to work for the overall social equilibrium.

An important theoretical approach to the concept of social structure is structuralism, which studies the underlying, unconscious regularities of human expression—that is, the unobservable structures that have observable effects on behaviour, society, and culture. Conflict theory The conflict perspective views society as composed of different groups with varying interests competing for power and resources.

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Conflict Theory claims that society is in a state of perpetual conflict and competition for limited resources.

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Change occurs as a result of conflict between competing interests

and it is often abrupt and revolutionary rather than evolutionary Symbolic Interactionism It is a micro action theory and is interpretative rather than objective in nature. It is a perspective that views society as the product of human interactions, and the meanings that individuals attach on those interactions. Instead of trying to explain human behaviour in the context of large social structures or fundamental conflicts in society, they look on a smaller level, suggesting that human beings have agency and are not always swayed by the forces outside their control; and they can create their own meanings.
42 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Unit - 3 Two Major Functionalists-Talcott Parsons & R. K. Merton Structure 3.1 Objectives 3.2 Introduction 3.3 Theory of Functionalism by Talcott Parsons 3.3.1 Theory of Action 3.3.2 Theory of Social System 3.3.3 The Pattern Variables 3.3.4 The functional system problem- AGIL 3.4 Criticism of Parsons' functionalism 3.5 Contribution of Talcott Parsons: An Overview 3.6 Functionalism of Robert King Merton : A General Introduction 3.7 Contribution of Merton in Functionalism 3.7.1 Concepts of Dysfunction and Manifest vs. Latent Functions 3.7.2 Functional Alternatives 3.8 Protocol for Executing Functional Anylsis 3.9 Illustrating Merton's Functional Strategy 3.10 Conclusions 3.11 Summary 3.12 Questions 3.13 References 3.14 Suggested Readings 3.15 Glossary

NSOU CC - SO - 03 43 3.1 Objectives Helping students to understand: The life and works of Talcott Parsons and R.K. Merton Influence and inspiration behind the theoretical contributions of Parsons and Merton Concept of social action, system and sub-systems of society, integration between social action and social system and the problem of functional integration in the system model as depicted by Parsons The importance and influence of the Functional theory developed by Parsons in the realm of social science Robert King Merton's propagation of middle range theory as an alternative to grand theories of society as given by Parsons and his predecessors Merton's paradigm for analysing society while criticizing his predecessors' emphasis on the unity, universality and indispensability of functional items Some new concepts introduced by Merton in the realm of functionalism and importance of Merton's work in development of functional perspective 3.2 Introduction Talcott Parsons (1902-1979), an American sociologist, born and brought up in a Colorado Spring

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liberal household, in which morality, modern industrial system, economic individualism and exploitation of labour were topics of concern,

received his formal education in

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the natural sciences, particularly biology, as well as philosophy and social sciences. He graduated from London School of Economics in the year 1924. In 1927 he

was awarded a doctoral degree

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from Hiedelberg University. He began his teaching at Harvard University

in 1927 and taught there until his retirement as a professor emeritus in 1973. His important works include: a. The Structure of social action (1937) b. Theory of social and economic organizations (1947) with A M Henderson; translation of the original work by Max Weber. c. Essays in sociological theory (1949) d. Family : Socialization and Interaction Process (1955)
44 NSOU CC - SO - 03 e. Politics and Social Structure (1969) f. The System of Modern Societies (1970) g. The Evolution of Societies (1977) 3.3 Theory of Functionalism by Talcott Parsons Parson's sociology was highly influenced by the works of classical European sociologists like Durkheim and Weber. Concepts such as order, solidarity and integration, which dominate his theoretical writings, are clear indication of Durkheimian tradition. The contribution of Weber in Parsons is also apparent in several ways: First, Weber was concerned with (i) analysis of social structures as a whole; and (ii) social action. Parsons refers to his own theory as action theory and his theoretical approach as a general theory of action system. He argues that social phenomena must be understood in terms of individual meaning, but also must be examined at the "level of collective action among groupings of actors." (Turner 1974: 47). Like Weber, Parsons is concerned with the question, "how do the subjective states of actors influence emergent patterns of social organization, and vice versa?" (Turner 1974: 47). Second, Parsons develops many concepts and elaborates conceptual schemes that resemble the Weberian scheme of ideal types. These concepts are built to emphasize important features of social systems, and of the type that Parsons considers to be important for purposes of his analysis of social integration; and serve in different contexts as important means of comparing concrete situations, to see the extent to which the concrete data conform or deviate from these ideal types. (Turner 1974: 47-8). Parson's contribution in functionalism can be discussed under four broad headings: A) Theory of action, B) Theory of social system, C) The pattern variables, D) The functional system problems- AGIL. 3.3.1 Theory of Action In his The Structure of Social Action (1937), Parsons states that action must not be viewed in isolation. Society, which is

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affected by environments, heredity and culture on the one hand and religious, metaphysical and political systems on the other,

embraces the entire social field of man; it covers and touches all relationship, and thereby all interactions of man with man. According to Parsons, actions are not empirically discrete but occur in constellations that we call systems. He

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defined social action as a process in the actor situation system which has motivational significance to the individual actor or
NSOU CC - SO - 03 45 in the case of collectivity, its component individuals. Social actions are concerned with organism (actor/s),

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actor's relations with other persons, and social institutions. Parsons used the term "unit act" to refer to a process involving: i) a hypothetical

actor, motivated to spend energy for reaching ii) a desirable goal as defined by the cultural system s/he belongs to, in iii) a hypothetical situation including means (facilities, tools or resources available) and conditions (obstacles that may arise in the path) and iv) the normative standards of the social system (the most important element in Parson's theory of action) , which regulates all the three aforementioned elements.

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Instead of constructing action in terms of something concrete Parsons conceptualized action systems as a means for analyzing social phenomena. Parsons (1937)

and later, Parsons and Shils in Towards a General Theory of Action (1951)

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further maintain that actions are organized into three modes or realms: social systems, personality systems and cultural systems. These systems are analytically rather than empirically distinct;

and

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these systems are not physically separate entities but rather a simplified model of society that Parsons and Shils (ibid) use to explain the organization of action.

However, for Parsons, the three systems: social systems, personality systems and cultural systems are intertwined to encompass all actions of the behavioural organisms and thereby all social life. Fig. 2.1 Theory of Action
46 NSOU CC - SO - 03 3.3.2 Theory of social system The concept of social system lies at the core of any discussion of Parsonian theory. In The Social System he shifts his emphasis from 'unit acts' to institutional orders and the system becomes the primary unit of analysis. For Parsons, there are many systems or action systems. A system is something that has a boundary, so that there is an inside and an outside to the environment comprising the system. Examples of systems are the social, cultural, and personality systems (Wallace and Wolf 2006: 28). Systems have interdependent parts, order or equilibrium, and a tendency to maintain the boundaries and relations of the parts to the whole. These could be the society as a whole, structures or institutions within society (economy, legal system, religious institutions), or smaller subsystems (family or individual) that form part of society. These are action systems in the sense that they involve social action, and each system has certain needs or conditions that are necessary for the survival and continued operation of the system. Systems also have goals that may be created as a result of needs and desires of members of these systems. However, Parson's concept of 'social system' is an analytical conceptual framework; not an empirical referent. As stated earlier, the general theory of action, in which Parsons offers the overall picture of how societies are structured and fit together, includes four levels of system: the cultural system, the social system, the personality system and the behavioural organism as a system. The cultural system: the basic unit of analysis at this level is 'meaning' or 'symbolic system' (e.g. language, national flag, national values etc.). At this level, Parsons focuses on the shared values. According to him, cultural traditions are made up of shared symbolic systems. A key concept here is socialization, the process by which societal values are internalized by the members of a society; and they grasp the values as their own. For Parsons, socialization is the powerful integrative force for maintaining social control and holding a society together (Wallace and Wolf 2006:26) The social system: In his scheme, Parsons has elaborated this level the most. Here the basic unit is 'role interaction'. According to Parsons, "a social system consists in a plurality of social

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actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, actors who are motivated in terms of tendency to the 'optimization of gratification' and whose relations to

the

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situations, including each other, is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols." (Parsons 1951:5). Thus a social system

can be made up of two people interacting with each other to the relationship within a nation, where the actors are members of a nation. The relationship between the cultural and social systems is apparent from the reference to "culturally structured and shared symbols" that defines the way actors interact.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 47 The personality system: Here the basic unit is individual actor, the human person. At this level Parsons focuses on individual needs, motives, and attitudes, which are referred to as the "tendency to the 'optimization of gratification'" in his definition of social action. The behavioural organism: in this fourth system level the basic unit is the human being in its biological sense, i.e., the physical aspect o the human person, including the organic and physical environment in which the human being lives. Parsons here referred explicitly to the organism's central nervous system and motor activity. (Parsons 1971:5) Parson's view of socialization helps illustrating the interrelatedness of these four systems. At birth a human being is simply a behavioural organism; as s/he develops among other actors (human beings) s/he gains any personal identity. Through the process of socialization s/he internalizes the values of the society, i.e., s/he makes the social values of the cultural system her/his own by learning from other actors in the social system what is expected from her/him. Thus s/he learns role expectations and becomes full participant in the society. Therefore, we find that the values come from the cultural system; the normative or role expectations are learned from the social system; the individual identity comes from the personality system; and the biological equipment comes from the behavioural organism. 3.3.3 The

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Pattern Variables In Toward a General Theory of Action (1951), Parsons and Shils develop a set of concepts called the pattern variables. The pattern variables are a dichotomous set of five-

fold choices that categorizes expectations and structure of relationships; and is applicable

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not only to the individual level but to the collective level as well. They refer at once to the variant normative priorities of social system, the dominant modes of orientation in personality systems, and the patterns of values in cultural systems.

Parsons defines

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a pattern variable as a dichotomy, one side of which must be chosen by an actor before the meaning of a situation is determinate for him, and thus

before he can act with respect to the situation. It

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describes alternatives of action between which each person (and group) has to choose in every situation. The actions are shaped by the three systems: personality, cultural, and social.

Following are the five-fold pattern variables described by Parsons: 1. Affectivity/ Affective-Neutrality: It concerns the amount of emotion or affect that is appropriate in a given interaction situation. For example, a mother is expected to express a great deal of emotion in her interaction with her baby; but a teacher
48 NSOU CC - SO - 03 examining answer sheets of students, or an employee in a bureaucratic organization

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is expected to be emotionally "neutral". 2. Self-orientation/Collectivity-orientation:

It denotes the extent to which action is to be oriented to self-interest and individual goals or to group interest or goals. For example, a person buys from a market objects of his/her own need, interest and choice (Self-orientation); whereas, a person donates a good sum or offers a good deal of own labour for the preparation of community festival (Collectivity- orientation). 3. Universalism/Particularism: It points to the problem of whether evaluation and judgment of others in an interaction situation is to be applied to all actors or should all actors be assessed in terms of the same standards. For example, the rights, duties and obligation of a doctor to his/her patients are same irrespective of the caste, creed, race, nationality, gender and religion of the doctor and the patient and it is the illustration of Universalism; whereas, a person offering special support and care to his/her ailing friend is an instance of Particularism. 4. Ascription/Achievement: It deals with the issue of how to assess an actor, whether in terms of his/her performance or on the basis of his/her qualities attributed to him/her at birth (e.g. age, sex, race, caste, family status etc.). For example, being eligible for casting vote depends on attaining a specified age (Ascription); whereas, being eligible for a job position or receiving an academic degree depends on a person's performances (Achievement). 5. Specificity/Diffuseness: it denotes the problem of how far reaching obligations in an interaction situation are to be. Should the obligations be narrow and specific, or should they be extensive and diffuse? For example, clerk/customer role-relations and Teacher/student role-relations which have narrowly and clearly defined criteria for interaction (specificity); whereas, a group of students

89% **MATCHING BLOCK 142/320** W

becoming friends with a teacher go beyond the clear boundaries of teacher/student relation (

Diffuseness). Parsons' conceptualization of pattern variables was inspired by

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a renowned dichotomy first formulated by the German theorist Ferdinand Tonnies,

who distinguished between Gemeinschaft (community) and Gesellschaft (purposive association). Emile Durkheim's conceptualization of "mechanical" versus "organic solidarity" also had a profound influence on Parsons.

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According to these classic dichotomies, modern societies are based on individualistic "purposiveness" and functional interdependence, whereas traditional societies are rooted in collectivistic "sameness" (or community) and an intense feeling of community.

Though, both the choices in each set

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of pattern variables are perceptible NSOU CC - SO - 03 49 in contemporary society at all three levels (social, cultural and personality), the

dichotomy lies in the fact that while one choice of each set matches more to the values of pre- modern societies (e.g. affectivity, ascription, specificity etc.) the other (e.g. affective- neutrality, achievement, diffuseness etc.) suits more with the values of contemporary modern society. In The Social System, Parsons illustrates pattern variables as value orientations that encompass the norms of the social system and the decisions of the personality system. Thus, the structure of the personality and the social system is considered by Parsons, as a reflection of the dominant pattern of value orientation in culture. Parsons, in his later works, explicitly emphasizes on the impact of cultural patterns on regulating and controlling other systems of action. Integration among systems and action: Parsons now returns to the vital question which has guided all his subsequent theoretical formulation: How do social systems survive? Why do institutionalized patterns of interaction persist? More specifically, how do systems resolve the problem of integration? Parsons emphasizes on the equilibrating tendencies of social systems, which leads to severe criticisms against him by scholars of different sociological perspectives. However, at the most abstract level Parsons conceptualizes two mechanisms that integrate personality into social system: i) mechanisms of socialization, and ii) mechanisms of social control. Mechanisms of socialization, are viewed by Parsons as the means through which cultural patterns- values, beliefs, languages, and other symbols- are internalized into the personality system, thereby circumscribing its need structure (Turner 1974:67). They also provide stable and secure interpersonal ties which help in reducing much of the strain, anxiety, and tensions associated with acquiring proper motives and skills. Mechanisms of social control involve the ways in which status roles are organized in social systems to reduce strain and deviance. The numerous control mechanisms of the social system are: a) institutionalization that makes role expectations clear and unambiguous (e.g. bureaucracies, tradition etc.), b) interpersonal sanctions and gestures, c) ritual activities, d) safety-valve structures (e.g. Policing, administrative system, legal institutions etc.) e) re-integration structures (e.g. correctional institutions) f) institutionalization in some sectors the capability to use power and coercion (e.g. Policing, Judiciary etc.).

50 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Fig. 2.2 Conception of Integration of systems of action (Turner 1974:67) 3.3.4 The Functional System Problem- AGIL W. B. Canon's idea of homeostatic stabilization of physiological processes and his own exposure to Biology at Amherst inspired Parson's interest in equilibrium model of society; and consequently, led him to develop a functionalist model of society as interdependent and self-equilibrating system. Parson argues that, in case of society, certain institutions and structures maintain equilibrium by fulfilling needs and solving recurring problems. In his analysis of system problems, Parsons offers his view on what any action system needs to achieve equilibrium. According to Parsons, all action systems face four major problems or have four major needs: adaptation; goal attainment; integration; and pattern maintenance or latency ('latent pattern maintenance-tension management' as he later renamed it). Parsons pictures the society or social system as a large square which is further divided into four equal square parts representing the four functional survival requirements/problems, represented by AGIL (see Fig. 2.3). 'A' stands for adaptation, which involves the problem to secure from the environment sufficient facilities/ resources and then to disburse the facilities throughout the system. 'G' stands for goal attainment that refers to the problem of establishing priorities among system goals and mobilizing system resources for their attainment.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 51 'I' stands for Integration, which points to the problem of coordinating and maintaining viable interrelationships among system units. 'L' stands for latency, which embraces two related problems: pattern maintenance and tension management. Fig. 2.3 Parsons' Functional Imperativist View of Social Systems (Turner 1974:71) Adaptation Goal attainment Latency Integration Introduction of AGIL, however, made a shift in the focus of analysis from structure to function. Structures are now viewed explicitly in terms of their functional consequences for meeting the four requisites. Now, in

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Parsons' conceptual scheme, social systems are divided into sectors, each corresponding to a functional requisite- that is, A, G, I, L. Any sub-system can be divided into these four functional sectors; and then each of these sub-systems can be divided into four functional sectors; and so on.

This process of functional sectorization, as Turner (1974:79) named it, is illustrated for the adaptive requisite in Fig. 2.3. 3.4 Criticism of Parsons' Functionalism: Despite his original thinking and significant contribution on the premise of early functionalism, theory of Parsons faces severe criticisms from scholars. Some of the criticisms are briefly listed below: 1. Scholars of conflict perspective like Ralph Dahrendorf criticize his portrayal of society for revealing no developmental history, overemphasizing on integration of components and focusing only on mechanisms that preserve status quo, especially through the conceptualization of four functional requisites. For these critics, such
52 NSOU CC - SO - 03 an image of society is utopian as this never reveals the possibility of conflict, deviance and change, presence of which is ubiquitous in social reality. 2. Much like the early functionalists like Spencer and Durkheim, Parsons also stresses on equilibrating tendency of social systems; hence the conceptualization of social change in his theory only speaks of evolutionary change, as opposed to revolution and other forms of violent disruptions to social systems. 3. Like the early functionalists, Parsons also carries in his theory the legacy of a logical error called teleology, which means circular kind of reasoning. For Parsons, social actions, whether individual or collective, are always goal oriented. This conceptualization of goal attainment as a basic system requisite leads inevitably to teleological propositions: social action can only be understood in terms of the ends in terms of the end it is desired to serve. 4. The conceptualization of four functional requisites in the work of Parsons is based on the assumption that if these requisites are not met, the system's survival is threatened. But Parsons never mentions any way to determine what constitutes the survival and non-survival of a system, and the level to which the needs must be met for the

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survival of the system. Hence, the propositions documenting the contribution of items for meeting survival

requisites reveal tautology (another logical error and also the legacy of early functionalism):

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the items meet survival needs of the system because it exists and, therefore, must be surviving. (

Turner 1974:84) 3.5 Contribution of Talcott Parsons: an overview: Talcott Parsons was one of the most dominant theorists of his time. His functionalist theory not only surged waves of criticism in the arena of social science, it profoundly influenced future theory building in sociology also. Parsons in his theory of social action reveals enormous amount of continuity in developing and expanding concepts- starting with unit act and expanding it into hierarchy of control among the system of action; which fulfils the major requirement of consistency in construction of theory in Sociology. Despite enormous criticisms against his functionalist view of society and logical problems in theory building, its influence in sociology has been so widespread that many other theoretical perspectives in sociology start with criticizing against and then proceeding with desirable alternatives to Parsonian functionalism. According to Turner (1974:86), no theory in sociology is considered adequate unless it has performed at least some portions of ritual rejection of analytical functionalism offered by Parsons.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 53 3.6 Functionalism of Robert King Merton: A General Introduction Robert King Merton (1910-2003), born in a Jewish immigrant family in a slum of South Philadelphia, with his passion for learning and profound interest in social science, managed to join Harvard University as a student and became one of the earliest and most important graduate students of Talcott Parsons. Merton's interest in sociology grew with "

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the joy of discovering that it was possible to examine human behaviour objectively and without using loaded moral

preconceptions" (Hunt 1961).

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He was educated with prominent socialists like Sorokin, Harold Garfinkel and others in the Harvard University under the tutelage of Talcott Persons.

Beside Parsons, the works of early sociologists like Emile Durkheim and George Simmel, and researches and thoughts of his contemporary scholars like P. Sorokin and Paul K. Lazarsfeld also cast influence on Robert K. Merton's theory. Though he is renowned in sociology for introducing the "middle range theory" in the discipline, his theory of deviance, clarification and refocusing of functional analysis, development of

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concepts like self fulfilling prophesy, role model, deviant behavior and focus groups

etc. are also important with enormous influence in future sociological research. Some of R.K. Merton's important works include: i. Social Theory and Social Structure (1949) ii. Mass Persuasion (1946) iii. On the Shoulders of Giants (1965) iv.

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On Theoretical Sociology (1967) v. Social Theory and Functional Analysis (1969) vi. The Sociology of Science (1973) vii. Social Ambivalence and Other Essays (1976) 3.7

Contribution of Merton in Functionalism Robert K. Merton's contribution in functionalism can be analysed briefly under following broad headings: Advocating the theories of middle range as an alternative to grand theoretical schemes As a functionalist, Merton started with a critique of Talcott Parsons' functional strategy for building a grand sociological theory by developing an all-encompassing system of concepts. For Merton, a grand theoretical scheme is hardly scientifically defensible without the necessary theoretical and empirical groundwork, which the discipline is
54 NSOU CC - SO - 03 still waiting for. He was equally sceptic about the promise of building inventories of low level empirical propositions. Hence, as an alternative, he suggested the need for the 'theories of middle range' in sociology. Such theories are couched at a lower level of abstraction than the analytical functionalism offered by Parsons; and they are connected to the empirical world by constructing clearly defined and operationalized concepts that can be incorporated into statements of relationship for a limited range of phenomena. According to Merton, such theorizing strategy will encourage the interplay between theory and empirical research; thus, making the latter more systematic and meaningful for expanding a body of sociological knowledge. Merton's Paradigm for Functional Analysis Merton's contribution to the codification and systematization of functional analysis begins with the review and critique of what he thinks the three essential postulates of functionalism: i) the functional unity of social systems, ii) the functional universality of social items, and iii) the indispensability of functional items for social systems. i) The functional unity of social systems: Based on biological analogy this postulate views society as a well integrated, consistent system containing mutually interdependent elements which contribute to the maintenance of the whole. According to

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Merton, to begin analysis with the postulate of functional unity or integration of social whole diverts attention away from

the vital empirical questions about the levels of integration existing for different systems, the processes leading to the different levels, forms and kinds of integration in different spheres of social system etc. Further, this postulate ignores the variety of

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consequences of a given social or cultural item for diverse social groups and various individual members of these groups.

For Merton, functional unity of a social system

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cannot be assumed; at most it is an empirical question to be determined by social research. Further, it is possible for some social or cultural items to have functions for some groups within a social system and not for others. Instead, Merton offers a "provisional assumption" that widespread and persisting socio-cultural forms have a "net balance" of positive over negative consequences (Elwell 2013).Merton

begins to suggest that functional analysis should divert its focus from total system as a whole, and emphasize

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on how different patterns of social organization with more inclusive social systems are created, maintained, and changed not only by the requisites/

needs of the total system but also by interactions among the socio-cultural items within the systematic wholes. ii) The functional universality of social items: This postulate assumes that if a social item exists in an ongoing system, it must, therefore, contribute positively or have
NSOU CC - SO - 03 55 some positive consequences for the maintenance of the integration of the total social system; and such assumption leads to tautological (the repetitive use of phrases or words that have similar meanings) statements: a system exists; an element is a part of that system; therefore, the item is positively functional for maintenance of the system. Merton suggests that socio-cultural

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systems may well have functional needs or prerequisites, but these needs may be met by a diversity of forms. Calling it a "major theorem of functional analysis," Merton asserts, "just as the same item may have multiple functions, so may the same function be diversely fulfilled by alternative items" (Merton 1948/1968: 87–88). 3.7.1 Concept of

Dysfunction and Manifest vs. Latent Function: According to Merton, if an investigation of empirical systems is undertaken, a wider range of empirical possibilities will be revealed. Firstly, items may be not only positively functioning for a system or any part of a system, but also dysfunctional for either other particular item/s of the system or the system as a whole. In order to compensate for the excessive

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focus on stability of traditional functionalism, Merton introduces the concept of "dysfunction". Whereas functions contribute to the adjustment of the system, dysfunctions are those consequences that lead to instability and ultimately change.

Merton asserts that the task of an analyst is to recognize

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that institutional structures and cultural elements are interrelated and mutually supporting, and that the dominant orientation of

socio- cultural

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systems is towards stability. "As we survey the course of history, it seems reasonably clear that all major social structures have in due course been cumulatively modified or abruptly terminated. In either event, they have not been eternally fixed and unyielding to change" (Merton, 1948/1968: 95). Merton insists that social structures can only be analyzed in terms of both statics (stability) and dynamics (change). The concept of dysfunction, which allows functional theory to focus on change, is based on tension, strain, or contradictions within component elements of socio-cultural systems. Dysfunctional elements create pressures for change within the system (Merton, 1948/1968: 176). Social mechanisms within the system, including the interrelation of predominantly mutually supporting elements of the system, operate to keep these strains in check, in an attempt to limit or minimize change of the social structure. However, such mechanisms are not always effective, and the amassing of stress and resulting conflict often

bring change in a system.

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One of the primary goals of functional analysis is to identify these dysfunctions and examine how they are contained or reduced in the

socio-cultural

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system as well as how they sometimes cause systemic or fundamental change. (Merton, 1948/1968: 107)

According to

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Merton, "Functions are those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system; and dysfunctions, those observed consequences which lessen adaptation or adjustment of the system." Motive, on the other hand, is the 56

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subjective orientation of the actor engaged in the behavior (Merton 1948/1968: 105). The failure to distinguish between functions and motives is one of the principal sources of confusion for students of functionalism.

Secondly, Merton offers two new concepts: manifest function and latent function; the distinction between which is regarded as one of his major contributions in functionalism. Some consequences of the items in a system, whether functional or dysfunctional, are expected or intended or recognized by the members of the society; and hence are manifest. The other consequences may not be recognized or expected or intended by the members of the system; and therefore they are latent. The latent functions can take place only as a consequence of the manifest functions for which the members are

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not prepared. Merton argued that it is the job of the sociologist to uncover the latent functions of social activities and institution.

Merton argues that the analysis of diverse

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consequences or functions of socio- cultural items-whether positive or negative, manifest or latent- "for individuals, for subgroups, and for the more inclusive social structure and culture" (

Merton, 1968:84) is necessary for building a meaningful theory of society. He

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visualizes contemporary functional thought as compensating for the ambitious over-emphasis of earlier theorists on the crucial types of consequences of socio-cultural items for each other and if the facts dictate, for the social whole. iii. The indispensability of functional items for social systems:

This postulate is based on

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the assumption that if a social pattern is well established, it must be meeting some essential needs

for the system; and hence, the pattern is indispensable for the survival of the system. The basic assumption is itself double barrelled as it considers some functions to be

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indispensable for the survival of the system; and again, certain social or cultural forms

to be indispensable for fulfilling those functions. Merton proposes that

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functional analysis should concern with various types of "functional alternatives,' or functional equivalents," and "functional substitutes" with in social systems. In this way, functional analysis

can avoid the trap of assuming an item in the social system as indispensable for

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the continued existence of a system. Rather, functional analysis must specify (1) Social patterns, whether a systematic whole or some subparts, under consideration; (2) the various types of consequences of these patterns for empirically established survival requisites; and (3) the processes whereby some patterns rather than others come to exist and have the various consequences for each other and for systemic wholes.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 57 3.7.2 Functional Alternatives Merton devises alternative concepts known as the 'functional substitutes', 'functional alternatives', or 'functional equivalents' which can analyze

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the sort of functions advocated by Talcott Parsons in the form of functional pre requisites. Merton argued that use of religion as a therapeutic device could be substituted effectively by the alternative

healing and restorative devices

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like counselling and reasoning which can help members understand the values of normal life in society.

Further, Secular education, vocational training can liberate their minds from religious superstitions, and guide

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them to become work-oriented, independent and self-reliant; which

in turn, may help them recover from stress and depression, despair and obsession, aggravation and frustration; thus assuring their conformity to the values of the social system. Merton argued that functionalist approach should be aware

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of the fact that any part of society may be functional or

dysfunctional for other parts or for the whole system; and may remain non functional for the system as well. 3.8

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A Protocol for Executing Functional Analysis To explain the causes and consequences of particular structures and processes, Merton insists that functional analysis begins with "sheer description" of individual and group activities. In describing the patterns of interaction and activity among units under investigation, it will be possible to distinguish clearly the social items to be subjected to functional analysis. Such descriptions can also provide a major clue to the functions performed by such patterned activity. The first of these steps is for investigators to indicate the principal alternatives that are excluded by the dominance of a particular pattern. The second analytical step beyond sheer description involves an assessment of the meaning, or mental and emotional significance, of the activity for group members.

This can shed some tentative light on the manifest functions of an activity. The third step involves discerning some array of motives (other than the objective description or subsequent assessment of function served by the pattern) for conformity or for deviation among participants. The configuration of motives for conformity and deviation, in turn, indicates the psychological needs served or not served by a pattern; and thus offers clue to the various additional functions of the pattern. For understanding the latent consequences of an activity, Merton suggests his final analytical step that involves the description of how the patterns under investigation reveal regularities not recognized by participants but appear to have consequences for both the individuals involved and other central patterns or regularities in the system.
58 NSOU CC - SO - 03 3.9

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Illustrating Merton's Functional Strategy Merton's paradigm and protocol for constructing functional theories

of

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the middle range are remarkably free of statement about individual and system needs or requisites. Merton approaches the questions of the needs and requisites fulfilled by a particular item only after description of (1) the item in question, (2) the structural context in which the item survives, and (3) its meaning for the individuals involved.

With this information in hand, he argues that

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it is possible to establish both the manifest and latent functions of an item, as well as the net balance of functions and dysfunctions of the item for varied segments of a social system. 3.10

Conclusion R. K. Merton's contribution in functionalism is not beyond criticism. Following are some of the criticisms put forward against Merton's theory: 1. Like the early functionalist theories, Merton's theory also falls into the trap of tautology. Merton's assumption that "ordinarily" persistent structures serve positive functions for meeting the needs of some population segment, leads to the indication that if in an existing system an item persists, then it is functional, perhaps latently for some groups. This assumption that an item exists means that it must serve a function, either latent or manifest, for either the whole or for some part of the whole; is obviously an example of tautological error. 2. Merton's functional theory is not free from the trap of teleology too. Like his predecessors in functionalist tradition, his analysis often fails to separate causes from consequences. For example, he analyses the emergence and persistence of political mechanism as a response to needs, without the necessary precision in documenting the causal chains through which needs cause the emergence and persistence of an event. However, R.K.Merton' s original thought and concern for constructing a meaningful body of theory in sociology; his introduction of the theories of middle range, which boosts up the interplay between theory and empirical research, and helps defending sociological theory with appropriate empirical groundwork; his conceptualization and clear operationalization techniques along with introduction of new concepts like dysfunction, latent and manifest function, functional alternative etc., which later transforms into the colloquial terms in the writings of future sociologists, especially of the functionalist

NSOU CC - SO - 03 59 school; all together leads to a revival of functionalist analysis in Sociology, attributing Merton an immortal place in the history of sociology. 3.11 Summary We introduced our learners to the major functionalists such as Talcott Parsons and R. K. Merton. We have discussed their contributions to the making of the functionalist theory. We concluded with a brief overview on each of the thinkers. 3.12 Questions i. Write a short note on pattern variables. ii. What are functional alternatives? Discuss with suitable examples. iii. Write the differences between: (a) latent function and manifest function (b) function and dysfunction. iv. What do you understand by middle range theory? v. How did Merton criticize the postulate of functional unity? B. Answer in detail. (12 marks) i. Discuss the social action theory by Parsons. ii. Following Parsons, analyse the problem of functional systems. iii. Discuss in detail the social action theory by Talcott Parsons. iv. Analyse Merton's paradigms for functional analysis. v. How did Merton criticize Parsons for his theoretical approach? What was Merton's protocol for theory building in sociology? vi. How did Parsons conceptualize the integration among systems and action? C. Essay Type Question. (20marks) i. Critically evaluate the contribution of Talcott Parsons in Functionalism. ii. Critically evaluate the importance of empirical functionalism proposed by R.K. Merton in Sociology. 3.13 References

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Abraham, M.F. (1982). Modern Sociological Theory- An Introduction (pp. 1-38). NY: Oxford University Press. Turner, J. H. (1974). The Structure of Sociological Theory (3

rd edition), Dorsey series in sociology, USA: Dorsey Press https://www.britannica.com/ 3.15 Glossary Module- I1: Functionalism Function

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A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part,

in order to maintain the unity of the system.

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Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

social needs. The basic concern of functionalism is to explain

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the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued survival over time. Functionalism

views

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society as a system of interconnected parts that work together in harmony to maintain a state of balance and social equilibrium for the whole.

According to this approach, each of the social institutions contributes important functions for society. A change in any part is seen as leading to a certain degree of imbalance, which
NSOU CC - SO - 03 61 in turn results in changes in other parts of the system and to some extent to a reorganization of the system as a whole. Organismic analogy The Organismic analogy which is a staple of ancient and medieval thought was reformulated by Spencer, who recognized the similarities (and dissimilarities) between society and organism as the first step towards a general theory of evolution. The same definition of life applies to both biological and social organism. Organic solidarity As part of his theory of the development of societies in, The Division of Labour in Society (1893), sociologist Emile Durkheim characterized two categories of societal solidarity: organic and mechanical. Mechanical solidarity is the type of social cohesion and integration that comes from the homogeneity of individuals: people in societies of small-scale technology feel connected to each other through similar life-ways, i.e., similar work, educational and religious training, and lifestyle, which is often based on the kinship ties of familial networks. Organic solidarity is social cohesion based upon the dependence individuals have on each other in more advanced societies. It comes from the interdependence that arises from specialization of work and the complementarities between people. Structure The complex and stable framework of society that influences all individuals or groups through the relationship between institutions (e.g., economy, politics, religion) and social practices (e.g., behaviours, norms, and values). The terms "structure" and "social structure" are used interchangeably in a sociological context. According to [functionalism], a society is composed of interrelated parts, each of which serves a function and (ideally) contributes to the overall stability of the society. Societies develop social structures, or institutions that persist because they play a part in helping society survive Equilibrium Social equilibrium, a theoretical state of balance in a social system referring both to an internal balance between interrelated social phenomena and to the external relationship the system maintains with its environment. In sociology, a system is said to be in social equilibrium when there is a dynamic working balance among its interdependent
62 NSOU CC - SO - 03 parts. Each subsystem will adjust to any change in the other subsystems and will continue to do so until equilibrium is retained. The process of achieving equilibrium will only work if the changes happen slowly, but for rapid changes it would throw the social system into chaos, unless and until a new equilibrium can be reached. Functional pre requisites The provisions that all societies are required to make in order to come into existence, survive and maintain order. Talcott Parsons identified four fold set of functional pre-requisites in his social system model. Social action In sociology, social action, also known as Weberian social action, is an act which takes into account the actions and reactions of individuals. According to Max Weber, "an Action is 'social' if the acting individual takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course" Social system In sociology, social system is the patterned network of relationships constituting a coherent whole that exist between individuals, groups, and institutions. Parsons organized social systems in terms of action units, where one action executed by an individual is one unit. He defines a social system as a network of interactions between actors. According to Parsons, social systems rely on a system of language, and culture must exist in a society in order for it to qualify as a social system. Personality system The term personality is derived from the Latin word persona meaning a mask. Personality is a patterned body of habits, traits, attitudes and ideas of an individual as these are organized externally into roles and statuses and as they relate internally to motivation, goals and various aspects of selfhood. Cultural system According to the Action Theory of Talcott Parsons, culture is understood as an ordered symbolic system, that is, a symbolically mediated pattern of values or standards of appropriateness that permits the construction of a set of action-guiding, normative, conventional rules through which significant cultural objects are generated and used. If a symbolic system has validity for all of the participating actors, it is able to give order to action.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 63 Value Values are a culture's standard for discerning what is good and just in society; and this standard is shared by the people of that society. Values are deeply embedded and critical for transmitting and teaching a culture's beliefs. Functionalists believe that all members of society are socialized into these norms and values, first through the family and later through institutions such as education, the media and religion. It is in this secondary socialization that people learn universalistic values rather than just those particular values to their own family or community. Adaptation In AGIL model illustrated by Parsons, which represents the four basic functions that all social systems must perform if they are to persist, the first function is adaptation. In any system or sub-system, adaptation stands for the problem of acquiring sufficient resources. Deviance An action or behavior that violates social norms, including a formally enacted rule (e.g., crime), as well as informal violations of social norms (e.g., rejecting folkways and mores). Latency In AGIL model illustrated by Parsons, which represents the four basic functions that all social systems must perform if they are to persist, the fourth function is latency. In any system or sub-system, it is the organization for pattern-maintenance. E.g. values which serve to legitimate and authorize decision-making rights in system. Functional alternatives Functionalists believe societies must have certain characteristics in order to survive. Merton shares this view but stresses that at the same time particular institutions are not the only ones able to fulfill these functions; a wide range of functional alternatives may be able to perform the same task. This notion of functional alternative is important because it alerts sociologists to the similar functions different institutions may perform and it further reduces the tendency of functionalism to imply approval of the status quo. Grand theory Grand theory is a term coined by C. Wright Mills (1960) to describe the abstract generalized system building of structural functionalists, notably in the work of Talcott Parsons. In the social sciences, grand
64 NSOU CC - SO - 03 theory refers to those efforts devoted to abstract, analytical theory building. Middle range theory Middle-range theory, developed by Robert K. Merton, is an approach to sociological theorizing aimed at integrating theory and empirical research. Tautology A kind of logical error: a compound propositional form all of whose instances are true, as "A or not A." Teleology A kind of logical error: circular kind of reasoning. Manifest function The anticipated and intended goals of an action or social structure. Latent function Usnanticipated and unintended consequences of an action or social structure.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 65 Unit - 4 Functionalism- A Critical Overview Structure 4.1 Objectives 4.2 Introduction 4.3 The Critique 4.4 Limitation for Social Change 4.5 The Negative Consequences for Social Order 4.6 Conclusion 4.7 Summary 4.8 Questions 4.9 References 4.10 Suggested Readings 4.11 Glossary 4.1 Objectives Helping students to understand:i. The gaps in functional analysis of societyii. The conceptual and methodological problems- the pitfalls of functionalism iii. The philosophical error/ bias for which functional theory is vehemently criticized iv. Functionalism's struggle to combat all the above mentioned criticisms 4.2 Introduction In social studies, the first hint of functionalist approach is found in the rational-choice approach. It says that if the choice is successful, the action is deemed to have been objectively rational; if not, the action is said to have been only subjectively rational. In either case, the formalism is saved at the outlay of substance or, rather, mechanism, namely interaction. For this reason, we regard the rational-choice approach as an illustration of formalist functionalism in social science. Not referring to social mechanisms, the rational-choice approach fails despondently to explain the very existence of social systems, from the family to the worldwide corporation. This failure is a necessary outcome of its explicit implementation of ontological and methodological individualism. (Bunge, 1996:
66 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Ch. 14) Still, when used in restraint, this approach may have some heuristic value. Indeed, it suggests looking for the reasons, good or bad, which motivate decisions. (Boudon, 1999) It also suggests explaining some failed actions as results of miscalculations. (By contrast, success may be explained either by correct calculation or by favorable circumstances.) What is known as social functionalism is a version of adaptationist functionalism. It focuses on social systems and their specific functions or activities. It also studies both the cohesive or system-preserving ("functional") and the divisive or system-interfering ("dysfunctional") consequences of a system's activities. Social functionalism is an alternative to both Marxist economic determinism and the traditional or culture-historical approach centered on statesmen and battles (Trigger, 1989). Though fathered by the classical Sociologists like A. Comte, H. Spencer and most prominently E. Durkheim at the turn of the century, functionalism flourished particularly in the UK and the US between 1920 and 1960, in the works of B. Malinowski and E. R. Radcliffe- Brown in Anthropology, G. Childe in Archaeology, and T. Parsons and R. K. Merton in Sociology. The functionalists in the realm of Sociology postulated that all the social items (mechanisms, roles, norms, patterns, institutions, etc.) come into being and persist because they are useful to the social system concerned, or even to society at large. Put negatively: the social items that have ceased to discharge any useful function eventually disappear. (Mahner et.al., 2001) Functionalism in sociology includes the assumption that the social system is homogeneous, so that what is useful for its cohesion or preservation is good for every member of it. This presupposition is not even true for primitive societies, all of which retain negative items such as crippling kinship conventions and counter- productive superstitions. Thus, it is an instance of the fallacy of division. However, some functionalist questions may be rewarding. The reason is that many social functions are indeed aptations, or even adaptations. And the existence of such functions, poses the problem of their origin and persistence. Now, every such problem can be analyzed non-teleologically as the sequence of questions: What is the internal activity in question? What is its role? Are the activities and roles valuable to the group (or the society) as a whole? If in fact they are aptations (any character currently subject to selection whether its origin can be ascribed to selective processes (adaptation) or to processes other than selection or selection for a different function (exaptation)), are they also adaptation? (Mahner et.al. 2001) 4.3 Critique Functionalism and latter, structural functionalism has recurrently been accused of being teleological in explanation. Teleology (from Greek telos meaning 'end' and logos meaning
NSOU CC - SO - 03 67 scientific knowledge or 'reason') is a philosophical error of explaining something by referring to its purpose, goal, end or function. Functionalism falls in this trap for its over emphasis on the concept that social structures have specific goals. It tries to justify why structures exist without sufficient empirical substantiation (Ritzer & Goodman, Chapter 7 summary, 2004). It attempts to describe social structures through the purposes they fulfil, but doesn't explain the cause of their existence. Thus it offers the final cause of existence of a social structure, but fails in providing explanation of the efficient, material causes, i.e. the stuff out of which a thing is made (Encyclopaedia Britannica). In this regard, Durkheim said that "the determination of function is necessary for the complete explanation of the phenomena" (Coser, 1977) and "when the explanation of a social phenomenon is undertaken, we must seek separately the efficient cause which produces it and the function it fulfils" (Coser, 1977). The excerpts denote that the classical functionalist was aware of the theoretical task of explaining separate cause and effect for existence of any fact. Since Parsons was highly influenced by the writings of Durkheim it is likely that he used this notion when creating his theory. Still the theoretical model often remained trapped into the teleological reasoning of explaining cause of effect. Merton disregards this as he says that functional analysis doesn't try to explain cause of effects so is not teleological. (Encyclopedia, n.d) Another question raised against the functional approach is that it never determines what is functional and what is not, and for whom each of these activities and institutions are functional. If there is no method to sort functional from non-functional aspects of society, the functional model can become tautological – without any analytical control in which any activity is regarded as functional. Many critiques argue that society cannot have needs in the same way a human does, and if it has some needs also, there is hardly any necessity to meet those needs. Anthony Giddens suggests that functionalist explanations could be rewritten as historical accounts and not as a theory. Giddens offered a perspective of structuration that aims at explaining society as a dynamic process of continuous interaction between structure and agency (Human agency). According to Giddens, although all human action is performed within and influenced by a pre existing social structure, and is often determined by the rules of that structure; the rules are not permanent, but can change according to human action. (Giddens, 1986) Structural functionalism dominated the realm of sociology as the major theoretical credence throughout most of the 20th century. It has been criticised, however, for accepting existing

68 NSOU CC - SO - 03 social order without considering how they might take advantage of some groups or individuals within society. (Newman, 2010) A critique of structural functionalism is that it assumes regular interaction between a political system and its environment. This ultimately led the approach to recognize the likelihood of change and so ignores the potential for political conflict. It indirectly supports the existence of the status quo. (Kamrava, 1996) Another criticism against the functional model in the area of politics is that of ethnocentrism. Structural functionalism does not account for authoritarian or dictatorial political systems. The system- environment interaction makes it only applicable to western democratic political systems. There are many places in the earth, where some group of people in society have no input in the world of politics (mainstream politics/governance of the state). These people, their interaction with the state etc. are often left out by the description provided by the structural functional model of analysis. (Kamrava, 1996) 4.4 Limitation for Social Change Functionalism has been mostly criticized by scholars as being a static perspective because of its limitation to explain social change. Though Talcott Parsons opposed this view by explaining his idea of moving equilibrium that does account for change in social order (Parsons, Theories of Society: foundations of modern sociological theory, 1961), the fact that the functional model does stress on equilibrium and quick return to social order, rather than investigating the wide spectrum of social change is a proven fact. Further, if we keep in mind the time period when 20th century functionalism, especially, structural functionalism was developing in the U.S. intellectual arena- just aftermath of the 2nd world war- we can easily grasp the urge of the then intellectuals of social science for explaining social order rather than social change. A further criticism is that functionalism doesn't explain why people choose to conform to norms or seeks to deviate from them. Functionalism faces severe criticism from the theorists of conflict perspective, Marxist intellectuals and feminist scholars. Feminists argue that functionalism fails to address the problem of gender discrimination in society. Parsons in his theory focuses on positive functions of the family for the society as a whole and never mentions it as a structure of oppression for women. Conflict theorists oppose it for excessive reliance on consensus and harmony within society while ignoring conflict and contradiction, which have obvious presence in society. Further Functionalism is criticised for disregarding individual freedom and will (Holmwood, 2005). According to Lockwood, Parsons does not account for organisations that do not work together and
NSOU CC - SO - 03 69 thus cause conflict. Parsons thwarted this opposition by stating that issues of conflict and cooperation were included and analysed in his model (Holmwood, 2005). Parsons created an ideal for society and by doing this he restricted his analysis. R.K. Merton's contribution to functional theory addresses the issue of conflict and tension in society and introducing the idea of tension and conflict into structural functionalism, he offers a way to the model to counteract these stark criticisms. (Merton, 1957) Some critics, like Italian theorist Antonio Gramsci, claim that the perspective justifies the status quo and the process of cultural hegemony that maintains it. Functionalism does not encourage people to take an active role in changing their social environment, even when doing so may benefit them. Instead, functionalism sees agitating for social change as undesirable because the various parts of society will compensate in a seemingly organic way for any problems that may arise. Overall, the main assumptions of structural- functional theory are that external social constraints create confines in individual behaviour; and that social order is based on shared values. The system of social structure and social order has needs that have to be met for its survival and stability. This theory allows for social change but assumes the change to be slow and evolutionary, so as the social structures may adapt to fit the requirements of system. For functionalists like Parsons, inequality may be seen as functional for society. The theory is promising in the sense that it explains predictable patterns of behaviour within social groups, and the influence of culture and society on individuals. This approach is associated with the positivist thesis and quantitative methods. 4.5 The Negative Consequences for Social Order We have already mentioned that functionalism has been highly criticized because of its neglect of the often negative consequences of social order. As for example, the functionalist perspective of gender inequality was most robustly articulated in the 1940s and 1950s, and was propagated by Talcott Parsons in his model of the nuclear family. This theory states that gender inequalities exist as an efficient way to create a division of labour that serves as a mechanism for maximizing resources and efficiency in the family. A structural- functionalist view of gender inequality shows predefined gender roles as harmonizing: women take care of the home while men provide for the family. Thus gender, like other social institutions, contributes to the stability of family system, and thus solidifies the order of society as a whole. In sociological studies, functional prerequisites stand for the basic needs (food, shelter, clothing etc.) that an individual requires to survive and sustain in the social world. Functional prerequisites may also refer to the factors that allow a society to maintain

70 NSOU CC - SO - 03 social order. According to structural functionalists, gender roles serve to maintain social order by providing and ensuring the stability of such functional prerequisites. Hence, this view has been accused for reification, rather than reflection of gender roles. While gender roles, according to the functionalist perspective, have positive contribution for maintaining stable social relations, Feminist scholars argue that gender roles are discriminatory and should not be upheld. The feminist movement, which was on the rise at the same time that functionalism began losing popularity, takes the position that functionalism neglects the suppression of women within the family structure. 4.6 Conclusion Overall, the main assumptions of structural- functional theory are that external social constraints create confines in individual behaviour; and that social order is based on shared values. The system of social structure and social order has needs that have to be met for its survival and stability. This theory allows for social change but assumes the change to be slow and evolutionary, so as the social structures may adapt to fit the requirements of system. For functionalists like Parsons, inequality may be seen as functional for society. The theory is promising in the sense that it explains predictable patterns of behaviour within social groups, and the influence of culture and society on individuals. This approach is associated with the positivist thesis and quantitative methods. However vehemently criticized and fiercely debated the propositions of functionalism might have been, it remains productive throughout the century. The functional perspective can be applied to nearly all the key topics in sociology, for example Durkheim used functionalism to explain suicide rates in particular groups and societies. (Gingrich, 1999). Other themes including family, education, religion and deviance —everything that means the existence of social relationship can be understood, analysed and explained from the perspective of functionalism. Many scholars like to view and analyze social reality, and functionalism remained one of the favourite tools for many scholars to explain the way we live. Partially in response to the criticisms discussed above, scholars aligned with the functionalist approach initiated systematic theorizing and empirical research on the issue of change. Differentiation theory was one of the products of this collective intellectual effort. 4.7 Summary We presented a critique of the functional theory. We concluded with the limitation for social change. We also discussed the virtues of the theory as well.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 71 4.8 Questions A. Answer briefly (6 marks) i. What is teleology? How does functionalism fall under its trap? ii. How does Giddens criticize the functional perspective of viewing society? iii. How does functionalism explain gender roles in society? iv. "What is known as social functionalism is a version of adaptationist functionalism."- Justify. v. Why do functionalism and later structural functionalism seem so obsessed with explaining social order? B. Answer in detail (12 marks) i. How does functionalism explain social change? ii. How does functionalism attempt to analyse inequality in society? iii. Why do feminist scholars criticize functionalism? iv. Why has Functionalism been target of criticism by Marxist scholars? C. Essay Type Question (20marks) i. Evaluate the importance of functionalist school of thought in the development of sociology as an academic discipline. 4.9 References Boden, M. A. (1999), Is Metabolism Necessary?. British Journal for the Philosophy of Science 50: 231-248 Bunge, M.A. (1996). Finding Philosophy in Social Science. New Haven, CT: Yale University Coser, L.

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NSOU CC - SO - 03 73 4.11Glossary Function

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A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part,

in order to maintain the unity of the system.

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Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

social needs. The basic concern of functionalism is to explain

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the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued survival over time. Functionalism

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society as a system of interconnected parts that work together in harmony to maintain a state of balance and social equilibrium for the whole.

According to this approach, each of the social institutions contributes important functions for society. A change in any part is seen as leading to a certain degree of imbalance, which in turn results in changes in other parts of the system and to some extent to a reorganization of the system as a whole. Organismic analogy The Organismic analogy which is a staple of ancient and medieval thought was reformulated by Spencer, who recognized the similarities (and dissimilarities) between society and organism as the first step towards a general theory of evolution. The same definition of life applies to both biological and social organism. Organic solidarity As part of his theory of the development of societies in The Division of Labour in Society (1893), sociologist Emile Durkheim characterized two categories of societal solidarity: organic and mechanical. Mechanical solidarity is the type of social cohesion and integration that comes from the homogeneity of individuals: people in societies of small-scale technology feel connected to each other through similar life-ways, i.e., similar work, educational and religious training, and lifestyle, which is often based on the kinship ties of familial networks. Organic solidarity is social cohesion based upon the dependence individuals have on each other in more advanced societies. It comes from the interdependence that arises from specialization of work and the complementarities between people.
74 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Structure The complex and stable framework of society that influences all individuals or groups through the relationship between institutions (e.g., economy, politics, religion) and social practices (e.g., behaviours, norms, and values). The terms "structure" and "social structure" are used interchangeably in a sociological context. According to [functionalism], a society is composed of interrelated parts, each of which serves a function and (ideally) contributes to the overall stability of the society. Societies develop social structures, or institutions that persist because they play a part in helping society survive Equilibrium Social equilibrium, a theoretical state of balance in a social system referring both to an internal balance between interrelated social phenomena and to the external relationship the system maintains with its environment. In sociology, a system is said to be in social equilibrium when there is a dynamic working balance among its interdependent parts. Each subsystem will adjust to any change in the other subsystems and will continue to do so until equilibrium is retained. The process of achieving equilibrium will only work if the changes happen slowly, but for rapid changes it would throw the social system into chaos, unless and until a new equilibrium can be reached. Functional pre requisites The provisions that all societies are required to make in order to come into existence, survive and maintain order. Talcott Parsons identified four fold set of functional pre-requisites in his social system model. Social action In sociology, social action, also known as Weberian social action, is an act which takes into account the actions and reactions of individuals. According to Max Weber, "an Action is 'social' if the acting individual takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course" Social system In sociology, social system is the patterned network of relationships constituting a coherent whole that exist between individuals, groups, and institutions. Parsons organized social systems in terms of action units, where one action executed by an individual is one unit. He defines a social system as a network of interactions between actors. According to Parsons, social systems rely on a system of language, and culture must exist in a society in order for it to qualify as a social system.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 75 Personality system The term personality is derived from the Latin word persona meaning a mask. Personality is a patterned body of habits, traits, attitudes and ideas of an individual as these are organized externally into roles and statuses and as they relate internally to motivation, goals and various aspects of selfhood. Cultural system According to the Action Theory of Talcott Parsons, culture is understood as an ordered symbolic system, that is, a symbolically mediated pattern of values or standards of appropriateness that permits the construction of a set of action-guiding, normative, conventional rules through which significant cultural objects are generated and used. If a symbolic system has validity for all of the participating actors, it is able to give order to action. Value Values are a culture's standard for discerning what is good and just in society; and this standard is shared by the people of that society. Values are deeply embedded and critical for transmitting and teaching a culture's beliefs. Functionalists believe that all members of society are socialized into these norms and values, first through the family and later through institutions such as education, the media and religion. It is in this secondary socialization that people learn universalistic values rather than just those particular values to their own family or community. Adaptation In AGIL model illustrated by Parsons, which represents the four basic functions that all social systems must perform if they are to persist, the first function is adaptation. In any system or sub-system, adaptation stands for the problem of acquiring sufficient resources. Deviance An action or behavior that violates social norms, including a formally enacted rule (e.g., crime), as well as informal violations of social norms (e.g., rejecting folkways and mores). Latency In AGIL model illustrated by Parsons, which represents the four basic functions that all social systems must perform if they are to persist, the fourth function is latency. In any system or sub-system, it is the organization for pattern-maintenance. E.g. values which serve to legitimate and authorize decision-making rights in system. Functional alternatives Functionalists believe societies must have certain characteristics in order to survive. Merton shares this view but stresses that at the same time particular institutions are not the only ones able to fulfill these
76 NSOU CC - SO - 03 functions; a wide range of functional alternatives may be able to perform the same task. This notion of functional alternative is important because it alerts sociologists to the similar functions different institutions may perform and it further reduces the tendency of functionalism to imply approval of the status quo. Grand theory Grand theory is a term coined by C. Wright Mills (1960) to describe the abstract generalized system building of structural functionalists, notably in the work of Talcott Parsons. In the social sciences, grand theory refers to those efforts devoted to abstract, analytical theory building. Middle range theory Middle-range theory, developed by Robert K. Merton, is an approach to sociological theorizing aimed at integrating theory and empirical research. Tautology A kind of logical error: a compound propositional form all of whose instances are true, as "A or not A." Teleology A kind of logical error: circular kind of reasoning. Manifest function The anticipated and intended goals of an action or social structure. Latent function Unanticipated and unintended consequences of an action or social structure.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 77 Module - II : Interpretative Sociology Unit - 5 General Arguments Structures 5.1 Learning Objectives 5.2 Introduction 5.3 Definition: Interpretive Sociology 5.4 Historical and Philosophical Background/Context of Interpretive Sociology 5.5 Interpretive Sociology: General Arguments 5.6 Conclusion 5.7 Summary 5.8 Questions 5.9 References 5.10 Glossary 5.1 Objectives • To introduce a specific perspective within sociological knowledge formation, namely, interpretive sociology to the students. • To present interpretive sociology as an alternative to sociological positivism where- by the students will be made familiar with the critical discourse regarding methodological issues in social sciences. • To understand the complexity and criticality involved in studying social sciences whose primary subject matter involves conscious thinking, acting and interpreting individuals. • To be able to distinguish sociology from psychology irrespective of the focus on the subjective intent and motive of actors.
78 NSOU CC - SO - 03 5.2 Introduction Interpretive sociology is a specific domain of sociology that lays emphasis on the meaning and motive of social actions by individual social actors. The focus is on intentions behind human behaviour. It also considers that social life is a subjective reality and so it needs to be interpreted. Unit 1 explores how interpretive sociology emerged as an alternative perspective to positivism and countered the idea of sociology as a science studying objective social facts. The movement against blind acceptance of methods of natural sciences in social sciences started as back as 1880 through Neo-Kantianism. Proponents of Neo-Kantianism made it clear that social sciences study different form of reality and therefore the knowledge produced is not nomothetic (law giving) , rather social science involves human judgments, intents, values. Therefore social sciences cannot follow the same method as natural sciences. The failure of positivism to grasp the nature of social reality also paved the way for development of hermeneutic school by the end of 19 th century. German Philosopher Droysen first used the term Verstehen to denote that the goal of human sciences is 'understanding' (Verstehen) in contrast to explanation which is the goal of natural sciences. Dilthey, a prominent figure of the hermeneutic school along with Weber emphasized on the historical character of social knowledge and discussed on the methods on how to study such a reality. The following section discusses the basic premises of interpretive sociology in general in depth. The most fundamental idea behind interpretive sociology is that human action and behaviour involves meaning; behaviour and meaning are intrinsically connected and action logically entails intend. However the meaning involved cannot be explained in terms of universal causal laws. The meaning needs to be interpreted. Interpretation involves understanding based on empathy. Interpretive sociology is distinct from psychology. Individual actors is an important unit in interpretive analysis because unlike animals and lifeless objects, men can introspect, have intentions and motives and are capable of interpreting intent and motive of other men and thereby orient their action accordingly. Verstehen is also a central concept to interpretive sociology where in it can be regarded as a method, as an experiences ad as an explanation. Its significance lies in the fact that it demands empathy to understand subjective meaning of an action that is the meaning of the action for the actor himself. Interpretive sociology has influenced varieties of perspectives such as symbolic interactionism, phenomenology , ethnomethodology etc.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 79 5.3 Definition: Interpretive Sociology Interpretive sociology involves a variety of forms of sociology (approach of Weber, Symbolic Interactionism, Sociological Phenomenology) united by an emphasis on the necessity for sociologist to understand and interpret actors' meanings. (Jary et al 2000: 313). All social reality is taken as pre-interpreted in that it only has form out of social actors' meanings. As a method interpretive understanding stresses on the importance of intentional human actions. What distinguishes the interpretive paradigm with any other account of interpretation is the recognition that any statement about the social world is necessarily relative to any other. The guiding principle of interpretive sociology is that social life is subjective and therefore it is amenable to interpretation. Sociology, as a science of society was modeled upon natural sciences by positivist thinkers such as Durkheim in the late 19 th and early 20 th century. It is established that sociology is to study the objective 'social facts' external to the individual and a reality 'sui generis'. This view was criticized by Max Weber. He outlined the basic premises of interpretive sociology while developing a theory of social action in Economy and Society, between 1911 and 1920. Weber perused the idea that a theory of society had to take a new direction and stated 'sociology is a science concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of human social action" (Weber 1978:248). Social action is social because of the subjective meaning the acting individual associates with it and social because it takes behaviours of others into consideration while orienting its course. So interpretive sociology seeks to understand the society by studying how individuals attach meaning and interpret their social world, actions and identities. 5.4 Historical and Philosophical Background/Context of Interpretive Sociology Interpretive sociology is formed as an alternative and critic to the adherence of methods of natural sciences in social sciences, in understanding human actions. This methodological controversy concerning over the supremacy of methods followed in natural sciences over social sciences dated back to 1880 till 1900, a period marked by dramatic growth of natural sciences in Europe (Morrison, 2008:330). There was open clash between natural sciences and social sciences over question of knowledge and historical and philosophical sciences such as economics, sociology, and political economy were being
80 NSOU CC - SO - 03 criticized as being non-scientific, intuitive and speculative. In 1890, the movement referred to as Neo-Kantianism criticized the work of Kant and questioned the validity of scientific knowledge. Two central thinkers of neo-Kantian movement are Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert. Windelband basically was the man who according to contemporaries started the war against positivism and scientific methodology. He stated that Kant in deciphering the steps for natural sciences to gain valid knowledge excluded historical and ethical dimension of human action from domain of legitimate knowledge. He made the following points: (a) natural and social science are distinct in terms of the type of knowledge they aim to investigate, i.e. they simply describe different levels of reality; (b) in case of natural sciences, there is fact and observable world where laws and can be found but in case of social sciences there is knowledge of human values, ethics, which are products of human culture; (c) the methodological approach is different; natural sciences aim at providing laws (nomothetic or law-giving) and explain events through observation and deductive methods whereas the aim of social sciences is to focus on individual events such as development of capitalism, determine the causes and conjure the whole picture based on inductive method (ideographic); (d) human perception of the world involves judgment which involves interpretation, therefore human social action cannot be reduced to mechanistic motives of utility and sense of observation. Heinrich Rickert, a student of Windelband and a contemporary of Weber, concentrated on subject matter and method. According to Rickert the act of judgment precedes act of knowing, and physical reality only has substance through act of judgment, not through mere observation. He stated that observation is nothing but human judgment operating in the visible world. And so knowing itself is a kind of valuing and therefore has a basis in the empirical world. He made the following points: (a) social science explained individual non-recurring events (ibid:336) as distinct from lawfully recurring nature of the reality studied by natural sciences. Natural sciences explain empirical world by generalizing methodology in contrast to individualizing methodology of the social sciences; (b) human actions are guided by practical values and standards which are products of history. So, unlike natural sciences which search for facts, social sciences are concerned about knowledge of values. Broadly speaking, thinkers in social sciences mostly either advocate positivism following natural scientific models or a more interpretive, hermeneutic model. Positivism followed a rejection of ontology in favor of epistemology, an empiricist epistemology, and a deductive-

NSOU CC - SO - 03 81 nomological account of scientific explanation. That is, it focused on arguments about "what is" toward those about "what can be known". (Gimbel, 2016:73). Empiricist epistemology derives knowledge from observation and validity of our knowledge is directly associated with validity of observations. Validity of the observations that require conscious interpretation on the part of the researcher remains a suspect. Another basic belief of positivism is scientific knowledge is objective and value-neutral (ibid: 74). The difficulty with Positivism is that the objects of social scientific study are themselves conscious subjects and unlike the objects of natural scientific studies, they have their own notions of how they should behave. The history of sociological theory is an ongoing struggle between positivism and hermeneutic positions. The hermeneutic school arose as a prominent anti-positivist position towards the end of nineteenth century, being influenced by German idealistic philosophy. German philosopher Droysen was first to use the terms understanding (verstehen) as the goal of human sciences in contrast to explanation (goal of natural science). Dilthey, as a proponent of hermeneutic school sought for a foundational science that would serve the human sciences as mathematics and mechanics served the natural sciences- as the shared, universal basis that provided methodological coherence to the disparate sciences of physics, chemistry, and so on. Dilthey took the task of establishing coherence, legitimacy and independence within the domain of human sciences. According to him, the human sciences need to complement the natural sciences but must remain separate from them. Unlike explanation through causal laws, Dilthey's hermeneutics sought understanding. This distinction between explanation and understanding, borrowed in part from Droysen, is Dilthey's most important and controversial contributions to the philosophy of science. The historical debate within the philosophy of science between positivism and Dilthey's hermeneutics serves as the frame of reference based on which contemporary discourse within social sciences seek to understand whether interpretation as a method is valid and whether it can yield objective science. Both Dilthey and Weber were leading thinkers for whom the historicity of human existence and the historical character of knowledge was a central problematic. To put Weber in this context, he attended the disputes in social sciences that threatened the validity of its methods. The discourse also involved question of subject matter, whether values will dominateover facts; choice in type of investigating method to be used in social sciences and the decision about what is the main purpose and aim of social science. Weber was highly influenced by idealist philosophy and sought to establish

82 NSOU CC - SO - 03 a middle ground between positivism and idealism. According to Gimbel (2016), Weber did acknowledge the difference between the sciences of nature and the sciences of man; the peculiarities of human social behaviour as a subject for science, but believes it possible to allow for them without compromising scientific method (ibid: 75). So, Weber's philosophy of social science manages to incorporate features of both positivist and humanist visions of science. He maintains a place in the social sciences for causal, explanatory laws, but also attempted to incorporate the concept of interpretation into his account of social-scientific explanation. He retains a place for the interpretation of subjective intentions and the subjective understanding of meanings as well as allowing for the subjective orientations of the scientist, but stated that the research in the cultural sciences cannot only have subjective results, being valid for one person and not for others. 5.5 Interpretive Sociology: General Arguments The following points outline the general arguments of interpretive sociology in depth. (a) Interpretive analysis means an attempt to understand and explain human action in terms of the intention it expresses (Hayes 1985:1). The presupposition is, human action involves meaning and there is intrinsic connection between behaviour and meaning associated with it. But it cannot be claimed that intent causes action. Intent and action cannot be regarded as logically independent of each other as it is defined in case of cause and effect relationship. For example, one cannot logically separate the action of waving to someone with the intention of waving to someone. It is also important to note that, to intent to act is not same as to act and to intent to act does not always entails performance of the act, as in case of some resolution taken but not performed. In cases where the intention is followed by performance of work, even then the intent cannot be regarded as cause of the action as the action logically entails the intent. Causal analysis and interpretive analysis as two genres within the broad spectrum of sociological theory are irreconcilable, from the beginning. Causal analysis and positivism followed by Saint Simon, Comte and Durkheim regarded human activities as 'a piece with the rest of the nature' (ibid: 2) in that it shows same form of regularities and uniformities that is explainable in terms of invariable and causal laws. Here the elements are considered to be extrinsically related and therefore same method of inquiry as in natural sciences can be applied. Therefore the 'positivists' try to

NSOU CC - SO - 03 83 explain social phenomena by presupposing the existence of universal causal regularities or laws. On the other hand, for hermeneutic theorists such as Hegel, Dilthey and Gadamer, the most important aspect of human activity is how they express 'meaning', a quality of life that cannot be adequately explained in terms of universal causal laws and therefore the methodological inquiry of human science need to be significantly different from that of natural sciences. The hermeneutists use interpretive analysis to understand and explain human action. (b) Interpretive sociology is not regarded as being part of psychology. This is so because in case of instrumentally rational action which has the most understandable meaning structure, both the actor and the observer the action is subjectively, rationally, rigorously oriented to means that are unequivocally held adequate to fulfill clearly comprehended ends. One cannot infer about such action from psychic data. Rather one should infer from ones subjective expectation related to behaviour of objects and from expectations formed on the basis of valid experiences. In case of irrational processes (where objectively correct condition of instrumentally rational action is not considered) in order to know which aspects of such action is psychologically explicable, it is necessary to understand how pure ideal-typical rationality would have proceeded. It is possible then to determine objective and subjective irrational components of the action. Interpretive sociology is also distinct from dogmatic disciplines such as logic, jurisprudence and therefore meaning do not refer to objective meaning which is 'true' or 'valid' in some metaphysical sense. (c) Weber defines Interpretive Sociology as a science concerned with interpretive understanding of social action as well as causal explanation of its course and consequences. Individual behaviour (overt or covert; omission or acquiensce) is regarded as action when the actor attaches subjective meaning to it (Weber, 1978:4). Interpretive sociology focuses on the unique nature of human behavior whereby it is possible to 'intelligibly interpret' (Weber, 1981:151) its relational contexts and regularities. Understanding the context and verifying it through causal attribution ensures validity of the 'intelligible explanation'. Action is identified as significant for Interpretive Sociology. It consists of behaviour that: (a) in terms of the subjectively intended meaning of the actor, is related to the behavior of others, (b) is codetermined in its course through this relatedness, and thus (c) can be intelligibly explained in terms of this (subjectively) intended meaning. (ibid:152) An action is regarded as
84 NSOU CC - SO - 03 social when its subjective meaning takes others' behaviour into account and it is oriented in its course accordingly (Weber,1978:4). The "others" may be an individual person, someone known or an indefinite unknown plurality (ibid:22). Interpretative sociology considers the individual and his action as the basic unit. In sociology, concepts such as 'state', 'association', 'feudalism' are regarded as certain categories of human interaction. Hence it is the task of sociology to reduce these concepts to 'understandable' action, of participating individual men (Gerth and Mills 1946: 55). Max Weber incorporated the problem of understanding in his sociological approach, which, he emphasized as one type of sociology among other possibilities. Interpretive sociology, as conceptualised by Weber was largely influenced by philosophical thoughts associated with Enlightenment, where his point of departure and most important unit of analysis is the individual person (ibid:55). This way of thinking was opposed to the existing dominant influence of Hegel and Ranke, according to which emphasis is given on the interpretation of the union between the comprehensive totality and its part. The individual, institution, act, all is seen a document and manifestation of the whole. To Weber, 'Understanding' was a unique approach of the moral or cultural sciences, dealing with man and not with other animals or with lifeless nature. Man can introspect and understand his own intentions and at the same time can interpret the motives behind the actions of other men in terms of their professed or ascribed intentions. (d) The concept of verstehen is central to interpretive sociology. Introduced by Droysen and used by Dilthey, verstehen is a concept that differentiates social sciences as opposed to natural sciences. Usually verstehen is described as something related to the explanation of human action; it may be an experience, a method or an explanation (Bourgeois, 1976: 26). Verstehen involves the idea that a social scientist must empathize with his subjects in order to understand his subjects' actions as social actions. Though there is a tendency among proponents of verstehen to make empathy as a quintessential feature of social sciences, Nagel is a prominent exception to this rule. Nagel puts forward verstehen as a heuristic tool, "a way of generating suggestive hypotheses for explaining social action" (ibid:28). According to Natanson, verstehen is interpretive understanding. Here again one needs to refer to Weber to get a clear idea about verstehen. Weber maintains that the primary task of the sociologist is to understand the meaning an act has for the actor himself, not for the observer. The kind of

NSOU CC - SO - 03 85 understanding involved is precisely that of verstehen (ibid: 29). Verstehen is not only a skill of the sociologist. According to Schutz, it is the particular experiential form in which commonsense thinking takes cognizance of the social cultural world (Parsons 1978:1). The social agent is a "sociological person" or practical sociologist, as Schutz referred to him, who relies upon the techniques of verstehen in his routine social relations. (e) Recent research in interpretive sociology is informed by a variety of perspectives, among them are sociolinguistics (Hymes), symbolic interactionism (Blumer, Denzin) ethnomethodology (Goffman) and phenomenology (Schutz). In spite of significant differences, all these approaches to the study of society have emphasized on two significant and interrelated insights. First, the everyday social actor does not merely internalize norms whose implementation are not as automatic as the stimulus response behavior sequences learned in operant conditioning (as functionalists emphasizing the importance of functional integration and social consensus often imply); rather, the actor is a conscious agent continuously mindful of and responsible for the active application of normative codes in the interpretation of social reality. In this view, society is not the unfolding of pre-established behavior patterns in (an assumed) highly stable environment of others and material objects but the creative production of interacting and interdependent agents who are skillful at interpretively understanding and communicating the sense of their own social worlds. Second, these approaches point to the importance of interpretation not only in sociological inquiry, as does the tradition of interpretive sociology to which they often trace their inspiration, but in the particular social reality under study (Parsons 1978:111). Schutz is acknowledged as the pioneer in the new approaches of interpretive sociology since he accentuated the importance of verstehen in the everyday world in The Phenomenology of the Social World (ibid: 112). Many recent works in interpretive sociology by Garfinkel, Goffman, Schutz and Wilson, have drawn extensively from the phenomenological tradition. An incorporation of phenomenological insights is a wise strategy for interpretive sociology since if interpretive sociology focuses only on the methods for the construction and communication of meaning it gets restricted. Incorporation of phenomenological insights takes into consideration the substantive senses of the meanings upon which actors/agents rely (ibid: 114).

86 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Interpretive sociology has also influenced the emergence of symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology. Interpretive sociologists often employ ethnography, participant observation and interviewing in order to empirically situate analyses with the lived experiences of social actors in their social world. Often set in contrast to more structural or critical perspectives, interpretive sociology is concerned with how people go about defining and making sense of their situations, others and themselves. Such a mandate lends itself to inquiry that is more sensitive to qualitative methodologies and subjectively based analysis. Rather than establishing specific correlations between operationalized variables and causation, analytical attention is given to the processual nature of the human lived experience as it relates to people's everyday lives. Data is collected and analyzed through various forms of participant observation, interviewing, and historical documents. Symbolic Interactionism as a perspective and methodology was formulated by Herbert Blumer, his inspiration came from the American pragmatists, including Charles Pierce, William James, John Dewey and, most notably, George Herbert Mead. These thinkers developed concepts which emphasized human life as one of shared understandings between reflective and interpretive members. Blumer proposed that sociologists should focus on the subjective and interpretive aspects of peoples' shared meanings. He argued that social structures are ongoing accomplishments of 'joint action', and emphasized human agency to shape social contexts that are never completely external to the individual or obdurate in their influence and impact (Adorjan et. al., 2017:3). It is not roles and values that guide action, but our perceptions and interpretations of these that matter. Blumer's focus on shared meanings emphasized the examination of language and interaction, leading to his endorsement of the direct examination of the empirical world through ethnography, participant observation, as well as life history (i.e. the examination of diaries and letters), and interviews. Pragmatism and Symbolic Interactionism led to the formulation of grounded theory, by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss. Glaser and Strauss emphasized a comparative method that avoids mapping empirical data onto pre-existing theory. Unlike natural science methodology (which, due to its emphasis on validity and reliability require antecedent operationalization), grounded theory seeks to push researchers to perpetually revise their ideas regarding social life by going back and forth between the empirical world and their own concepts and ideas. Grounded theory allows methodology to

NSOU CC - SO - 03 87 take precedence insofar as it informs theoretical generation through ongoing comparison. Harold Garfinkel formulated ethnomethodology based on interpretive sociology during 1950, which centered on the 'method' that people engage in to uphold their every day sense of identity, action and continuity between individual and society (ibid:4). Garfinkel asked how, within our daily actions, is society perpetuated; how are transactions of equilibrium enacted. Similar to symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology seeks to capture the real lived experiences of members within society, favouring the direct observation of people, especially focusing on microinteractions. Both perspectives emphasize negotiation and interpretation, and suggest that only through direct participation can researchers explicate the life world of members. Thus interpretive sociology emerged as an alternative paradigm to positivism and objectivism practiced within sociology. It established the importance of understanding subjective meaning and influenced a whole gamut of theoretical perspectives and methodological dispositions within social science domain. 5.7 Summary Interpretive sociology involves a variety of forms of sociology (approach of Weber, Symbolic Interactionism, Sociological Phenomenology) united by an emphasis on the necessity for sociologist to understand and interpret actors' meanings. All social reality is taken as pre-interpreted in that it only has form out of social actors' meanings. As a method interpretive understanding stresses on the importance of intentional human actions. What distinguishes the interpretive paradigm with any other account of interpretation is the recognition that any statement about the social world is necessarily relative to any other. The guiding principle of interpretive sociology is that social life is subjective and therefore it is amenable to interpretation. Interpretive sociology is formed as an alternative and critic to the adherence of methods of natural sciences in social sciences, in understanding human actions. Interpretive analysis means an attempt to understand and explain human action in terms of the intention it expresses. The presupposition is, human action involves meaning and there is intrinsic connection between behaviour and meaning associated with it. Weber defines Interpretive Sociology as a science concerned with interpretive
88 NSOU CC - SO - 03 understanding of social action as well as causal explanation of its course and consequences. The concept of verstehen is central to interpretive sociology. 5.8 Questions Answer briefly (6 marks) i. Briefly define interpretive sociology. ii. Briefly state the basic premises of interpretive sociology. iii. What is the significance of neo-Kantianism in history of social scence? iv. Briefly explain role of hermeneutic school with reference to Weber. v. Discuss the relationship between interpretive sociology and psychology. vi. Define verstehen. Answer in detail (12 marks) i. Describe the historical and philosophical context of interpretive sociology. ii. Analyze the significance and centrality of verstehen to interpretive sociology. iii. Discuss the various perspectives influenced by interpretive sociology. Essay Type Question (20marks) i. Discuss the basic arguments of interpretive sociology. 5.9 References Bourgeois Warren .1976. Verstehen in the Social Sciences. Journal for General Philosophy of Science, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 26-38. Gerth H.H and C. Wright Mills (Eds) .1946. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York. Oxford University Press. Gimbel Edward W. 2016. Interpretation and Objectivity: A Gadamerian Reevaluation of Max Weber's Social Science, Political Research Quarterly, Vol. 69, No. 1 (March 2016), pp. 72-82. Hayes Adrian. C. 1985. Causal and Interpretive Analysis in Sociology. Sociological Theory, Vol 3, No 2, pp 1-10.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 89 Morrison Ken.2008. Marx, Durkheim, Weber; Formation of Modern Social Thought. 2 nd Edition. New Delhi. Sage. Parsons Arthur S. 1978. Interpretive Sociology: The Theoretical Significance of Verstehen in the Constitution of Social Reality, Human Studies, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Apr., 1978), pp. 111-137 Weber Max .1978. Economy and Society; An Outline Of Interpretive Sociology, Volume 1. Guenthar Roth and Claus Wittich (ed). Berkeley and Los Angeles. University of California Press. Weber Max. 1981. Some Categories of Interpretive Sociology, The Sociological Quarterly, Vol 1, No 2, pp 150-180. Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology, 2nd Edition (2017) Michael Adorjan and Benjamin Kelly.https://www.researchgate.net/publication/312027216 5.10 Glossary Enlightenment: The period of intellectual ferment leading up to the French Revolution, which was distinguished by a fundamental questioning of traditional modes of thought and social organization, and sought to replace these with an exclusive reliance on human reason in determining social practices. Ethnomethodology: The theoretical and specialist approach within sociology initiated by Harold Garfinkel, that sets out to uncover the methods and social competence that we, as members of social groups, employ in constructing our sense of social reality. Hermeneutics: A theory and method of interpreting human action and artefacts. Dilthey used the term to refer to 'cultural sciences' i.e. the subjects that forge 'shared understanding' between creator and the interpreter. Interpretive analysis: An attempt to understand and explain human action in terms of the intention it expresses. The presupposition is, human action involves meaning and there is intrinsic connection between behaviour and meaning associated with it. Neo-Kantianism: In 1890, this movement began through criticism of the work of Kant and questioned the validity of scientific knowledge. Two central thinkers of neo-

90 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Kantian movement are Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert. Windelband (1848-1915) basically was the man who according to contemporaries started the war against positivism and scientific methodology. He stated that Kant in deciphering the steps for natural sciences to gain valid knowledge while excluding historical and ethical dimension of human action from domain of legitimate knowledge. Phenomenology: A Philosophical approach particularly associated with Edmund Husserl in which philosophy is seen to rest fundamentally on the introspective examination of one's own intellectual processes in the experiencing of phenomena. Alfred Schutz's Social Phenomenology involves a critical appropriation of Husserl's approach and an application of this to the study of the assumptions involved in and the constitution of everyday social knowledge. Positivism: The doctrine formulated by Comte which asserts that the only true knowledge is scientific knowledge i.e. knowledge which describes and explains the coexistence and succession of observable phenomena, including both physical and social phenomena. Sociolinguistics: The study of the sociological aspects of language. The discipline concerns itself with the part language plays in maintaining the social roles in a community. The basic notion underlying sociolinguistics is quite simple: Language use symbolically represents fundamental dimensions of social behavior and human interaction Symbolic Interactionism: A theoretical approach in US sociology which seeks to explain action and interaction as the outcome of the meanings which the actors attach to things and to social action, including themselves. Verstehen: The concept is central to interpretive sociology. Introduced by Droysen and used by Dilthey, verstehen is a concept that differentiates social sciences as opposed to natural sciences. Usually verstehen is described as something related to the explanation of human action; it may be an experience, a method or an explanation. It involves the idea that a social scientist must empathize with his subjects in order to understand his subjects' actions as social actions.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 91 Unit - 6 Contributions of Weber Structure 6.1 Learning Objectives 6.2 Introduction 6.3 A Brief Biography of Max Weber 6.4 Interpretive Sociology of Max Weber 6.4.1 Definition 6.4.2 Methodological Foundations of Interpretive Sociology 6.5 Interpretive Sociology: Contribution of Max Weber 6.6 Conclusion 6.7 Summary 6.8 Question 6.9 References 6.10 Glossary 6.1 Objectives • To raise certain questions to the learners which Weber has asked and has tried to find answers such as : • What is the nature of reality in case of social or human sciences? • How is this reality to be studied? • How to determine the validity of such knowledge? • In short, how to assess the contributions of Weber? 6.2 Introduction We will focus on the contribution of Max Weber towards interpretive sociology. The section begins with a brief biography of Weber which enables the reader to understand how Weber's scholarship was nurtured by his sociological conditions and family
92 NSOU CC - SO - 03 background. The following section provides the in-depth discussion on interpretive sociology of Max Weber. The subject matter and methodology of interpretive (verstehenden) sociology involves a discussion of how Weber defines the various categories such as social action, types of social action, social relationship, association, institution and so on. The last section specifies the unique contribution of Max Weber in delineating the methodology of sociology. He successfully focused on both human understanding as well as causal adequacy. He integrated both hermeneutical concern and explanatory objectives in his methodological deliberations. 6.3 A Brief Biography of Max Weber Max Weber was born in Erfurt, Thuringia in 1864. His father, Max Weber, Sr., was a trained jurist and municipal counselor. In 1869 the Weber family moved to Berlin where, Weber, Sr. became a prosperous active politician. It is important to note that young Weber, his family residing in west-end suburbs of Berlin, came to know many academic and political notables who visited their family, such as Dilthey, Mommsen, Julian Schmidt, Sybel, Treitschke, and Friedrich Kapp. Weber's mother, Helene Fallenstein also belonged to a cultured and liberal family background (many were teachers and small officials) and was of Protestant faith. She was tutored in the several humanist subjects by Gervinus, the eminent liberal historian and a close friend of her family. Max Weber corresponded with her in long, intimate, and often learned letters, until she died, in 1919 (Gerth and Mills 1946:3). Exploring Weber's biography helps a reader understand how personal experiences, relationships, political and cultural contexts and struggles shaped Max Weber as a thinker. To begin with, observing the differences between his parents and the deceptive processes within a Victorian patriarchal family, it was clear to young Weber that no words or actions could be taken on face value (ibid: 5). That, in order to get to truth one need to access direct, first-hand knowledge. Weber showed religious indifference from an early age and did go against the authority of his elders and his father. He went to Heidelberg and enrolled as a student of law. Along with law, he studied history, economics, and philosophy under eminent scholars, participated in the theological and philosophical controversies of the day. At the age of 19, Weber moved to Strassburg in order to serve in the army but he did not give up his intellectual pursuits. The military year was over in 1884 and at the age of 20 Weber resumed his university studies in Berlin and Goettingen,

NSOU CC - SO - 03 93 where, two years later, he took his first examination in law. During his years at Strassburg, Weber experienced friendship, profound emotional experience and intellectual discourse in the company of his familial relations (his mother's sisters were married to Strassburg professors and his mother's side of the family was prone to mystical and religious experiences). From his experiences with these relationships, Weber came to learn how to appreciate and sympathize to diverse values. He also took to pragmatic view that it is not fruitful to stick to one's introspective awareness but focus the consequences of various decisions and course of actions (ibid: 9). After finishing studies, Weber took up service in the law courts of Berlin. His interests rested around the field in which economic and legal history overlapped. His Ph.D. thesis (1889) was based on the history of trading companies during the Middle Ages. In 1890 he passed his second examination in law and established himself as a scholar on commercial, German, and Roman law. His treatise titled The History of Agrarian Institutions (1891) covered a sociological, economic, and cultural analysis of ancient society. It is subjects to which Weber remain occupied with, throughout. In the spring of 1892, a grand niece of Max Weber, Sr., came to Berlin in order to educate herself for a profession. Weber married his grand niece Marianne Schnitger in 1893. After marriage Weber lived a life of active and successful young scholar in Berlin. Filling in for ill teacher of economics, he spent hours in lecture hall and seminar. He was active consultant and worked for government agencies. In 1894, he accepted a full professorship in economics at Freiburg University. From this time Weber put himself under enormous work load. Weber accepted a chair at Heidelberg in 1896. He thus became the colleague of former teachers, Fischer, Bekker, and others. His circle of friends included Georg Jellinek, Paul Hensel, Karl Neumann, the art historian, and Ernst Troeltsch, the religionist, who became one of Weber's greatest friends and intellectual companions (ibid:11). Max Weber's father died in 1897, and hereafter crisis in his personal life and health began. Weber considered himself guilty of his father's death (his father died in few days after a heated discussion with Weber, an unrectifiable act of hostility in his own opinion). Shortly after this, Weber fell ill with fever and psychological maladies. As the academic year began, he collapsed from tension, remorse, exhaustion, sleeplessness and anxiety. For the rest of his life he suffered intermittently from severe depressions, punctuated by manic spurts of extraordinarily intense intellectual work and travel; every mental effort, especially speech, was felt to be detrimental to his entire being (ibid:12). Weber recovered during

94 NSOU CC - SO - 03 his vacation in Italy and could return to Heidelberg in 1902 to resume into a light schedule of work. At this time he read extensively on art history, economics, politics and the economic history of monastic orders (ibid:14). But there were again set back and at his request Weber was removed from professorship and made a lecturer. At this juncture he was able to start writing again. He first focused on problems of method in the social sciences. At the same time he edited along with Sombart in the leading social science journal in Germany (Archiv fur Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik). This editorship connected Weber with a wide circle of scholars and politicians and aided in broadening the focus of his own work. By 1904, he published essays on the social and economic problems of Junker estates, objectivity in the social sciences, and the first section of the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. During his travels in America Weber became interested on the role of bureaucracy in a democracy. He was drawn into academic politics and tried to open up opportunity for scholars such as Georg Simmel and Robert Michels, who were victims of anti-Semitism. In Heidelberg, during 1906 to 1910, Weber participated in intense intellectual discussions with eminent colleagues such as his brother, Alfred Weber, Otto Klebs, Eberhard Gothein, Wilhelm Windelband, Georg JelUnek, Ernst Troeltsch, Karl Neumann, Emil Lask, Friedrich Gundolf, and Arthur Salz (ibid:20). Weber was also regularly vsited by Robert Michels, Werner Sombart, the philosopher Paul Hensel, Hugo Miinsterberg, Ferdinand Tonnies, Karl Vossler, and, above all, Georg Simmel. Among the younger scholars to whom Weber acted as mentor were Paul Honigsheim, Karl Lowenstein, and Georg Lukacs. Weber's circle included the non-academic also such as Mina Tobler, the musician to whom Weber dedicated his study of Hinduism and Buddhism, Karl Jaspers, a psychiatrist who later turned into philosopher and H. Gruhle, a psychiatrist interested in modern art. In 1908 Max Weber was active in establishing a sociological society. He decided the level of discussion at the meetings and defined the scope of future work. He motivated research works on voluntary associations (ranging from athletic leagues to religious sects and political parties), on a methodical study of the press and on industrial psychology. After First World War, in April 1918, he moved to Vienna for a summer term at the university where he gave his first university lectures after nineteen years titled, 'A Positive Critique of the Materialist Conception of History,' where he presented his sociology of world religions and politics. His lectures were stupendously successful, attended by professors, state officials, and politicians. A whole series of academic positions were offered to him, he accepted the Munich offer in 1919. His last lectures were worked out at the request of his students and have been published as General Economic History. He died in June 1920.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 95 According to Gerth and Mills (1946) there are definite sociological conditions that account for kind of scholarship Weber displayed. His early education equipped him in many Indo-Germanic languages, his intellectually stimulating family background made it possible for him to study an unusual combination of specialized subjects (ibid: 24). He was a lawyer as well as a well-equipped economist, historian, and philosopher. Max Weber's intellectual orientations took shape within a context characterised by conflicting classes, parties, and intellectual currents (ibid: 46). As a result, when his analytic conceptions and broad historical views are studied, one finds an assimilation of conservative, liberal, and socialist elements of thought that has been transformed and integrated in his work. Max Weber spent the early years of the twentieth century engaged in a series of methodological debates within the Neo-Kantian tradition. Along with a few of his contemporaries, Wilhelm Dilthey and Heinrich Rickert, Weber sought to establish a valid social science that possessed a methodology that was better suited to study the social world than the positivist models provided by the natural sciences (Naturwissenschaften). 6.4 Interpretive Sociology of Max Weber Max Weber outlines the basic tenets of interpretive sociology by laying down its subject matter and methodological foundations. In order to delineate how Weber conceptualizes "Interpretive ("verstehenden") Sociology", his book Economy and Society, Volume 1 (1978:3-29) and his article, Some Categories of Interpretive Sociology (1981) have been referred. In the following section, the propositions and arguments made by Weber have been discussed. In prefatory note to his deliberations on laying the foundations of Intepretive Sociology, Weber acknowledges the influence of Karl Jaspers, Heinrich Rickert and Simmel in conceptualizing 'understanding'. However Weber departs from Simmel in methods by distinguishing between subjectively intended and objectively valid meanings. Ferdinand Tonnies and his work Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft is also mentioned in this note. 6.4.1 Definition : Weber defines Interpretive Sociology as a science concerned with interpretive understanding of social action as well as causal explanation of its course and consequences. Individual behaviour (overt or covert; omission or acquiensce) is regarded as action when the actor attaches subjective meaning to it (1978:4). Interpretive sociology focuses on the
96 NSOU CC - SO - 03 unique nature of human behavior whereby it is possible to 'intelligibly interpret' (1981:151) its relational contexts and regularities. Understanding the context and verifying it through causal attribution ensures validity of the 'intelligible explanation'. Validity is important here because human behaviours can be based on varied 'constellation of motives' (ibid: 151) in spite of being similar in its external course and results. An understanding of human behaviour is based on varying degrees of specific qualitative 'self-evidence'. The instrumentally rational interpretation has high measure of 'self-evidence' as it is exclusively oriented to subjective means to attain fully comprehended subjective goals. It is also possible to understand the typical course of emotion and its consequences for behaviour. Some behaviours such as those involving ecstasy or mystical experiences, that of children and that having psychopathic context may not be understandable and amenable to interpretive explanations. The course of memory and intellectual exercises are only partly understandable. Interpretive sciences treat the ascertainable regularities of such psychic processes just as they treat physical laws of nature. Definition of Social Action: Action is identified as significant for Interpretive Sociology. It consists of behaviour that: (a) in terms of the subjectively intended meaning of the actor, is related to the behavior of others, (b) is codetermined in its course through this relatedness, and thus (c) can be intelligibly explained in terms of this (subjectively) intended meaning. (Weber 1981:152) An action is regarded as social when its subjective meaning takes others' behaviour into account and it is oriented in its course accordingly (1978:4). The "others" may be an individual person, someone known or an indefinite unknown plurality (Weber 1978:22). "Social action" (Gemeinschaftshandeln) is for us the behaviour of individuals, either (a) historically observed or (b) theoretically "possible" or "probable", behavior related to the actual or anticipated potential behaviour of other individuals (Weber 1981:160). Overt action is not social if it is oriented solely to behaviour of inanimate objects. Subjective attitudes constitute social action when it is oriented to the behaviours of others. For example a solitary prayer, a religious behaviour is not social. But an economic behaviour becomes social when the actor assumes that others will respect his actual control over goods. Not every type of human contact can be termed social but only those that are meaningfully oriented to others. For example, two cyclists colliding is not social reality but their attempt to avoid any form of conflict over the collision is social action. Social action is not identical to similar action of many persons or with

NSOU CC - SO - 03 97 every action influenced by others. It will be an action conditioned by crowd when many people take out umbrella apprehending it to be raining anytime. Action influenced by media is also caused by the fact that the individual is member of the 'mass' of which he is aware of. Imitation of action of others is also not social action as it is purely reactive with no meaningful orientation. An example will be imitation of fashion as some objective facts. However, if the actor imitates as because the actions of others are traditional or fashionable then it is social action because it is meaningfully oriented to action of the third person or the source of the imitation or both. The boundary is not always very distinctive. The reason behind this indefiniteness is that the actor is not fully self-conscious of the meaning that he attributes to his actions. Weber stated that social action may be oriented in four ways (ibid: 24); (a) Instrumentally Rational that is determined by expectations related to the behavior of object in the environment and that of other humans. These expectations are regarded as conditions to means with the help of which the actor will attend his rationally calculated ends; (b) Value-Rational, that is determined by a conscious belief in the value in itself leading to ethical, esthetic, religious behaviors which are independent of its prospects of success; (c) Affectual (emotional) that is determined by the specific affects and state of feelings of the actor and (d) Traditional that is determined by ingrained habituation. Traditional behaviors and affectual behavior both are close to borderline of what can be termed as meaningfully oriented action. In case of traditional behavior it is often an automatic reaction to habitual stimuli whereby the behavior is repeatedly followed. On the other hand affectual behavior may consist of uncontrolled reaction to exceptional stimuli. Value-rational action is distinguished from affectual action as it is a clearly self conscious formulation of values that governs the action and the action's planned orientation to these values. An example of value rational orientation will be the action of individuals who in spite of being aware of the probable cost to themselves, act according to their convictions, such as those actions driven by duty, honor, loyalty and so on. In case of instrumentally rational action, the ends of the action, the means to the ends and the secondary results are all rationally taken into accounts and weighed. In here alternative courses of action are considered. However, actual cases of social action which are oriented in one or another of the ways mentioned above, are unusual to find. The above classification is also not exhaustive; it is only useful for the purpose of investigation.

98 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Definition of Social relationship: Social relationship consists of a probability that there will be a meaningful course of social action irrespective of the basis of probability. It existed, exists and will exist appropriate to the meaning. The meaning here is the meaning attributed by the parties involved in a given concrete case on the average or in a theoretically formulated pure type. The subjective meaning may not be same for the parties involved in case of 'asymmetrical' social relationship but the there is still mutual orientation as one party assumes an attitude towards himself by the other party and orient his action according to that expectation. In case of symmetrical relation both the parties cater to same meaning. However, completely corresponding meaning among parties to social relationship is a limiting case in reality. The subjective meaning of a social relationship may change; from solidarity to conflict. It may partly change when acquiring a new meaning and partly remain constant. The aspects of meaning which remains constant can lead to formulation of maxims which the parties expect to be adhered to on an average. The meaning of social relationship is also agreed upon by mutual consent when parties make promises about their future behaviour towards each other. In part the actor orients his promise rationally and in part he is driven value-rationally by a sense of duty. Interpretive sociology does not include physiological phenomena such as pulse rate or psychic conditions such as feeling tension. It is concerned about typical meaningful relationships of action. As such instrumentally rational action is taken as an ideal type which in turn makes it possible to assess the significance of irrational action. Subjectively intended meaning of action relationship is regarded as designating the inner state of human behaviour, thus ensuring that interpretive sociology consider each phenomena inside out. However, this does not mean that one needs to enumerate psychic conditions. For identical relationship of meaning may not be linked to completely opposite psychic constellations. It also does not mean that purely psychic facts are sociologically irrelevant because they are not subjectively related to the behaviours of others. Nor can one isolate an economic actor from his orientation to the outer world. The relevance of these processes to sociology which are devoid of subjective meaning is that they act as conditions and consequences towards which meaningful action is oriented. The processes of heredity cannot be understood in terms of subjectively intended meaning, in case of which interpretive sociology has to interpretively explain as to what are the intelligible consequences this (heredity-conditioned) effort has had upon the meaningful behavior of others (Weber 1978: 153).

NSOU CC - SO - 03 99 6.4.2Methodological Foundations of Interpretive Sociology: (a) Weber begins with his deliberation on meaning that is to be interpreted and understood in case of social action. Meaning here can be actual meaning in a concrete case of an actor or it can be meaning the average meaning attributed by a plurality or this meaning can be a theoretically abstract one attributed to hypothetical actors. Sociology as an empirical science of action is distinct from dogmatic disciplines such as logic and jurisprudence and therefore meaning does not refer to objective meaning which is 'true' or 'valid' in some metaphysical sense. Sociologically relevant purely rational actions are often reactive behaviours with no subjective meaning attached to it and it is often not empirically distinguishable from meaningful action. Weber suggests that in such cases action may include intermingled understandable and non- understandable components. (b) All interpretations (like scientific facts) need to have clarity; all insights and comprehensions need to be verifiable. This certainty can be achieved through either rational method or one can be certain of one's understanding by being emotionally empathic or artistically appreciative. Accuracy in case of the latter is possible if through sympathetic participation one can understand the emotional context in which the action took place. However some values and ends of human action though intellectually grasped, may not be fully understandable and may not show the certainty of interpretation as in case of rationally purposeful actions. The more the values and ends of an action are different from those who are interpreting the more difficult it is to empathically understand actions. In such cases Weber states that one needs to be content with its purely intellectual understanding or accept them as given data. The more one is exposed to emotional reaction such as love, jealousy, anger, anxiety and the irrational behaviour growing out it, the more it is possible for them to empathize with such behaviour. A purely rational course of action serves as an ideal type for the sociologist. It has clear understandability and is less ambiguous. All irrational actions are deviation from purely rational action; by comparing with it one can understand the irrational factors. According to Weber, ideal type is a methodological device; it should not represent rationalistic bias of sociology for it does not say anything about the predominance of rationalistic factors in human life.
100 NSOU CC - SO - 03 (c) Human actions governed by stimulus are those which are devoid of subjective meaning. That is actions which are not associated with intended purpose. Only stimulus is present, favoring or hindering circumstances. For example, there are the actions which are oriented towards human mortality. Other actions associated with psychic or psycho-physical phenomena such as fatigue or sudden state of euphoria are all devoid of subjective meaning. However, the actor and the sociologist both should accept them as data and take them into account. (d) Two kinds of understanding are mentioned and explained by Weber. Firstly there is direct observational understanding of the subjective meaning of a given act; such as observational understanding of irrational emotion of anger through facial expression or rational observational understanding of the act of a woodcutter. Secondly, there is explanatory understanding of actions. In here, one understands in terms of motive as to what meaning the actor attaches to his actions. Here one tries to understand what makes an actor act in a particular way, at a particular moment, under particular circumstances. This form of understanding places the act in an intelligible and inclusive context of meaning. For example direct observational understanding of a man firing may be interpreted as that the man has been commanded to do so but understanding motive can reveal the presence of underlying irrational emotions such as rage or revenge which can be in turn be explained (that they may be caused by insult or jealousy). In all cases understanding involves interpretive grasp of meaning of actions present in one of the following contexts: firstly, as actually intended meaning for concrete individual action (historical approach); secondly, average or approximation to the actually intended meaning (sociological mass phenomena) and thirdly, meaning appropriate to a scientifically pure type (ideal type). Weber places a word of caution stating that no matter how clear an interpretation appears, based on meaning, it should be regarded as a plausible hypothesis, as the motives are often not revealing to actors themselves. Actions which are similar may be caused by various motives having absolutely opposite interpretations. (e) Interpretation of a logical, consistent course of action is considered to be subjectively adequate (adequacy on the level of meaning) when it constitutes a typical complex of meaning based on habitual modes of thought. For example, the interpretation of action such as correct answer to an arithmetic problem is subjectively adequate being based on correct norms of calculation. In case of a sequence of events, the

NSOU CC - SO - 03 101 interpretation is said to causally adequate if it is based on established generalizations derived from experiences. For example, the causally adequate interpretation of the above mentioned action (correct arithmetic answer) would be the statistical probability that it will actually always occur in the same way. Correct causal interpretation of an action is possible when the overt action and the motives both have been correctly apprehended and their relationship is meaningfully comprehensible. (f) Statistical uniformities are understandable action but they constitute sociological generalizations only when they are manifestations of understandable subjective meaning of a course of action. Some statistics of processes are devoid of subjective meaning such as death rates and amount of rainfall. But in regard to crime rates, occupational distributions, the phenomena are meaningful and therefore sociologically relevant. It is for one or more individuals, action exists as a subjectively understandable orientation of behaviour. The psychic elements of individuals and their behaviour are not understandable subjectively as they are formulated from the point of view of natural sciences. In case of subjective understanding of action in sociology, collectivities such as state, associations, Business Corporation are to be treated as solely the resultant modes of organization of particular acts of individual persons. This is so because; (a) similar concepts and terminology are used such as the 'state' is used both in legal terminology and in everyday speech to denote the legal concept of state as well as a phenomena of social action to which legal rules are relevant, (b) these collectivities have a meaning in the minds of actors who orient their action to them and the ideas have power enough to causally influence action (normative prescriptions and prohibitions), (c) it is necessary to go beyond functional analysis of these collectivities so that sociology can interpret the subjective understanding of the actions of the component individuals. In comparison to external observations, interpretive understanding is hypothetical and provides fragmentary results but nevertheless Weber asserts that subjective understanding is the specific characteristic of sociological knowledge. (g) Sociological generalizations are typical probabilities that confirm through observation that under given conditions an expected course of social action will occur . Generalizations are highly definite in case of rigorously rational pursuits with clearly defined goals, when actors have no alternative course of action. According to Weber this case demonstrates why it will be an error to consider any kind of psychology as the foundation of sociological interpretation of knowledge. For psychology employs methodological approach of natural sciences to distinguish between the 'physical'
102 NSOU CC - SO - 03 and the 'psychic'; something which is alien to disciplines concerned with human behaviour. Also the error lies in the concept of psychic and that everything which is not physical is regarded as psychic. But in case of rational action the train of mathematical reasoning that a person carries out is not psychic. However psychology that employs method of subjective understanding, can contribute in explaining irrational actions sociologically. The relationships of interpretive sociology to "psychology" are formed differently in each individual case. Objectively correct rationality serves sociology as an ideal type in relation to empirical action; instrumental rationality as an ideal type in relation to what is psychologically understandable; the meaningful as an ideal type in relation to "meaningless" action (Weber 1981: 157). Through comparison with the ideal type, the casually relevant irrationalities (different on each level) can be established for the purpose of causal attribution. (h) Weber distinguished between sociology and history stating that whereas history seeks causal analysis and explanation of action and structures having cultural significance, sociology seeks to formulate types, concepts and generalized uniformities of empirical process. (i) Sociological concepts and generalization contribute to causal explanation of historically and culturally important phenomena. Sociological concepts being abstract strive for highest degree of adequacy at the level of meaning. In case of both rational and irrational (affectual modes of actions) actions, sociological analysis abstracts from reality and helps to understand it. It shows with what degree of approximation concrete historical phenomena can be included in one or more sociological concepts. As such, the sociologist necessarily needs to formulate pure ideal types of corresponding actions. Ideal types involve highest possible degree logical integration as they have high degree of adequacy at the level of meaning. And so it is not possible to ever find real phenomena that correspond to an ideal type. Ideal type does not refer to average type because motives behind actions are highly heterogeneous. Ideal types are used to understand deviation in actions caused by traditional restraints, affects and so on. Ideal types are also applied to subjective processes. In majority of cases actual action takes place in a state of unconsciousness of its subjective meaning. This fact needs to be taken into consideration at the time of sociological and historical investigation. (j) Following Weber, "Verstehen" is the key to understand why within interpretive (verstehenden) sociology, the single individual and his action is the basic unit (atom).

NSOU CC - SO - 03 103 Other disciplines treat the single individual as a complex of psychic, chemical, or other "processes". For sociology everything that is below the threshold of meaningfully interpretable behaviour, oriented toward inner or outer objects, is considered as the processes of nature; they are not the condition neither the object of orientation for the actor. For the same reason, the individual is, for interpretive sociology, above this threshold and the only agent of meaningful behavior. Concepts such as the "state", "association", "feudalism" and the like generally indicate for sociology categories of certain kinds of joint human action. For Weber, it is the task of sociology to reduce these concepts to "understandable" action; as the action of the participating individuals. This is not necessarily true for disciplines such as Jurisprudence. (k) Social action is referred to as "associational action" (Gesellschaftshandeln) when and insofar as (a) it is oriented in meaning toward expectations that are held on the basis of rules (Ordnungen), (b) formulation of these rules has resulted purely rationally (zweckrational) in view of the expected action of those associated (Vergesellschaftete), and (c) the meaning orientation is subjective. (Weber 1981: 160). The association exists so long and insofar as an action oriented toward the rules in accordance with their average intended meaning, still occurs within a practically relevant range. But this is a fluid situation. The rational ideal type of association is the "voluntary association" (Zweckverein). It entails associational actions where in all participants have rationally agreed on an order defining the purpose and the methods of their joint act (ibid: 163). (l) Weber explains actions based on Consensus (Einverstandnis). These are the complexes of social action, which in the absence of a rational agreement or an order, (a) may in effect operate as if such an agreement has taken place and (b) in which this specific effect is codetermined through the nature of the meaning of the action of the individuals (ibid:164). Consensus is evident in instrumentally rational exchange of money. In here, the individual act of associating with the exchange partner includes a relationship to the future action of an indistinctly perceived and conceivable group of actual and potential owners, collectors, and traders of money. Individual's action is oriented toward the expectation that makes the use of money possible; that others will also 'accept' money. Another example will be a language community where individual instances of social action are oriented toward the expectation of reaching an "understanding" of an intended meaning with another person. Thus consensus is a situation where an action is oriented toward expectations about the behavior of others and the expectations has an empirically realistic chance of being fulfilled

104 NSOU CC - SO - 03 because of the objective probability that these others will treat those expectations as meaningfully "valid" for their behavior, despite the absence of an explicit agreement. Social action oriented toward such "consensus" probabilities is referred to as "consensual action". The transition from consensual action to associational action is fluid (ibid: 171). (m) Weber designates "institutions" or compulsory associations (Anstalten) as such communities which are; (a) characterized by ascribed participation in contrast to the voluntary association on the basis of purely objective facts independent of declarations by those persons ascribed; (b) they are not amorphous, in contrast to consensual social relationship because they lack an intentional rational order; here action is co-determined by rational man-made rules and coercive apparatus. A language group into which one is born is not an "institution" as they lack the rational status. Example of "institution" will be political community designated as "state". (n) The institution or compulsory association with its rational statutes is related to the organization (Verband). Organizational action (Verbandshandeln) is oriented toward consensus. It is a consensual action wherein (a) the ascription of participation of the individual follows from consensus, without his own rational effort toward that end; (b) despite the absence of a formally enacted order, certain persons (power holders) issue consensually effective rules for the action of those consensually counted participants of the organization; and (c) the power holders themselves or other persons are prepared to use any kind of physical or psychic coercion against those participants who violate the consensus. 6.5 Interpretive Sociology: Contribution of Max Weber Weber was one of the first sociologists to recognize the role 'human understanding' and interpretation plays in social action and the fashioning of social order without losing sight of what he terms 'causal adequacy'. He argued that sociology is a science that "attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects" (Weber 1978: 4). Although committed to causal analysis, Weber believed that it was inappropriate to apply the hypothetico–deductive model to the study of history, culture, society and individual motive. A majority of Max Weber's work focused on exploring the unique significant cultural conditions that gave rise to specific historical outcomes. This line of inquiry moved him to design a methodology within the social sciences that integrated both hermeneutical

NSOU CC - SO - 03 105 concerns and explanatory objectives. Because human beings have a subjective inner world, a different methodology and conceptual framework was necessary. He stressed that sociology must reject the presumption that understanding and causal explanation have no relationship to each other. It was Max Weber's use of ideal types, as a conceptual apparatus, that allowed him to establish various forms of causal understanding and interpretation within his diverse substantive areas of study. Weber's philosophy of social science manages to incorporate features of both positivist and humanist visions of science (Gimbel 2016:76). In his methodological deliberations, he maintains a place for causal, explanatory laws as well as incorporated the concept of interpretation into his account of social-scientific explanation within social sciences. Thus he bridged the chasm that Dilthey and others had created between 'explanation' and 'understanding'. Max Weber's most popular application of his Verstehen style of sociology can be found in his book entitled The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1905). Weber acknowledged that economic factors could influence how people define themselves and their world. However, he presented an alternative subjective causal explanation, for example by demonstrating that a group's interpretive schema could also affect material reality. Weber, in contrast to Karl Marx's historical materialism, believed that people's interpretation and implementation of societal ideas and values (i.e. weltanschauung), could have a dramatic impact on economic and social change. The "Protestant work ethic" is perhaps Weber's most famous ideal type as it best exemplifies his commitment to a methodology that is sensitive to the integration of causal analysis with human subjective meaning. His interpretive analysis of how a group of people shaped the world with their beliefs inspired generations of sociologists to acknowledge the power subjective meaning making activities have on the social construction of reality. For philosophers and social scientists, the works of Weber are significant because of the view that empathy is somehow essential to the social sciences. Weber's position finds its strongest statement in the essay, 'Objectivity in Social Science and Social Policy' (1904). Here he states that an objective analysis of cultural events which reduces the empirical reality to laws (according to the thesis of ideal science) is meaningless. According to Weber the transcendental presupposition of every cultural science does not lie in our finding a certain culture or any culture in general to be valuable but rather in the fact that we are cultural beings, endowed with the capacity and the will to take a deliberate attitude towards the world and to lend it significance (Bourgeois 1976:29). Thus verstehen

106 NSOU CC - SO - 03 as an empathic explanation is needed. The objective analysis of cultural events does not account for (unverifiable) presence of intentions, attitudes and values in the subjects of study. Without knowing which it is not possible to empathize with the subject and therefore one fails to understand his actions. Weber actually prescribes a combination of both empathic explanation and statistical regularities to give an account of a social event because he considered verstehen as logically incomplete and it needs to be supplemented by different method such as the collection of statistics. Many theorists tried to cover the gap between positivism and hermeneutic and to develop theories with both nomological and interpretive elements. For example, Weber defined sociology as science which is to provide interpretive understanding of social action and thereby the causal explanation of its course and consequences. Marx too was interested in both the position. But satisfactory integration of the positions is yet to be achieved. Relevant passages from Weber's Economy and Society, volume 1, deliberates on the criteria of adequacy for the explanatory interpretation of a course of conduct but in here it is not clear as to how it is to be shown that causal and interpretive understanding is complementary and mutually reinforcing. For example, Weber writes that verstehen enables us to understand why a course of action is taken place in terms of putative motive or intended meaning but to be sure that this is the true explanation we need to establish a causal correlation between motive and action, by comparing with concrete course of events. Following Weber, interpretive understanding without causal explanation remains a plausible hypothesis, and causal explanation without interpretive understanding will not be sociologically relevant. Given such attempt to integrate, in analyzing a course of action one will be needing to specify those theoretical units which are both organized as 'a complex of meaning' and ' a sequence of events' as one need to understand which of these relations are intrinsic and which are extrinsic under specific theoretical description. Such an idea provided by Weber is seen as a job left in an 'extemely rough-hewen state' (Hayes 1985:3). Fulbrook (1978) evaluating Weber's work on religion claims that he has not followed his own methodological dispositions in his own work. Summarizing Weber's methodology in few words, Fulbrook states that it consists of interpretive understanding of a meaningful complex of action, causal explanation of this action in terms of motives and the verification or validation of this explanation by referring to typical courses of action that occur normally (ibid: 72). Weber considered that sociological explanation is important to explain the causal chain behind historical developments. But how much in his actual attempt to

NSOU CC - SO - 03 107 understand and analyze the role of ideas, motives and meaning in comparative-historical studies of world religion did he followed his own conception of sociology. In his definitional work and construction of types Weber explicitly focused on motives and modes of orientation but to what extent this focus is consistent in his comparative historical study of world religion, where his purpose was to understand the unique attributes of western modern capitalism need to be examined. Parsons supported Weber stating that Protestant ethic as a religious factor did attain causal influence in Weber's explanation of socio-cultural and economic development. However, Giddens disagrees with Parsons and criticized interpretation of Weber's work stating what Weber actually stressed on was a combination of mental and ideal factors rather than independent influence of beliefs and ideas. Fulbrook goes beyond Giddens' criticism to state that in Weber's study of religion the role of motives and meaning remains an intermediary one; they act as intervening variables that is they influence the direction of the action but they do not in themselves constitute a sufficient explanation of the action and its outcome (ibid: 73). Weber, according to Fulbrook actually investigated the structural conditions under which certain forms of idea systems and associated meanings and motivations can arise and achieve historical efficacy. Fulbrook analyzes this disparity between Weber's conception of interpretive sociology and his actual practice to suggest that may be while emphasizing on meaningful behaviour of actors and its consequences, Weber underplayed the structural aspects involved in sociological explanation. His methodology was an attempt to address the controversies of his time regarding positivism and hermeneutic debate. It can be argued in support of Weber that in his substantive work he was able transcend this demarcations and so he did not followed his own methodological precepts in his own work. 6.6 Conclusion Weber defines Interpretive Sociology as a science concerned with interpretive understanding of social action as well as causal explanation of its course and consequences. Individual behaviour (overt or covert; omission or acquiensce) is regarded as action when the actor attaches subjective meaning to it. Interpretive sociology focuses on the unique nature of human behavior whereby it is possible to 'intelligibly interpret'. Action is identified as significant for Interpretive Sociology. It consists of behaviour that: (a) in terms of the subjectively intended meaning of the actor, is related to the behavior of others, (b) is codetermined in its course through this relatedness, and thus (c) can be intelligibly explained in terms of this (subjectively) intended meaning. An action is regarded as social when its subjective meaning takes others' behaviour into account and
108 NSOU CC - SO - 03 it is oriented in its course accordingly. Weber stated that social action may be oriented in four ways (a) Instrumentally Rational, (b) Value-Rational, (c) Affectual (emotional) and (d) Traditional. Following Weber, "Verstehen" is the key to understand why within interpretive (verstehenden) sociology, the single individual and his action is the basic unit (atom). Other disciplines treat the single individual as a complex of psychic, chemical, or other "processes". For sociology everything that is below the threshold of meaningfully interpretable behaviour, oriented toward inner or outer objects, is considered as the processes of nature; they are not the condition, neither the object of orientation for the actor. For the same reason, the individual is, for interpretive sociology, above this threshold and the only agent of meaningful behavior. 6.7 Summary A majority of Max Weber's works focused on exploring the unique significant cultural conditions that gave rise to specific historical outcomes. This line of inquiry moved him to design a methodology within the social sciences that integrated both hermeneutical concerns and explanatory objectives. Because human beings have a subjective inner world, a different methodology and conceptual framework was necessary. He stressed that sociology must reject the presumption that understanding and causal explanation have no relationship to each other. For philosophers and social scientists, the works of Weber is significant because of the view that empathy is somehow essential to the social sciences. 6.8 Questions Answer briefly (6 marks). i. Define social action following Max Weber. ii. Define social relationship following Weber. iii. What is associational action? iv. What is consensual action? v. Define consensus. vi. Define institution.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 109 Answer in detail (12 marks) i. Define social action and discuss the types of social actions. ii. Discuss methodology of interpretive sociology following Weber. iii. Discuss the categories of interpretive sociology following Weber. iv. Evaluate the contribution of Weber with reference to interpretive sociology. Essay Type Question (20marks) i. Evaluate significance of Weber in delineating methodology of social sciences with special reference to interpretive sociology. ii. Critically analyze interpretive sociology of Max Weber. 6.9 References Fulbrook Mary.1978. Max Weber's 'Interpretive Sociology': A Comparison of Conception and Practice, The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Mar., 1978), pp. 71- 82 Graber Edith. 1981. Translator's Introduction to Max Weber's Essay on Some Categories of Interpretive Sociology. The Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Spring, 1981), pp. 145-150 Jary, David & Jary, Julia. 2000. Collins Dictionary of Sociology, (3rd ed), Great Britain: Harper Collins Publishers. Tucker William T. 1965. Max Weber's "Verstehen", The Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Spring, 1965), pp. 157-165 Weber Max .1978. Economy and Society; An Outline Of Interpretive Sociology, Volume 1. Guenthar Roth and Claus Wittich. Berkeley and Los Angeles. University of California Press. Weber Max. 1981. Some Categories of Interpretive Sociology, The Sociological Quarterly, Vol 1, No 2, pp 150-180. Williams Malcolm. 2000. Interpretivism and Generalisation. Sociology Vol 34 No 2. Pp 209-224.
110 NSOU CC - SO - 03 6.10 Glossary Ideal type: It refers to any conceptualization (idealization) of a general or particular phenomenon which, for analytical and explanatory purposes, represents this phenomenon only in its abstracts or 'pure', 'idealized' form(s). Interpretive Sociology: It is a specific domain of sociology that lays emphasis on the meaning and motive of social actions by individual social actors. The focus is on intentions behind human behaviour. It also considers social life as a subjective reality and so it needs to be interpreted. Interpretive sociology involves a variety of forms of sociology (approach of Weber, Symbolic Interactionism, Sociological Phenomenology) united by an emphasis on the necessity for sociologist to understand and interpret actors' meanings. Weber defines Interpretive Sociology as a science concerned with interpretive understanding of social action as well as causal explanation of. Social Action: An action is regarded as social when its subjective meaning takes others' behaviour into account and it is oriented in its course accordingly. The "others" may be an individual person, someone known or an indefinite unknown plurality Social relationship: Social relationship consists of a probability that there will be a meaningful course of social action irrespective of the basis of probability. It existed, exist and will exist appropriate to the meaning.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 111 Unit - 7 General Arguments Structure 7.1 Objectives 7.2 Introduction 7.3 Conflict perspective as a criticism to Structural Functionalism 7.4 Contribution of Karl Marx 7.5 Critique of Karl Marx 7.6 Contribution of Max Weber 7.7 Contribution of Georg Simmel 7.8 Contribution of C.W. Mills 7.9 The Main Arguments of the Conflict Perspective 7.10 Conclusion 7.11 Summary 7.12 Questions 7.13 References 7.1 Objectives To understand the contributions of • Karl Marx in the origin of Conflict theory • Max Weber • C.W. Mills • G.Simmel In the evolution of the conflict Perspective • The main arguments of the conflict perspective • Defining the term Conflict Perspective Module - III : Conflict Perspective
112 NSOU CC - SO - 03 7.2 Introduction As a sociological Theory, conflict perspective understands the social reality in terms of competitions and conflicts that ensue between different groups because they have common interest. It is due to lack of resources and increase in competition that conflict seems to be the only route to maximize one's desires and gains , and conflict is the natural consequence as the attainment of one's desires is stopped by the other, thereby creating a relation of inequality and subordination. In such scenario, conflict seems to be the only route to attain equality, and hence change in the existing social structure. Conflict theorists emphasized the proactive roles of individuals who were capable of being actors , in achieving their own goals. Machiavelli and Hobbes initiated the basic stance of cynical realism about human society. Individuals' behavior is explained in terms of their self-interests in a material world of threat and violence. Social order is seen as being founded on organized coercion. There is an ideological realm of belief (religion, law),and an underlying world of struggles over power; ideas and morals are not prior to interaction but are socially created, and serve the interests of parties to the conflict 7.3 Conflict perspective as a criticism to Structural Functionalism Conflict perspective developed as a major theoretical alternative to the structural functional perspective. The Structural-Functional perspectiveof Talcott Parsons which was based on the principle that societies and social institutions work as a unit and if there are anomalies or conflict within, then there are alternatives to tackle the conflict. The functionalist perspective points to the ways in which different parts of a system are interdependent and work together to keep the system working together and hence there is always peace in society. There cannot be any anomaly as all the parts necessary for the smooth functioning of the society help and work in a coordinated manner. Functional perspective was criticized as it could not apprehend social change; hence functionalist were termed as being politically conservative as they focused on the cultural and political norms and values rather than understanding the phenomenon of power and resource. As the structural functionalists focused on norms, they failed to look into the dynamic nature of actors who could change the situation through social action. In contrast to the single way of understanding of the society, there were various other ways of looking at society. These were the major criticisms labelled against the Structural Functional Perspective, which brings us to the forerunners of the Development of the Conflict Theory. The main NSOU CC - SO - 03 113 personalities who developed the Conflict Perspective are – Karl Marx (1818-1833), C.W Mills (1916-1962), Gumplowicz etc. Gumplowicz theorized that large complex human societies evolved from the war and conquest. The winner of a war would enslave the losers; eventually a complex caste system develops.[3] Horowitz says that Gumplowicz understood conflict in all its forms: "class conflict, race conflict and ethnic conflict", and calls him one of the fathers of conflict theory. 7.4 Contribution of Karl Marx Karl Marx was a humanist who was moved by the immense sufferings of the working class under the pressure of capitalism. Hence an undeniable social reality was the prevalence of conflict and contradictions, which he calls dialectics, among the various levels of social reality. Marx analyses society in the form of a stratified system where relation between a group of men and the means of production becomes the starting point of conflict. According to Karl Marx, the major classes in a capitalist society are on the one hand owners of capital i.e., owners of labour power and landowners on the other hand. Individuals are self-seeking, guided by their own interests. Hence the major cause of destruction of the capitalist system is the increase in the self-interest of the capitalist. When due to the increase in network of communication there develops some form of organization and people have a common enemythe masses convert from just an aggregate of individuals to self-conscious individuals. In a capitalist society when the workers unite on understanding their extreme exploitation at the hands of the capitalists, they convert themselves from class-in-itself to class-for-itself so that they realise that conflict is the only way to their attaining freedom. According to Karl Marx conflict is the major reason for change in society from feudal to capitalist which is propelled by the economic causes as economy forms the substructure of society upon which the superstructure is based. Thus Karl Marx viewed society as a form of stratified class structure, where social groups were based on their relations of production. In a stratified society there are mainly two classes the ruling class or the Bourgeoisie and the working class or the Proletariat. The Bourgeoisie derive their power from the ownership and control of the means of production. The ruling class deprives the working class of all their basic pay and exploits them by expropriating the surplus values. The Surplus value is the difference in the actual value of the product once it is sold in the market and the value that the proletariat receives. The proletariat receives only a meager amount just enough to maintain the bare existence of the proletariat while the surplus is expropriated by the capitalist. In this way the working class is alienated from his livelihood, his product and consequently from all the social and cultural values and hence alienated from himself.

114 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Thus, according to Karl Marx, history has been moving through different stages and these changes have been initiated by social conflict, where the subordinated and oppressed classes come in conflict with those holding the power and dominating positions. Due to the dialectics between the dominating and the oppressed classes, a new socio – economic order is created and new classes are formed. In the stages of conflict, three factors become absolutely necessary, which are – 1. The power of the productive forces, 2. The mode of production, and 3. relations of production, (the classes involved in the struggle). And 4. The role played by ideology.According to Karl Marx, society has passed from primitive communism, ancient society, feudal society and industrial capitalist society. In this society as well conflict between the working labour class and the ruling bourgeoisie class shall result in a new era which shall be marked by classlessness. In the primitive communist stage, there were no classes because there was no private property. In the ancient society, there were visible classes- the serfs and the masters. In the feudal society conflict between the serfs and the feudal lords resulted in the industrial society. The ruling class in all these epochs formed the minority but they were in control over the means and forces of production while the subject classes were the slaves, serfs and workers. The subject classes formed the majority but they were dominated, controlled and their means of sustenance was controlled by the ruling classes. The relation between the ruling and the subject classes was marked by exploitation and oppression. In all these societies the real wealth laid in the labour of the oppressed classes. The ruling classes controlled the labour by giving them wages. But the wages were not equivalent to the labour power given to produce a certain product. Thus conflict ensued between the classes as there was stark difference between the rewards received for labour compared to the reward received in exchange for the product that was finally sold in the market. The contributory factors that initiated and intensified the conflict between the classes are 1. Conflict over economic rewards between the classes. 2. Physical concentration of masses of people. 3. Easy communication among the people in the same class position. 4. Development of solidarity (class consciousness) 5. Political organization and role of ideology 6. Revolution that changed the entire social structure. The society shall hence be known as Socialist Society where all men shall be treated equal, but as state is always controlled by the ruling class it becomes necessary to annihilate
NSOU CC - SO - 03 115 the State, which will result in Communism on the basis of withening away of the state and classes. Thus, Karl Marx's conflict perspective is known as the Materialist conception of history or Dialectical Materialism, where matter or the economy is the main cause of generating conflict and thereby creating social changes. Do you know? The major causes of conflict, according to Marx, are- • Marx indicated the material conditions that mobilize particular class interests into action and that make it possible for the classes to articulate their ideas. • 2. The material conditions for mobilization as a coherent, intercommunicating group also vary among social classes. • 3. Classes differ in their control of the means of mental production. These Marxian principles, with certain modifications, provide the basis for a conflict theory of stratification.Thus Karl Marx can be rightly called the father of Conflict perspective, who understood the inequalities that prevailed in society which could only be corrected through conflict which in turn shall bring social change. 1. Historically, particular forms of property (slavery, feudal landholding, capital) are upheld by the coercive power of the state; hence classes formed by property divisions (slaves and slave-owners, serfs and lords, capitalists and workers) are the opposing agents in the struggle for political power and the underpinning of their means of livelihood. 2. Material contributions determine the extent to which social classes can organize effectively to fight for their interests; such conditions of mobilization are a set of intervening variables between class and political power. 3. Other material conditions—the means of mental production—determine which interests will be able to articulate their ideas and hence to dominate the ideological realm. Marx's idea about Theory of Stratification According to Marx, conflict leads not only to ever-changing relations within the existing social structure, but the total social system undergoes transformation through conflict. During the feudal period, the relations between serf and lord and between burgher and gentry, underwent many changes both in law and in fact. Yet conflict finally led to a breakdown of all feudal relations and hence to the rise of a new social system governed by different patterns of social relations. It is Marx's contention that the negative element,
116 NSOU CC - SO - 03 the opposition, conditions the change when conflict between the sub-groups of a system becomes so sharpened that at a certain point this system breaks down. Each social system contains elements of strain and of potential conflict; if in the analysis of the social structure of a system these elements are ignored, if the adjustment of patterned relations is the only focus of attention, then it is not possible to anticipate basic social change. Exclusive attention to want and use, to the customary and habitual bars access to an understanding of possible latent elements of strain which under certain conditions accentuate in overt conflict and possibly in a basic change of the social structure. 7.5 Critique of Karl Marx Karl Marx's theory was heavily criticized for the following reasons – (1) Societies are not simply reflections of the economic inequalities. There are other forms of inequalities as well. (2) Apart from social classes there are also interest groups in societies that are unrelated to social classes but demand benefits. (3) Those who possess power in capitalist society are not always those with the highest income or the owners of the most property. There are other criterion of assuming power in society. (4) Conflict in a large modern society is rarely bipolarized. Society is not simply characterised by the working proletariat and ruling bourgeoisie classes, rather the nature of classes has changed in accordance with the change in the society and (5) Social conflict does not always lead to structural social change. Social conflict might lead to reformation or change in the social parts but not necessary a total revolution. 7.6 Contribution of Max Weber We now turn our attention to Max Weber who also made an important contribution in throwing a new dimension to conflict perspective. He was preoccupied with the issues of power and conflict. He suggested that the capitalist world of rational calculation and profit necessarily involved the sublimation of erotic desires. Conflict and search for power were for Weber , endemic in all social relationships .The key determinants in social relationships was power , which he defined

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as the “probability that one actor within social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance ,

regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.”. A more refined definition, he
NSOU CC - SO - 03 117 went on, would include the basis for the probability that a command will be obeyed. “Domination, a related concept, he defined as the possibility that a command will be obeyed by a given group of persons.(1925,1:53) Weber pointed out that every social sphere was influenced by the structures of domination. The concept could be applied to relations ” a drawing room as well in the market, from the rostrum of a lecture hall as well as command post of a regiment , from an erotic or charitable relationship as well as from scholarly discussions or athlectics (1925, 2:943). Weber was primarily concerned with domination related to administration. Domination, “expresses itself and functions through administration and every administration needs domination because it is always necessary that some powers of command be in the hands of somebody. (1925,2:948) German sociologist Max Weber adopted many aspects of Marx’s conflict theory and further refined the idea. Weber believed that conflict over property was not limited to one specific scenario. Rather, he believed that there were multiple layers of conflict existing at any given moment and in every society. Whereas Marx framed his view of conflict as one between owners and workers, Weber also added an emotional component to his ideas about conflict. He stated: “It is these that underlie the power of religion and make it an important ally of the state; that transform classes into status groups, and do the same to territorial communities under particular circumstances…and that make ‘legitimacy’ a crucial focus for efforts at domination.” Weber’s beliefs about conflict extend beyond Marx’s in that they suggest that some forms of social interaction, including conflict, generate beliefs and solidarity between individuals and groups within a society. In this way, an individual’s reactions to inequality might be different depending on the groups with which they are associated, whether they perceive those in power to be legitimate, and so on. He agreed with Marx but also believed that, in addition to economic inequalities, inequalities of political power and social structure cause conflict. In addition to that Weber noted that different groups were affected differently based on education, race, and gender, and that people’s reactions to inequality were moderated by class differences and rates of social mobility, as well as by perceptions about the legitimacy of those in power. Weber shows that several different forms of property conflict coexist in the same society, and hence, by implication, allow the existence of multiple class divisions. He elaborates on the principles of organizational intercommunication and control thereby adding a theory of organization and yet another sphere of interest conflict, this time intra- organizational factions; he also emphasizes that the violent coercion of the state is
118 NSOU CC - SO - 03 analytically prior to the economy, and thus transferred the center of attention to State as the control of the material means of violence. Max Weber noted that different groups were affected differently based on education, race, and gender. People’s reactions to inequality were moderated by class differences and rates of social mobility, as well as by perceptions about the legitimacy of those in power. Max Weber’s contribution a. Like Marx, Weber too believed that men are motivated by their self-interest and society has paid importance to aggrandisement of wealth. b. People manoeuvred circumstances to suit their interests. c. Power is a defining principle in society and people dominate others using power. Legitimate power is called authority, which implies that certain people have the right to be obeyed. d. Other than wealth, an individual’s status and life chances were equally important in determining the power that an individual had in society. 7.7 Contribution of Georg Simmel German sociologist Georg Simmel (1858–1918) believed that conflict can help integrate and stabilize a society. He said that the intensity of the conflict varies depending on the emotional involvement of the parties, the degree of solidarity within the opposing groups, and the clarity and limited nature of the goals. Simmel also showed that groups work to create internal solidarity, centralize power, and reduce dissent. Resolving conflicts can reduce tension and hostility and can pave the way for future agreements. Georg Simmel analyzes conflict in terms of interactive processes and depicts conflict as “a form of socialization.” No group can be entirely harmonious, for then it would lack process and structure. Group formation is a result of both association and dissociation, so that both conflict and cooperation serve a social function. Some certain degree of conflict is an essential element in group formation. Simmel in the chapter on “Sociology: Studies in the Form of Sociation” writes about the social significance of conflict. He maintains that one should not overlook the positive aspect of conflict and just focus on the destructive tendencies of conflict. In Simmel’s view, conflict serves as maintaining and increasing the integration within group. “It is a way of achieving unity”

NSOU CC - SO - 03 119 He analyses conflict as a social form. The fighting instinct is the ultimate cause of social conflict because conflicts are means to achieve the end rather than merely an instinctual reactions to external stimulus. It means that conflict is the fundamental principle by which individuals achieve their purposes in innumerable social contexts like marriage, work , politics, play hence it is viewed as a social form. Moreover, conflict is nearly always combined with cooperation ; people agree on norms that regulate when, where and how to fight with one another. As he writes, "there probably exists no social unit in which convergent and divergent currents among its members are not inseparably interwoven." He then goes on to illustrate conflict between groups and conflict between groups. Conflict within groups Conflict within groups revolves around three forms – 1. Conflicts in which opposing groups possess common personal qualities. 2. Conflicts in which opposing parties perceive each other as threat to the existence of the group and 3. Conflict in which the opposing parties recognise and accept each other as legitimate opponents. Conflict between groups – Simmel analyses the consequences that "conflict between groups has for the inner structure of each party itself." He was concerned with the consequences of conflict on social relationships with regard to (1) degree of centralisation of authority within each group, (2) degree of social cohesion / solidarity within each group and (3) likelihood of coalitions among groups having similar opponents. Things to do Have you ever fought with your classmates? Write about the changes that you see in the friendship after the in- group fight. 7.8 Contribution of C.W.Mills C.W. Mills or Charles Wright Mills was an American sociologist and a professor of sociology at the Columbia University. He was born in 1916 and died in 1962. Mills was a known figure in the popular and intellectual journals. He wrote several books which highlighted several relationships among the American elite and the common people during the post-World War 2 era.There are three books which define his term as a sociologist: 'The Power Elite' looks to focus on the relationships and the class alliances among the US political, military and economic elites, 'White Collar: The American Middle Classes' which was a study of the American middle class and 'The Sociological
120 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Imagination', which presents a model of analysis for the interdependence of subjective experiences within a person's biography, general social structure and historical development. He is known as the founder of the modern conflict theory. He regards society as a dynamic entity constantly undergoing change as a result of competition over scarce resources.The theory regards life competition and focuses on the distribution of resources and power. The conflict theory is better at explaining social change. In his work, he believes social structures are created because of conflict between differing interests.People are directly influenced by the social structures which are formed due to difference in power and because of the power struggle between the "elite" and the "others". People feel the impact of social structures, and the usual result is a differential of power between the "elite" and the "others". C. Wright Mills writes about the governing elite in America in his book the Power Elite and argues that a few individuals within the political, military and corporate realms hold power within the United States and they make decisions that affect the common lives of the Americans. The executive branch, military leaders and corporate leaders occupy the topmost portion of the power structure, the interest group leaders, legislators and local political leaders occupy the middle; and the common masses (the everyday people) at the bottom. Therefore the 'national upper class' that own most of the country's wealth, run its banks and corporations, are in control of the universities and mass media and staff some of the highest ranking positions within government and courts and these elites move fluidly between positions within the three controlling realms. Mills noted that these power holders. usually were people who interacted with each other regularly and typically held the same political and economic views or agendas. Therefore the few individuals who have so much power that the wishes of the average people are not heard. Those at the top of the social structure are so distant from the average people and that they are so powerful that there isn't any true competition for them. Thus, they usually tend to get what they want. The labour class had always been of interest to Mills. He strongly believed that the labour class was a strong force against the monopoly of the corporate capitalist in economic, political and cultural terms. He further stated that mass society and culture could affect the governing elites at that point of time. Other contributors of the conflict theory are Vilfredo Pareto, Mosca and Michels and Thorstein Veblen.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 121 ThorsteinVeblen said that modern society is characterised by conflict between opposing economic groups. People demanded high esteem of others that naturally motivated them to engage in leisure activities or in consumption behaviour. According to Pareto, men in power always exert authority over the others. People who occupy the position of authority share a common culture and they act together to defend their position. 7.9 The main arguments of the Conflict Perspective Thus the main tenants of the Conflict perspective can be summarized as follows. Conflict theory states that tensions and conflicts arise when resources, status, and power are unevenly distributed between groups in society and that these conflicts become the engine for social change. In this context, power can be understood as control of material resources and accumulated wealth, control of politics and the institutions that make up society, and one's social status relative to others (determined not just by class but by race, gender, sexuality, culture, and religion, among other things). It is stated that a. People are power hungry and work towards their own interest. b. The source of conflict in society is power which is scarce and unequally divided. Power is also coercive. c. Groups and units in society fight for power and resources. d. Conflict implies one group is able to suppress its rivals, temporarily. The strife continues in a cycle as when one group rises to power, the rival determines to throw them down and rise to power. e. The institutions created by the State shall benefit those in power and the others shall stay deprived. f. An important aspect of Conflict perspective is that, they see values and ideas that can be used by different groups to achieve their own ends, rather than defining goals for the society.People have defined 'true' interest that works in their favour. g. Marx had analysed societies historically and concluded that there have always been conflicts between different classes, which was also responsible for social change.Marx established the link between ideas and 'interests' who developed those ideas and concluded that the 'ideas of an age always reflected the ideas of the ruling class'.He also said that the nature of property ownership determines the nature of people and social conflict

122 NSOU CC - SO - 03 7.10 Conclusion Conflict Theory : A social science perspective that holds that stratification is dysfunctional and harmful in society, with inequality perpetuated because it benefits the rich and powerful at the expense of the poor.Conflict theory sees social life as a competition, and focuses on the distribution of resources, power, and inequality. • Unlike functionalist theory, conflict theory is better at explaining social change, and weaker at explaining social stability. • Conflict theory has been critiqued for its inability to explain social stability and incremental change. • Conflict theory derives from the ideas of Karl Marx Why do conflicts occur? There is conflict because violent coercion is always a potential resource to achieve one's gain but being coerced is an intrinsically unpleasant experience, and hence that any use of coercion, even by a small minority, calls forth conflict in the form of antagonism to being dominated. What are the different Schools of Conflict Perspective? a. The first group of thinkers believe that fact is inseparable from value, hence social scientists have the moral obligation to criticize society thereby eliminating all sources of social conflict. Thinkers in this category were influenced by the work of Karl Marx like C.W Mills, Pierre Bourdieu, neo Marxism and the Frankfurt school. b. The second group of thinkers believe that fact and value should be separated and be objective like the natural sciences, in understanding the social phenomenon. These thinkers believe that conflict is an essential part of every society. We shall discuss the second group of thinkers – Ralf Dahrendorf and Lewis Coser. 7.11 Summary We have presented the general arguments of conflict theory. We have discussed the contributions of Karl Marx, Max Weber, George Simuel, C. W. Mills etc. We also presented a critical overview.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 123 7.12 Questions a. Analyse the Marxian notion of class conflict. b. Write the concept of power and domination as mentioned by Weber . How does power lead to conflict? c. Elaborate on Simmel's notion of social conflict. d. Do you think Marxism is still relevant in the present post Capitalist age ? e. Make a list of classes that you see in society. f. Is society only divided into the bourgeoisie and the proletariat classes? g. What is the most common form of domination in the present age ? h. How will you link class and the WhatsappUsage ? Answer briefly 1. What are the major criticisms levelled against Karl Marx? 2. Write a short note on the different schools of social conflict. 3. What are the main arguments of conflict perspective ? 4. Write a brief note on the different types of conflict as given by Simmel Answer very briefly. 5. Who are the governing elite ? 6. How does conflict help in social cohesion. 7. State one similarity and one difference between Weber and Marx. 8. Name the sociologist who lonked authority and culture ? 9. Key Terms- conflict, power, resource, stratification, class, economy, ruling class, oppressed class 7.13 References Randall Collins, Conflict Sociology. New York: Academic Press, 1974, pp.56-61.
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NSOU CC - SO - 03 125 Unit - 8 Contributions of Dahrendorf Structure 8.1 Objectives 8.2 Introduction 8.3 Vision of Society : Authority and Class 8.3.1 Authority 8.3.2 Class 8.4 Society as "Imperatively Coordinated Association" 8.5 The Intensity of Conflict 8.6 Dahrendorf's Theoretical Formulation 8.7 Dahrendorf on Conflict 8.7.1 Main Types of Intervening Variables 8.7.2 Conditions that Influence Conflict 8.8 Criticism 8.9 Conclusion 8.10 Summary 8.11 Questions 8.12 References 8.1 Objectives To learn about the influencing factors on Dahrendorf's conflict analysis To understand his concept of class , society and social change To understand his concept of the ICA and the intervening variables A critical appreciation of Dahrendorf

126 NSOU CC - SO - 03 8.2 Introduction Dahrendorf attempts to synthesize the Marxian concepts of class, class interests, and class conflict on the one hand and the methodology and the concepts of the modern theory of action, on the other, in his analysis of social conflict and change. In his theory, Dahrendorf attempts to understand authority as it appears as the focus and cause of social conflicts and plays a dual role in social structures, as both an integrative force and a source of conflict. In each social structure ("imperatively coordinated association") there are two classes, rulers and ruled, whose conflicting interests are defined in terms of role- expectations. Likewise Dahrendorf cannot fulfil his promise to provide a concept of change which transcends given structures, in the Marxian sense. However his explanation of change turns out to be identical with that of social mobility. Dahrendorf's criticism is directed against those sociologists whose works suggest that industrial society is characterised by consensus and integration. He wants to redirect the focus of inquiry to the phenomena of inequality, power, and social conflict. a. He stresses the importance of power which inevitably results in conflict. b. He is concerned with the ways in which social institutions generate groups with conflicting interests and the circumstances in which such groups become active and organized. Marx's notion of social structure and power is the starting point of the production and reproduction of the material culture in which human life is embedded. Capitalism is a form of social production process that generates material conditions which in turn are vehicles of the social conditions to which individuals are subjected. Property arrangements underlie the existence of "'surplus" labour, performed in excess of the socially "necessary" labour, by those who do not own any means of production. In this sense property is conceived of as the basis of the master-servant relationship, in which the worker possesses only his marketable labour. This antithesis of capital and wage labour, of power and subjection, is for Marx the basis of the social structure. Society is divided into two principal classes arising from this structural antithesis, whose objective interests arise from their respective positions in the production process. The class structure, for Marx, is identical with the power structure. For Marx, power is not an irreducible phenomenon it is explained through a dialectic inherent in power. The social class which becomes the ruling material force of the society is forced to promulgate its particular interest as the common interest of the whole society. The objective conflicts which continue to exist between rulers and ruled are merely suppressed. With every new class rising to
NSOU CC - SO - 03 127 power, new conflicts evolve. In this way ruling classes produce the conditions of their own destruction. These conditions are the dynamic elements of history. Parsons' explanation of power : For him, social order is realized basically through the internalization of norms and values, but value consensus alone cannot guarantee order. There is also the need for "some supplementary coordination provided by explicit prescriptive or prohibitory role expectations (e.g., laws) enunciated by actors in specially differentiated roles to which is attached 'responsibility'. In this context, authority is identical with social controls, external to "ego," and has an integrative function which goes beyond that of internalization in that it helps to define norms and secure their observance. From Marx's theory Dahrendorf borrows one central element, the notion of social change as a normal and continuous phenomenon of society; not only isolated parts of society but its entire structure change. Conflicts, as the cause of change, are inevitably produced in the social structure. Dahrendorf points out, however, that property has been replaced in the course of history with authority relations as the basis of social conflict. Thus, authority becomes the key analytical category of his theory. In his efforts to direct sociological theory out of a "functional utopia," Dahrendorf has reformulated in even more extreme form some of Marx's key assumptions: (1) Social life is typified by opposed interests cohering around differences in the distribution of power; (2) Opposed interests will inevitably result in conflict between those who have and do not have power; (3) Conflict is dialectical since the resolution of one set of conflict relations establishes the conditions of opposed interests for subsequent conflict; (4) Social change ensuing from conflict dialectics is therefore an inevitable feature of social systems. 8.3 Vision of Society: Authority and Class a. Society Dahrendorf explains his dialectical conflict theory through integration and conflict where there is a dialectical relation between stability and change. To balance the image of society as integrated, Dahrendorf begins by outlining conflicting elements. The dynamics of social structures develops from authority relations. According to this "central thesis"

128 NSOU CC - SO - 03 the basic phenomenon, social conflict, is found in all societies at all times. Authority is an element of social structure, but, according to Dahrendorf does not contribute to that structure's functional integration. Consequently, authority must be defined in terms other than those of structural-functional theory. 8.3.1 Authority Dahrendorf's analytical concept of structure, his normative definition of the term, leads him back to structural-functional theory and its difficulties in explaining conflict and change. The connection of authority to social structure, in which he tries to locate the origin of social conflicts in the social structure, means in this context nothing else but that authority resides in roles. Authority is linked to role and derived from it. Authority thus turns out to be defined as legitimate institutionalized role-expectation of superordination and subordination. Although Dahrendorf takes the definition of authority from Weber, it is identical with Parsons' conception. Authority is an institution as it is for Parsons. In this sense authority relationships are nothing else but a specific form of complementary social behavior. Authority is only one integrated pattern of action in the whole role structure of a social system. From the concept of social structure defined in terms of social action, the explanation of authority, coercion, conflict, social classes, class interests, and social change emerge. In his model of society, the function and genesis of authority necessarily are defined in a different way, methodologically, than Marx defines them. Authority is a source of conflict. But Dahrendorf's theoretical foundation of authority varies somewhat with various contexts. Authority, to Parsons, is a necessary supplement to the normative system which can never be explicit enough to guide all action in every possible circumstance. Dahrendorf's differences with Parsons begin where he attaches to authority functions that are not integrative, but are sources of conflict. Thus, he says, the same structure of authority which guarantees integration also becomes the source of conflict. The reason for this is that authority is always coercion, the rule of some over others. Coercion implies, further, the particularization of interest and permits the conclusion that authority not only enforces norms, but performs a norm-setting function as well. This aspect is most important to Dahrendorf when he wants to explain conflict and change, in opposition to Parsons, who stresses authority as an integral subpart of the normative system. With the norm-setting function, Dahrendorf can explain authority only as a prerequisite of ruling groups. This other- wise implicit formulation can be found in his use of the reference-group concept. Here norms originate from social groups in authority positions who use their authority in order to legislate norms.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 129 On the one hand, authority functions to integrate society under a common normative system and to act as a mechanism of social control. On the other hand, it has the instrumental capacity to impose a value system derived from the goals of a minority. Dahrendorf's attempt to evade the consequences of structural-functional theory confronts a difficulty. He has to explain both the integration of society and the conflicts for the attainment of authority as the resultants of the will and intention of a social power group which is able to institutionalize its ends as a comprehensive normative system. 8.3.2 Class Dahrendorf defines classes as being identical with the antagonistic role aggregates of rulers and ruled. The criterion for the definition of classes is not property but the possession of authority positions. Accordingly, in each ICA, there can be only two classes. Therefore, "class" is not, in Dahrendorf's scheme, an independent analytical concept. Classes represent merely the positional (factual) aspect, while class interests are role- expectations or in other words authority . In the context of this reinterpretation of the role-concept, Dahrendorf has to see conflict as arising from the expectations of obedience which the rulers address to the ruled, on the one hand, and the interests of the ruled in authority. The interest in authority exists because authority has the implicit instrumental value for the realization of different end. The importance for the theory lies in the fact that they are automatically in conflict with each other, implying either the preservation or change of the status quo. d. The Explanation of Conflict and Change Dahrendorf's concept of structure does not imply the dialectic of self-originating antagonisms as he intends to show, but that conflict is postulated as a prerequisite of the social structure. The ubiquity of authority, in the context of this theory, correlates perfectly with the ubiquity of conflict. The plurality of values as a source of conflicts. The object of conflicts is not the scarcity of means but authority. The distribution of facilities and rewards, for Dahrendorf, is only an ancillary consequence of the institutionalization of interests as values which the possession of authority makes possible. He defines structural change as the "deviation of values (normative structure) or institutions (factual structure) of a structural entity at a given point of time . . . from those of a pre- ceding point of time" .The change of the value system is concomitant with the change of the normative institutions.

130 NSOU CC - SO - 03 8.4 Society as "imperatively coordinated association" By means of conflict theory Dahrendorf (1958b:82) intends to present a model which is known as, the "structural origin of social conflicts." He argues that the structural origins of social conflicts are found in the authority relations of organized social entities, and that these entities appear as coercively integrated Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society for which Dahrendorf uses the ponderous translation of Weber's term, "imperatively coordinated association." Authority, in the ICA as in the social system, constitutes the "coercive, controlling element". It is understood as a functional imperative. Coercion which, in contrast to normative consensus, is the integrating force of the ICA is defined, exactly as in Parsons' "system," as the sanction against deviation from norms. Dahrendorf thus fails to establish that coercion is unique to it or that it is a specifically different aspect of authority from that term's structural-functional definition. Indeed, the coercive nature of authority simply results from its integrative function. Basically, coercion in Dahrendorf's understanding does not differ from social control. Dahrendorf has to demonstrate that authority coercively integrates and causes conflict. Dahrendorf can thus establish the structural conflict of positions in the social structure. The ICA then is split into two role aggregates according to their "possession of or exclusion from legitimate power". This opposition becomes comprehensible as the starting point of the conflict theory if different and contradicting role-expectations are associated with the authority and non-authority roles. For Dahrendorf, the individual acts in compliance with his role if he contributes to the conflict of contradicting interests, and not to integration .This clearly demonstrates that "conflict" serves as an analytical point of reference in the same manner as "integration" does for the structural-functional theory. That is, integration and conflict are both "prerequisites" of society. This implies obviously an apriori solution of the problem posed: to analyze conflict as generated by structural causes. 8.5 The Intensity of Conflict for Dahrendorf The concept of intensity refers to the degree of psychological commitment of parties to pursue conflict. For Dahrendorf, the more the conditions of organization are met, the more the distribution of scarce resources are correlated, and the less the mobility of the deprived, the more intense will be the conflict.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 131 Major Propositions: • Dahrendorf outlined his theory in the book, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. He argues that there is an inherent tendency to conflict in society. Because

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the groups with power will pursue their interests and those without power will pursue theirs.

The interest of these groups are different. According to Dahrendorf, distribution of power is a crucial determinant of social structure. He uses Weber's definition of power. Power is the "

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the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance

regardless of the basis on which this probability rests." • Social system is in a state of continuous conflict that is generated by the opposed interest that is inherent in social systems. Opposed interests arise in society due to differential distribution of power. • Conflict is part of every social life and society deals normally with conflict by institutionalizing it. Class antagonism between factory workers and owners in the late nineteenth century gave rise to political solutions establishing new norms for negotiating grievances like legalization of unions for airing grievances. • Conflict is dialectical, because the resolution of a conflict gives rise to another set of opposed interest that under certain conditions shall generate further conflict. 8.6 Dahrendorf's Theoretical Formulation According to Dahrendorf, there are processes in the society other than conflict that operates in the society. However, the conflict model, according to him, presents the clearer representation of the workings of the human society. Society, according to him, has two sides- one consensus the other that of conflict. He is influenced by the Parsonian model and says how the process of institutionalization creates ICA or the imperatively associated associations, who are characterized by differential power relationswith some roles having authority to demand conformity from the others. The social order is maintained by creating various types of authority relations and therefore the ICA becomes legitimate groups. As power and authority are scarce in the society, subgroups within ICA struggle to obtain a greater share of authority . The outcome of the conflict is determined by how the groups within ICA stand in relation to authority. Thus two types of roles can be classified in ICA – the ruled and the ruling. The ruling has an interest of preserving the status quo , while the ruled has interest in distribution of power or authority. Under

132 NSOU CC - SO - 03 certain condition the ICAgets polarized into two conflict groups - each having their objective interests. The resolution of conflict in the ICA only result in the reorganization of the ICA. So, while for Marx , the source of authority relations is superstructure created by the dominant classes , that can be destroyed by conflict, Dahrendorf acknowledges that the source of conflict lies in the dominant classes but the cause of conflict remains the legitimized authority relations of the ICAs. Hence unlike Marx who sees power in property ownership, Dahrendorf locates that in authority. The similarity between Marx and Dahrendorf lies in the changes that conflict does to the restructuring of social structures. The relations of domination and subjugation , created by opposite interests, awareness of the subjugated classes to the opposed interests, the formation of political organization upon the presence of the suitable conditions and consequently polarization of the subjugated groups who are then in conflict with the dominant group form a new pattern. A new set of relations of domination and subjugation further leads to a new set of conflict that changes the social organization. Marx's notion of class consciousness is similar to awareness among the quasi group as given by Dahrendorf. Similarly Marx's class-for-itself is similar to Dahrendorf's conflict group. Dahrendorf in his ICA elaborates on the intervening empirical conditions on the conditions under which legitimized authority relations are converted into relations of domination, coercion and subsequently conflict. Hence according to him , conflict can hinder changes unless the intervening variables are present. The intervening variables cause the quasi group to become conflict group as well affect the intensity (or involvement of the members) of the conflict, violence or the degree of regulation of conflict and the rate of structural changes caused by it.

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Dahrendorf outlines three types of intervening variable conditions-1. Condition of organization that affects the transformation

from quasi group to

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conflict group, 2conditions of conflict that determine the from and intensity of conflict. 3. Condition of structural changes that influence the kind, speed, and depth of changes in the social structure. The variables in his theoretical scheme are – 1. Degree of conflict group formation 2. Degree of intensity of conflict 3. Degree of violence of the conflict NSOU CC - SO - 03 133 4. Degree of changes in the social structure 5. And rate of such

changes . Dahrendorf sees conflict as the growing awareness among the subjugated groups about their conditions and their formation into conflict groups. The more the technical conditions of the quasi group become aware of their objective interest, the more conflict is likely to occur. The more leaders among the quasi group can be developed and the more there are codified idea system the more the technical conditions can be met. More the sense of deprivation, greater shall be the violence of conflict which is closer to Karl Marx's analysis.

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The more the political conditions are met the more likely is the formation of the conflict group. The more dominant groups permit organisation of the opposed interest, the more likely are the political conditions to be met. The more social conditions

are met through giving opportunity to the quasi group to communicate and by permitting recruitment,

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the more likely are the social conditions to be met. The less the technical conditions are met, more

shall be the intensity and violence of

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the conflict. The more the distribution of authority and other rewards are associated with other , the more intense will be the conflict. Less the mobility between the super and subordinate groups, the more intense will be the conflict.

In this proposition, Dahrendorf was much influenced by Weber and Marx. The greater the realisation that distribution of rewards are based on relative basis rather than on absolute terms, more shall be the violence of the conflict. Less the ability of the conflict group to develop regulatory arrangements, more shall be the violence of the conflict. Greater the intensity in a conflict, greater shall be the structural changes and its reorganisation. This too is also obtained from Marx's analysis. In this analysis , it is observed that Dahrendorf was influenced by Marx and Weber. Marx's correlation between awareness of the subordinate group's interest and its subsequent formation into conflict group is similar to Dahrendorf's analysis of a conflict group . 'less the technical , political and the social conditions of the organisation , greater shall be the intensity of the conflict'. This proposition of Dahrendorf is borrowed from Simmel's
134 NSOU CC - SO - 03 proposition that if the organisation is not well organised then conflict shall be emotionally involving. In the proposition where Dahrendorf talks about the distribution of rewards as it is associated with conflict, he borrows this from Weber, when he claims that the greater is the superimposition of rewards – or the privilege of those who enjoy prestige, privilege greater shall be the involvement of the subordinates in pursuing conflict. 8.7 Dahrendorf's Idea of Conflict 1. Social stratification is based on different social positions of wealth and reputations which is expressed in a rank order of social status. Therefore stratification is caused by norms which makes certain things desirable and others not. 2. For Dahrendorf, the source of conflict lies in the institutionalized authority relations of ICAs. ICA or Integrated Coordinated Association consists of authority relations that forms the 'factual substrates', or the source of conflict. ICA is characterized by relations of domination and subjugation which creates an inherent opposition of interest. Under certain conditions when opposed interests lead to political organization then polarization of subjugated groups creates new patterns of conflict. 3. There are certain intervening conditions that affect the degree of conflict. 4.

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The intervening empirical conditions cause quasi groups to become conflict groups.

The conditions also affect the intensity or the involvement of the group members in the conflict and violence or the rate of structural changes that conflict is able to bring forth. 8.7.1 Main

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types of intervening variables a. Conditions of organisations that affect the transformation of latent quasi group into manifest conflict groups. b. Conditions of conflict that affect the form and intensity of conflict. c. Conditions of structural changes that affect the kind, speed and depth of the changes in the social structure. 8.7.2

Conditions that Influence Conflict 1. The more the technical conditions are met, the more likely are they to transform into conflict group.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 135 a. The technical conditions in a group are – leadership cadre and codified idea system.

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The more a leadership cadre among quasi group can be developed, the more the technical conditions will be met. b. The more the idea system is developed, the more technical conditions will be met. 2. The political conditions of

a group is determined by the opportunity of the quasi members to communicate amongst themselves. 3.

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The more the members of a quasi-group communicate, the more likely are the social conditions to be met. 8.8

Criticism Some of the criticisms levelled against Dahrendorf can be mentioned below: 1. Dahrendorf does not clearly specify the variables 2. Although he gives a dialectical conflict theory, it was more akin to Talcott Parson's theory of institutionalisation where presence of authority is the beginning of conflict. 3. He defines authority as a relation of domination-subjugation that makes it structural dichotomy necessary for the beginning of his dialectical theory. 4. Turner explains that the concepts of authority, domination, and interest have their own intervening empirical conditions that also influence the extent, violence and intensity of the conflict. 5. Although Dahrendorf positions himself as a critique of functionalism, rather he is a critique of Parson's theory of shared values or generalized value system in society. Dahrendorf's Imperatively Coordinated Associations are similar to Parsons' view of the social world in terms of institutionalized patterns. 7. The legitimized normative patterns reflect power differentials. This is similar to Parsons. concept of power, as the legitimate right of some status roles to regulate the expectations attendant upon others statuses. 8. In Dahrendorf's model, deviation from the norm established by status- roles will lead dominant groups to attempt to employ negative sanctions. This position is similar to Parsons' concept that power exists to correct deviations from within the group. From the above position, it can be observed that for Dahrendorf power differentials cause integration through legitimized authority relations and disintegration through

136 NSOU CC - SO - 03 persistence of opposed interests . This further implies the functional strands that are visible in Dahrendorf's position. When he says that conflict arises out of legitimized authority, it implies that opposed interests exist and cause conflict. Therefore he assumes that authority is functional requisite for system integration and that conflict that emerges from authority relations is a functional requisite for change. 8.9 Conclusion Dahrendorf was much influenced by Parsons' functional analysis. Parsons' theory of social system is similar to Dahrendorf's ICA, Parsons' function of role as associated with social control is similar to Dahrendorf's concept of role and authority. Conflict is pre-requisite to meet the needs for social change. Due to these reasons Dahrendorf'theory can be called functional theory of conflict. He emphasizes on functions of social conflict because conflict has become an essential part of social structure that allows scope for co–existence and interdependence of numerous groups with diverse and conflicting values. Dahrendorf's conflict theory represents a mixed system having some properties of both alternative approaches. Darendorf's starting point

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is that neither structural functionalism nor Marxism alone provides an acceptable perspective on advanced society.

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Dahrendorf contends that post capitalist society has institutionalized class conflict into state and economic spheres. For example, class conflict has been habituated through unions, collective bargaining, the court system, and legislative debate. In effect, the severe class strife typical of Marx's time is no longer relevant.

According to Dahrendorf, Marx's notion of class is justifiable because in his time capitalism was dominated by owner-managed firms where ownership and authority were concentrated in the same hands. In contemporary economy, however, the most representative form of business organisation is a joint-stock company with dispersed share ownership. In this situation control over the means of production is wielded by professional managers, and not by legal owners. This shows, in Dahrendorf's opinion, that the priority order of ownership and power should be reversed, it is no longer, as in Marx's time, that ownership entails authority, but, contrariwise, property is subordinated to authority. This is its special case. On the basis of his assumptions, Dahrendorf argues that

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society can be split up into the "command class" and the "obey class" and class conflict should refer to situations of struggle between those with authority and those without.

However, there are several serious problems with that notion. Dahrendorf claims that all conflicts only involve two contending parties. This view of conflict appears too simplistic to apply to advanced society, the very same inaccuracy
NSOU CC - SO - 03 137 Dahrendorf accuses Marx of. Furthermore, on the basis of Dahrendorf's theoretical premises, one can in fact distinguish innumerable classes. For Dahrendorf classes are present in each so-called imperatively-co-ordinated group, be it a nonprofessional theatrical troupe, football club or a business corporation. In each such case one can discern two opposed groups : superiors and the subordinated. Needless to say, this leads to rather odd conclusions. From his definition of social class, if we see all authority relations as class relations, it follows that a conflict between parent and child, for instance, is a class conflict. Besides, he fails to establish the difference between authority resulting from truly legitimate power and authority stemming from a situation where a subordinate is regularly obedient to a superior for other reasons.

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He claims that structural functionalists neglect realities of social conflict and that Marx defined class too narrowly and in a historically-specific context.

Furthermore, he believes that traditional Marxism ignores consensus and integration in modern social structures.

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Dahrendorf combines elements from both of these perspectives to develop his own theory concerning class conflict in

post capitalist society.

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Dahrendorf claims that capitalism has undergone major changes since Marx initially developed his theory on class conflict. This new system of capitalism, which he identifies as

post capitalism,

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is characterised by diverse class structure and a fluid system of power relations. Thus, it involves a much more complex system of inequality 8.10

Summary We discussed at length the contributions of Dahrendorf . We introduced the concept of Imperatively Coordinated Association. We also discussed a critique of Dahrendorf's theories. 8.11 Questions Short questions 1. What is Dahrendorf's notion of authority? 2. What is the ICA? 3. What do you mean by intervening variables? 4. What is Dahrendorf's notion of class? 5. What is Dahrendorf's concept of social change? 6. What is Dahrendorf's concept of society?
138 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Broad question 1. Write a critical note on Dahrendorf's concept of the ICA. 2. Give a critical view of Karl Marx's influence on Dahrendorf's notion of dialectical conflict theory. 3. Draw a comparison between the Dialectical and Functional Conflict theories. 4. Draw a comparison between Functionalism and Dialectical Conflict theory . 5. Explain in detail how the intervening variables affect the intensity of conflict in Dahrendorf's model ? 6. What are the criticisms against Dahrendorf ? 8.12 References Randall Collins, Conflict Sociology. New York: Academic Press, 1974, pp.56-61. Lewis,

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Coser. 1956. The Functions of Social Conflict,1956, London Routledge and Kegan Paul,

Glencoe . Wallace and Wolf.2006. Contemporary Sociological Theory- Expanding the Classical Base. PHI Learning Private Limited Turner, Jonathan. 1987. The Structure of Sociological Theory. Rawat Publications. Adams and Sydie. 2001. Sociological Theory. Vistaar Publications.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 139 Unit - 9 Contribution of Lewis Coser Structure 9.1 Objectives 9.2 Introduction 9.3 Causes of Conflict 9.4 Types of Conflict 9.5 Functions of Social Conflict 9.6 Social Conflict and Social Change 9.7 Intensity of Conflict 9.8 Conclusion 9.9 Summary 9.10 Questions 9.11 References 9.1 Objectives To understand the concept of conflict and its necessity as given by Lewis Coser. To understand the causes of conflict. To understand the types and functions of conflict To understand the relation between conflict and social change. 9.2 Introduction Lewis Alfred Coser was born on 27 November 1913 in Berlin. He was a German-American sociologist. His father was a successful Jewish industrialist. In 1933 he fled from the Nazi Germany to Paris and in 1941 he left Nazi occupied Paris for the United States where he married Rose Laub. In the Fifties, he enrolled as a graduate student in sociology at Columbia University, taking his PhD at the age of forty-one. Coser first taught at the University of Chicago and then the University of California. He then founded the sociology department at Brandeis University and taught there for 15 years before joining the sociology department of the State University of New York at Stony Brook.
140 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Lewis Coser revealed recently that "the latent motives for doing much of my work are probably formed in the vicissitudes of my life and career" (Rosenberg 1984, p. 52). In addition, Coser has published several autobiographical writings (Coser 1988a, pp. xi- xx; 1988b). Together these writings can be taken as an invitation to pursue a contextualist interpretation of his sociological oeuvre. This Paper offers one modest contribution to such an undertaking: an examination of some neglected aspects of Coser's reception of Georg Simmel. Coser's dissertation-as-book, The Functions of Social Conflict (1956a), hereafter called Functions, will be the main focus of analysis. It is the thesis of this paper that Coser's reception of Simmel and his theory of conflict were a function of his reaction to the postwar loss of Marxist "revolutionary self-confidence and theoretical self-certainty" 1 and of his consequent search for new ideals and intellectual directions. It is basic to our argument that Coser's study on conflict was a deeply personal book and a historically situated statement. The following discussion will substantiate this biographical and historical argument and will draw implications for current sociological theory and research. Lewis A. Coser was born in 1913, in Berlin, to Martin and Margarete (Fehlow) Cohn. 2 His father, a banker and stockbroker of German-Jewish heritage, did not himself attempt to assimilate, but changed the family name to Coser for the sake of his son, It is significant for his later intellectual career that Coser did not identify directly with his father's Jewish heritage or with the upper middle-class background of his youth, but rather with the cause of socialism and radical politics. Still, Coser was to benefit from his father's economic situation and the educational opportunities it entailed. Following his father's wishes to gain international experi ence, he traveled to England in the early 1930s. He moved on to Paris rather than returning to Berlin in order to escape persecution by the virulent anti-communist campaigns of the ascendant Adolf Hitler. In Paris, Coser not only attended classes in sociology at the Sorbonne, taught by the aging Durkheimians Bougle and Fauconnet, but also became intensely involved in radical political groups. Coser was the first sociologist who tried to bring together structural functionalism and conflict theory. His work was focused on finding the functions of social conflict. Coser argued with Georg Simmel –

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that conflict might serve to solidify a loosely structured group. In a society that seems to be disintegrating, conflict with another society

or inter-group conflict, may restore the integrative core. For example, the cohesiveness of Israeli Jews might be attributed to the long-standing conflict with the Arabs. Conflict with one group may also

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serve to produce cohesion by leading to a series of alliances with other groups. Conflicts within a society,

intra-group

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conflict, can bring some ordinarily isolated individuals into an active role.

The protest over the Vietnam War motivated many young people to take vigorous roles in American political life for the first time. NSOU CC - SO - 03 141 Conflicts also serve

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a communication function. Prior to conflict, groups may be unsure of their adversary's position, but as a result of conflict, positions and boundaries between groups often become clarified, leaving individuals better able to decide on a proper course of action in relation to their adversary.

In his major work, "The Functions of Social Conflict", (1956), he enumerates the functions or role of social conflict. Coser has also published several autobiographical writings (Coser 1988a, pp. xi-xx; 1988b). 9.3 Causes of Conflict Yet, not all social systems contain the same degree of conflict and strain. The sources and incidence of conflicting behaviour in each particular system vary according to the type of structure, the patterns of social mobility, of ascribing and achieving status and of allocating scarce power and wealth, as well as the degree to which a specific form of distribution of power, resources and status is accepted by the component actors within the different sub-systems. But if, within any social structure, there exists an excess of claimants over opportunities for adequate reward, there arises strain and conflict. Any social system implies an allocation of power, as well as wealth and status positions among individual actors and component sub- groups. As has been pointed out, there is never complete concordance between what individuals and groups within a system consider their just due and the system of allocation. Conflict ensues in the effort of various frustrated groups and individuals to increase their share of gratification. Their demands will encounter the resistance of those who previously had established a 'vested interest' in a given form of distribution of honour, wealth and power. To the vested interests, an attack against their position necessarily appears as an attack upon the social order. Those who derive privileges from a given system of allocation of status, wealth and power will perceive an attack upon these prerogatives as an attack against the system itself. However, mere 'frustration' will not lead to a questioning of the legitimacy of the position of the vested interests, and hence to conflict. Levels of aspiration as well as feelings of deprivation are relative to institutionalized expectations and are established through comparison. When social systems have institutionalized goals and values to govern the conduct of component actors, but limited access to these goals for certain members of the society, 'departures from institutional requirements' are to be expected thereby causing conflict. Similarly, if certain groups within a social system compare their share in power, wealth and status honour with that of other groups and question the legitimacy of this distribution, discontent is likely to ensue. If there exist no institutionalized provisions for the expression
142 NSOU CC - SO - 03 of such discontents, departures from what is required by the norms of the social system may occur. These may be limited to 'innovation' or they may consist in the rejection of the institutionalized goals. Such 'rebellion' 'involves the direct or vicarious experience of frustration leads to full denunciation of previously prized values'. Thus conflict is not mere deviation from the norms of a society rather it involves frustration over the distribution of value system. Thus the causes of conflict can be summarized as follows ; 1. The more

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the subordinate members in a system of inequality question the legitimacy of the existing distribution of scared resources, the more likely are they to initiate conflict. 2. The fewer the channels of redressal of grievances over the distribution of resources , the more likely are they to question the

legitimacy. 3. The greater the ego deprivation of those without grievance redressal, greater are they likely to question the legitimacy. 4. The more privilege of membership is sought without allowing their participation , and lesser the possibility of mobilization, greater is the grievances. 5. The more deprivation is transformed from absolute to relative, greater is their grievances. 9.4 Types of Conflict Coser attempts to demonstrate theoretically the potential danger to individuals and social structures in a society intolerant of conflict. To this end, he presents the distinction between "realistic" and "nonrealistic" conflict. Closer uses interesting terms to describe "realistic" and "non-realistic" conflicts. "Conflicts which arise from frustration of specific demands within the relationship and from estimates of gains of the participants, and which are directed at the presumed frustrating object, can be called realistic conflicts, insofar as they are means toward a specific result. Non-realistic conflicts, on the other hand, although still involving interaction between two or more persons, are not occasioned by the rival ends of the antagonists, but by the need for tension release of at least one of them" Coser is very clear in his justification for the creation of the new terms, "realistic" and "nonrealistic" conflict: the times demanded the distinction (Coser 1956a, pp. 50-54).
NSOU CC - SO - 03 143 According to Coser, workers fighting for higher wages through strike or union activity were being equated in the literature with frustrated individuals displacing onto their bosses their oedipal hatred toward their father. The distinction between types of conflict would help to avoid confusing these two dissimilar social types (p. 50). a. Is a conflict that ensues between groups essential in establishing group identity? He states with Simmel that conflict sets boundaries between groups by strengthening group consciousness and awareness of separateness from other groups. Reciprocal antagonisms between groups preserve social divisions and systems of stratification. These reciprocal "repulsions" both establish the identity of the various groups within the system and also help to maintain the overall social system. b. External conflict can strengthen the group and makes the group conscious of its identity by introducing a strong negative group to which they contrast themselves. Internal Conflict – a. Internal conflict or conflict with the deviants makes apparent to the group members what they ought to do. Therefore internal conflict is essential in determining group identity. b. Internal conflict can increase group's survival or stability. c. Stability within a loosely structured society can be viewed as a product of the continuous incidents of conflicts crisscrossing each other, therefore they are less likely to break the society apart. 5. Functions of Social Conflict In The Functions of Social Conflict, Coser analyses the functions, rather than the dysfunctions, of conflict. Published in 1956, it considers 16 propositions contained in another book – Conflict, by Georg Simmel examining, elaborating, extending, changing, and then reformulating Simmel's original points. Coser arranges Simmel's propositions into seven groups, covering: ? The way that conflict helps bind groups together; ? The functions of hostility and tensions in relationships; ? Conflict inside groups; ? Conflict with other groups; ? Conflict and ideology;
144 NSOU CC - SO - 03 ? How conflict binds and unifies groups; ? The ways in which conflict promotes alliances between groups. Coser cites the functions and the dysfunctions of conflict. He also focuses on the latent and the manifest functions of conflict. According to Coser,conflict generates new norms, new institutions by stimulating the economic and technological realm. Economic historians often have pointed out that much technological improvement has resulted from the conflict activity of trade unions through the raising of wage levels. A rise in wages usually has led to a substitution of capital investment for labour and hence to an increase in the volume of investment. But a successful reduction of industrial conflict may have unanticipated dysfunctional consequences for it may destroy an important stimulus for technological innovation. Coser goes on to mention the necessity of conflict in a modern state. He says, conflict within and between bureaucratic structures provides means for avoiding the ossification and ritualism which threatens their form of organization. Conflict, though apparently dysfunctional for highly rationalized systems, may actually have important latent functional consequences. By attacking and overcoming the resistance to innovation and change that seems to be an occupational psychosis always threatening the bureaucratic office holder, it can help to insure that the system does not stifle in the deadening routine of habituation and that in the planning activity itself creativity and invention can be applied. Yet, it may be well to repeat that mere 'frustration' and the ensuing strains and tensions do not necessarily lead to group conflict. Individuals under stress may relieve their tension through 'acting out'. In special safety-valve institutions in as far as they are provided for in the social system and bring about change in this way. The strain leads to the emergence of specific new patterns of behaviour of whole groups of individuals who pursue 'the optimization of gratification by choosing what they consider appropriate means for the maximization of rewards. Social change which reduces the sources of their frustration may come about. This may happen in two ways: if the social system is flexible enough to adjust to conflict situations we will deal with change within the system. If, on the other hand, the social system is not able to readjust itself and allows the accumulation of conflict. Thus conflict acts as safety valve. ? According to this theory, Coser maintains, conflict "serves as an outlet for the release of hostilities which, were no outlet provided, would sunder the relation between antagonists" (1956a, p. 41). The "hydraulic" imagery that Coser uses in

NSOU CC - SO - 03 145 this and other related passages-"safety-valves," "accumulation," "blockage," "release"-is not only difficult to locate in the cited quotation from Simmel; it is also not consistent with Simmel's view of the origins of conflict. Simmel conceived the "hostility drive" as apriori: "It seems impossible to deny an apriori fighting instinct" (1955, p. 29). According to Simmel, a priori drives are a part of human experiential equipment that shape experience (Weingartner 1962, pp. 56-61; see also Oakes 1977, pp. 23-24; 1980, pp. 8-27). For example, the concept functions as an apriori in Simmel's sense when it serves "as a criterion by means of which certain contents are selected as belonging [to experience] and others are rejected as not belonging to it" (Weingartner 1962, p. 58). The "hostility drive" is such an operative principle for human emotional experience. Simmel's language reflects this active, formative view rather than the hydraulic "safety-valve theory" of conflict set forth by Coser. "Safety-valve" institutions – processes such as grievances, whistle-blower policies, complaint mechanisms – tend to focus on releasing tension. Over time, this kind of displacement towards non-realistic aims is dysfunctional for the social system since the fundamental causes of the conflict are not addressed (pg 46), while pressure to modify the system to meet changing conditions is reduced (pg 48). In coser's terms, therefore, conflict has adaptive role, as conflict promotes integration based on solidarity , functional interdependence and normative control . He divides the function of conflict into two basis – a. For the system as a whole in which conflict occurs – or intra group conflict b. Conflict between the respective parties

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The functions of conflict for the respective parties 1. The more violent or intense is the conflict, the more-clear cut is the boundaries between the respective parties. 2. The more violent is the conflict, the more internally differentiated are the parties , the more likely to centralize their decision – making structures 3. The more violent is the conflict, the more it is perceived to affect the welfare of all segments of the conflict parties. 4. The more

violent

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is the conflict, the more it leads to suppression of dissent and forced conformity to norms and values 5. The more conflict leads to conformity, the greater is the accumulation of

hostility.
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The functions of conflict for the social whole 1. The more differentiated and functionally interdependent are the units in a system , the more likely are the conflicts to be frequent but of low intensity. 2. The more frequent are conflicts, less is their intensity, low is their level of violence, the more likely are conflicts in a system (a) to increase the level of innovation and creativity of system units, (b) promote normative regulations, (c) increase awareness of realistic issues, and (d) increase number of associative coalitions among social units. 3. The more

conflicts promote innovation, release hostilities, normative regulations, and increase associative coalitions

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the greater will be the level of internal social integration and greater the capacity to adapt to the external environment.

Thus, the more people are emotionally involved, greater is the intensity of the conflict, greater is the integration as the central power increases and deviance is suppressed. However, Coser doesnot specify the conditions when the inherent dialectics within party shall cause it to disunify. In case of conflict for the entire society, where there are likely to be more inter - connectedness, there is greater likeliness to have greater conflict but less emotionally involving and less violent than systems that are less complex. Due to the frequent interval along which conflicts erupt, emotions are not allowed to build up causing it to be more violent. System with low functional interdependence, will polarize into two hostile camps and make the conflict violent and intense Frequent conflicts of low intensity have the following positive functions 1. Development of normative procedures like laws, mediating agencies 2. Increased sense of realism, as the parties are able to articulate their goals 3. Conflicts promote coalition among parties who are threatened by the actions of the other parties 4. These conflicts help in release of hostilities Infrequent hostile conflicts accumulate emotions and they are likely to be polarized into hostile camps.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 147 9.5 Functions of Social Conflict a. Conflict is functional because it serves as safety valve without which social hostility would eventually disrupt the society. When conflict emerges after being supressed after a long time, it splits the group around basic issues and principles. b. External conflict can only strengthen a group. It makes group members conscious of their identity. c. A group's conflict with the 'deviants' makes apparent to the group what they ought to do. d. Conflict brings stability within loosely structured society. e. A society where there is little expression for antagonistic claims, conflict provides scope for venting out antagonistic sentiments. f. The distinction between one's own group and "outsiders" is established in and through conflict. This includes conflicts between classes, nations, ethnic groups, and political parties. g. Coser describes some positive functions served by the expression of hostility in conflict. Coser maintains that such expressions of conflict maintains relationships under conditions of stress and thereby prevents group dissolution. 9.6 Social Conflict and Social Change Lewis Coser first dealt with some functions of conflict within social systems, more specifically with its relation to institutional rigidities, technical progress and productivity. He then expressed his concern to the relation between social conflict and the changes of social systems. Coser gives the observation of George Sorel in his Reflections on Violence where Sorel wrote: We are today faced with a new and unforeseen fact-a middle class- which seeks to weaken its own strength. The race of bold captains who made the greatness of modern industry disappeared to make way for an ultra-civilized aristocracy which asks to be allowed to live in peace. The threatening decadence may be avoided if the proletariat hold on with obstinacy to revolutionary ideas. The antagonistic classes influence each other in a partly indirect but decisive manner. Everything may be saved if the proletariat, by their use of violence, restore to the middle class something of its former energy. Sorel's specific doctrine of class struggle is not of immediate concern here. What is important for us, says Coser, is the idea that conflict (which Sorel calls violence,
148 NSOU CC - SO - 03 using the word in a very special sense) prevents the ossification of the social system by exerting pressure for innovation and creativity. Though Sorel's call to action was addressed to the working class and its interests, Coser conceived conflict to be of general importance for the total social system; to his mind the gradual disappearance of class conflict might well lead to the decadence of European culture. A social system, he felt, was in need of conflict if only to renew its energies and revitalize its creative forces. This conception seems to be more generally applicable than to class struggle alone. Conflict within and between groups in a society can prevent accommodations and habitual relations from progressively impoverishing creativity. Social conflict was the result of difference in interest between those who had vested interest and others who demanded their share of power, wealth and status. Thus the real reason for the origin of conflict was power, wealth and status. In this regard Coser was much influenced by the idea of social stratification as given by Max Weber. ? In groups that appeal only to a peripheral part of their members' personality ... in which relations are functionally specific and affectively neutral, conflicts are apt to be less sharp and violent than in groups wherein ties are diffuse and affective, engaging the total personality of their members. In effect, this suggests that conflicts in groups such as Rotary Clubs or Chambers of Commerce are likely to be less violent than in groups such as religious sectors or radical parties. ? Coser asserts that closely-knit groups with high personality involvement tend to suppress conflict, as the intensity and intimacy of relations means that conflict is threatening, dangerous. Feelings of hostility tend to accumulate, and when conflict does break out, it is particularly intense, firstly "because the conflict does not merely aim at resolving the immediate issue ... all accumulated grievances which were denied expressions previously are apt to emerge ... secondly, because the total personality involvement of the group members makes for mobilisation of all sentiments in the conduct of the struggle ... likely to threaten the very root of the relationship" 9.7 Intensity of Conflict In relationships in which individuals are very deeply involved, both feelings of attraction as well as feelings of hostility are likely to arise. The closer the relationship, the greater the affective investment, and the more potential there is for ambivalence. Antagonism is a central part of intimate social relations and a by-product of cooperation and frequent

NSOU CC - SO - 03 149 interaction. Close social relationships may therefore be said to contain an essential element of ambivalence. Coser suggests that the closer the relationship, the more intense the conflict. Given the ambivalence described above, it is understandable that conflict would arouse very strong feelings and lead to intense conflict. Also, the fear of intense conflict is likely to lead parties to suppress their hostile feelings, the accumulation of which is likely to further intensify the conflict once it breaks out. If parties' total personalities and identities are involved in the relationship, there is greater likelihood that non-realistic, hostile elements will come into play. For example, individuals who participate extensively in certain groups are typically concerned with that group's continuance. They are likely to react violently if someone with whom they have shared the cares and responsibilities of group life wishes to break away from the group. Such antagonism threatens group unity and is often perceived by a close group as a symbolic threat to its identity. Violent reactions to disloyalty may result. Intense conflict and group loyalty are thus two aspects of the same relation. The more frequent the interaction, the more occasions arise for hostile interaction. However, frequent occasions for conflict do not necessarily result in frequent conflicts. This is because the closeness of relationship and the strong mutual attachment may induce parties to avoid conflict. As stated previously, when conflict does occur, it is likely to be intense. However, conflict also has the potential to re-establish unity. Much depends on the issues that are at stake in conflict and the type of social structure in which conflict occurs. There is a distinction to be made between conflicts over basic matters of principle and conflicts over less central issues. Insofar as conflict resolves tension between antagonists it can serve to integrate relationships. However, conflict tends to serve this positive function only when it concerns interests or values that do not contradict the basic assumptions upon which the relation is founded. Loosely structured groups and open societies that are capable of avoiding conflicts over core values will tend to be most stable. The absence of conflict within a relationship cannot serve as an index of its underlying stability. In fact, parties are more likely to express their hostile feelings if they feel secure and stable in the relationship. They are more likely to avoid acting out their hostile feelings if they fear the termination of the relationship. The fact that a relationship is free of conflict cannot be taken to indicate that it is free from potentially disruptive elements. In fact, if parties' relationship is stable, conflicts are likely to arise between them. For this reason, occurrence of conflict can actually indicate the strength and stability of a relationship. Conflict can serve as a balancing mechanism.

150 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Coser begins to discuss the impact that conflict with out-groups has on the structure of in-groups. First, he considers the idea that conflict with outside groups tends to increase internal cohesion. Coser suggests that whether increase in centralization likewise results depends on the character of the conflict and the type of group. Centralization is more likely in cases of warlike conflict and in social structures with a marked division of labour. Despotism is likely where there is a lack of group cohesion. And both centralization and despotism depend on the group's structure and common values prior to conflict. Social systems that lack solidarity are likely to disintegrate in the face of conflict with outside groups. In some cases, groups may actually search for or invent enemies in an effort to maintain unity and internal cohesion. Groups engaged in continual struggle with outside groups tend to become intolerant within and are less likely to tolerate even limited dissent. These groups maintain and reinforce their unity in the face of dissent through the voluntary or forced withdrawal of those who threaten the group's solidarity. In some cases, they may even search for internal dissenters in order to serve as scapegoats. On the other hand, groups that do not make such strong claims on people's identity and establish no rigid criteria for membership are more likely to be large, and able to resist outside pressures. They also tend to be more flexible in structure and more capable of tolerating conflict within the group. Coser makes a distinction between two types of conflict: that in which the goal is personal and subjective, and that in which the matter in contention has an impersonal, objective aspect. He notes Simmel's claim that objectified struggles, which go beyond personal issues, are likely to be more severe and radical. These are conflicts in which parties understand themselves as representatives of collectives or groups, fighting not for themselves, but rather for the goals and ideals of the group. Elimination of personal reasons tends to make conflict more intense. On the other hand, when parties are pursuing a common goal, objectification of the conflict can serve as a unifying element. There are also cases where the very act of entering into conflict establishes relationships where none previously existed. Once relations have been established through conflict, other types of relations are likely to follow. Conflict often revitalizes existent norms and creates a new framework of rules and norms for the contenders. This is because conflict often leads to the modification and creation of laws as well as the growth of new institutional structures to enforce these laws. The presence of antagonistic behaviour makes people aware of the need for basic norms to govern the rights and duties of citizens. The resulting creation and modification of norms makes readjustment of relationships to changed conditions possible. However, this is possible only if there is a

NSOU CC - SO - 03 151 common organizational structure in place to facilitate the acceptance of common rules and conformity with them. Also, if the parties are relatively balanced in strength, a unified party prefers a unified party. Each group's having a centralized internal structure ensures that once they have devised some solution, peace can be declared and maintained. There will be no lingering enemies to disrupt the relationships. Finally, conflict is integrative insofar as it allows parties to assess their relative power and thus serves as a balancing mechanism to help consolidate societies. Conflict also leads to the formation of coalitions and associations between previously unrelated parties. If several parties face a common opponent, bonds tend to develop between them. This can lead to the formation of new groups or result in instrumental associations in the face of a common threat. In short, conflicts with some produce associations with others. However, the unification that results when coalitions are formed simply for the purpose of defence need not be very thoroughgoing. Alliance can simply be an expression of groups' desire for self-preservation. Of course, such alliances may be perceived by other groups as threatening and unfriendly. This may lead to the creation of new associations and coalition, thus drawing groups into new social relations. In conclusion, Coser suggests that conflict tends to be dysfunctional only for social structures in which there is insufficient toleration or institutionalization of conflict. Highly intense conflicts that threaten to "tear apart" society tend to arise only in rigid social structures. Thus, what threatens social structures is not conflict as such, but rather the rigid character of those structures. 9.8 Conclusion Coser's theory has introduced Simmel's ideas into conflict theory. Although Coser begins with the hostile nature of the world, he quickly enters into the integrative function of conflict. Thus the adaptive functions of conflict are quickly transformed to functional requisites that cause conflict. We can alongside add also a short critique of it. Critical Overview 1. Coser starts with the inevitability of conflict but soon makes conflict adaptable to the social situation. 2. He emphasizes on the integrative functions of conflict that necessitate the occurrence of conflict. 3. He emphasizes on how society produces conflict to meet its integrative forces , making his perspective a skewed one.
152 NSOU CC - SO - 03 9.9 Summary We discussed the contributions of Lewis Coser. We explained types, functions and intensity of conflict. We also related conflict with social change. 9.10 Questions Write in brief: 1. What is the 'safety – valve' theory as given by Lewis Coser? 2. What are the integrated functions of conflict ? 3. How does conflict promote social change? 4. What are the different types of conflict.? 5. Differentiate between external and internal conflict . Write in detail : 1. Write a detailed note on the functional theory of conflict as given by Lewis Coser. 2. How is social conflict related to social change ? 9.11 References Randall Collins, Conflict Sociology. New York: Academic Press, 1974, pp.56-61. Lewis,

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NSOU CC - SO - 03 153 Unit - 10 Critical Overview Structure 10.1 Objectives 10.2 Introduction 10.3 Comparison between Coser and Dahrendorf 10.4 Coser's Propositions 10.5 Dahrendorf's Propositions 10.6 The Outcomes of Conflict 10.7 Critical Appraisal of the Conflict Theory 10.8 Conclusion 10.9 Summary 10.10 Questions 10.11 References 10.12 Suggested Readings 10.13 Glossary 10.1 Objectives To understand and make comparison between Coser and Dahrendorf To make a critical appraisal of Coser and Dahrendorf. 10.2 Introduction Conflict would mean different terms like hostility, violence, competition, antagonism, tension , quarrel . Dahrendorf uses the terms contests, competitions, disputes and tensions and manifest clashes between social forces. Dahrendorf's definition is consistent with the dialectical framework that he sets through the ICA, which reveals the clash of interest among quasi group. Under the technical, political and the social conditions the quasi groups are converted to conflict groups. For Coser conflict is the antagonistic dispositions of the subgroups in a system, where antagonism has promoted integration and adaptability among the parties or the system
154 NSOU CC - SO - 03 as a whole. He prefers to use 'antagonistic' disposition because violence would make it more disruptive and its integrative tendencies would be ignored. Every social system produces conflict inducing tendencies. The Dialectical Conflict theorist, Dahrendorf focuses on the violent conflict that causes the redistribution of resources forming a more equal society. Coser develops a functional perspective on conflict to show how the violent conflict contributes to integration to make the system adaptable. Both Dahrendorf and Coser are not interested in the factors causing conflicts, rather what conflict does for the entire system. However, conflict is dependent upon factors that vary in case of Coser and Dahrendorf but both agree that conflict produces change in the system. We shall now draw our attention to the points of compatibility and incompatibility between the two thinkers. 10.3 Comparison between Coser and Dahrendorf Much like Dahrendorf, Coser also views functional theorizing as having "too often neglected the dimensions of power and interest." But in contrast to Dahrendorf, he has not followed Marx's emphasis on conflict dialectics and their consequences for perpetual reorganization of social systems. On the contrary, Coser has sought to correct Dahrendorf's onesidedness with another one-sidedness emphasizing the "integrative" and "adaptive" functions of conflict for social systems. In so doing, Coser has been led to embrace many of the organismic assumptions of Simmel's (1955) earlier analysis of conflict: (1) social life tends to be organized into systems, whose interrelated parts reveal imbalances, tensions, and conflict of interests; (2) under different conditions, processes in social systems operate to maintain, change, and increase or decrease not only the system's integration but also its "adaptability"; and (3) some of these processes-notably violence, dissent, deviance, and conflict-can, under certain conditions, strengthen

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the system's basis of integration as well as its adaptability to the environment. Coser

said that the more deprived members of

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a system question the legitimacy of the existing distribution of scarce resources, the more likely they are to initiate into conflict The fewer the channels for redressing grievances over the distribution of scarce resources by the deprived, the more likely they are to question legitimacy. The fewer internal organizations there are segmenting emotional energies of the

members of the deprived, the more likely are the deprived groups without grievances alternatives

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to question legitimacy. The greater the ego deprivation s of those without grievances channels, the more likely they are to question legitimacy.The more membership in

the privileged groups
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and the less mobility allowed, the more likely they are to withdraw legitimacy. The more deprivations are transformed from absolute to relative, the more likely are the deprived to initiate conflicts .The less the degree to which socialization experience of

the deprived generates

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internal ego constraints, the more likely are they to experience relative deprivation. The less the external constraints is applied to the

deprived, the more likely are they to experience relative deprivation. The more the conditions causing outbreak of conflict are realised, the more intense is the conflict.The greater the emotional involvement of the members in a conflict, more is

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the intensity of conflict. The more primary are the relations among the parties to a conflict, the more

emotional involvement is caused. a. The smaller the primary group where conflict occurs , the more emotional the involvement b. The more primary the relations among parties , the less likely the open expression of hostility, but the more the expression ina conflict situation 2. The more secondary relations among parties to a conflict, the more segmental their participation and the less emotional involvement a. The more secondary relations, the more frequent the conflict, but the less the emotional involvement . b. The larger the secondary group, the more frequent the conflict The more ideologically unified a group, the more conflicts transcend self-interest. The more ideologically unified a group , the more common are goals of group. 10.4 Coser's Propositions Coser highlights on the factors determining the intensity of conflict – 1. The more frequent and less intense conflicts, the more likely are groups to centralize in an effort to promote conformity of each groups's membership to the norms governing the conflict. 2. The less rigid system , the more likely it is that conflict can establish balances and hierarchies of power in a system 3. The less knowledge of the adversary's strength and the fewer the indexes of such strength, the more likely is the conflict between the groups.

156 NSOU CC - SO - 03 4. The less rigid the system the more likely is the conflict to cause formation of associative coalitions that increase the cohesiveness and integration of the system. 5. The more other parties in a system are threatened by coalitions of other parties, the more likely they are to form associative coalitions (1956). The more a system is based on functional interdependence, the more likely coalitions are to be instrumental and less enduring. 6. The more a system reveals crosscutting cleavages, the more likely groups in a coalition are to have their own conflicts of interests, and the more likely is the coalition to be instrumental. 7. The more a coalition is formed for purely defensive purposes, the more likely it is to be instrumental. The more tightly structured and primary the relations in a system, the more likely coalitions are to develop common norms and values and form a more permanent group. The more coalitions are formed of individuals (or more generally, the smaller the units forming a coalition), the more likely they are to develop into a permanent group. The more interaction required among the parties of a coalition, the more likely it is to form a permanent group.

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The Outcomes of Conflict- the more intense the conflict, the more clear-cut the boundaries of each respective conflict party. I. The more intense the conflict and the more differentiated the division of labor of each conflict party, the more likely each to centralize its decision-making structure.

II. The more intense the conflict, the less differentiated the structure and the less stable the structure and internal solidarity, the more centralization is despotic.

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III. The more intense the conflict and the more it is perceived to affect all segments of each group, the more conflict promotes structural and ideological solidarity among members of respective conflict groups. IV. The more

primary the
relations among members of respective conflict groups, and

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the more intense the conflict, the more conflict leads to suppression of dissent and deviance within each conflict

group and to

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forced conformity to norms and values. The more conflict between groups leads to forced conformity, the more the accumulation of hostilities and the more likely internal group conflict in the long run .

V. The less rigid the social structure where conflict between groups occurs and the more frequent and less intense the conflict, the more likely is conflict to change the system in ways promoting adaptability and integration.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 157 VI. The less rigid the system, the more likely is conflict to promote innovation and creativity in the system. The less rigid the system, the less likely is conflict to involve displacement of hostilities to alternative objects and the more likely is conflict to con front realistic sources of tension. VII. The more a system is based on functional interdependence, and the more frequent and less intense the conflict, the more likely it is to release tensions without polarizing the system. The more stable the primary relations in a system, and the more frequent and less intense is the conflict, the more likely it is to release tensions without polarizing the system, but not to the extent of a system based on secondary relations. VIII. The less rigid the system, the more likely is conflict to be perceived by those in power as signals of maladjustment that needs to be addressed. The more frequently conflict occurs, the less likely it is to reflect differences over core values and the more functional for maintaining equilibrium it is likely to be . IX. The more a conflict group can appeal to the core values of a system, the less likely the conflict to create dissensus over these values and the more likely it is to promote integration of the system X. The more a conflict group does not advocate extreme interpretations of core values, the less likely a counter conflict group to form and the less disruptive the conflict for the system. The more frequent and less intense are conflicts, the more likely they are to promote normative regulation of conflict. XI. The less rigid a system, the more frequent and less intense the conflict . The less rigid the system, the more likely conflict to revitalize existent norms. The less rigid the system, the more likely conflict to generate new norms. 10.5 Dahrendorf's Propositions The more members of a quasi-group in the ICA

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can become aware of their objective interests and form a conflict group, the more likely is conflict to occur. The more the technical conditions of organisation can be met, the more likely is the formation of the conflict group . The more a leader cadre among

the quasi group can be developed, the more the codified idea system or charter system can be developed and therefore more the technical conditions of the

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organization can be met. The more the political conditions of the organization can be met, the more likely is the formation of the conflict group. 158 NSOU CC - SO - 03 The more the dominant group permits organization of opposed interest, the more likely can the political conditions of the organization be met. The more

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the social conditions of the organization can be met, the more likely are the formation of the conflict group.

That can happen if their members have more opportunities to communicate and

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the more recruiting is permitted by structural arrangements, more likely are the social conditions to be met.

Intensity of the conflict is determined by For Dahrendorf,

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the more the technical, political and social conditions of organization are met, the more intense is the conflict. The more the distribution of authority and other rewards are associated with each other, the more intense is the conflict The less the mobility between super and subordinate groups, the more intense is the conflict.

Dahrendorf's Proposition states the conclusion reached in the discussion of the causes of conflict: if the technical, political, and social conditions of organization cannot be met, conflict will be less structured and regulated. Thus, for Dahrendorf, conflict will be violent when the parties are emotionally aroused, the conditions of organization are not met, and the conflicting parties cannot develop regulatory agreements. For Coser, conflict is over objective interests that represent an important set of conditions facilitating or inhibiting violence. Dahrendorf recognizes this condition in his discussion of how awareness of true interests is a result of the conditions of organization being met. But Coser specifies additional conditions which can supplement Dahrendorf's limited discussion. Furthermore, Coser's inventory has already incorporated the relative deprivation hypothesis at a more appropriate place in the overall inventory of propositions on conflict. Also, Coser's inventory specifies some of the conditions under which Dahrendorf's "regulatory agreements" inhibiting violent conflict will be likely to emerge between conflicting parties. And finally, Coser places more significance on the impact of values on conflict-a variable Dahrendorf only implicitly acknowledges in discussion of the technical conditions of organization. Thus, for both Coser and Dahrendorf the degree of organization of the conflict parties, the capacity of the more inclusive system to institutionalize conflict relations, and the ability of conflict parties to articulate their interests independently of core values will influence the degree of violence in the conflict between the deprived and privileged. NSOU CC - SO - 03 159 10.6 The Outcomes of Conflict For Dahrendorf, the only outcome of conflict is social change, with only the amount and the rate of such change visualized as varying. In contrast, Coser has developed propositions on integrative and adaptive outcomes

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of conflict for both the parties to a conflict and the social whole within which the conflict occurs.

In the first group of propositions conflict can cause a shoring up of group boundaries, centralization of decision-making, ideological solidarity, and increased social control. As with previous propositions, these events occur only under specified conditions, including the degree of rigidity and differentiation in social structure, the intensity of the conflict, and the extent to which conflict is perceived to affect all factions of the group. Furthermore, in this particular inventory it is not immediately evident that stating the inverse of the propositions would reveal the conditions under which conflict would lead to disintegration of conflict groups. Furthermore, under conditions of conflict frequency and intensity, conflict can promote varying degrees and types of equilibrium, normative regulation, and associative coalitions. While the inverse of some of these propositions perhaps reveals a few of the conditions promoting disequilibrium, anomie, and antagonisms among subgroups, the propositions still remain overly loaded. Turner has pointed that that they fail to conceptualize adequately the conditions under which conflicts of varying degrees of violence cause certain outcomes in the short and long run for both conflict parties and the more inclusive system. For example, does violent conflict always result in rapid change of a system? It is clear that such a proposition would hold true only under conditions which would have to specify the causal impact of such variables as the duration of the violence, the repressive powers of the privileged, the nature and composition of the deprived who initiate the conflict, the issues over which the conflict is fought, the values involved to justify the violence, and so on. Turner writes that Coser's propositions would seem to provide a list of variables influencing outcomes; but unfortunately the variables of "intensity" and "violence" are not clearly defined in this context. Hence, the propositions on outcomes are not systematically linked to the conditions causing conflict of varying degrees of violence. To take another example from Dahrendorf's analysis of outcomes: Does organized conflict of high intensity necessarily lead to "more structural change?" Or, could not the regularization of conflict among highly organized groups result in forms of competition which maintain the status quo? This possibility is, of course, the point to be emphasized by Coser's propositions,
160 NSOU CC - SO - 03 and a number of suggestive variables are introduced to explain when such an outcome is likely. But Coser's inventory again raises as many theoretical questions as it answers. For example, does frequent and violent conflict in flexible social systems which have clear-cut mechanisms for regulating conflict lead to change ? And could one objectively describe either outcome as increasing integration or adaptability? Turner also writes about the kinds of problems presented by Coser's and Dahrendorf's propositions on the outcomes of conflict. Seemingly, the one-sided assumptions underlying their analysis forced evaluative conclusions about the desirable outcomes of conflict— for Coser, such as integration and adaptability, and for Dahrendorf, social change and reorganization. As such, the analysis of outcomes is not easily connected to their more interesting analysis of the causes of conflicts of varying degrees of violence. Coser provides a suggestive list of variables: but no clear causal relations can be inferred from this list because they are not clearly linked to the conditions affecting the causes and violence of conflict. 10.7 Critical Appraisal of the Conflict Theory Predictably, conflict theory has been criticized for its focus on change and neglect of social stability. Some critics acknowledge that societies are in a constant state of change, but point out that much of the change is minor or incremental, not revolutionary. For example, many modern capitalist states have avoided a communist revolution, and have instead instituted elaborate social service programs. Although conflict theorists often focus on social change, they have, in fact, also developed a theory to explain social stability. According to the conflict perspective,

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inequalities in power and reward are built into all social structures. Individuals and groups who benefit from any particular structure strive to see it maintained.

For example, the wealthy may fight to maintain their privileged access to higher education by opposing measures that would broaden access, such as affirmative action or public funding. Turner questions Dahrendorf's easy usage of the concepts in such a way that they can be applied to wide ranging phenomenon thereby making the testing of a theory problematic. For instance, the concepts of power, authority, interest and domination can be used in all empirical situations. Secondly, Turner questions the guidelines for measuring the intensity of conflicts. He uses vague concepts to conform his scheme. Both these create problematics for empirical investigation.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 161 Yet, he has been one of the harshest critiques of functionalism. He provides a dialectical – functional approach that will explain the understanding of human society. Parsons' social system is similar to Dahrendorf's ICA, where systems are broken up into subsystems, involving organization of roles. Deviation from the roles leads to imposition of sanction. The dialectics in Dahrendorf's theory observes that arrangement of roles implies integration and deviation from norms that cause the employment of negative sanctions or presence of opposed interests. However, the real genesis in Dahrendorf's model remains unexplained because Dahrendorf marks authority as the main cause of conflict, which further reiterates that opposed interests are the causes of conflict. Here there is lack of detailed sequences in the origin of conflict. Thus the assumption that conflict groups emerge from authority is a reflection of the hidden assumption that authority is a functional requisite for system integration . Dahrendorf is also unable to explain the organization of the ICA, and to explain why they are organized solely on the basis of power and authority. He does not mention the mechanism of how they are organized. He emphasizes on the presence of authority that causes conflict and makes the system amenable to change, imputing a teleological error to his theory. Coser begins with the inevitability of conflict and then turns into a reason for integration. He elaborates on the functions that conflict serves for group maintenance rather than focusing on the reason for conflict. Both Dahrendorf and Coser keep the 'units' of their conflict vague that makes their theory applicable to all situations from small groups to nation states. However, both agree that inequality is the ultimate cause of social conflict. Coser through his functional conflict theory and Dahrendorf through the dialectical conflict theory are not interested in what causes conflict, rather they are focused on the consequences of conflict and what conflict does for the whole system. However, they fail to delineate the units which will be involved in the conflict. This makes 'conflict' an independent variable in their proposal. 10.8 Conclusion Dahrendorf's contribution lies in his analysis of the ubiquity of conflict everywhere and the change in society that comes along with it.

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Since distribution of authority is the fundamental source of conflict, changes resulting from class conflict will bring about changes in the authority system.

Latent or manifest, conflict makes up the essential ingredients of social structure. Conflict can be regulated and its specific expression can
162 NSOU CC - SO - 03 be contained but until the authority structure is done away with , conflicts cannot be resolved permanently.

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Since differential distribution of authority is the fundamental source of conflict, changes resulting from conflict are essentially changes in the authority system.

Structural changes can be brought about by total or near total exchange of dominant positions as in the case of the revolutionary overthrow of the governments or partial exchange of personnel as in the case of coalition and class alliances. By pointing to the general theory of conflict Dahrendorf has developed a general theory of social conflict of his own. By doing so he has made a significant contribution to the dialectic of sociology. However, Dahrendorf is guilty of the fallacy of the binary model. The attempt to trace all conflicts to dichotomous authority relations involves straining the facts. Class is defined in terms of authority so that class conflict revolves round the struggle for authority. Authority, however, is not the only determinant of class. Income, status, prestige, life style and material possessions are also significant ingredients of class structures. Nor is authority the only or primary source of social conflict. Inter caste and inter religious conflicts are seldom based on authority relations. Throughout human history , ideology, values , lifestyles, customs, belief systems have provided ammunitions for social unrest. However, Dahrendorf's analysis of social conflict cannot analyse social changes in all the societies. His position that social change is necessarily the result of change in the authority structure is not always proved correct, because changes have been found in societies without corresponding changes in the authority system. He rejects the Marxian emphasis on property as the determinant of class and substitutes it with authority. However , he neither demonstrates why authority is prior to the relations of means of production nor convincingly demonstrates how classes are different from conflict groups and hence why they should be treated as a special analytical category. He, just like Marx, sees authority as structurally induced. They kept power at the centre of their theoretical scheme. In terms of power relations they saw a structural tendency towards polarization into two class model – the ruled and the rulers. Dahrendorf rejects Marx's overemphasis on the primacy of class conflicts and their revolutionary character. While Marx saw class antagonism manifest in violent and abrupt changes, Dahrendorf also apprehended the possibilities of gradual and peaceful changes as well. Dahrendorf's

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dialectical sociology is the systematic study of social conflict which involves conceptualization of opposing forces with conflicting interests. The dialectical model begins with a dichotomy of opposites such as individual and

society, lords and serfs, rich and poor, elites and the masses, majority and minority, liberals and conservatives
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Dahrendorf's model is a dialectical model because he saw conflict as inherent in the dichotomous division of all social organisations into contending categories of roles— those who have authority and those who are subjected to authority.

Since conflict is conceived as a process arising out of opposing forces within authority structures, innovations and revolutions do not eliminate conflicts. They only introduce new authority structures which perpetuate the dichotomous division of associations into superordinates and subordinates and thus the endless process goes on. Dialectical sociology does not begin with a specific social problem, rather it begins with society as a whole and seeks to demonstrate how conflicts emanate from structural arrangements. Dahrendorf has been successful in developing a scientific theory of conflict, which attempts to explain the possibilities of change in society, the structural origin of dissent as well as the multiplicity of forms of conflict and their degree of intensity. The dialectics of internal contradictions is the essential feature of the contemporary conflict theory. Coser is primarily concerned with how conflict prevents the ossification of the social system by exerting pressure for innovation and creativity. He

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allows expression of hostility and mending of strained relations. It leads to the elimination of specific sources of conflict between parties and enables redressal of conflict between parties through establishments of new norms or affirmation of

the old ones. Hostility towards the out- group unifies the in-group , when there is a need felt for greater solidarity , members of in-group tend to exaggerate conflicts with other groups and where such conflict exists any deviation from the group norms is severely condemned. Social conflict not only generates new norms but also brings forth new coalitions and alliances. They bring improvement and

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revitalize the economy , lubricate the social system, facilitate release of tension and frustration and enable social system to adjust itself. However, conflict

within and between groups in a society can prevent accommodations and habitual relations from progressively impoverishing creativity. But the internal conflict between vested interests and new strata demanding share of power, wealth, status does not contradict the basic assumptions that relationships tend to be functional for the social structure. 10.9 Summary We presented the propositions of Coser and Dahrendorf. We discussed the critical overview of the theory.
164 NSOU CC - SO - 03 10.10 Questions 1. Draw a comparison between Coser and Dahrendorf on the intensity and outcomes of the conflict. 2. Draw comparison between Coser and Dahrendorf. 3. Make a critical appraisal of the theories of Coser and Dahrendorf. 10.11 References Abraham, Francis. (1982). Modern Sociological Theory An Introduction. OUP:New York. Coser, Lewis. (1956). The Functions
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Ralph. (1973). Towards a Theory of Social Conflict, in Amitai Etzioni (ed.), Social Change. Basic Books: New York. Coser, Lewis.(1971). Masters of Sociological Thought. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.,: New York. 10.12 Suggested Readings 6. Dahrendorf, Ralph. (1969). 'Out of Utopia: Towards a Reorientation of Sociological Analysis, in Lewis Coser and Bernard Rosenberg (eds.) Sociological Theory. Macmillan Company : New York. 7. Ritzer,George (2011). Sociological Theory (5 th edition). Rawat: New York. 8. Paolo Jedlowski (1990). Simmel on Money, in M.Karen , B.S Philips and R.S Cohen (eds.) George Simmel and Contemporary Sociology. Kluwer: Dorderecht, Neth. 10.13 Glossary Conflict- Conflict is a clash of interest. The basis of conflict may vary but it is always a part of society. Basis of conflict may be personal, racial, class, caste, political and international. Conflict in groups often follows a specific course. Routine group interaction is first disrupted by an initial conflict, often caused by differences of opinion, disagreements

NSOU CC - SO - 03 165 between members, or scarcity of resources. At this point, the group is no longer united, and may split into coalitions. This period of conflict escalation in some cases gives way to a conflict resolution stage, after which the group can eventually return to routine group interaction. A System is a group of interacting or interrelated entities that form a unified whole. A system, surrounded and influenced by its environment, is described by its boundaries, structure and purpose and expressed in its functioning. Systems are the subjects of study of systems theory. Status quo or Statu quo is a Latinphrase meaning the existing state of affairs, particularly with regard to social or political issues. In the sociological sense, it generally applies to maintaining or changing existing social structure and/or values. With regard to policy debate, it means how conditions are inviting a good or bad analysis of them, for example, "The countries are now trying to maintain a status quo with regard to their nuclear arsenal which will help them if the situation gets any worse turn. Imperatively Co-ordinated Association (ICA) Multiple roles within the structure of authority may have

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conflict when different positions call for different things. According to Dahrendorf, these different defined areas of society where people's roles may be different are called imperatively coordinated associations. The groups of society in different associations are drawn together by their common interests. 166

NSOU CC - SO - 03 Unit - 11 Basic Arguments Structure 11.1 Objectives 11.2 Introduction 11.3 History of Social Exchange Theory 11.4 Behaviourism 11.5 Rational Choice Theory 11.6 The Social Psychology Groups 11.7 Utilitarianism 11.8 Advantages of Social Exchange Theory 11.9 Disadvantages of Social Exchange Theory 11.10 Homan's Proposition 11.10.1 The Objective Behind the Development of his Theory 11.11 Purpose of Social Exchange Theory 11.12 Basic Concepts of Social Exchange Theory 11.12.1 Different forms of Reward 11.13 Basic Assumptions of Social Exchange Theory 11.14 Basic Propositions of George Homans 11.15 Conclusion 11.16 Summary 11.17 Questions 11.18 References 11.19 Glossary Module - IV : Exchange Theory
NSOU CC - SO - 03 167 11.1 Objectives To understand the history of social exchange. To understand the concepts of social exchange theory. To understand the general arguments of exchange theory. To understand the propositions offered by Homans. 11.2 Introdusction Social exchange theory is a socio-psychological theory which focuses on social behaviour in the interaction of two parties. Proponents of social exchange theory suggests that calculations occur on romantic relationships, friendships, professional relationships etc. We always weigh pros and cons. They are often interchanged for "risk" and "reward". Social exchange theory applies similar principles while dealing with interaction among people. One of the most influential conceptual paradigms for understanding marketplace behaviour happens to be social exchange theory. The theory emerged during the 1920s (e.g. Malinowski, 1922; Mauss, 1925). Disciplines such as Anthropology, Social Psychology and Sociology were bridged together. Social exchange involves different perspectives. Theorists are mostly in favour of the fact that social exchange encapsulates a series of interactions that generate obligations. These interactions are normally perceived as interdependent and contingent on the actions of another person. The major focus of these interdependent transactions is upon the capability to generate high-quality relationships. Different domains like social power, networks, board independence, organisational justice, psychological contracts, leadership etc have been influenced by social exchange theory. Social exchange theory refers to the fact that it is a socio-psychological and sociological perspective that explains social exchange and stability as a process of negotiated exchanges between parties. The theory got its formal development in 1958 by George Homans. He defined social exchange as the

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exchange of activity, tangible or intangible and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two

people. Peter Blau and Richard Emerson also came forward to develop the theory. 11.3 History of Social Exchange Theory Several distinct lines of theoretical work in the social sciences has been largely instrumental in shaping of exchange theory. They are behaviorism, utilitarianism and functionalism

168 NSOU CC - SO - 03 (Turner 1986). Major proponents of social exchange perspective within sociology include Homans, Blau and Emerson. Thibout and Kelly also contributed to a great extent to social exchange theory in their emphasis on the interdependence of actors and the social implications of different forms of interdependence. The contribution of anthropologists such as Malinowski, Mauss, Schneider and Levi-Strauss towards social exchange theory is highly appreciable. it is important to remember here that the foundation of microeconomics has much in common with some variants of social exchange theory. It has a clear reflection in Blau's exchange and power in social life and in subsequent theoretical developments(e.g. Cook and Emerson 1978; Coleman 1972, 1990). Social exchange theory has a continued significance in the social sciences. Social exchange theory dates back to 1958, through the work of the American sociologist George Homans. He portrayed a vivid image of social exchange in his article "Social Behaviour as Exchange". Homans designed a framework which was a culmination of behaviorism and basic economics. Social exchange theory is based on the principle that the relationship between two people is made through a process of cost-benefit analysis. It is like a metric system which is designed to determine the effort poured in by an individual in person to person relationships. This theory is unique in nature. It measures relationships on mathematics and logic to determine the balance within a relationship. The theory can be applied to both romantic as well as friendly relations. Exchange theory has been influenced by different intellectual currents. Rational choice theory was one of them which shaped the development of exchange theory. Exchange theory is also rooted in behaviorism. 11.4 Behaviourism Behaviourism is very crucial in behavioral sociology, most significantly in

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exchange theory. The behavioural sociologist focuses upon the relationship between the effects of an actor's behaviour on the environment and their impact on the actor's later

behaviour. In operant conditioning, this happens to be the pivotal point of discussion where "behaviour is modified by its consequences". It is important to note that whether it is social or physical environment, it is definitely affected by the behaviour and in turn "acts" back in many ways. Here the reaction strongly affects the actor's later behaviour. If the actor finds it rewarding then

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the same behaviour is likely to be repeated in future in similar situations. However if the reaction has been painful or punishing then there is less

chance of repeating it again.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 169 Here we have to remember that the behavioural sociologist revolves around

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between the history of environmental reactions or consequences and the nature of present

behaviour. Behaviourists are mainly interested in rewards(or reinforcers) and costs(or punishments). The ability to strengthen(i.e. reinforce) behaviour is known as rewards while cost refers to those which reduce the likelihood of behaviour. 11.5 Rational Choice Theory Rational choice theory has influenced the development of exchange theory to a great extent. Let us first understand it. Neoclassical economics(as well as utilitarianism and Game Theory) paved the way for rational choice theory. This theory puts actors in the pivotal position. They are seen as active, purposive beings. Their behaviours are directed towards some goals. Actors do have preferences. Rational choice theory takes into consideration two major constraints on action. The first is scarcity of resources. Actors have access to different resources. People who have lots of resources, it becomes easy for them to achieve the ends. On the other hand, those who do not have access to scarce resources, achieving goal becomes difficult. Here, in this particular context the idea of opportunity costs (Friedman & Hechter) is very much closely associated with scarcity of resources. While setting a goal, social actors must be cautious about the costs of forgoing their next-most-attractive action. Actors are viewed as trying to maximize their profits. Social Institutions happen to be another source of constraints on individual action. These institutional constraints, provide both positive and negative sanctions that stimulate certain actions and discourage others. Homans basically advanced statement of human rationality. He always emphasized on rationality. A debate can be put forward that people repeat rewarding actions, respond to stimuli associated with such rewards and act on the basis of the values they attach to things. This is, in fact, to state that they are rational. While examining the deterrent effects of arrest rates and sentencing, this principle is being employed by criminology. This principle suggests that more often the crimes succeed, the more people will commit them. This evidence is to a great extent in accord with this argument. This approach is also very much relevant to the poor quality education pattern which many children obtained in inner city schools and the overt war between teacher and pupils that characterizes many inner city classrooms. Basically students are less interested towards studies and more inclined towards warfare.

170 NSOU CC - SO - 03 However, this idea of rationality, especially the notion that people choose courses of action on the basis of their potential value, has been criticized by other exchange theorists. What Homans originally established was value proposition as an empirically verifiable proposition. On the other hand, his critics argued that it was a tautology. Sociologists in the rational choice or exchange theory tradition assumes that certain values and objectives are very common. They predict that people value survival, approval and power. This value proposition provides an inadequate explanation of guide to behaviour. On the other hand, people are in a situation of uncertainty or risk where they cannot be sure of the outcomes of their actions or which is the most valuable alternative. This principle is very complicated. It is not possible for anyone to be alert with calculations all the time. According to this principle, on the basis of our perception of risks and rewards react objectively and in a logical manner. This does not mean that we are always right. Next school of thought which also influenced the growth of exchange theory was : The Social Psychology of Groups. 11.6 The Social Psychology Groups As highlighted by Thibaut and Kelly (1959) the bulk of Social Psychology of Groups is dedicated to dyadic relationships. They are fully immersed in interaction and its consequences for the members of the dyad. Just like in behaviourism and in exchange theory, rewards and costs are central to Thibaut and Kelly's analysis of dyadic relationships. Molm and Cook observed that three aspects of Thibaut and Kelly's theory were significant to the development of exchange theory. First is their interest in power and dependence. Thibaut and Kelly are of the opinion that power is derived from the ability of one actor in a dyad to affect the quality of outcomes achieved by the other actor. They distinguish between two forms of power. When actor A affects the outcomes of actor B "regardless of what B does" then it takes place. The second is behaviour control : "If by varying his behaviour A can make it desirable for B to vary his behaviour too, then as put by Thibaut and Kelly, A has behaviour control over B". The relationship is the main focus of attraction in a dyad. Thus, each can exercise power over the other to some degree. Another key idea put forward by Thibaut and Kelley is that of ideas of Comparison Level (CL) and Comparison Level for alternatives (CL alt). These are standards for the evaluation of outcomes of relationships. Thibaut and Kelley come forward with another interesting contribution that is the notion of the "outcome matrix" which is a way of visually depicting "all of the possible events that may occur in the interaction between A and B".

NSOU CC - SO - 03 171 These schools of thought came forward with their own set of ideas and finally laid the foundation of exchange theory of George Homans and Peter Blau at least in the initial level. Next, let us focus on utilitarianism which is another very influential school of thought in the development of exchange theory. 11.7 Utilitarianism The contribution of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill etc can be included in the school of utilitarianism. They viewed humans as rational beings who seek to maximize their material benefits or utility, from transactions or exchanges with others in a free and competitive marketplace. Social actors and free national units in the so-called marketplace. They have access to all necessary information. All available alternatives can be considered by them and on the basis of that they rationally choose the cause of activity that will maximize material benefits : Here, it is crucial to keep in mind that there has been a continuous debate between intellectual descendants of utilitarianism and those reacting to this perspective. Like Talcott Parsons, modern exchange theorists have attempted to reformulate the utilitarian principles into various theories of social exchange. The alternative assumptions are as follows : 1. Humans do not seek to maximize profits but they always attempt to make some profit in their social transactions with others. 2. Humans are not perfectly rational, but they do engage in calculations of costs and benefits in social transactions. 3. Humans do not have perfect information on all available alternatives but they are usually aware of at least some alternatives which form the basis for assessments of costs and benefits. 4. Humans always act under constraints but they still compete with each other in seeking to make a profit in their transactions. 5. Humans always seek to make a profit in the transactions but they are limited by the resources that they have when entering an exchange solution. Turner added two more assumptions. They are : 6. Humans do engage in economic transactions in clearly defined market places in all societies but these transactions are only a special case of near more general exchange relations occurring among individuals in virtually all social contexts.

172 NSOU CC - SO - 03 7. Humans do pursue material goals in exchanges but they also mobilize and exchange material resources such as sentiments, services and symbols. Turner said that some forms of modern exchange theory have also followed the strategy of utilitarians for constructing social theory. Utilitarians claimed that social actors are rational. They proposed that exchanges among people can also be studied by a rational science, one in which the "laws of human nature" would stand at the top of a deductive system of explanation. He further observed that utilitarianism influences exchange theory in an indirect manner. He pointed out that utilitarianism initially passed through Social Anthropology and then on to Sociology. While talking about social Anthropology mention must be made of Sir James George Frazer. He wrote Folklore in the Old Testament. It was most probably the first explicit exchange theoretic analysis of social institutions. Following the footsteps of Frazer, Malinowski and Levi Strauss, modern exchange theory in Sociology inspires a similar concentration of social organization : 1. Exchange processes are the result of efforts by people to realize basic needs. 2. When yielding payoffs for those involved, in exchange processes lead to the patterning of interaction. 3. Such patterns of interaction not only serve the needs of individuals, but they also constrain the kinds of social structures that can subsequently emerge. Bronislaw Malinowski also contributed to a great extent towards building up of modern exchange theory. Argonauts of the Western Pacific is a famous work of Malinowski. He observed an exchange system termed the Kula Ring, which was a closed circle of exchange relations among individuals in communities inhabiting a wide ring of islands. Turner paid immense importance to Malinowski's analysis and stressed that it had made innumerous contributions to modern exchange theory. Let us see in what way is Malinowski's work significant through the following propositions. 1. In Malinowski's words, "the meaning of Kula will consist in being instrumental to dispel [the] conception of a rational being who wants nothing but to satisfy his simplest needs and does it according to the economic principle of least effort". 2. Psychological rather than economic needs are the forces that initiate and sustain exchange relations and are therefore critical in the explanation of social behaviour. 3. Exchange relations can also have implications beyond two parties for, as the Kula demonstrates, complex patterns of indirect exchange can operate to maintain extended and protracted social networks.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 173 4. Symbolic exchange relations are the basic social process underlying both differentiation of tanx in a society and the integration of society into a cohesive and solidary whole. Another scholar whose work also had a huge impact on the development of exchange theory was Marcel Mauss. He felt that it was "force" which compelled reciprocity in society. He said that in the end, exchange relations create, reinforce and serve a group morality that is an entity. Thus, his work also helped in the growth of present day exchange theory. Next, Levi-Strauss came up with his sophisticated structural exchange perspective. He also came forward towards the development of exchange theory. In contrast to Frazer he illuminated the fact that "it is the exchange which accounts and not the things exchanged". He defined exchange in terms of its functions for integrating the largest social structures. He is strongly against the fact that there exists psychological interpretations of exchange processes. He is of the opinion that humans possess a cultural heritage of norms and values. This separates their behaviour and societal organization from that of animal species. He stated that exchange is more than psychological needs. It cannot be understood only in terms of individual motives. Exchange relations are basically a reflection of patterns of social organization that exist as an entity, sui generis. It is regulated by norms and values. Levi Strauss emphasized on two points which exerted a strong influence on modern sociological theory. They are as follows : 1. Various forms of social structure rather than individual motives are the critical variables in the analysis of exchange relations. 2. Exchange relations in social systems are frequently not restricted to direct interaction among individuals, but protracted into complex networks of indirect exchange. On the one hand, these exchange processes are caused by patterns of social integration and organisation; on the other hand, they promote diverse forms of such organization. 11.8 Advantages of Social Exchange Theory 1. It is a scientific theory. It explains that individuals minimize their cost and maximize their rewards within a relationship. 2. It tells one how to sustain and keep relationships. 3. It is a timely and systematic approach. The theory is almost applicable in all situations.

174 NSOU CC - SO - 03 4. It helps us to understand that when we give something in any relationship then we expect something in return to maintain the relationship. 5. The theory is fairly simple, allowing for most people to understand its general assumptions and relate to them. 6. When a person becomes knowledgeable of this theory, he or she can work towards having more balanced relationships. This knowledge can also provide awareness of what one's own costs are to other people. 11.9 Disadvantages of Social Exchange Theory 1. The whole theory revolves around the rewards only and it neglects the cultural contexts and variations of cultures. 2. Social Exchange Theory makes people seem individualistic and reward-seeking people. 11.10 Homans' Propositions The system of social exchange theory was summarized into three propositions. They are as follows : 1. Success Proposition : when a person is rewarded for his or her actions, he or she tends to repeat the action. 2. Stimulus Proposition : The more often a particular stimuli has resulted in a reward in the past, the more likely it is that a person will respond to it. 3. Deprivation : The more often in the recent past a person has received a particular reward, the least valuable any further unit of that reward becomes. 11.10.1 The Objective Behind the Development of this Theory Social exchange theory did not crop up all of a sudden. People have always been involved in social interactions and in various forms of relationships with others. This dimension actually paved the way towards its development. To put in a nutshell, the objectives were as follows : 1. Helping people in understanding relationships well. It opened the eyes of the individuals as to why some relationships are successful and why some are doomed to failure. 2. Secondly, to understand what makes us to start and continue certain relationships.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 175 3. To explain communication and introduction as well as factors governing interaction in humans. 11.11 Purpose of Social Exchange Theory Social exchange theory observes that social behaviour is the result of an exchange process. Maximizing benefits and minimising costs happen to be the sole concern of social exchange theory. It is two-sided process involving two actions - one is to give and the other is to get something in return. This theory posits that the individual measures all social interactions against personal gains that he achieves. The proponents of this theory highlight that all individual actions and decisions are driven by a self-serving motivation. The Basic Formula For Predicting Behaviour : Behaviour (Profit) = Reward of Interaction - Cost of Interaction. 11.12 Basic Concepts of Social Exchange Theory This theory mainly explains the behaviour of people while exchanging something. Human beings are studied with respect to their circumstances. The following are the various concepts of this theory : 1. Costs : costs can be anything whether time, effort or money. 2. Rewards : it can be anything whether the sense of acceptance on support and companionship. It is assumed by simple social exchange models that rewards and costs drive relationship decisions. 3. Resources : Any commodity whether material or symbolic which can be transmitted through interpersonal behaviour and which gives one person the capacity to reward another is referred as resource. Outcomes = Rewards - Costs. In other words, social exchange theory is a model which interpret society as a cluster of interactions among people which are based on estimates of rewards and punishments. This perspective makes us perceive interactions from the angle of rewards or punishments, which we expect to receive from others. We measure them using a cost-benefit analysis model(consciously or subconsciously). The crux of the theory is that an interaction that elicits approval from another person is more likely to be frequent than interaction that elicits disapproval. If we receive more rewards from a particular interaction, which naturally surpasses punishment, then it is quite natural that we will get involved in that interaction once more.

176 NSOU CC - SO - 03 According to this theory the formula for predicting the behaviour of any individual in any situation is : Behaviour (Profits) = Rewards of interactions - Costs of interactions. 11.12.1 Different Forms of Rewards It is fascinating to note that rewards can take various dimensions like : social recognition, money, gifts and even subtle everyday gestures like smile, nod or a pat on the back. Let us delve further into social exchange theory with the help of an example. For example a guy named A has invited a girl B on a date. If B accepts the invitation then it can be said that A has gained a reward and so it is quite obvious that he is likely to repeat that interaction again. On the other hand, if B would have rejected the invitation then it would have been a punishment for A. After that he would avoid asking B again in future. 11.13 Basic Assumptions of Social Exchange Theory People who are involved in the interaction are rational seeking to maximize their profits. Most gratification among humans comes from others. People have access to information about social, economic and psychological aspects of their interactions that allow them to consider the alternative, more profitable situations relative to their present situation. People are goal oriented in a freely competitive system. The exchange operates within cultural norms. Social credit is preferred over social indebtedness. The more deprived the individual feels in terms of the act, the more the person will assign a value to it. People are rational and calculate the best possible means to compete in rewarding situations. The same is true of punishment avoidance situations. Thus, on the basis of the above assumptions certain observations can be made. The assumptions, as discussed earlier, is indeed an eye-opener for all if we think in depth. For instance, individuals engage in interactions with the motive of fulfilling their desires. Major emphasis is given on relationship between actors. Exchange theorists are of the opinion that social relations and social structures generated by the ties that bind people in different

NSOU CC - SO - 03 177 forms of association happen to be the central object of sociological inquiry. Key forces like power and status relations among actors in different types of social structures are actually responsible for determining the nature of structural change over time. While formulating theories, exchange theorists regard power, structural sources of power and the dynamics of power as primary issues of concern. 11.14 Basic Propositions of George Homans George Homans stated several propositions. They have been discussed below. The Success Proposition This proposition means that there is a high chance of asking others for service if that person has been rewarded in the past with useful advice. So, based on past positive experience of receiving useful service, the person will request more advice. In this proposition three stages are involved : First, action of a person, next is a rewarded result and ultimately, a repetition of the original action or at minimum one similar action. The Stimulus Proposition In this proposition the stimulus or a set of stimuli of the past is likely to stimulate a person's action. If the person's action has been rewarded by a series of stimulus in the past and if at present the stimuli are similar to that of the past, then there is a high chance that the person is likely to perform that action once more. The Value Proposition Homans says that the more valuable is the result of a person's actions, the more likely he is to perform the action. Homans introduced the concepts of rewards and punishments. He defined rewards as actions with positive values; so an increase in rewards is more likely to elicit the desired behaviour. Punishments are actions with negative values; an increase in punishment means that the actor is less likely to manifest undesired behaviours. The Deprivation - Satiation Proposition Homans says that more often in the recent past a person has received a particular reward, the less valuable any further unit of that reward becomes for him. In our daily life when person and other rewards each other frequently for giving and getting advice then the rewards tend to be less valuable to each other. A crucial factor is time as people become satiated if they go on receiving specific rewards over a prolonged period of time. Homans also mentioned about cost and profit which will be discussed in the next chapter.

178 NSOU CC - SO - 03 The Aggressive Approval Propositions Homans says if a person's action does not receive the reward he expected or if he receives punishment which he did not expect, then the consequence is that he will be angry. In this proposition Homans mentioned about frustration and anger. The Rationality Proposition This proposition clearly brings to the surface the influence of rational choice theory on Homans approach. Homans said that people compare between two courses of action. They think in terms of the rewards associated with the actions. An interaction takes place between the value of reward and the likelihood of attainment. Rewards which are very valuable and highly attainable are the most desired ones. On the other hand, those which are not very valuable and are unlikely to be achieved are the least desirable ones. Homans relates this proposition to the success, stimulus and value proposition. 11.15 Conclusion This chapter highlights about the importance and significance of social exchange theory in our life. Social exchange theory only focuses on social behaviour of human beings. Social exchange theory is based on certain principles when it comes to interaction among people. While studying about social exchange theory one needs to know about the contribution of some great exchange theorists like Homans and Blau. The chapter deals mainly with the general principles which will definitely help students of sociology to understand market place behaviour. The main emphasis is upon quality of relationships. 11.16 Summary Social exchange theory looks into domains like social power, networks, independence, psychological contracts etc. This chapter also deals with the different intellectual currents like behaviourism, rational choice theory, the social psychology of groups and utilitarianism. Advantages and disadvantages of social exchange theory have also been discussed here. This will help readers to have a thorough understanding of social exchange theory. 11.17 Questions 1. What led to the emergence of social exchange theory? 2. Discuss the basic concepts of social exchange theory. 3. State the basic assumptions of social exchange theory. 4. Highlight the different intellectual currents behind social exchange theory.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 179 5. State the basic propositions of George Homans. 6. What are the advantages and disadvantages of social exchange theory? 11.18 References Cook, Karen S., ed. 1987. Social exchange theory. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE. Cook, Karen S., and Eric Rice. 2006. Social Exchange Theory in Handbook of Social Psychology. Edited by John Delamater, 53–76. New York: Springer. DOI: 10.1007/0-387-36921-X Emerson, Richard M. 1981. Social exchange theory. In Social psychology: Sociological perspectives. Edited by Morris Rosenberg and Ralph H. Turner, 30–65. New York: Basic Books. Molm, Linda D. 1997. Coercive power in social exchange. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511570919 Molm, Linda D., and Karen S. Cook. 1995. Social exchange and exchange networks. In Sociological perspectives on social psychology. Edited by Karen S. Cook, Gary Alan Fine, and James S. House, 209–235. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. Walker, Henry A., Shane R. Thye, Brent Simpson, Michael J. Lovaglia, David Willer, and Barry Markovsky. 2000. Network exchange theory: Recent developments and new directions. Social Psychology Quarterly 63.4: 324–337. DOI: 10.2307/2695843 Willer, David. 1999. Network exchange theory. Westport, CT: Praeger. Willer, David, and Bo Anderson. 1981. Networks, exchange, and coercion: The elementary theory and its applications. New York: Elsevier. 11.19 Glossary BehaviouralPsychology : Behaviorism, also known as behavioral psychology, is a theory of learning based on the idea that all behaviors are acquired through conditioning. Behaviourism : the theory that human and animal behaviour can be explained in terms of conditioning, without appeal to thoughts or feelings, and that psychological disorders are best treated by altering behaviour patterns.

180 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Rationality : the quality of being based on or in accordance with reason or logic. Tautology :A tautology is a proposition that is true by definition (such as 'all mothers are female') or one in which the same thing is said twice in different words Utilitarianism :Utilitarianism is a moral theory that advocates actions that promote overall happiness or pleasure and rejects actions that cause unhappiness or harm. Propositions :A theory is a proposition or a set of interrelated propositions that purports to explain a given social phenomenon. It is a systematic explanation for the observed facts and laws (or principles). Stimulus :something that causes a reaction, especially interest, excitement or energy. Punishment :The sociology of punishment seeks to understand why and how we punish, the general justifying aim of punishment and also the principle of distribution. Positive rewards :Rewards are the elements of relational life that have positive value for a person.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 181 Unit - 12 Contribution of George Homans and Peter Blau : Critical Appraisal Structure 12.1 Objectives 12.2 Introduction 12.3 Intellectual Influences 12.4 Exchange Theory and Communicative Action 12.5 Primary Observations of Homans 12.6 Theory of Stratification 12.7 Homans and Social Interaction 12.8 Power, Equity and Games 12.9 Homan's Propositions 12.10 Peter Blau 12.11 Critical Appraisal of Homans and Blau 12.12 The Issue of Tautology 12.13 The Issue of Reductionism 12.14 The Fallacy of "Misplaced Concreteness" 12.15 The Utility of Homans' Reductionist Strategy 12.16 Critical Appraisal of Peter Blau 12.17 Summary 12.18 Conclusion 12.19 Questions 12.20 Referencess 12.21 Glossary

182 NSOU CC - SO - 03 12.1 Objectives To have an idea about the exchange theorists, George Homans and Peter Blau. To understand the general arguments of Homans and Blau. To make a critical appraisal of both. To understand the general concepts of exchange as designed by them. 12.2 Introduction George Caspar Homans(1910 - 1989) was a humanist and a sociologist. He took birth in the prosperous Back Bay district of Boston, Massachusetts. He did not do graduation in sociology or in any other subject. He received education from the readings done by his peers and from his own "field work" among different social groups. He was the president of American Sociological Association. His two major works are The Human Group and Elementary Social Behaviour. He was a firm believer in social science. He was one of the pioneers of modern exchange theory. The famous "Mayo studies" executed under the influence of industrial psychologist Elton Mayo provided the foundation for Homan's work. He made a major contribution towards the in-depth study of small group theory and research. significant fact is the exploration of the activities of individuals in his famous work Social Behaviour. Homans put forward the dynamics of friendship and conformity in small groups. Homans opined that people recognised some precise rules regarding the relationship between rewards, cost and investments. He claimed that people believe the relative amount they put into something including costs, contributions and investments must be equal to what they get. It is interesting to note that Homans was deeply influenced by Pareto. 12.3 Intellectual Influences When George Homans was in his undergraduate years at Harvard University he came under the influence of physiologist cum sociologist Lawrence J. Henderson. It was through Henderson that Homans was introduced to the notion of the conceptual scheme. The set of variables which needs to be taken into account while studying a set of phenomena makes up the conceptual scheme. It also includes a framework of the given conditions within which the phenomena is to be comprehended and analysed. Moreover, it should contain a statement which says that variables are related to one another. Homans was highly impressed with Henderson's notion of the conceptual scheme. In order to study small groups, Homans developed his own conceptual scheme as well. He

NSOU CC - SO - 03 183 observed that a conceptual scheme of a social system provides the sociologist "with the mental pigeonholes he needs and some notion of the relations between the materials in them and it will help him to new discovery if he does not let it altogether master his thinking". The behavioral psychology of B.F.Skinner has been highly instrumental in shaping up his theory. During his days at Harvard University, their friendship became stronger. He was always fascinated with Skinner's behavioral psychology. 12.4 Exchange Theory and Communicative Action Homans spoke about human interaction. He showed how interaction ultimately led to social processes and social structures. On the basis of four different social groups, he developed his theory. These social groups are : the street gang, the working group of factories, the Royal System of Private Island and the New England village. These observations aided him to develop five propositions to form the power of the group. There are four social psychology theories. They include : similarity attraction theory, social exchange process theory, casual attribution process theory, group originality theory. For intergenerational communication, communication between young people and the elderly and intercultural communication, this theory has been continuously in application. 12.5 Primary Observations of Homans It is interesting to note that Homans began his tenure at Harvard University through the popularity of the book English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century. He got training to search for relationships between variables. In his investigation, two kinds of variables of field systems were arrived at. He found a high statistical correlation between the open field system and the village settlement pattern. During his primary investigation, he never liked cultural explanations. Homans always believed in the folk adage that human nature is the same the world over. R.Firth's ethnography of Tikopia always fascinated Homans. 12.6 Theory of Stratification In his book Social Behaviour: It's Elementary Forms, he described and explained small group behaviour as an emergent social system of rewards. He applied the logic of Hermstein's positive reinforcement propositions. The most significant contribution in Elementary Forms was his theory of stratification. It was enunciated in a series of scattered propositions and definitions. They are as follows :
184 NSOU CC - SO - 03 The more valuable to other members of a group are the activities a person emits to them, the higher is the status they give him in return. The higher a person's status in a group, the greater his power is apt to be. The more members of a group a person is regularly able to influence, the greater his power. The value of what a member receives by way of(monetary) rewards should be proportional to his status in the group. Distributive injustice occurs to the extent that the monetary rewards members receive are disproportionate to their relative status in the group. Homans hypothesized that differences in status and power are natural. He predicted that the productivity and morale of group members naturally, inevitably would suffer. Homans' theory provided an alternative to the Marxist formulation that stratification refers to differences in monetary rewards and it was the root cause of all social problems. He further put forward a set of propositions which form the basis of his exchange theory. It states that individual assessments of costs and benefits are the basis of such social phenomena as competition and cooperation, authority and conformity. Other than contributing to social theory, he also enlightened us with industrial sociology and historical sociology. Some other popular works of Homans are : Sentiments and Activities, Certainties and Doubts. His autobiography Coming to My Senses is also very popular. 12.7 Homans and Social Interaction Homans' contribution towards social interaction is indeed remarkable. He came forward with certain innovative ideas. He analysed social interaction from a new dimension that is from the perspective of psychological principles. He designed his social model in such a way so that it would elaborately discuss how any group at all gets started and creates its own culture and structure. However, while working on this model he realised a problem and then in his later system(1961) formulated a principle to deal with it. Thus he developed the principle of marginal utility, which was taken from economics. The principle says that the more persons possess some particular reward the less rewarding are further increments of that award. This means when interaction takes place within certain individuals, it is highly rewarding. When this same social interaction reaches a specific level where individuals meet each other a lot, it ultimately reaches a stage where the attraction of
NSOU CC - SO - 03 185 the interaction becomes less desirable. It simply fades away gradually. Hence, no further growth occurs in intensity of social bonding. It is similar to other processes which are linked to the interaction loop : common sentiments and behaviours build up as liking which reinforces interaction, though it levels out at some point, thereby strengthening the group in having a common culture which remains fairly stable. After stating the first proposition, Homans found out that introduction is not always rewarding. So, if the introduction itself is not fruitful then it is unlikely that people will like each other. This intrigued him further and he proposed something new. He propounded that the interaction will be mutually rewarding only when the persons are equal; if they are unequal, the one with the lower rank or power will find the exchange unpleasant and will avoid further interaction. It was derived empirically from the role of the maternal uncle in tribal societies with patrilineal kinship. So he formulated that unequal relationships are unrewarding to at least one partner, hence the result is avoidance, while equal relationships allowed the principle to play itself out that interaction leads to liking. Homans also concentrated upon the status of the group leader. According to him, the leader is the person who conforms to most of the group norms. It is the leader who represents the ideal attitudes and behaviour in the group culture. His perception of the leader is one who conforms to the group norms and at the same time has many social contacts within the group, one who initiates as well as receives communications. He visions leader as one who interacts the most with the members of the group. Homans says that the sentiments and activities of the leader should be similar to the group's own. Thus, he analysed a leader in an entirely different perspective. He placed the leader at par with others. He didn't favour the gap between the leader and the group members. It helps in strengthening the group bond and strengthens the relationship. It would definitely boost up the functionality of the group members. It would lead to the feeling of 'we- ness'. While explaining about a leader, he illustrated the incidence of the popular work of William F. Whyte's Street-Corner Society. On the basis of the several studies Homans concluded that the operative principles in social relationships are psychological laws. He was of the view that society had been constituted out of common sense and rational behaviour of individuals with special emphasis on rewards. Homans claimed

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that people are social and spend a significant amount of their time interacting with other people.

While discussing about interaction he agreed with Durkheim that interaction leads to the emergence of something new.
186 NSOU CC - SO - 03 A comprehensive program was carried out to "bring men back into" Sociology. The structural functional theory of Talcott Parsons motivated Homans to a large extent. 12.8 Power, Equity and Games With regard to friendship and conformity Homans identifies social approval as the good people offer, when there is nothing else to exchange. When one party or the other has relatively little to offer, a situation of imbalance takes place. This lies at the root of Exchange Theory's analysis of power. Homans defined power as the ability to provide valuable rewards. His explanation of power is quite similar to that of economists. Power is evaluated on the basis of the price people get for their services. This is paid usually in the form of some concrete exchange, such as money, or in a more generalised form, such as obedience to orders. Being the master of valuable resources does not mean that a person can exercise full power over others. Or else it leads to imbalance. The practicality of Homans's analysis of power lies in the fact that it can be exercised in the case of both coercive power and non-coercive power too. Let us understand the two types of power. Coercive power refers to the ability to punish while non-coercive power refers to cases where both sides achieve some degree of extra reward. For instance, mugging victims generally believe their choice to be between losing life(and thus money too) or just using money. Homans says non-coercive power is more reliable and effective. He found that theories of punishment often stir up rebellion and then may not yield the desirable behaviour. 12.9 Homans' Propositions Success Proposition For all actions taken by persons, the more often a particular action of a person is rewarded, the more likely the person is to perform that action (Homans, 1974 : 16). This proposition states that an individual is more likely to ask others for advice if he or she has been rewarded in the past with useful advice. Based on the weightage of receiving useful advice in the past, a person is likely to request for more advice. This proposition consists of three stages; first, a person's action, next, a reward result; and finally, a repetition of the original action or at minimum one similar in at least some respects. Homans listed some features of success proposition. The first one is that this reciprocating relationship that frequents rewards lead to increasing the frequent actions will not continue for an unlimited span of time. Secondly, the shorter the interval
NSOU CC - SO - 03 187 between behaviour and reward, the more likely a person is to repeat the behaviour. On the other hand, longer the interval between behaviour and reward, lower the likelihood of repeat behaviour. Finally, Homans claimed that intermittent rewards are more likely to elicit repeat behaviour than regular rewards. While regular rewards lead to boredom and satiation rewards at irregular intervals are very likely to elicit repeat behaviours. So, basically the success proposition deals with a man's(or woman's) action towards obtaining success in receiving a desirable result. It is popularly called "the law of effect" in classical psychology. The proposition states nothing about the reasons behind the performance of the person. In case of experimental animals like pigeon its repertory of innate behaviour seems to include a tendency to explore or investigate its environment by pecking at the objects within it. The cage has been arranged in such a way that the motion of a mental key will release a grain of corn to the pigeon. Now while exploring the cage, if the pigeon pecks at the key, it will get the corn and eat it. This leads to the probability that pigeon will peck the target again and again. Automatically it will increase its likelihood. Through this experiment, it was proven that men share a similar behaviour like animals. In other words, success proposition states that whatever be the cause behind the performance of an actor, once he has done it and its successful, the person is obviously going to repeat it. It can also be regarded as a positive value. The consequence of an action is what follows it. The success proposition holds good even if success was not in the eyes of some informed observers caused by the action of what was rather a matter of chance. It may seem that the proposition has said that an action was caused by its result. It will definitely be observed to those who does not believe in teleology. However, it does not see that. Within this proposition there is a sequence of at least three events. They are : (1) A person's action which is followed by (2) a rewarding result and then by (3) adaptation of the original action i.e. an action which is similar to the original. It is this combination of (1) and (2) which causes event (3). As the former two precede the latter in time, the question of teleology does not occur. The proposition contends that an increasing frequency of reward leads to an increasing frequency of action, at the same time, it is quite obvious that such an increase will not go on indefinitely. This proposition has its own built-in-limits, which will be explored later while discussing deprivation-satiation proposition. According to this proposition, the less often an action is rewarded, the less often it is likely to be repeated. If we

188 NSOU CC - SO - 03 consider the extreme situation, if an action once rewarded, is never rewarded thereafter, a person will never ever perform it. Technically this behaviour can be described as one which becomes extinguished. In this context, it is highly crucial to highlight some qualifications of the success proposition. The shorter the interval of time between the action and the reward, the more likely the person is to repeat it. So, positive reinforcement plays an important role here. It is fascinating to note that the principle on which "teaching machines" are based owes its roots here. For instance, when we expect a person to learn, we have to do well in order to reward his correct responses promptly. The Stimulus Proposition With respect to the second proposition, let us first concentrate on what Homans said. According to him, if in the past occurrence of a particular stimulus or set of stimuli, has been the occasion on which a person's action has been rewarded, then the more similar the present stimuli are to the past ones, the more likely the person is to perform the action or some similar action. Homans took up a very humble approach while illustrating this proposition. He offered a squared and impressive example : "A fisherman who has cast his life into a dark pool and has caught A fish becomes more left to fish in dark pools again" (1974:23). What interested Homans was the process of generalisation, i.e. the tendency to extend behaviour to similar situations. In the above example the tendency to move from fishing in dark pools to fishing in any pool with any degree of shadiness is one aspect of generalisation. Another dimension says that success in catching fish is likely to lead from one kind of fishing to another or even from fishing to hunting. Other than generalisation, discrimination is equally common here. Under the circumstances, the actor may fish only during particular time periods which proved successful in the past. It must be remembered here, that if complicated conditions lead to success then similar conditions may not stimulate behaviour. If there is a long gap between the crucial stimulus and the behaviour which is required then it may not actually stimulate that behaviour. Suppose the stimuli which is presented to the actor is very valuable then it can lead to over sensitization. In fact, the individual can respond to irrelevant stimuli at least until the situation is corrected by repeated failures. It is the individual's alertness or attentiveness to the stimuli which affects his responses. This proposition is concerned with the impact on the action of the circumstances catering to it. In many narrations of operant or voluntary behaviour, these attendant circumstances are called stimuli. Hence they are referred to as the stimulus proposition.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 189 There are some psychologists who include the reward of the action itself among the stimuli in their endeavour to construct theories. So it is referred as a reinforcing stimulus. In case of social behaviour, individuals and their qualities become crucial stimuli. Under normal circumstances, human social behaviour is simple. Unfortunately it is the verbal language which makes everything complicated. What sets apart human beings from animals, is the application of language. Same set of general propositions are applied to the behaviour of both men and animals. As the stimuli available to men are highly complex in nature, it leads to an increased state of complexity in their behaviour. The degree of similarity between present stimuli and those under which an action was rewarded in the past is the most crucial variable in this proposition. This similarity may vary across different dimensions. It depends on a complicated pattern of measures. In this context we must introduce ourselves to a new fact. The ways in which people discriminate or generalise different stimuli is known as perception or cognition in Psychology. The Value Proposition The more valuable to a person is the result of his action, the more likely he is to perform the action (Homans). In this proposition Homans speak about an office situation, where some individuals offer rewards to others. Now, if these rewards are valuable, then the incidence of performing those actions gets accelerated. On the other side if the rewards are not valuable then the chance of performing those behaviours reduces. These helped Homans to reach a new level where he introduced the concept of rewards and punishments. He defined rewards as actions with positive values; an acceleration in rewards is more likely to elicit the desired behaviour. Punishments, Homans contented, are actions with negative values. So an increase in punishment means that the actor is less likely to manifest undesired behaviour. Homans felt that punishments are an inefficient means of getting people to change their behaviour as people may react in undesirable ways to the punishment. Then, such kind of behaviour eventually gets extinguished. By values, he means both positive and negative values depending on the situation. He stated that rewards are the positive values that result from a person's actions while results which lead to negative values are punishments. In this proposition, zero point is a very significant feature. It is that point on the scale where the person is indifferent to the result of his action. Thus the proposition contends

190 NSOU CC - SO - 03 that just as an increase in the positive value of the rewards makes it more likely that the person will perform a particular act, so an increase in the negative value of the punishment makes it less likely that he will do so. While discussing about reward it must be mentioned here that there are two classes of reward : intrinsic reward and avoidance of punishment. Similarly there two classes of punishment : intrinsic punishment and the withholding of reward. Generally it is believed that the use of punishment is an inefficient means of getting another person to change his behaviour. There is no surety that it will definitely work. If we look at the other side of the coin, we will see that it gives immense pleasure as well as great emotional satisfaction to the actor who actually punishes. However, no one is sure about the result. Another efficient alternative means of extinguishing an undesirable activity is to just let it go unrewarded, i.e. simply ignoring it. For instance a child is crying only to get attention. Once others understand this, they start to ignore it. In case of a mother, it really takes strong nerves to carry out such a strategy. It is obviously quite heartbreaking for her. We must keep in mind that punishment leads to hostile emotional behaviour in the person punished and we must be prepared to deal with it tactfully. Reality says that positive rewards are always in short supply so there will be times when punishment will become necessary in order to control undesirable behaviour. The objects which men regard is rewarding i.e. their values will definitely vary from one person to another. Some of them are genetically determined so they are shared by many men, such as the value set on food and shelter. A value is learnt by being linked with an action that is successful in obtaining a more primordial value(Staats and Staats, 1963 : 58-54). A mother who often hugs her child, gets hugged in return as an innate value in circumstances where the kid has behaved differently from others. As the mother says "better" than "behaving better" than others is a means to a rewarding end and is surely to become "rewarding in itself". This is a perfect situation where acquired value comes to the forefront. This reward may generalise and the child may set a high value on status of all kinds. Through these processes of linking, people learn and maintain long chains of behaviour leading to some ultimate reward. All of us have some kind of experience in our daily life. The impact of those diverse experiences is indeed very strong in nature. Individuals face different kinds of upbringing, this acquires various types of values. There are some values which men of particular societies would have difficulty in not acquiring. These are generalised values. Money and social approval can serve as rewards for a broader spectrum of actions. In this sense, they are generalised values.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 191 The Deprivation-Satiation Proposition The more often in the recent past a person has received a particular reward, the less valuable any further unit of that reward becomes for him. Homans says that at the workplace person and other may reward each other very often for giving and getting advice. This makes the rewards less valuable to each other. Time plays a crucial role here. It is important to remember that if particular rewards are stretched over a long period of time then social actors are less likely to become satiated. In this context, Homans introduced two other critical concepts : cost and profit. Cost has been referred to as the rewards lost in foregoing alternative lines of action. Profit has been explained as the greater number of rewards gained over costs incurred. The latter led Homans to recast the deprivation-satiation proposition as "the greater the profit a person receives as a result of his action, the more likely he is to perform the action" (1974:31). This proposition is concerned with how valuable a person's values are, how valuable an individual finds a particular reward in comparison with other rewards. It has got two aspects; Is the same kind of reward more valuable on one occasion than on a different occasion? Is it like catching fish today maybe more rewarding than it will be in the afternoon? Secondly, is one kind of reward more valuable than a different kind on the same occasion? In our everyday walk of life if we receive rewards often then we would be satiated with it. Naturally, it's value will decrease and according to the value proposition we will be less interested to perform that action which would be followed by that reward. Here, the proposition emphasizes the "recent past" as there are innumerous rewards with which an actor can only be temporary satiated. In this case food is a good example. On the other side, if a man has mastered the skill to value a particular reward but has received it seldom in the recent past, it is said that he is deprived of it. According to this proposition the individual is more likely to perform an action that is followed by this reward. In this way, the value increases for the men. This proposition states a very general tendency. It holds good that the recent past within which deprivation or satiation takes place must vary for various kinds of rewards. For instance food can satiate men quickly but soon recovers its value. Additionally, what is worth remembering here is that these values can be assigned in some kind of rank order or hierarchy of values.

192 NSOU CC - SO - 03 The Aggression Approval Proposition Proposition A : when a person's action does not receive the reward he expected, or receives punishment he did not expect, he will be angry; he becomes more likely to perform aggressive behaviour and the results of such behaviour becomes more valuable to him. This proposition is based on the "law of distributive justice". It refers to the fact whether the rewards and costs are distributed fairly among the individuals involved. Homans said that "The more to a man's disadvantage the rule of distributive justice fails of realisation, the more likely he is to display the emotional behaviour we call anger" (1961:75). Often we see that an employee does not get the advice he or she expected and others are not embraced with the appreciation which they desired. The consequence is both are angry. Homans gives this instance of office case. Frustration and anger in spite of being mental states are highly significant in Homan's theory. It was admitted by him that "When a person does not get what he expected he is said to be frustrated..." (1974:31). He further clarified that frustration refers not only to an internal state but also to "wholly external events" as well. Proposition A on aggression-approval refers only to negative emotions, whereas proposition B refers to more positive emotions. Proposition B : When a person's action receives the reward he expected, especially a greater reward than he expected or does not receive the punishment he expected, he will be pleased; he becomes more likely to perform approving behaviour and the results of such behaviour become more valuable to him. With respect to the proposition B let us trace back to the office circumstance. If we assume that the person is given the advice which is expected by him on her and others feel blessed with the praise received then both are pleased. Thus, both are more likely to get or give advice. Hence, advice and praise complement each other and becomes more valuable to each other. In other words, approval can become an instrument as men may find the approval from others as rewarding. So, one can highlight the fact that approval like aggression may become a voluntary as well as emotional action. Over the passage of time, the unexpected and unusual reward takes the shape of an expected and usual reward. In this process the whole mechanism works.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 193 The Rationality Proposition In choosing between alternative actions a person will choose the one for which, as perceived by him at the time, the value V, of the result, multiplied by the probability p, of getting the result, is the greater. This proposition clearly demonstrates the influence of rational choice theory on Homan's approach. In economic terms, actors act in terms of rationality proposition thereby maximizing their utilities. Normally, people examine and make calculations about the various alternative actions open to them. Actors compare the amount of rewards related with each course of action. They wait in anticipation of receiving the rewards. If actors are unable to achieve the highly valued rewards then they tend to become devalued. On the other hand, if lesser valued rewards become attainable, then they get enhanced. So, the value of the reward and the likelihood of attaining it shares a very strong relationship. Rewards which are very valuable are the most desirable and highly attainable ones. Less valuable rewards are the least desirable ones. Homans relates this proposition to the success, stimulus and value propositions. This proposition states that depending on the perception of probability of success, people are likely to perform an action. Depending on past successes and similarity of the present situation to past successful situations, the perception of whether the chance of success is higher or lower is determined. He says that an actor is a rational profit seeker. He always worked at the level of individual behaviour. It was observed that exchange processes are "identical" at the individual and societal level although he granted that at the societal level "the way the fundamental processes are combined is more complex". People are rational in the sense that they repeat rewarding actions, they respond to stimuli associated with such rewards and act on the basis of the values they attach to things. It is interesting to note that criminology draws on this principle when examining the harmful effects of arrest rates and sentencing. This principle conveys that other things being equal, the more often crimes succeed, the more people will commit them. This approach is very beneficial when it comes to analysing problems like poor education, overt war between teacher and pupils etc. His rationality proposition is based on the first three propositions. Homans explains his proposition in terms of multiplication of value of an action's possible reward. This is based on the probability whether the value of a reward will multiply or not. For example, when we think about which career we should select we compare the probable rewards among the fields selected. Stock market

194 NSOU CC - SO - 03 also tends to involve people comparing the likelihood of further rises on the basis of past experience. The rationality principle also includes people's use of "rules of thumb" to shorten decision making that proves successful most of the time. Hence, we can see that this principle teaches us to act rationally on the basis of our perception of risks and rewards, no matter whether they are right or wrong. Here, we reach the end of our discussion about the different propositions stated by George Homans. The crucial point is that we all apply these propositions very much in our day to day life. The only difference is that we are not aware of these all the time. Next, let us introduce another very influential social thinker who went beyond George Homans and investigated further. His name is Peter Blau. 12.10Peter Blau The two sociologists who were popularly responsible for bringing about exchange theory were Peter Blau and George Homans. Peter Blau was close to mainstream of American Sociology. He was born in Vienna in 1918 to a secular Jewish family. He had been involved in underground socialist politics as a teenager and was imprisoned for his activities. He taught at the University of Chicago for many years. In 1964, Blau became President of the American Sociological Association. Peter Blau is popular specifically for his combination of original empirical research with general and theoretical propositions. He gave emphasis on occupational variation. While Homans believed in psychological factors, Blau gave importance to social factors as well. Blau believed that the study of the "simpler processes that pervade the daily intercourse among individuals" is vital for comprehending social structures. As a direct contribution to exchange theory, Blau came up with the book: Exchange and Power in Social Life. Blau missions exchange as one particular aspect of most social behaviour. He focuses upon "all voluntary actions of individuals that are motivated by the returns they are expected to bring. Blau moves beyond Homans' analysis of interpersonal relationships with more lucid discussion of price mechanisms in social exchange. Blau's major contribution to exchange theory lies in the concern with the relationship between exchange and the integration of society at large. He also questioned the exchange basis of power in large institutions as well as small groups. He said that social exchange is very important in social integration. It was highlighted that the creation of bonds of friendship happens to be one of the functions of social exchange. Establishing subordination or domination is another function. It is through creating trust, increasing differentiation, enforcing conformity with group norms, developing collective values that exchanges increase social integration.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 195 Peter Blau discussed about "impression management" too. He put forward the social process of how people present themselves to others. Observation says that people want to be accepted in two ways : as associates who promise rewarding extrinsic benefits and can therefore command favourable returns and as companions whose presence is intrinsically rewarding. Thus impressions are very important to the "prices" at which social exchange is conducted. Here Blau relies on the work of Erving Goffman. Goffman introduced the notion of "role distance". Blau related role distance to social exchange as people wish to demonstrate how efficient they are. In this way they proved their services to be very valuable. In Blau's theory, we also come to know about the determinants of friendship and love. On the basis of the assumption that value status, he defined status as the common recognition by others of the amount of esteem and friendship that someone receives. It means that social intercourse and friendship generally occurs among people whose social standing is roughly equal; secondly relationships between unequals are less strained when the inequality is clear and marked (Wallace & Wolf). Blau says that people with firmly established status are unaffected by any kind of exposure. For instance, modern social scientists concluded that overt racial prejudice is strongest among those whites whose own status is least secure. it was also pointed out that some social associations are intrinsically valuable. Blau insisted on intrinsic elements of social exchange. He did not say much about the emotional aspects of exchange. Behind this process of social exchange, lies the fundamental social norm of reciprocity. Thus Peter Blau's goal was "an understanding of social structure on the basis of analysis of the social processes that govern the relations between individuals and groups. The basic question is how social life becomes organised into increasingly complex structures of associations among men" (1964:2). Blau proved further than Homans, regarding the elementary forms of social life and commented that "The main sociological purpose of studying processes of face to face interaction is to lay the foundation for an understanding of the social structures that evolve and the emergent social forces that characterize their development" (1964:13). According to Blau, this process of social exchange guides much of human behaviour and underlying relationships among individuals as well as among groups. He developed a four stage sequence leading from interpersonal exchange to social structure to social change :

196 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Step 1 : Personal exchange transactions between people give rise to... Step 2 : Differentiation of status and power which leads to... Step 3 : Legitimization and organisation which sow the seeds of... Step 4 : Opposition and Change. It must be remembered here that Blau's theory is limited to actions that stop when expected reactions are not forthcoming. There are different kinds of reasons which binds people together, thereby ending up into social associations. After the preliminary bonding takes place, it is the rewards which serves to maintain and enhance the bonds. The opposite circumstances is also possible : insufficient rewards lead to weak associations. Rewards are of two types : intrinsic and extrinsic. It is really not possible to reward each other equally. If there is an unequal exchange, a difference of power will emerge within an association. Blau extended his theory to the level of social facts. He realised that it is not possible to analyse processes of social interaction without the social structure. They are inextricably connected to each other. Social groups make interaction functional. Depending on the value of rewards and how loving they are, social beings actually get inclined towards some particular groups and not all. In order to be members of that group, these new people must give many rewards to those in the group. If the newcomers are successful in impressing the group members, then only the bonding among all members gets strengthened. Peter Blau based his theory on the societal level. Distinction was made between two types of social organisation. First is the emergent properties of social groups, which emerge from the processes of exchange and competition. Second is the establishment of social organisation in order to achieve specific objectives, for instance manufacturing goods that can be sold for a profit, participating in bowling tournaments etc. In addition to this, he was concerned with subgroups within them. He stated that leadership and opposition groups are found in both types of organisation. The difference between Blau and Homans lies in the fact that while Blau identified the essential difference between small groups and large collectivities, Homans on the other hand minimised this difference in his effort to explain all social behaviour in terms of basic psychological principles. The complex social structures that characterize large collectives differ fundamentally from the simpler structures of small groups. A structure of social relations develop in a
NSOU CC - SO - 03 197 small group in the course of social interaction among its members. Since there is no direct social interaction among most members of a large community or entire society, some other mechanism must mediate the structure of social relations among them. Blau pointed out that norms and values mediate among the complex social structures. He utilizes this concept of norm to the level of exchange between the individual and collectivity. On the other hand the concept of values takes Blau to the largest scale societal level as well as to the analysis of the relationship among collectivities. So, we can understand that Blau was mainly interested in groups, organisations, collectivities, societies, norms and values. He investigated what holds large-scale social units together and what sets them apart. Blau based his exchange theory on the basis of face to face relations.
12.11Critical Appraisal of Homans and Blau As Homans said "no theory can explain everything". It is necessary to ignore some things and assume them to be given for the purposes of explanation at hand. The same applies for his theory as well. Homan's proposition on rationality was criticized as it was against utilitarianism. He met this criticism partially. He recognised that people make calculations by weighing costs, rewards and the probabilities of receiving rewards and avoiding punishments. However, people do so in terms of value. It is to be remembered that what is rewarding is a personal matter and unique to all individuals. It is the past experiences, that help people to establish their own values. Hence, rationality occurs in terms of calculations of personal value. Homans is also criticized on the ground that does all human actions involve calculations or not. Critics say that people receive rewards without prior calculations. For instance, when a person receives a gift or becomes the beneficiary of another's desire to bestow rewards , prior calculations are not involved. Rewards or reinforcement are nonetheless involved. 12.12The Issue of Tautology The problem of tautology is fundamental to the exchange perspective. window key concepts like value, reward and action are examined, they appear to be explained in terms of each other. Rewards are gratifications that has value. Value is the degree of reward or reinforcement. Action is reward seeking activity. It is really not possible to build a theory from tautological axioms. For example; Homans's proposition that "The more valuable to a person is the result of his action, the more likely he is to perform the action" could be considered a tautology. Value is defined as the degree of reward and action is defined as reward seeking behaviour (Turner). He feels that this can be solved by deductive
198 NSOU CC - SO - 03 theory. Thus "a tautology can take part in the deductive system whose conclusion is not a tautology". Here, critics say that rigorous deductive systems are absent in Homans's theory. 12.13The Issue of Reductionism Homans' theory leads to the rise of the issue of reductionism. He failed to resolve sociologist's concern with the kind of reductionism. He is of the view that psychological axioms "cannot be derived from psychological propositions...this condition is unlikely to last forever". Critics have charged Homans by saying that he is a "nominalist", one who asserts that society and its various collective forms (groups, institutions, organisations and so forth) are mere names that sociologists assign to the only "really real" phenomenon, the individual. (Turner) 12.14 The Fallacy of "Misplaced Concreteness" Homans was criticized on the basis of the fallacy of misplaced concreteness. He was criticized on the ground that behaviour of persons or "men" are the basic units whose laws are to be understood in order to explain complex socio-cultural arrangements. Turner stated that Homans' sociological laws are subsumable under more general psychological laws, which, with more knowledge and sophisticated intellectual techniques, will be inclined to more general set of laws. He further says that Homans is not a nominalist in disguise, rather sociological realist. 12.15 The Utility of Homans' Reductionist Strategy Homans's reductionism is a theoretical strategy. It does not deny the metaphysical or ontological existence of emergent phenomena. Critics pointed out that reductionist strategy will affect the kinds of theoretical and research questions that sociologists will ask. If the sociologists are concerned only with psychological laws as explanatory principles, then research questions and theoretical generalizations will revolve around psychological and social-psychological phenomena. Thus the adoption of a reductionist strategy for building theory will naturally result in the avoidance of the more patterns of social organization. So, it is the reductionist strategy which gives rise to one-sided research and theory building. Further, his theory has been criticized on the ground that adherence to his strategy at present will lead to logically imprecise and empirically empty theoretical formulations.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 199 12.16 Critical Appraisal of Peter Blau Peter Blau has offered a most varied image of society. He has synthesized several theoretical traditions. This in turn helps other sociologists. His concept of mediating values, types of institutions has proved very beneficial for the functionalists. Blau's dialectical conflict perspective emphasized on the inevitable forces of oppositions in relations of power and authority. This provided an insight for the conflict theorist. With respect to interactionists, his analysis of elementary exchange processes places considerable emphasis on actions of people in interaction. However, Turner said that Blau left a number of theoretical issues unresolved. In his early exchange approach Blau tried to resolve the problem of how groups, organisations, communities or social systems are similar or dissimilar. He attempted it in several ways : 1 By assuming that the basic exchange processes of attraction, competition, differentiation, integration and opposition occur at all levels of social organisation. 2 By explicating general exchange principles and incorporating abstract exchange concepts that can account for the unfolding of these processes at all levels of organisation. 3 By enumerating additional concepts, such as mediating values and institutionalization, to account for emergent phenomena at increasingly more levels of social organisation. 4 By classifying the generic types of organisation or categories, communities organised collectives and social systems (Turner). Turner says this is a great effort in order to bridge the micro-macro analytical gap in sociological theorizing. Unfortunately, a number of problems persist. Firstly, Blau explained organised collectivities very elaborately. They included social phenomena ranging from small groups to complex organisations. One must be alert that the concepts and theoretical generalizations appropriate to the small primary group, the secondary group, a crowd, a social movement etc. are different in some way or the other. Blau failed to resolve the problem of emergent properties Next, Blau asserts that elementary exchange processes occur at macro levels of organisation. Now, if these emergent levels of organisation are to be understood, then mediating values are needed. He only says that mediating values are critical and thus avoids answering theoretically important questions. Finally, Blau's presentation of exchange concepts and their incorporation into exchange principles is vague. Turner concluded by saying that Blau has simply stopped trying to
200 NSOU CC - SO - 03 view macro-processes as fundamentally connected to micro-exchanges. In Turner's observation, exchange theory is one of the rare approaches which can reach this gap with common principles. 12.17 Summary Homans has helped us to understand power, equity and games. Homans has laid down some important propositions. Peter Blau put forward the determinants of friendship and love. The more we have a clear conception about these concepts, the better it is in dealing with our day to day life. It improves our basic social interaction patterns with others. 12.18 Conclusion This chapter deals with the contribution of George Homans and Peter Blau. It has been felt that it's very significant to be familiar with the contributions of George Homans and Peter Blau. George Homans had showed how social interaction leads to social processes and social structures. The readers will come across certain valuable principles and works of these great social exchange theorists. Without understanding about Homans and Blau, it is not possible to have a thorough perception regarding social interaction. 12.19 Questions 1 Discuss George Homans's basic propositions. 2 How far do you feel these propositions to be relevant in our day to day life? Elucidate this with respect to examples. 3 On what basis can we differentiate between George Homans and Peter Blau? 4 Mention Peter Blau's four stage sequence. 5 How does Peter Blau envision exchange theory? Discuss this with reference to the modern world. 6 What was Peter Blau's main goal? 7 Compare and contrast Homans's and Blau's theory. 8 Make a critical appraisal of George Homans. 9 Critically evaluate the social exchange theory of Peter Blau. 10 Write in your own words whose social exchange theory is more practical and relevant in today's society. Which one do you find interesting?
NSOU CC - SO - 03 201 12.20 References Berelson, Bernard and Gary A. Steiner 1964 Human Behavior. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World. Emerson, R. 1977 "Social Exchange Theory" in Sociological Theories in Progress, V. II, edited by A. Inkeles, et al. Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews, Inc. Homans, G. 1974 Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms (rev. ed.), New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovic Parsons, T. 1968 "Utilitarianism and Sociological Theory" in International Encyclopedia of the Social Science. New York: Macmillan Rubin, J. and B. Brown 1975 The Social Psychology of Bargaining and Negotiation. New York: Academic. 12.21 Glossary Cost :The fundamental concept of the theory of social exchange is cost and rewards. This means that cost and reward comparisons drive human decisions and behavior. Costs are the negative consequences of a decision, such as time, money and energy. Investment :The investment model was proposed by CarylRusbult. It is a useful version of social exchange theory. According to this model, investments serve to stabilize relationships. Communicative action : Co-operative action undertaken by individuals based upon mutual deliberation and argumentation. Human interaction :A social interaction is an exchange between two or more individuals and is a building block of society. Ethnography :It is defined as an illuminative account of social life and culture in a particular social system based on multiple detailed observations of what people actually do in the social setting being observed Distributive justice :In social psychology, distributive justice is defined as perceived fairness of how rewards and costs are shared by (distributed across) group members. Homans's Equity : It proposes that individuals in social exchange relationships compare each other the ratios of their inputs into the exchange to their outcomes from the exchange. Coercive Power :the ability of a manager to force an employee to follow an order by threatening the employee with punishment if the employee does not comply with the order.
202 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Unit - 13 General Arguments Structure 13.1 Objectives 13.2 Introduction 13.3 Linguistics as a Major Starting Point of Structuralism 13.4 The Scope of Structuralism 13.5 Fundamental Concepts of Structuralism 13.6 Structuralism: Basic Assumptions 13.7 Conclusion 13.8 Summary 13.9 Questions 13.10 References 13.11 Glossary 13.1 Objectives To understand the concept of Structuralism To understand Linguistics as a major starting point of Structuralism To understand the scope of Structuralism To learn about and analyze the fundamental concepts of Structuralism 13.2 Introduction Things can be understood and meanings about it can be constructed within a certain system of relationships or structure. For example, a word which is a linguistic sign (something that stands for something else) can only be understood within a certain conventional system of signs, which is language, and not by itself. A particular relationship within a society (e.g., between a male offspring and his maternal uncle) can only be understood in the context of the whole system of kinship (e.g., matrilineal or patrilineal). Module - V : Structuralism

NSOU CC - SO - 03 203 Structuralism holds that, according to the human way of understanding things, particular elements have no absolute meaning or value: their meaning or value is relative to other elements. Everything makes sense only in relation to something else. An element cannot be perceived by itself. In order to understand a particular element we need to study the whole system of relationships or structure. A particular element can only be studied as part of a greater structure. In fact, the only thing that can be studied is not particular elements or objects but relationships within a system. Our human world, so to speak, is made up of relationships, which make up permanent structures of the human mind. Structuralism obviously involves a focus on structures, but they are not in the main the same structures that concern the structural functionalists. While the latter, indeed most, sociologists, are concerned with social structures, of primary concern to structuralists are linguistic structures. This shift from social to linguistic structures is what has come to be known as linguistic turn which significantly altered the nature of the social sciences. The focus of a good many social scientists shifted from social structure to language or more generally to signs of various sorts. 13.3 Linguistics as a Major Starting Point of Structuralism One of the earliest influences in the development of structuralism was Ferdinand de Saussure's Course in General Linguistics, a text published posthumously in 1916 that was compiled by his colleagues from students' notes of a series of lectures he gave at the University of Geneva from 1906 to 1911. Saussure applied structural analysis only to linguistic systems but many philosophers and intellectuals chose to apply his reasoning more widely, and his assumptions and methods were subsequently modified and extended to other disciplines and to nonlinguistic phenomena. Structuralism was increasingly taken up within fields such as anthropology, psychoanalysis, literary theory, and architecture, to the extent to which it became an influential intellectual movement that, by the 1960s and 1970s, had to a large extent eclipsed phenomenology and existentialism. From the late 1940s through the 1970s (and to a diminished extent beyond), structuralist thought had a significant and explicit purchase on disciplines such as Anthropology, Cognitive Development, Literary Criticism, Mathematics, Political Science, and Sociology. Structuralism assumes that all human social activities – the clothes we choose to wear, the books we write, the cultural rituals we practice – constitute languages and that their regularities can therefore be codified by abstract sets of underlying rules. Thus, for

204 NSOU CC - SO - 03 example, the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan asserted that the unconscious was structured like a language, and Michel Foucault's early writings characterized knowledge as what can be spoken of in a discursive practice. Structuralism emerged from diverse developments in various fields. The source of modern structuralism and its strongest bastion to this day is linguistics. The work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857 – 1913) stands out in the development of structuralism in various other fields. According to Saussure, language is structured prior to its realization in speech or writing. Language consists of a set of signs, each of which is constituted by a signifier (a sound or inscribed image) and a signified (a concept or meaning). Other scholars use different words for signifier and signified, and most add a third aspect to Saussure's linguistic sign so as to include nonlinguistic objects or referents. For Saussure, signs are arbitrary because a word (signifier) is linked to a concept or meaning (signified) by the conventions and common usages of a particular speech community. Signs do not exist outside of a system and a word's meaning is determined by its relationships to, and differences from, other words, with the result that binary distinctions or oppositions tend to determine the content and normative commitments of the structure. Saussure also distinguished langue (language) from parole (speech) and his structural linguistics focuses on language (the totality of signs that constitute a natural language, such as French or English) and not on particular utterances. Of particular interest to us is Saussure's differentiation between langue and parole which was to have enormous significance. Langue is the formal, grammatical system of language. It is a system of phonic elements whose relationships are governed, Saussure believed, by determinate laws. The existence of langue makes parole possible. Parole is actual speech, the way that speakers use language to express themselves. Langue, then, can be viewed as a

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system of signs – a structure – and the meaning of each sign is produced by the relationship

among signs within the system. Especially important here are relations of difference, including binary oppositions. Structuralism holds that understanding can only happen if clearly defined or 'significant' differences are present which are called oppositions (or binary oppositions since they come in pairs). This means that meaning is not something absolute but relative and depends on binary oppositions. We cannot understand something unless we first perceive how it is different from something else, or its 'opposition'. For example, there is no meaning 'hot' unless there is also 'cold', no 'good' without 'evil', no 'male' without 'female' and so on. All terms, so to say, 'generate' their opposites. In fact, it is this selection of the significant differences or opposites that create the world of objects for our mind. Another very

NSOU CC - SO - 03 205 important area where oppositions or significant differences are crucial is language where oppositions between sounds or words are crucial for understanding. For example, the only sound that makes the words 'dog' and 'dock' different is the last letter. If we make sounds 'g' and 'k' indistinguishable in pronouncing them, we distinguish these two words: it means that the distinction in pronunciation of 'g' and 'k' is a significant difference or opposition that is crucial to understanding. On the other hand, even if we pronounce the word 'rock' with a rolling R (as Italians or Russians do), we can still understand it: therefore 'r' or 'R' is not a significant difference or opposition crucial to our understanding. Therefore, what determines our understanding of someone's accent is whether the person can create enough difference between sounds that constitute binary oppositions that are significant for

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the structure of the language. Thus, instead of an existential world of people shaping their surroundings, we have

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a world in which people, as well as other aspects of the social world, are

being shaped by the structure of language. These observations prove the existence of a structural principle in language: in language what makes any single item meaningful is not its particular individual quality but the difference between this quality and that of other sounds or words, or its position within the structure (system of relationships). These observations were made by Ferdinand de Saussure, in the Course in General Linguistics. The term "structuralism" was coined in the ongoing work in Linguistics, Semiotics, and Literary Analysis of Roman Jakobson. In this development, structuralism should be seen as a subdivision or a methodological field in the larger area of semiotics that finds its origins in the work of Ferdinand de Saussure. Saussure's work was an attempt to reduce the huge number of facts about language discovered by the 19 th century historical linguistics to a manageable number of propositions based upon the formal relationships defining and existing between the elements of language. Saussure's systematic re-examination of language is based upon three assumptions: i. The systematic nature of language, where the whole is greater than the sum of its parts ii. The relational conception of the elements of language, where linguistic 'entities' are defined in relationships of combination and contrast to one another iii. The arbitrary nature of linguistic elements, where they are defined in terms of the function and purpose they serve rather than in terms of their inherent qualities.
206 NSOU CC - SO - 03 All three of the above assumptions gave rise to what Roman Jakobson came to designate as 'Structuralism' in 1929. 13.4The Scope of Structuralism Structuralism is not just limited to or about language and literature. When Saussure's work was 'co-opted' in the 1950s by the people we now call structuralists, their feeling was that Saussure's model of how language works was 'transferable', and would also explain how all signifying systems work. The anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss applied the structuralist outlook to the interpretation of myth. He suggested that the individual tale (the parole) from a cycle of myths did not have a separate and inherent meaning but could only be understood by considering its position in the whole cycle (the langue) and the similarities and difference between that tale and others in the sequence. Contextually, it can be stated that fashion, for instance, can be 'read' like a language. Separate items or features are added up into a complete 'outfit' or 'look' with complex grammatical rules of amalgamation: we don't wear an evening dress and carpet slippers, we don't come to lectures in a military uniform, etc. Likewise, each component sign derives its meaning from a structural context. Of course, many fashions in clothing depend on breaking such rules in a 'knowing' way, but the 'statement' made by such rule-breaks (for instance, making outer garments which look like undergarments, or cutting expensive fabrics in an apparently rough way) depends upon the prior existence of the 'rule' or convention which is being conspicuously flouted. In the fashion world today, for instance, the combination of such features as exposed seams, crumpled-looking fabrics, and garments which are too big or too small for the wearer signifies the fashion known (confusingly, in this context) as deconstruction. Take any one of these features out of the context of all the rest, however, and they will merely signify that you have your jacket on inside out or don't believe in ironing. Again, these individual items have their place in an overall structure, and the structure is of greater significance than the individual item. The other major figure in the early phase of structuralism was Roland Barthes, who applied the structuralist method to the general field of modern culture. He examined modern France (of the 1950s) from the standpoint of a cultural anthropologist in a little book called Mythologies, which he published in France in 1957. This looked at a host of items which had never before been subjected to intellectual analysis, such as: the difference

NSOU CC - SO - 03 207 between boxing and wrestling; the significance of eating steak and chips; the styling of the Citroën car; the cinema image of Greta Garbo's face; a magazine photograph of an Algerian soldier saluting the French flag. Each of these items he placed within a wider structure of values, beliefs, and symbols as the key to understanding it. Thus, boxing is seen as a sport concerned with repression and endurance, as distinct from wrestling, where pain is flamboyantly displayed. Boxers do not cry out in pain when hit, the rules cannot be disregarded at any point during the bout, and the boxer fights as himself, not in the elaborate guise of a make-believe villain or hero. By contrast, wrestlers grunt and snarl with aggression, stage elaborate displays of agony or triumph, and fight as exaggerated, larger than life villains or super-heroes. Clearly, these two sports have quite different functions within society: boxing enacts the stoical endurance, which is sometimes necessary in life, while wrestling dramatizes ultimate struggles and conflicts between good and evil. Barthes's approach here, then, is that of the classic structuralist: the individual item is 'structuralized', or 'contextualized by structure', and in the process of doing this layers of sig[n]ificance are revealed.
13.5Fundamental Concepts of Structuralism The impact of Ferdinand de Saussure's ideas on the development of linguistic theory in the first half of the 20th century cannot be overstated. Two currents of thought emerged independently of each other, one in Europe, the other in America. The results of each incorporated the basic notions of Saussurian thought in forming the central tenets of structural linguistics. In Europe, the most important work was being done by the Prague School. Most notably, Nikolay Trubetzkoy and Roman Jakobson headed the efforts of the Prague School in setting the course of phonological theory in the decades following 1940. Although it is difficult to find a set of common criteria on which all structuralists would agree, a number of general principles seem to unite at least Saussurean structuralism and the various schools which developed from it after World War I. These principles were interpreted in various ways by different scholars who supplemented them with own theoretical and epistemological assumptions. In very general terms, then, the following principles may be said to hold at least for the European structuralists: Firstly, languages should be studied as systems, and the relations constituting a language system have priority over the linguistic units they generate. Structuralism constitutes a radical rejection of the atomism of the neo-grammarians who dominated the latter decades of the 19th century linguistics.
208 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Secondly, languages should first be studied from a synchronic point of view, not a diachronic one, since the latter is dependent on the former. From the synchronic viewpoint a language is a system of signs for its speakers. Again, this was a reaction to the predominantly historical perspective of the 19th century linguistics. Thirdly, structuralists tend to stress the autonomy of the language system vis-a-vis other aspects of language, such as sociological, psychological and pragmatic or discourse factors, which are considered 'external'. Different structuralist schools, however, held different opinions on this particular issue. The view that language is an autonomous, self-contained system also entails that there are as many particular systems as there are languages (which, of course, does not exclude cross-linguistic similarities or the existence of language universals). Fourthly, European structuralists put particular emphasis on the view that meaning is an inherent aspect of the language system, not reducible to external factors or reference. Moreover, they postulated that meaning can be analyzed with the methodology they had been developing for analyzing languages into phonemes. Again, this is a reaction to the 19th century linguistics, in particular to a strong positivist tendency which can be traced back to the work of such linguists as A. Schleicher (who believed language to be a natural organism), and, again, the neo-grammarians. Fifthly, structuralism grew out of the finding that from the vantage point of linguistics language is not a substance but rather a form or, more generally, a structure. A linguist, therefore, should not study language with the methodology of the natural sciences but develop new methods appropriate to the requirements of the linguistic object he has in mind. For a considerable period of time, structuralism was viewed as a genuine 'paradigm shift' in linguistics, and, in Europe at least, Saussure's Cours de linguistique generale (CLG) was read as a revolutionary work full of novel ideas. This had two effects. First, many linguists tended to overestimate the originality of Saussure's work, forgetting that he stood in a long tradition. Conceptual correspondences (and, occasionally, direct influences, although this has been a hotly debated issue) have been convincingly demonstrated between Saussure and W. von Humboldt, W. D. Whitney, J. Baudouin de Courtenay, E. Durkheim and other scholars. This lack of awareness of the historicity of Saussure's thought also resulted in uncritical interpretations of the CLG which attempted to downplay its ambiguities and inconsistencies (which nevertheless were often, as is not uncommon in a major seminal work, highly thought-provoking). Second, from the

NSOU CC - SO - 03 209 late 1960s onwards, linguists started to neglect structuralism because of its supposed over-abstract concepts and mistaken overall view on language. This not only resulted in an occasionally deplorable ignorance of the basic tenets of structural linguistics, especially among younger generations of linguists, but also in the unduly negative connotation from which the term 'structuralism' suffers today, notwithstanding the lasting value of the scholarly work of many structural linguists. 13.6 Structuralism: Basic Assumptions By the early 1960s, many Continental scholars were working with structuralist ideas, although many resisted being labeled as such and some eventually became more identifiable as poststructuralists. For example, Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida explored structuralist approaches to literary criticism (although Derrida now is chiefly associated with deconstruction, which is a complex response to several theoretical and philosophical movements, especially phenomenology, psychoanalysis and structuralism) and, as already noted, Jacques Lacan applied Saussure's structuralism to psychoanalysis. Methods of structural analysis (as distinct from structuralist assumptions) appear to have informed Jean Piaget's studies in developmental psychology, although he is more likely to have described himself as constructivist. Foucault explicitly denied his affiliation with structuralism in his later works, but his 1966 book, The Order of Things, seeks to explain how structures of epistemology (episteme) in the history of science have determined the ways in which we imagine knowledge and knowing. Thomas Kuhn also investigated the structured production of scientific knowledge and methods in his 1962 book, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, which demonstrated how the conventions of scientists' speech communities shape standard practice and discourage deviations from 'normal science' under most circumstances. Structuralism is basically the study of a text as a whole and the kinds of interrelationships or contrasts that the system builds into it to make it meaningful. Contrasts are often times highlighted by calling attention to their basic oppositional or binary structure. Structuralism as a concept is grand, controversial and elusive. For critical purposes, it can be understood at two levels of generality: 1. As a broad intellectual movement, one of the most significant ways of theorizing in the human sciences in the twentieth century; 2. As a particular set of approaches to literature.
210 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Structuralism, thus, can be defined as the study of the elements of consciousness. The idea is that conscious experience can be broken down into basic conscious elements, much as a physical phenomenon can be viewed as consisting of chemical structures that can, in turn, be broken down into basic elements. In order to reduce a normal conscious experience into basic elements, structuralism relied on a method called 'introspection'. An important principle of introspection is that any given conscious experience must be described in its most basic terms, so that a researcher could not describe some experience or object as itself, such as describing an 'apple as an apple'. Such a mistake is a major introspection faux pas and is referred to as the "stimulus error". Therefore, it can be stated that the premise of structuralism is human activity and its products - even perception and thought itself - are constructed and not natural. Structure is the principle of construction and the object of analysis, to be understood by its intimate reference to the concepts of system and value as defined in Semiotics (Science studying Signs). Structuralism, therefore, is an aesthetic theory which is based on certain key philosophical assumptions which are as follows: a. All artistic works of art or 'texts' possess a fundamental deep structure. b. Texts are organized like a language with their own grammar. c. The grammar of a language is a series of signs and conventions which draw a predictable response from human beings. d. The signal-response model forms the basis of all textual operations. Following from these key philosophical assumptions, the basic assumptions of the structuralist theory can be traced as under: (a) According to the structuralist theory, meaning is not a private experience, as Husserl thought, but the product of a shared system of signification. A text is to be understood as a construct to be analyzed and explained scientifically in terms of the deep- structure of the system itself. For many structuralists, this 'deep-structure' is universal and innate. (b) One should make it clear at the back of his mind that literature is not only the work of art, but there are several forms like painting, sculpture, music etc. apart from literature. And structuralism can be applied to all these forms.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 211 (c) If we consider the application of structuralism to art and extend the monetary analogy, we can think of paintings as comprised of many languages or sets of conventions that play a role in the exchange of signs. For example, the language of western academic painting can be contrasted with the language of African sculpture or Japanese brush painting. Just as one word in the English language is paired with a concept, so a visual image, icon, or symbol is paired with a concept or idea that it is said to 'express'. Such a study of signs in the most general sense, whether visual or verbal, is called Semiotics. In the West, art schools are the institutions that have the function of passing on these visual conventions. (d) It should be noted that in structuralism, the individual is more a product of the system than a producer of it. Language precedes us. It is the medium of thought and human expression. Thus, it provides us with the structure that we use to conceptualize our own experience. (e) Since language is arbitrary, there is no natural bond between words and things. There can be no privileged connection between language and reality. In this sense, reality is also produced by language. Thus, structuralism can be understood as a form of idealism. Therefore, it is clear from what we've just said that structuralism undermines the claim of empiricism that what is real is what we experience. It can also be seen as an affront to common sense, especially to the notion that a text has a meaning, that is, for all intents and purposes, straightforward. This conflict with common sense, however, can be favourably compared with other historical conflicts. In other words, things are not always what they seem. Thus, the idealist claim of structuralism can be understood in the following way: Reality and our conception of it are 'discontinuous'. This view has important implications. According to the structuralist theory, a text or utterance has a "meaning", but its meaning is determined not by the psychological state or "intention" of the speaker, but by the deep-structure of the language system in which it occurs. In this way, the subject (individual or "author") is effectively killed off and replaced by language itself as an autonomous system of rules. Thus, structuralism has been characterized as Anti- humanistic in its claim that meaning is not identical with the inner psychological experience of the speaker. It removes the human subject from its central position in the production of meaning much as Copernicus removed (decentered) the Earth from its position at the

212 NSOU CC - SO - 03 centre of the solar system. And since language pre-exists us, it is not we who speak, but "language speaks us". 13.7 Conclusion Structuralism rose to prominence in France through the application by the French Anthropologist, Claude Levi-Strauss, of Saussurean structural linguistics to the study of such phenomena as myths, rituals, kinship relations, eating conventions. Literature seemed especially appropriate to a structuralist approach as it was wholly made up of language. Structuralism does not make a difference between literature and other forms of writing or value judgments between good and bad literature. Working from Saussure's perception that meaning is relational, structural anthropology identifies the binary oppositions in a culture as they are manifested in story and ritual. In so far as stories mediate between irreconcilable oppositions, myth making is a survival strategy. Ironically, structuralism has had to sustain the opposing charges that it lacks humanity because it subjects literature to scientific analysis, and it is over-idealistic because it searches for universals and gives greater privilege to synchronic systems than to historical change. 13.8 Summary Structuralism is an approach that grew to become one of the most widely used methods of analyzing language, culture, and society in the second half of the'20th century. 'Structuralism', however, does not refer to a clearly defined 'school' of authors, although the work of Ferdinand de Saussure is generally considered a starting point. Structuralism rejected existentialism's notion of radical human freedom and focused instead on the way that human behaviour is determined by cultural, social, and psychological structures. Broadly, Structuralism seeks to explore the inter-relationships of elements (the 'structure') in, say, a story, rather than focusing on its contents, through which meaning is produced within a culture. It is also accepted as a distinctive methodological theory in science, humanities and philosophy, began to develop in the Czech region in the mid-20s of the century. The Postmodernists themselves prove, more than any other group, that, in terms of the generation of meaning, structuralism is the Westerner's first and foremost ontological and epistemological foundation.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 213 13.9 Questions 1. What do you understand by Structuralism? Discuss. 2. Discuss Linguistics as a major starting point of Structuralism. 3. Elucidate the concepts of Langue and Parole as discussed by Ferdinand de Saussure. 4. Analyze the basic assumptions of Structuralism. Answer in Brief: 5. What is Langue? 6. What are the three basic assumptions of Saussure? 7. Where was the book 'My Theologies' published? 8. Why are signs arbitrary? 13.10 References Barthes, R. (1972). The Structuralist Activity: Critical essays, pp.213-20 Genette, G. (1988). "Structuralism and Literary Criticism" in David Lodge (ed.), Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader, London and New York: Longman, p.68. Runciman, W. G. (1969). What Is Structuralism? in The British Journal of Sociology 20 (3), Wiley, London School of Economics and Political Science, London School of Economics: 253–65 Saussure, F. de. (1916/1974). Course in General Linguistics. London: Fontana. Suggested Readings Barthes, R. (1972). The Structuralist Activity: Critical essays, pp.213-20 Ritzer, George. 1999. Modern Sociological Theory. McGraw-Hill Education. Ritzer, George. 2004. Encyclopedia of Social Theory. SAGE Publications. 13.101 Glosssary Structuralism - It holds that, according to the human way of understanding things, particular elements have no absolute meaning or value: their meaning or value is relative to other elements. Everything makes sense only in
214 NSOU CC - SO - 03 relation to something else. An element cannot be perceived by itself. In order to understand a particular element we need to study the whole system of relationships or structure. Linguistics - It is the scientific study of language. It involves analysis of language form, language meaning, and language in context, as well as an analysis of the social, cultural, historical, and political factors that influence language. Kinship - It is the web of social relationships that form an important part of the lives of all humans in all societies, although its exact meanings even within this discipline are often debated. The study of kinship is the study of what man does with these basic facts of life – mating, gestation, parenthood, socialization, sibling ship etc. Human society is unique, he argues, in that we are working with the same raw material as exists in the animal world, but [we] can conceptualize and categorize it to serve social ends. These social ends include the socialization of children and the formation of basic economic, political and religious groups. Myth- It is a folklore genre consisting of narratives that play a fundamental role in a society, such as foundational tales or origin myths. The main characters in myths are usually gods, demigods or supernatural humans. Stories of everyday human beings, although often of leaders of some type, are usually contained in legends, as opposed to myths.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 215 Unit-14 Contributions of Claude Levi-Strauss Structure 14.1 Objectives 14.2 Introduction 14.3 Claude Levi-Strauss: His Life and Works 14.4 Structuralism as a Method 14.5 Levi-Strauss and his Contributions 14.6 Levi-Strauss's Idea of Totemism 14.7 Summary 14.8 Conclusion 14.9 Questions 14.10 References 14.11Glossary 14.1Objectives To understand the concept of Structuralism as a method To understand and analyze Claude Levi-Strauss's interpretation of Structuralism To get acquainted with the life and works of Claude Levi-Strauss To learn about and analyze Levi-Strauss's idea of totemism To develop a sociological conception of Levi-Strauss's idea of totemism as a structure 14.2Introduction Structuralism is the name given to a method of analyzing social relations and cultural products, which came into existence in the 1950s. Though it had its origin in linguistics, particularly from the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, it acquired popularity in anthropology, from where it impacted the other disciplines in social sciences and humanities. It gives primacy to pattern over substance. The meaning of a particular phenomenon or system comes through knowing how things fit together, and not from understanding things in

216 NSOU CC - SO - 03 isolation. A characteristic that structuralism and structural-functional approach share in common is that both are concerned with relations between things. However, there are certain dissimilarities between the two. Structural-functional approach is interested in finding order within social relations. Structuralism, on the other hand, endeavours to find the structures of thought and the structure of society. Structural-functional approach follows inductive reasoning; from the particular, it moves to the general. Structuralism subscribes to deductive logic. It begins with certain premises. They are followed carefully to the point they lead to. Aspects from geometry and algebra are kept in mind while working with structuralism. For structuralism, logical possibilities are worked out first and then it is seen, how reality fits. For true structuralists, there is no reality except the relations between things. Language is not the only area where structural principles can be applied. Anthropologists apply them to societies and kinship systems. Claude Levi-Strauss also tried to apply structural principles to cultural phenomena such as mythology. According to him, myth can be organized according to a certain structure, just as language. In language this structure can be roughly called "grammar" which is based on its system of significant differences or oppositions. Myth also has its system of oppositions and 'grammar'. If we know this 'grammar' of myth well enough we might be able to decipher the 'message' that myth is trying to convey to us. When we master the grammar of myths we can read their hidden messages, much as we can read 'between the lines' for political statements and agendas in newspapers. However, in order to 'read' myths successfully, we must know the whole system of relationships in a particular myth, or its structure. This is what Levi-Strauss is attempting to do in his "Story of Asdiwal". 14.3Claude Levi-Strauss: His Life and Works Claude Levi-Strauss (1908-2009) is often described as the 'last French intellectual giant', the 'founder of Structuralism in Anthropology', and the 'Father of Modern Anthropology'. Born on 28 th November, 1908, in Belgium, he was one of the greatest Social Anthropologists of the 20 th century, ruling the intellectual circles from the 1950s to the 1980s. Levi- Strauss studied at the University of Paris. From 1935-39, he was the Professor at the University of Sao Paulo making several expeditions to central Brazil. From 1942-1945, he was the Professor at the New School for Social Research. In 1950, he became the Director of Studies at the 'Ecole Practique des Hautes Etudes'. In 1959, Levi-Strauss assumed the Chair of Social Anthropology at the College de France. His books include 'The Raw and the Cooked', 'The Savage Mind', 'Structural Anthropology and Totemism'.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 217 In 1949 Levi-Strauss published his first major work, 'The Elementary Structures of Kinship'. He attained popular recognition in 1955 with 'A World on the Wane', a literary intellectual autobiography. Other publications include the revised edition entitled 'Structural Anthropology' in 1961, 'The Savage Mind' (1962), and 'Totemism' (1962). His massive Mythologiques appeared in four volumes: 'The Raw and the Cooked' (1964), 'From Honey to Ashes' (1966), 'The Origin of Table Manners' (1968), and 'The Naked Man' (1971). In 1973, a second volume of 'Structural Anthropology' appeared. In 1983, he published a collection of essays, 'The View from Afar'. In this connection, it can very well be stated that Levi-Strauss's structuralism was an effort to condense the vast amount of information about cultural systems to what he believed were the prerequisites, the formal relationships among their elements. He viewed cultures as systems of communication, and he constructed models based on structural linguistics, information theory, and cybernetics in order to interpret them. Later, the popularity of his method, known as structuralism, became suppressed with the new approaches and paradigms taking its place, but he never went to the backseat. Even when structuralism did not have many admirers, it was taught in courses of Sociology and Anthropology and the author whose work was singularly attended to was none other than Levi-Strauss. Each year he was read by scholars from Anthropology and the other disciplines with new insights and transformed interests. He was one of the few Anthropologists whose popularity spread beyond the confines of Social Anthropology. He was (and is) read avidly in literature. Although he did not do, at one time, it was thought that every social fact, and every product of human activity and mind, of any society, simple or complex, could be analyzed following the method that Levi-Strauss had proposed and defended. In 1935, Levi-Strauss got an appointment at the University of Sao Paulo to teach sociology. His stay in Brazil exposed him to the 'anthropological other'. By then he had already read Robert Lowie's 'Primitive Society' and formed a conception of how anthropological studies were to be carried out. Contextually, Levi- Strauss (1962) said: I had gone to Brazil because I wanted to become an anthropologist. And I had been attracted to an anthropology that was very different from that of Durkheim, who was not a fieldworker, while I was learning about fieldwork through the English and the Americans... (p.46) During the first year of his stay in the University, he started ethnographic projects with his students, working on the folklore of the surrounding areas of Sao Paulo. He then went to the Mato Grosso among the Caduveo and Bororo tribes; Levi-Strauss (1968) described his first fieldwork in the following words:

218 NSOU CC - SO - 03 I was in a state of intense intellectual excitement. I felt I was reliving the adventures of the first sixteenth century explorers. I was discovering the New World for myself. Everything seemed mythical; the scenery, the plants, the animals... (p.34) A big article that Levi-Strauss wrote on the Bororo attracted the attention of Robert Lowie, who invited him to the New School of Social Research to take up a teaching assignment. Levi-Strauss's stay in New York was extremely fruitful. He had a chance to look at the rich material that the American anthropologists had collected on the Indian communities. He went about analyzing it, but at the same time carried several short first-hand field studies, although they were not of the same league as was the masterly fieldwork that Bronislaw Malinowski had carried out among the Trobriand Islanders. However, whatever fieldwork he carried out, he thought, was enough to give him an insight into the 'other'. He saw himself as an analyst and a synthesizer of the material that had already been collected. Since his aim was to understand the working of the human mind, he wanted to have a look at the ethnographic facts and the material cultural objects from different cultural contexts. In other words, Levi-Strauss was not interested in producing a text or a monograph on a particular culture, but a text that addressed the understanding of the 'Universal Man' rather than the 'particular man'. Some reasons for his extreme popularity are identified in his rejection of history and humanism, in his refusal to see Western civilization as privileged and unique, in his emphasis on form over content and in his insistence that the savage mind is equal to the civilized mind. Levi-Strauss appeals to the deepest feelings among the alienated intellectuals of our society. 14.4Structuralism as a method Claude Levi-Strauss, a leading French Philosopher, Social Theorist and Anthropologist, is associated with the development of structuralism as a method in both the social sciences and humanities. Aside from a period spent teaching in Brazil before World War II and a few years as an academic and diplomat in the United States during and after the war, Levi-Strauss has lived and taught in France. His researches have focused on the massive amount of ethnological materials collected by field-workers worldwide. In the tradition of the 19 th and early 20 th century French sociology (which included anthropology), pioneered by figures such as Emile Durkheim, Levi-Strauss is a theorizer on a grand scale. By developing a sophisticated means of analyzing the cultural artifacts of preindustrial, non-literate peoples, he has sought to discover underlying structures of thought that characterize not only the so-called primitive societies — the anthropologist's specialty
NSOU CC - SO - 03 219 - but also the formal structures of general human mentality. In other words, Levi-Strauss's ethnological work has been at the origin of structuralism's success - and literary criticism. Relying on the work of Roland Barthes, Levi-Strauss concluded first of all an interpretation of the most pronounced social phenomenon - kinship - which he elaborates on the basis of the Jakobsonian linguistic model, having transposed the latter onto the ethnological plane. Levi-Strauss derived his structuralist method from structural linguistics. Considering the perspective of structural linguistics appropriate for culture and thought, as well as for language, he attempted to demonstrate that the cultural features of tribal societies were assemblages of codes, in turn reflecting certain universal principles of human thought. Structuralism actually came into being as a distinct method of investigation through Levi-Strauss's anthropological investigations. His innovative analysis of myth (ancient Greek myths, but also Amerindian ones), representing a response to the former psychologically oriented interpretations, was made much the same way linguistics studies sentences in order to discover their "grammar". Unlike previous analysts of myth, Levi- Strauss holds that meaning does not reside in the essential significance or representation of a particular element in a mythical story. Rather, a myth's meaning is hidden in the underlying relationships of all its elements, which can be discovered only through structuralist analysis. As Levi-Strauss's works became available in English in the 1960s, his structuralist method gained popularity in the United States in such fields as sociology, architecture, literature, and art, as well as anthropology. 14.5Levi-Strauss and his Contributions Levi-Strauss derived structuralism from a school of linguistics whose focus was not on the meaning of the word, but the patterns that the words form. Levi-Strauss's contribution gave us a theory of how the human mind works. Man passes from a natural to a cultural state as he uses language, learns to cook, etc... Structuralism considers that in the passage from natural to cultural, man obeys laws - he does not invent it's a mechanism of the human brain. Levi-Strauss views man not as a privileged native of the universe, but as a passing species, which will leave only a few faint traces of its passage when it becomes extinct. In addition, Levi Strauss is also known for his structural analysis of mythology. He was interested in explaining why myths from different cultures from around the globe seem so similar. He attempted to answer this question not by the content of the myths, but by their structure. To make this argument, Levi-Strauss insists that myth is a language because myth has to be told in order to exist. A myth is almost always set some time long ago, with a timeless story. He says myth is actually on a more complex level

220 NSOU CC - SO - 03 than language and it shares certain characteristics with language. Firstly, it's made of units that are put together according to certain rules, and secondly, these units form relationships with each other, based on opposites, which provide the basis of the structure. It provides a means to account for widespread variations on a basic myth structure, and is logical and scientific. This was important for the scientist in Levi-Strauss. He says that repetition, in myth as in oral literature, is necessary to reveal the structure of the myth. Because of this need for repetition, the myth is told in layer after layer. However, the layers aren't the same, and it's eventually shown that the myth "grows" as it is told, but the structure of the myth does not grow. Between 1964 and 1971 was published Levi-Strauss's magnum opus, the four volume Mythology series. In total, these volumes, running into two thousand pages, analyze 813 myths and their more than one thousand versions. The Raw and the Cooked analyzes myths from South America, particularly central and eastern Brazil. The second volume, From Honey to Ashes is also concerned with South America, but deals with myths both from the south and the north. The Origin of Table Manners begins with a myth that is South American, but from further north. The final volume, The Naked Man, is entirely North American. The interesting fact Levi-Strauss finds is that the "most apparent similarities between myths are found between the regions of the New World that are geographically most distant." Beginning with the mythology of central Brazil and then moving out to other geographical areas, and then returning to Brazil, Levi-Strauss realizes that "depending upon the case, the myths of neighbouring peoples coincide, partially overlap, answer, or contradict one another." Thus, the analysis of each myth 'implied that of others'. Taken as the centre, the myth 'radiates variants around it.' It spreads from one neighbour to another in 'several directions at once.' His book, The Jealous Potter, was also a part of the series on the analysis of myths. The important fact here is that in spite of his widely acclaimed volumes on mythology, Levi-Strauss thought that the science of myths was in its infancy. According to structural theory in anthropology and social anthropology, meaning is produced and reproduced within a culture through various practices, phenomena and activities that serve as systems of signification. A structuralist approach may study activities as diverse as food-preparation and serving rituals, religious rites, games, literary and non-literary texts, and other forms of entertainment to discover the deep structures by which meaning is produced and reproduced within the culture. Contextually, Levi- Strauss analyzed in the 1950s cultural phenomena including mythology, kinship (the alliance theory and the incest taboo), and food preparation. In addition to these studies, he produced
NSOU CC - SO - 03 221 more linguistically focused writings in which he applied Saussure's distinction between langue and parole in his search for the fundamental structures of the human mind, arguing that the structures that form the 'deep grammar' of society originate in the mind and operate in people unconsciously. 14.6Levi-Strauss's Idea of Totemism Levi-Strauss's Totemism, was published in French in 1962. A year later came its English translation, done by an Oxford anthropologist, Rodney Needham, and it carried more than fifty pages of Introduction written by Roger C. Poole. In appreciation of this book, Poole wrote: In Totemism Levi-Strauss takes up an old and hoary anthropological problem, and gives it such a radical treatment that when we lay down the book we have to look at the world with new eyes (p.9). Before we proceed with Levi-Strauss's analysis, let us firstly understand the meaning of totemism. Totemism refers to an institution, mostly found among the tribal community, where the members of each of its clans consider themselves as having descended from a plant, or animal, or any other animate or inanimate object, for which they have a special feeling of reverence, which leads to the formation of a ritual relationship with that object. The plant, animal, or any other object is called 'totem'; the word 'totem', Levi-Strauss says, is taken from the Ojibwa, an Algonquin language of the region to the north of the Great Lakes of Northern America. The members who share the same totem constitute a 'totemic group'. People have a special reverential attitude towards their totem – they abstain from killing and/or eating it, or they may sacrifice and eat it on ceremonial occasions; death of the totem may be ritually mourned; grand celebrations take place in some societies for the multiplication of totems; and totems may be approached for showering blessings and granting long term welfare. In other words, the totem becomes the centre of beliefs and ritual action. Levi-Strauss does not believe in the 'reality' of totemism. He says that totemism was 'invented' and became one of the most favourite anthropological subjects to be investigated with an aim to find its origins and varieties, with the Victorian scholars in the second half of the nineteenth century. Contrastingly, Levi-Strauss's study is not of totemism; it is of totemic phenomena. In other words, it is an 'adjectival study', and not a 'substantive study', which means that it is a 'study of the phenomena that happen to be totemic' rather than 'what is contained in or what is the substance of totemism'. Interestingly, Levi-Strauss has the same data that were available to his predecessors, but the question he asks is entirely new. He does not ask the same question that had been repeatedly

222 NSOU CC - SO - 03 asked earlier by several scholars, vis. 'What is totemism?' His question is 'How are totemic phenomena arranged?' The move from 'what' to 'how' was radical at that time (during the 1960s); and Levi-Strauss's interpretation of totemism was a distinct break with the earlier analyses of totemism (whether they were evolutionary, or diffusionistic, or functional). It is because of this distinctiveness that Poole (1963) writes that with Levi-Strauss, "the 'problem' of totemism has been laid to rest once and for all." (p.9) Levi-Strauss offers a critique of the contemporary explanations that had been (and were) in vogue at that time. Firstly, he rejects the thesis that the members of the American school (Franz Boas, Robert Lowie, A.L. Kroeber) put forth, according to which the totemic phenomena are not a reality sui generis. In other words, totemism does not have its own existence and laws; rather it is a product of the general tendency among the 'primitives' to identify individuals and social groups with the animal and the plant worlds. Levi-Strauss finds this explanation highly simplistic. He also criticizes the functional views of totemism; for instance, Durkheim's explanation that totemism binds people in a 'moral community' called the church, or Malinowski's idea that the Trobrianders have totems because they are of utilitarian value, for they provide food to people. Malinowski's explanation, according to Levi-Strauss, lacks universality, since there are societies that have totems of non-utilitarian value, and it would be difficult to find the needs that the totem fulfils. Durkheim's thesis of religion as promoting social solidarity may be applicable in societies each with a single religion, but not societies with religious pluralism. Moreover, the functional theory of totemism deals with the contribution the beliefs and practices of totemism make to the maintenance and well-being of society rather than what is the structure of totemism, and how it is a product of human mind. Levi-Strauss says that totemism covers relations between things falling in two series – one natural (animals, plants) and the other cultural (persons, clans). For Levi-Strauss, the 'problem' of totemism arises when two separate chains of experience (one of nature and the other of culture) are confused. Human beings identify themselves with nature in a myriad of ways, and the other thing is that they describe their social groups by names drawn from the world of animals and plants. These two experiences are different, but totemism results when there is any kind of overlap between these orders. Levi-Strauss actually stressed on the importance of a particular 'structure' and believed that this structural activity is rooted in all societies. Therefore, it can be said that totemism isn't a phenomenon of 'primitive' man, but one kind of manifestation of the same structure all humans obey. Levi-Strauss writes: 'The natural series comprises on the one hand categories, on the other particulars; the cultural series comprises groups and persons.'

NSOU CC - SO - 03 223 He chooses these terms rather arbitrarily to distinguish, in each series, two modes of existence – collective and individual – and also, to keep these series distinct. He says that any term could be used provided they are distinct. NATURE ... Category Particular CULTURE... Group Person (Levi-Strauss 1962:16) The above table depicts binary oppositions in "nature" / "culture", "category" / "particular", and "group" /"person". These terms can be combined in four ways (1962, p.17) and every logical relation between man and nature that form totemic systems is covered in this table. It is here that his structuralist approach becomes clearer. If a greater range of societies with totemic systems were studied with reference to the four possible combinations of what constitutes totemism, anthropologists would see the system or thought structure to be more widely spread than was originally thought when only the first two combinations were considered. Levi-Strauss continues by applying this method to look at his first ethnographic examples on which he demonstrates his structural thesis. Consequently, Levi-Strauss reflects his structuralism in his opposition to functionalism. He says that the questions asked of 'totemism' by functionalists (especially Malinowski) are biological and psychological. They are no longer in the sphere of anthropology as they do not consider "why totemism exists where it exists..." (1962:58). He does however sympathize with Radcliffe Brown's functionalism and his proposing of universality as it is a step towards structuralism away from other generalizations submitted by less objective and more affective theories of totemism. Throughout his study, Levi-Strauss presents functionalist arguments and de-bunks them through careful analysis of many different sources of ethnography but also through the ethnographies of the writers who have formed the ideas he thinks are flawed and reveals their contradictions. In this way, his structuralist approach is reflected by opposing functionalism. Later, Levi-Strauss applauds the attempt of Firth and Fortes, for they move from a point of view centred on subjective utility (the utilitarian hypothesis) to one of objective analogy. However, Levi-Strauss goes further than this: he says 'it is not the resemblances, but the differences, which resemble each other' (p. 149). In totemism, the resemblance is between the two systems of differences. After these two authors are patted on the back for seemingly making headway towards a synthesis of structuralism but not quite making it all the way, Levi-Strauss discusses Radcliffe Brown's theory of totemism. Radcliffe-Brown realizes the necessity of an explanation which illuminates the principle governing the

224 NSOU CC - SO - 03 selection and association of specific pairs of species and types used in classification. In addition, in his analysis of Nuer religion, Evans-Pritchard shows that the basis of totemic phenomena lies in the interrelation of natural species with social groupings according to the logically conceived processes of metaphor and analogy. These two ideas, Levi- Strauss thinks, help in the reintegration of content with form, and it is from them that he begins. Totemism, for Levi-Strauss, is a mode of classification. Totemic classifications are regarded as a 'means of thinking' governed by less rigid conditions than what we find in the case of language, and these conditions are satisfied fairly easily, even when some events may be adverse. The functions that totemism fulfill are cognitive and intellectual. The problem of totemism disappears when we realize that all humans, at all points of time, are concerned with one or the other mode of classification, and all classifications operate using mechanisms of differentiation, opposition, and substitution. Totemic phenomena form one aspect of a 'general classificatory ideology'. If it is so, then the problem of totemism, in terms of something distinct that demands an explanation, disappears. Jenkins (1979) writes: 'Totemism becomes analytically dissolved and forms one expression of a general ideological mode of classification'. (p. 101) However, it does not imply that totemism is static. Although the nature of the conditions under which totemism functions have not been stated clearly, it is clear from the examples that Levi-Strauss has given that totemism is able to adapt to changes. 14.7 Summary To sum up, totemic phenomena are nothing but modes of classification. They provide tribal communities with consciously or unconsciously held concepts which guide their social actions. Food taboos, economic exchanges and kinship relations can be conceptualized and organized using schemes which are comparable to the totemic homology between natural species and social characteristics. Levi-Strauss (1962) also extends this analysis to understand the relation between totemism and caste system. Totemism is a relationship between man and nature. Similarities and differences between natural species are used to understand the similarities and differences between human beings. Totemism, which for people is a type of religion, is a way of understanding similarities and differences between man and nature. That is the reason why Poole says that with Levi-Strauss, the problem of totemism has been laid to rest once and for ever. To quote
NSOU CC - SO - 03 225 Poole : "If we talk about 'totemism' any more, it will be in ignorance of Levi-Strauss or in spite of him." (p.9) 14.8 Conclusion Levi-Strauss thought that anthropology was not an 'endangered science'; however, its character would be transformed in future. Perhaps, it would not be an 'object of fieldwork'. Anthropologists would become philologists, historians of ideas, and specialists in civilizations, and they would then work with the help of the documents that the earlier observers had prepared. Regarding his own work, Levi-Strauss said that it 'signaled a moment in anthropological thought' and he would be remembered for that. Levi-Strauss created a stir in anthropology. Some scholars set aside their own line of enquiry for the time being to experiment with his method, whereas the others reacted more critically to his ideas. But nowhere was his impact total and complete – he could not create an 'academic lineage'. His idea of 'universal structures' of human mind has been labeled by some as his 'cosmic ambition', generalizing about human society as a whole. While British anthropologists (especially Edmund Leach, Rodney Needham) in the 1950s and 1960s were impressed with Levi-Strauss, they were not in agreement with his abstract search for universal patterns. They tended to apply structuralism at a 'micro' (or 'regional') level. 14.9Questions 1. Discuss the salient aspects of the works of Claude Levi-Strauss. 2. Delineate the features of the structural method. 3. What is totemism? Give its structural analysis. 4. How does Levi-Strauss's analysis of totemism differ from that of the others? Discuss. 14.10 References Jenkins, A. (1979). The Social Theory of Claude Levi-Strauss. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd. Levi-Strauss, C. (1962). The Bear and the Barber. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 93: 1-11. Levi-Strauss, C. (1963). Totemism. Penguin Books.
226 NSOU CC - SO - 03 14.11 Glosssary Totemism : A totem (Ojibwe doodem) is a spirit being, sacred object, or symbol that serves as an emblem of a group of people, such as a family, clan, lineage, or tribe.While the term totem is derived from the North American Ojibwe language, belief in tutelary spirits and deities is not limited to indigenous peoples of the Americas but common to a number of cultures worldwide. Totemism is a belief associated with animistic religions. The totem is usually an animal or other natural figure that spiritually represents a group of related people such as a clan. Early anthropologists and ethnologists identified totemism as a shared practice across indigenous groups in unconnected parts of the world, typically reflecting a stage of human development. Lineage : A lineage is a unilineal descent group that can demonstrate their common descent from a known apical ancestor. Unilineal lineages can be matrilineal or patrilineal, depending on whether they are traced through mothers or fathers, respectively. Whether matrilineal or patrilineal descent is considered most significant differs from culture to culture. Ethnology : Ethnology (from the Greek: — èíîò, ethnos meaning 'nation') is the branch of anthropology that compares and analyzes the characteristics of different peoples and the relationships between them (compare cultural, social, or sociocultural anthropology). In France and Québec, the word "ethnologie" is commonly used to refer to cultural and social anthropology.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 227 Unit-15 General Arguments Structure 15.1 Objectives 15.2 Introduction 15.3 A Short History/Background of the Development of Symbolic Interactionism 15.4 Theory and Research in Symbolic Interactionism 15.5 The Chicago School 15.6 The Iowa School 15.7 The Indiana School 15.8 General Arguments 15.9 The Epistemological Assumptions of Symbolic Interactionism 15.10 Conclusion 15.11 Summary 15.12 Questions 15.13 References 15.14 Glossary 15.1 Objectives • To understand what is interaction • To understand the salient points of symbolic interactionism • To learn in what ways symbolic interactionism differs from other theories 15.2 Introduction Interaction is the way we comprehend our conversations with others and the medium through which we understand others and us. Interaction is a way of communication both verbal and non-verbal. The study of interaction in sociology is particularly important because the study of micro-settings for the study of interactions was in opposition to the Module - VI : Interactionism

228 NSOU CC - SO - 03 macro-analyses fashionable in the discipline before it. It takes cognizance of the fact that we are humans and are not objects at the hands of the society. We are humans and subjects. This shift in position of analyses is important in Sociology. Symbolic Interactionism as a tradition is associated with wide and diverse sociologists described as the 'Chicago School'. The Chicago school is interchangeably used for the Department of Sociology under University of Chicago. This school of thought rose to prominence between 1920s and 1930s specializing in urban sociology. After the second world war, a second phase in the development of Chicago school arose who with the initiatives of the members of Symbolic Interactionism combined with the methods of field work to contribute to the development of a new body of work. Mead's social- psychological approach was the foundation for this perspective but the empirical work of W. I. Thomas and Robert Park generated a critical methodology. Field research, ethnography, interviewing, case studies, documentary sources were used in a variety of later studies inspired from this perspective. Our aim in this module is to unfold the theoretical underpinnings of this tradition in sociology. Symbolic interactionism is often labeled as a theoretical perspective associated with the concept of socialization. Socialization as a process is important in sociology. It emphasizes on the issue that we become 'social' only in the context in which we live. It means that we are born humans but become social beings only through nurturing. Therefore not only our intrinsic nature but also the way in which we are taught to behave is important in building up of our personalities. This learning and teaching takes place through interaction between individuals. So, interaction that occurs through language (verbal) and symbols (non-verbal) makes this possible. But a more thoughtful reading of the perspective will help us to understand that the perspective is used not simply in understanding socialization but interaction in general. Interaction is the process in which the ability to think is both developed and expressed (Ritzer, 2006: 358). Interaction is a process. It entails two dimensions: action and reaction. But it is not this simple. We are also as symbol- making and symbol-using beings capable of thinking and acting. Our acts are a reflection of what we think. We also think over our actions which help us to maneuver our actions in a different situation. Therefore interaction is acting, thinking, feeling and also learning and building the capacity to think. The theorists who believe we as humans are capable of using symbols in our interaction (Symbolic Interactionists) in general have made significant contributions in this direction. The central focus is how people learn the meanings of symbols they use in interaction in
NSOU CC - SO - 03 229 their socialization process in particular and during interaction in general. They conceive language as a vast system of symbols. Words are symbols because they are used and stand for certain things. Words, objects and acts exist and have meaning only because they have been and can be described through the use of words. Symbols and its use make humans different from primates. It is because of the use of symbols humans do not respond passively to a reality that imposes itself upon us but actively create and recreate the world where acts take place (Ritzer, 2006: 359). Unlike the most significant theoretical frame-work in sociology, that is, functionalism, Symbolic Interactionism differs quite widely in its orientation and stand-point. Unlike other conventional sociological thought symbolic Interactionists consider socialization as a dynamic process that allows people to develop the ability to think and develop in distinctively human ways. Socialization, to them, is not a one-way process. It is a dynamic one in which the actor shapes and adapts the information available to his or her own needs. Theorists believe that as actors we are constantly learning and acting simultaneously. We as humans think, act and learn at the same time. But we are not aware of the process because we start doing this from an early age and hence this process seems involuntary for us. The process of socialization starts early. Some theorists believe that this process starts from infant age; others believe it is not only that the infant socializes after it is born but it is a continuous process of socialization of the new mother and the baby as well. Through socialization the infant learns from the mother, its first care-giver (significant other) and then from others (generalized other). The theorist who laid the foundation for the idea was G. H. Mead (1863-1931). We will consider Mead's contributions in later Units. This tradition as in opposition to functionalism and conflict (macro-sociological traditions), was influenced by C. H. Cooley (1864-1921) among many others who influenced the development of the theoretical tradition. We will discuss the influences in later sections in detail. Symbolic Interactionism as a theoretical concern was antithetical to the mainstream/ traditional discourse in sociology of seeing society as a system, structure and process. It focused on the society and not on the acting individuals who compose it. The historical significance of the rise of symbolic Interactionism in American sociology has been forgotten today. Few sociologists recognize the role this theory played in the development and establishment of the concept of 'group' in sociology. Instead what we find today is a vast attempt to emphasize that this theoretical perspective had generated the ideas of 'self', 'identity' and 'role' in Sociology. It was a later development in the field of Interactionism which initiated an interest in self psychology and concept of identity,
230 NSOU CC - SO - 03 witnessing the development of role theory and the rise of reference group theory. The theorists aim is to understand

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the impact of meanings and symbols on human action and interaction.

Partly because of the ability to handle meanings and symbols people unlike primates can make choices in actions in which they engage. Primates are also symbol- making and symbol-using creatures. But humans are capable of more complex symbolic interaction. They are also rational beings. They can use their logic in choosing between different means to achieve a particular goal. 15.3 Background of the Development of Symbolic Interactionism To symbolic Interactionists actors have at least some autonomy. To theorists who were interested in socialization it may seem that humans are socialized in the trends and traditions of the society. In this way they are not capable of making choices, but are determined by the society. But this is not true. They are not simply constrained or determined but are capable to making choices. That is they are not puppets in the hand of the society but are actors who consciously make choices to act. It is also a part played by socialization. People learn to conform as well as deviate from the normative structure through socialization. Both ways socialization plays an important role. The earlier formulations in Interactionism had initiated such later developments. The revival of symbolic Interactionism in 1950s and afterwards may be trace to the development of ethnomethodology and dramaturgical sociology in later years. Ethnomethodology as developed by H. Garfinkel is a later development in the social sciences where it is shown how individuals through their interactions create social world. Dramaturgy was developed by E. Goffman in 1959 to state micro-sociological accounts of everyday life. Thus symbolic interactionism is shaped to study how society is preserved and created through repeated interactions between individuals. The interpretation process that occurs between interactions helps to create and recreate meaning. It is the shared understanding and interpretations of meaning that affect the interaction between individuals. Individuals act on the premise of a shared understanding of meaning within their social context. Thus, interaction and behavior is framed through the shared meaning that objects and concepts have attached to them. From this view, people live in both natural and symbolic environments. Mind, Self and Society is the book published by Mead's students based on his lectures and teaching, and the title of the book highlights the core concepts of social interactionism. Mind refers to an individual's ability to use symbols to create meanings for the world around the individual – individuals use language and thought to accomplish this goal. Self refers to an individual's ability to reflect on the way that the NSOU CC - SO - 03 231 individual is perceived by others. Finally, society, according to Mead, is where all of these interactions are taking place. A general description of Mead's compositions portrays how outside social structures, classes, and power and abuse affect the advancement of self, personality for gatherings verifiably denied of the ability to characterize themselves. But it was Herbert Blumer who coined the term stating that people act according to the meanings they understand of the actions of others. He argued that it is through interaction that humans share common symbols by approving, arranging and redefining them. This emphasis on shared common ground forged the way for the importance of socialization. 15.4 Theory and Research in Symbolic Interactionism Theory and research in symbolic interactionism has developed along three main areas of emphasis, following the work of Herbert Blumer (the Chicago School), Manford Kuhn (the Iowa School), and Sheldon Stryker (the Indiana School). The main variant of symbolic interactionism was developed by Herbert Blumer (1969) at the University of Chicago in the 1950s. 15.5 The Chicago School Blumer brought Mead's philosophically-based 'social behaviorism' to sociology, even if some have seen his conception of symbolic interactionism more resembling

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W. I. Thomas's (1931) notion of the 'definition of the situation'

than what is purely found in the work of Mead (Collins, 1994). Blumer laid the groundwork for a new theoretical paradigm which in many ways challenged sociology's accepted forms of epistemology and methodology. Blumer's brand of symbolic interactionism has been the most influential in sociology; most interactionist scholarship is aligned to some degree with his vision. Blumer emphasized how the self emerges from an interactive process of joint action (Denzin, 1992). Blumer, like Mead, saw individuals as engaged in 'mind action': humans do not ponder on themselves and their relationships to others sometimes – they constantly are engaged in conscious action where they manipulate symbols and negotiate the meaning of situations (Mead, 1934). Echoing Mead, Blumer believed that the study of human behavior must begin with human association, a notion that was not common in the viewpoint of early American sociology, which treated the individual and society as discrete entities (Meltzer and Petras, 1970). Blumer's symbolic interactionism centers on processes actors use to constantly create and recreate experiences from one interaction to the next. For Blumer, symbolic interactionism was simply '

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the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings' (Blumer, 1962: 179).

In his view,

232 NSOU CC - SO - 03 social institutions exist only as individuals interact; society is not a structure but rather a continuing process where agency and indeterminateness of action is emphasized (Collins, 1994). Treating society as structured, patterned, or stable is a reification to him because society, like individual actors' interactions and experiences with one another, is constantly in flux. Following Mead, Blumer's symbolic interactionism conceives social institutions as 'social habits' that occur within specific situations that are common to those involved in the situation. For Blumer, meanings are intersubjective and perceived, and constantly reinterpreted among individuals. There are no meanings inherent in the people or objects which an actor confronts – actors rather place meanings upon such entities which are perceived as unique (House, 1977). Behavior is simply an actor's distinctive way of reacting to an interpretation of a situation. It is therefore not to be examined or predicted from antecedent knowledge about how actors generally respond to given situations. This is impossible since each encounter is different from others (and therefore unique). Understanding social behavior requires an interpretive perspective that examines how behavior is changing, unpredictable, and unique to each and every social encounter. Blumer's theoretical contention was that human behavioral patterns must be studied in forms of action, and that human group life should be studied in terms of what the participants do together in units (Blumer, 1969; Shibutani, 1988). Blumer's orientation toward social phenomena centers on the notion of independent action: human society is distinctive because of the capacity of each member to act independently. Each person can regulate their contribution so that the entire group is able to achieve goals under diverse circumstances. This viewpoint understands the agent's role in society as free and flexible; an individual reacts on his or her own and without structural influence. Blumer believed that any adequate explanation of human social life must consider the autonomous contributions of each participant (Shibutani, 1988). Blumer's theoretical orientation toward symbolic interactionism can be summarized through three premises (Blumer, 1969): (1)

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human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them; (2)

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the meaning of things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with others; (3) meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by

a person in dealing with the things they encounter. While these three premises remain for many the core tenets of symbolic interactionist thought, some have noted a need for their expansion. For example, Snow (2001) believes that symbolic interactionism is better conceived around four principles: the principle of interactive determination, the principle of symbolization, the principle of emergence, and the principle of human agency. For Snow, these broader principles connect a wider array of work to symbolic interactionism,

NSOU CC - SO - 03 233 helping scholars understand the various tensions within the perspective (Snow, 2001: 375). Since Mead never actually put his perspective into writing and much of his work was published posthumously, a prohibition for methodology within his symbolic interactionist framework was nonexistent until Blumer set out to develop an approach using Mead's ideas. Blumer was a staunch critic of logical empiricism, and for him the idea that science was the one and only true vehicle for discovering truth was inherently flawed. For Blumer, any methodology for understanding social behavior must 'get inside' the individual in order to see the world as the individual perceives it. A sound methodologist must take it as 'given' that patterns of behavior are not conducive for scientific insight as are other worldly phenomena because behavior takes place on the basis of an actor 's own particular meanings. Blumer's methodology emphasizes intimate understanding rather than the intersubjective agreement among investigators, which is a necessary condition for scientific inquiry to have worth. Blumer's stance on social psychological methodology is particularly dismissive of empirically driven research designs which employ the scientific method to analyze loosely defined or standardized concepts. Blumer felt that empirically verifiable knowledge of social situations cannot be gleaned by using statistical techniques or hypothesis testing which employ such established research methodology, but rather by examining each social setting – i.e. each distinct interaction among individuals – directly. Blumer's more subjective methodology attempts to measure and understand an actor's experience through 'sympathetic introspection': the researcher takes the standpoint of the actor whose behavior he or she is studying and attempts to use the actor's own categories in capturing the meanings for the actor during social interactions. To summarize Blumer's methodological approach, an understanding of social life requires an understanding of the processes individuals use to interpret situations and experiences, and how they construct their actions among other individuals in society. While Blumer's work has been seen as the most comprehensive overview of Mead's symbolic interactionist ideas, the methodological aspect of his perspective was what Blumer saw as the most appropriate approach to test Mead's main tenets. Perhaps the absence of a methodological dictum in Mead's symbolic interactionist approach is responsible for the varieties of techniques that have been proposed following his work. According to Blumer, qualitative methods of study are the only way to study human behavior, by rigorously defining concepts and using them to understand the nature of behavior. However, other sociologists writing in the symbolic interactionist perspective saw the study of interaction as not limited to qualitative approaches. Manford Kuhn (1964) and Sheldon Stryker (1980) are two such sociologists who utilized positivist methods in their studies of the relationship between the self and social structure (Carter and Fuller, 2015).

234 NSOU CC - SO - 03 15.6 The Iowa School Stemming from his work in the mid-twentieth century, Manford Kuhn's positivism influenced a new sociological tradition termed the 'Iowa School' of symbolic interactionism. Kuhn sought to reconcile Mead's framework with rigorous, scientific testing of symbolic interactionist principles. Kuhn and the Iowa School emphasized process in interaction and viewed behavior as 'purposive, socially constructed, coordinated social acts informed by preceding events in the context of projected acts that occur' (Katovich et al., 2003: 122). The basic theoretical underpinning of Kuhn is summarized around four core themes (Katovich et al., 2003): the first is that social interaction can be examined through a cybernetic perspective that emphasizes intentionality, temporality, and self-correction. Second, scientists should focus their attention on dyads, triads, and small groups as these are the loci for most social behavior and interaction. Third, while social behavior can be studied in its natural form (i.e. in naturally occurring settings) it should also be studied in a laboratory; incorporating both environments allows us to articulate behaviors and identify abstract laws for behavior which can be universally applied to actors. And fourth, social scientists must endeavor to create a more systematic and rigorous vocabulary to identify the ontological nature of sociality (i.e. operationalize concepts in a much more thorough manner than what had been previously accepted by social psychologists). While Kuhn and those associated with the Iowa School follow a symbolic interactionist framework generally consistent with Mead, their methodological stance directly contradicts that proposed by Blumer. Rather than viewing quantitative analyses of social interaction as abstract empiricism, Kuhn asserted that the use of quantitative methods could provide systematic testing of Mead's theoretical principles. Kuhn saw the study of the complexity of social life and of selfhood as a scientific endeavor requiring sociological analysis. He believed that social science was indeed consistent with the quantitative study of human behaviors and conceptions of the self when properly executed. Rather than relying on subjective survey responses to assess attitudes toward the self, Kuhn developed the 'Twenty Statements Test' (TST). Following Mead's work on the emergence of the self through interaction, Kuhn's TST is based on self-disclosure of respondents in answering the question 'Who Am I?' on 20 numbered lines. Kuhn believed that responses to this question could provide a systematic study of an individual's self-attitudes and organization of identities as they emerge from symbolic interaction with others. By coding these responses, a researcher may find both conventional and idiosyncratic reflections of social statuses and identities. Furthermore, since the test relies on self-report, it serves as a useful tool for discerning individual meanings without presenting them as objective facts. Kuhn and the Iowa School utilized the TST among other quantitative measures

NSOU CC - SO - 03 235 (including data collected from laboratory experiments) to attempt to predict how individuals see themselves in situations, but did not focus solely on conceptions of the self. Despite criticism of Kuhn's techniques as being deterministic or succumbing to reductionism, the Iowa School following Kuhn's work has contributed much to research addressing the problematic nature of coordinated social action as well as meanings as responses in interaction. Kuhn's student and successor Carl Couch (1984; Couch et al., 1986) continued the symbolic interactionist tradition at Iowa, applying a more pragmatic approach to the study of social phenomena and using innovative experiments to understand interactions among actors. Couch's brand of interactionism attempted to understand individuals' orientations toward one another across time and space, improving on the cross-sectional methodological approach that mostly defined Kuhn's research (HermanKinney and Vershaeve, 2003). Couch's role in extending symbolic interactionist knowledge has led many to differentiate the Iowa School as 'old' and 'new,' representing Kuhn's and Couch's respective influence during those eras. Sheldon Stryker's work is similar to Kuhn's in its scope as well as in methods employed (Carter and Fuller, 2015). 15.7 The Indiana School As Blumer and Kuhn are associated with the Chicago and Iowa Schools respectively, Stryker is a sociologist from what is referred to as the 'Indiana School' of symbolic interactionist thought, representing theory and research generated in the mid to latter part of the twentieth century at the University of Indiana. While Mead and Blumer emphasized the fluid nature of meanings and the self in interaction, Stryker emphasized that meanings and interactions led to relatively stable patterns that create and uphold social structures. Stryker believed that symbolic interactionist ideas could and should be tested using both qualitative and quantitative methods. According to Stryker, Mead's work can be conceived of as a 'frame' rather than a coherent theory with testable propositions (Stryker, 2008: 17). Stryker expanded symbolic interactionist ideas through operationalizing variables that Mead presented as general assumptions and concepts by hypothesizing and empirically testing relationships among Mead's concepts while incorporating elements of role theory. Stryker further expanded Mead's concept of role-taking in order to demonstrate the structural aspect of interaction. Stryker's work on roles treats social roles as emerging from a reciprocal influence of networks or patterns of relationships in interactions as they are shaped by various levels of social structures. Stryker defines roles as 'expectations which are attached to [social] positions'; or 'symbolic categories [that] serve to cue behavior' (Stryker, 1980: 57). According to Stryker, expectations of roles vary across situations and within the context of cultural or social change. In taking

236 NSOU CC - SO - 03 the attitudes of others in a situation, an individual uses 'symbolic cues' built from prior experiences and normative expectations of status from social positions to assess potential lines of action. In this way, roles as they are attached to positions may be analyzed as predictors of future behavior for individuals in various social categories. As with symbolic interactionism, Stryker's structural role theory views socialization as the process through which individuals learn normative expectations for actions as they relate to role relationships. By building up from the person to the situation within the larger social structure, Stryker showed the reciprocity of the individual and society. In every situation, individuals identify themselves and others in the context of social structure. Individuals then reflexively apply what they perceive to be others' identifications of them that, over time, become internalized expectations for behavior as part of the self. These internalized expectations, when accepted and enacted by individuals in various roles, become identities. In emphasizing the impact social structure has on how roles are played in interaction, Stryker's structural approach to symbolic interactionism is an attempt to bridge the gap between micro- and macro-sociological and social psychological theories. Stryker's structural symbolic approach therefore provides significant theoretical insights to social roles in expanding symbolic interactionist concepts (Carter and Fuller, 2015). 15.8 General Arguments Blumer coined the term symbolic interactionism in 1937 (Ritzer, 2006: 340). Mead differentiated the nascent ideas of symbolic interactionism from behaviorism. He had clearly stated that the behaviorists' emphasis on the impact of external stimuli on individual behavior were clearly psychological reductionism (Ritzer, 2006: 341). Blumer was against classical sociological approach that viewed individual behavior as determined by large- scale external forces. He rather stressed on the importance of meaning in the social construction of reality. Symbolic Interactionism developed and

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stood in contrast to the psychological reductionism of behavior and the structural determinism of macro-oriented sociological theories.

Its distinctive orientation was towards the mental capacities of actors and their relationship to action and interaction. All this was conceived in terms of a process. The actor was seen as driven by either internal psychological states or large- scale structural forces. 15.9 The Epistemological Assumptions of Symbolic Interactionism The symbolic interactionist perspective may be clarified by outlining the empirical and theoretical practices interactionists value and do not value.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 237 1. Interpretative (and symbolic) interactionists do not think general theories are useful. 2. Interactionists reject totalizing, grand theories of the social; interactionists, like many post-structural (Foucault) and postmodern (Lyotard) theorists, believe in writing local narratives about how people do things together. 3. Interactionists do not like theories that objectify and quantify human experience. They prefer to write texts that remain close to the actual experiences of the people they are writing about. 4. Interactionists do not like theories that are imported from other disciplines, like the natural sciences or economics (for example, chaos or rational choice theories). 5. Interactionists do not like theories that ignore history, but they are not historical determinists. They believe that persons, not inexorable forces, make history, but they understand that the histories that individuals make may not always be of their own making. 6. Interactionists do not like theories that ignore the biographies and lived experiences of interacting individuals. 7. Interactionists do not believe in asking 'why' questions. They ask, instead, 'how' questions. How, for example, is a given strip of experience structured, lived and given meaning? (Denzin, 2000) The entire macro-sociological reasoning focused on large collectivities while micro- sociology focused on relations between individuals. Interactionism as a theoretical construction fitted between few individuals who occupy institutionalized social positions. It is assumed that the individuals who, in face-to-face interaction, occupy places in high office are crucial to the understanding of social orders that are constructed by these interactions. It is interesting to note here that the institutions can be understood in micro- forms through the interacting individuals and the face-to-face interactions. This can also be understood in macro terms raising the question of what are actually regarded as macro or micro. It means, be it institutions or interactions between two actors, both can be understood from either of the perspectives: micro or macro. It means that we can see interrelated actors through the web of relations as well as interrelated ensembles of institutional forms through interaction. It also means there is nothing new in studying interactions but it is the approach towards studying interaction from the perspective of the individual which was significant and new to the traditional ways of looking at the society (Wallace and Wolf: 2005). This new perspective in sociology was and has been put in perspective through the works of W. James (1842-1910), C. H. Cooley (1864-
238 NSOU CC - SO - 03 1929), J. Dewey (1859-1952), W. I. Thomas (1863-1947) and G.H. Mead (1863-1931) as well as later works in Interactionist tradition (H. Blumer- 1900 to 1987; E. Goffman- 1922-1982). The basic element of the argument in this tradition is the underlying agreement with traditional macro-understanding on the idea that the individual and society are inseparable units. It is argued that though these two can be separated analytically but in practice they are inseparable and that understanding of one is incomplete without the understanding of the other. The relationship between the individual and the society are of mutual interdependence, not a one-sided deterministic one. Society is to be understood in terms of the individuals who make up a society

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and individuals are to be understood in terms of societies of which they are members. In

Interactionists' terms individuals are seen as existing in dual systems— as both determinants and determined. So the role of the society is of a co-determinant which means that the social order is considered not more important than the individual who creates the influences that are felt in the context of the individual's environment. Since this influence is experienced by interaction, the individual learns about the influence through interaction. Therefore interaction is an important criterion of the relationship between individual and his/her relationship with the social order (Wallace and Wolf: 2005). The first important argument of Interactionists is that

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human beings act towards things on the basis of meanings that the things have for them.

Interaction is not only limited to individuals. There is also a continuous flow of interactions between the individual and the world. The objects do not have intrinsic meaning but these meanings become apparent only through interaction. Here the idea of shared meaning is significant. People as actors learn and share meaning objects have from interaction with one another. For example, the idea of flying in the sky is associated with the idea of independence and freedom. Second,

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these meanings are a product of social interaction in human society.

As said earlier, such meanings become apparent through interaction. It is only through living in a social environment that humans learn about such meanings and apply those on the objects, actors and interactions. It shows that interaction is a dynamic process in contrast to a static process. Third,

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these meanings are modified and handled through interpretative process that is used by each individual in dealing with the things

that they encounter. All individuals may not give the same meaning to one object or thing. The meaning may be interpreted and reinterpreted but can be conveyed and shared only through interaction. Humans as actors are capable of interpretation and reinterpretation. The basic principles of symbolic interactionism can be summarized as:
NSOU CC - SO - 03 239 a. Humans unlike animals are capable of thought. In this respect a sharp distinction should be made between animals in general and primates. Primates of the higher order are capable of using symbols but humans' ability of use of symbols is more pronounced and of higher distinction. b. The capacity of thought is shaped by interaction. Interaction helps us in learning and picking up words, phrases and meanings that are conveyed through them. Therefore a child starts to think in terms of a language that is spoken to her or him. So language becomes a means of expression. c.

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In social interactions they learn meanings and symbols that allow them to exercise their distinctive capacity for thought.

As humans use highly sophisticated symbols and participate in symbolic interaction between them, they do so by sharing the meaning that is accepted and acknowledged by all in the community. d.

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Meanings and thoughts allow people to carry distinctively human action and interaction.

After a child starts leaning to think and communicate it is not simple communication but interaction: action-meaning-reaction sequence which is understood by humans only. e.

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People are able to alter or modify the meanings that they use in action and interaction on the basis of interpretation of the situation.

Since humans create meanings of their actions through interactions they are also capable of changing the meaning or reinterpreting those in subsequent times. f. People are capable of alterations and modifications because they can

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interact with themselves enabling them to examine possible courses of action, assess their relative advantages and disadvantages. g. The intertwined patterns of action and interaction make up

society. (Ritzer, 2011, 370-80) 15.10 Conclusion Micro-sociology is one of the main levels of analysis (or focuses) of sociology, concerning the nature of everyday human social interactions and agency on a small scale, for example, face to face everyday interactions. Macro-sociology, by contrast, concerns the social structure and broader systems. Symbolic interactionism is a micro-level theory that focuses on the relationships among individuals within a society. Communication—the exchange of meaning through language and symbols—is believed to be the way in which people make sense of their social worlds. Although symbolic interactionism traces its origins
240 NSOU CC - SO - 03 to Max Weber's assertion that individuals act according to their interpretation of the meaning of their world, the American philosopher George Herbert Mead introduced this perspective to American sociology in the 1920s. Symbolic interactionism had its most significant impact on sociology between 1950 and 1985. 15.11 Summary Symbolic interactionism is a micro-level theory that focuses on the relationships among individuals within a society. Communication—the exchange of meaning through language and symbols—is believed to be the way in which people make sense of their social worlds. Social scientists who apply symbolic-interactionist thinking look for patterns of interaction between individuals. Their studies often involve observation of one-on- one interactions. 15.12 Questions 1. Answer briefly the following questions: (6 marks) a. What is Interactionism? b. What is 'self'? c. What is meant by 'taking the role of the other'? 2. Answer in detail the following: (12 marks) a. Write a note on the major arguments of Symbolic Interactionism. b. Explain how Mead had approached the idea of Symbolic Interactionism. 3. Write essay-type answers to the following: (20 marks) a. Write in detail on the major arguments of symbolic Interactionism. b. Write in detail on how symbolic interactionism developed as a theoretical construct. 15.13 Refereces Blumer, H. (1962/1969), Symbolic Interactionism, Englewood Cliff, N. J.

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NSOU CC - SO - 03 243 15.14 Glossary Symbolic Interactionism: Symbolic interactionism is a theoretical construction of the middle of the twentieth century that analyzes society by addressing the subjective meanings that people impose on objects, events, and behaviors. Thus, society is thought to be socially constructed through human interpretation. People interpret one another's behavior, and it is these interpretations that form the social bond. Macro-theorizing in Sociology: Macro-theorizing in sociology is an approach which emphasizes the analysis of social systems and populations on a large scale, at the level of social structure, and often at a necessarily high level of theoretical abstraction. Macrosociology which it is often called can also be the analysis of large collectivities (e.g. the city, the church).
244 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Unit : 16 Contributions of G. H. Mead Structure 16.1 Objectives 16.2 Introduction 16.3 G. H. Mead's Contribution 16.4 The Mind 16.5 The Self 16.6 Development of the Self 16.7 The phases in the development of self 16.8 The Society 16.9 The ideas of 'Generalized Other' and 'Significant Other' 16.10 The ideas of meaning and interpretation for Mead 16.11 Criticism of Mead 16.12 Conclusion 16.13 Summary 16.14 Questions 16.15 References 16.16 Glossary 16.1 Objectives • To understand the concepts of mind and self. • To understand idea of society. • To learn the overall contributions of Mead. 16.2 Introduction: There have been contributions from G. H. Mead, C. H. Cooley, W. I. Thomas, H. Blumer, E. Goffman who have made symbolic interactionism rich as a form of theorizing in sociology. The most prominent of all symbolic interactionist theorists is George Herbert Mead (1863-1931). The two most significant influences on Mead were the philosophy of pragmatism, more specifically the realist branch of pragmatism and psychological
NSOU CC - SO - 03 245 behaviorism. The pragmatists believed that the reality does not exist independent of the actor but is actively created by them (social construction of reality). So in order to understand the actors we need to understand what they do in the world. To the pragmatists therefore it is important to focus on the interaction between actor and the world, both the actor

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and the world as dynamic processes and the actor's ability to interpret the world.

The influence over Mead of psychological behaviorism was that he was directed towards an empirical and realist way. He differed from the radical behaviorists and prioritized the social world in understanding social experience. The three important sources from where Mead had borrowed heavily were William James' concept of 'self', Dewey's concept of pragmatism and Charles Cooley's ideas on self and the social process. James recognized that humans have the capacity to look at themselves as objects and can develop self-feelings towards themselves. James called those capacities as self by which humans could denote symbolically other people and aspects of the world, develop attitudes and feelings about them and construct typical responses towards objects. Dewey stressed on the process of human adjustment to the world in which the individual continuously seek to master the conditions of the environment. Cooley on the other hand, presented a refined idea of self, viewing it as the process in which individuals see themselves as objects in their social environment and also recognizes the fact that self of individuals emerges out of interaction with others. Thus, Cooley stressed on the importance of 'primary group' in front of which the individual evaluates others' opinion of him/her. Cooley's ideas crystallized through a concept, 'looking glass self' in which gestures of others act as a mirror in which individual sees and evaluates themselves as objects in the social environment. George Herbert Mead synthesized James', Cooley's and Dewey's concepts together in a coherent theoretical perspective that linked emergence of mind (thinking mind) to self (capable of interacting with others) and society through the process of interaction. In his book, Mind, Self and Society (published in 1950 by his students) Mead had noted his ideas on the social self. Though he had put 'mind' first in the title of the book, he preferred to put the study of individuals in the context of the society. That is, in his theory a self-conscious individual is impossible without a social group. 16.3 G. H. Mead's Contribution The social group comes first and it leads to the development of self-conscious mental states. The states and the source in the development of the conscious self are mentioned below. Mead synthesized the ideas well into his conceptual schema where he firstly recognized two important aspects of the rise of self in society. These were: the biological

246 NSOU CC - SO - 03 weakness of humans leads them to cooperate with other humans; this compulsive cooperation helps in both the survival and adjustment of the individuals. This compulsion and adjustment makes the survival of the society possible. 16.4 The Mind Mind, to Mead is a process and not a thing. It arises in individual as an inner conversation and it arises and develops within the social process and becomes an integral part of the

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process. The social process precedes the mind and is not a product of the mind.

The distinctiveness of the mind is in its ability to respond to not only himself but also to the community. So to Mead the mind is an ability to respond to the overall community and put forth an organized response. Besides this the mind is also capable of solving problems. In this way the mind tries to solve problems and permit people to operate more effectively in the world. This is the ability to respond to gestures. By perceiving, interpreting and using gestures humans can assume the perspectives of others with whom they cooperate in order to survive. By this they can imaginatively rehearse the lines along which their actions will facilitate their adjustments in society. Thus being able to put them in another's place is called by Mead 'taking the role of others'. So to Mead mind develops only when humans
develop the capacity

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to understand conventional gestures, employ those gestures to take the role of others and imaginatively rehearse lines of action. 16.5

The Self The self arises with the development and through social activity and social relationships. To Mead, it is impossible to imagine of a self arising in the absence of social experiences. However once it is developed it is possible for it to continue to exist without social contact. The self is dialectically related to the mind. It is important to remember that the body is not a self but it becomes a self only when a mind has developed. On the other hand, the self, and its reflexiveness is essential to the development of the mind. The development of the mind is a social process. The mechanism through which the self develops is reflexivity or the ability to put ourselves unconsciously into others' place and to act as they act. As a result people are able to examine themselves as others examine them. The self allows people to take part in their conversation 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. The self is active and creative. It is not determined by any social, cultural or psychological variables. Functionalists like Parsons, often looked at humans as passive agents interrupted
NSOU CC - SO - 03 247 by the social and psychological forces. Mead posits that individuals act on their own environment and in doing so they create the objects that people it. He distinguishes between things and objects. Things according to Mead are stimulus that exist prior to and independent of the individual and objects are which exist only in relation to acts. The thing becomes an object when the individual by acting on it designates the thing with an expression. 16.6 Development of the Self Mead outlines two phases of the development of the self. One phase is 'I' and the other is 'me'. 'I' is the unorganized response of the organism to the attitudes of others, the natural disposition or the urge to act. The 'me' is set of organized attitudes that the self learns from others. The 'me' guides the behavior of the socialized person and in this aspect brings in the influences of others into the individual's consciousness. The 'I' allows for a certain degree of innovation and creativity as well as degree of freedom from control by others. The self consists of the acting of 'I' when the self is considered to be subject and when acted upon as 'me' is considered to be an object. The self is a social process going on in these two phases. Mead conceived the 'conversation of gestures' as the background for the development of self. The first stage is the imitative stage where a child first imitates the gestures of the mother or a primary care-giver. The 'conversation of gestures' does not involve a self since in this conversation people do not see themselves as objects.

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The second stage is the play stage. In this stage children start learning to take the attitude of others to themselves.

The children start to learn this by playing the role of someone in their plays. As a result the child learns to become both subject and object and starts to build up a self. But this is an initial stage because here the child lacks general and organized sense of themselves. The third stage is the game stage. Here the sense of self develops in full form. Here the child starts taking up the role of those who are not only close to the child. Through taking up the roles of discrete others he/she starts to learn how to respond to the actions of others. The child can anticipate the moves of others involved in the interaction and act accordingly. A definite personality of the child starts to evolve at this stage. The self by emulating and taking the role of the organized other reflects the general systematic pattern of social group behavior in which it and others are involved (Mead, 1934/1962: 158). The idea of the development of self in this stage gives us a concept developed by Mead called the generalized other. The generalized other is the attitude

248 NSOU CC - SO - 03 of the entire community. The ability to take the role of the generalized other is essential to the self. It is also essential at this stage that child learns to evaluate themselves from the point of view of the generalized other. This is not essential for the development of the self only but also for the perpetuation of the society in general. A group requires that individuals direct their activities in accordance to the attitudes of the generalized other. Mead bestows importance to the social since it is through the generalized other that the group influences the behavior of individuals. At the individual level, the self allows the individual to be more efficient member of the larger society. It is for the self that people are more likely to do what is expected of them in a given situation. Since people try to live up to the expectations and demands of the society, they are more likely to avoid the influences that come from failing to do what the group expects. The self allows for more 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 (Ritzer, 2011: 354). 16.7 The Phases in the Development of Self Mead identifies two aspects of the development of self. He distinguishes between 'I' and 'me'. To him the self is essentially a social process going on with these two distinguishable processes. 'I'

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is the immediate response of an individual to others. It is incalculable, unpredictable, creative aspect of self.

In this stage the actions are 'meaningless' because the child in this stage lacks the ability to take the attitude of others. This ability to take the attitude of others develops gradually. In the second stage, the play stage, the child can put himself in the position of another person but cannot relate the role of other players. The connection between play and the development of 'me' and the ability to take on the role of the other is apparent in the dolls' plays the child participates in. At the game stage, several actors play together. This happens in a complex, organized game such as football, in which there are team members who anticipate the attitudes and roles of all other players. A

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mature self emerges when a generalized other is internalized so that the community

starts to control over acts and conducts of its individuals. The 'me', according to Mead, is the adoption of the generalized other. In contrast to the 'I, people in this phase are conscious, or as Mead calls it has a conscious responsibility. As Mead says, the 'me' is a conventional, habitual individual (1934/1962: 197). 16.8 The Society At the general level, society according to Mead is an ongoing social process that precedes both mind and self. At another level, society to Mead represents the organized set of
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responses that are taken over by the individual in the form of 'me'. Thus in this sense

the individual carries

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society around with him giving him the ability through self-criticism to control

himself. The usual way of depicting a society till then was in a macro model, a system enmeshed with social institutions, groups and organizations. The macro components of the study of society are not well developed in Mead's analysis. To him, the whole community acts towards the individual under certain circumstances in an identical way. This is the basis of the formation of an institution. We as individuals carry this organized set of attitudes with us and these serve as mechanisms of control of our actions through the socialized expression of our self, that is, 'me'. He is cautious in identifying that institutions need not destroy individuality or creativity, though there are such institutions which aim at such control. Mead demonstrates a very contemporary notion of society, very different from Weber or Durkheim's concept of it. He on the other hand emphasizes on the emergence of mind and self from and within the society. He viewed society as a constructed phenomenon that arises out of interactions among adjusting individuals. Society can be reconstructed through the process that helps in the rise of mind and self. The ways are by the use of two concepts: 'I' and 'me' discussed earlier. In short, Mead represents society as a constructed pattern of coordinated activity that are maintained by and changed through symbolic interactions among and within actors. Both the maintenance and change of society occur through the processes of the development of mind and self. The possibility of spontaneous and unpredictable action has the capacity to alter the existing patterns of interactions. 16.9 The ideas of 'Generalized Other' and 'Significant Other' When an actor tries to imagine what is expected of him, he is taking on the perspective of the generalized other. George Herbert Mead's concept of the Generalized Other is that in their behavior and social interaction individuals react to the expectations of others, orienting themselves to the norms and values of their community or group. The term Generalized Other was used by George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) to refer to an individual's recognition that other members of their society hold specific values and expectations about behavior. Mead's concept of the Generalized Other gives an account of the social origin of self-consciousness while retaining the transforming function of the personal. Contextualized in Mead's theory of intersubjectivity, the Generalized Other is a special case of role-taking in which the individual responds to social gestures, and takes up and adjusts common attitudes. The development of the Generalized Other is a concept in Mead's published and unpublished work, locating it within the framework of intersubjectivity and role-taking. A theoretically

250 NSOU CC - SO - 03 and historically embedded interpretation of the Generalized Other reveals that both the personal and the social evolve and that it is a process. The self and the social each is open to activities that bring about change. Grounded in Mead's refusal to reduce the part played by the social or the personal in the development of the self, the Generalized Other is a concept of continuing usefulness to development psychologists. Significant others imply people who play significant role in the development of the child into an individual. The child first learns to imitate from people such as these. The people involved are important for this first step. In the imitative stage the child learns gestures. This is the first step towards understanding and giving meaning to interactions that take place around the child. In the play stage, the child rehearses his or her different role plays in their play. To repeat an example often taken to show how doll-playing for girls help them to rehearse the role-playing of their parents. The girl rehearses the roles her parents play and how they react to her actions. This rehearsals help individuals to gear up for actions with strangers. In its first steps in the outer world (outside family) the child learns through interactions about what is expected of her or him, how s/he is ought to behave and what is accepted in society. Through time the child matures to interact with strangers, understand what is expected, what is the desired behavior and what can be one's reaction towards certain actions. Though the generalized other play a vital role here, the importance of the significant others is not strictly limited to the early stages of self development. 16.10 The ideas of meaning and interpretation for Mead The word 'meaning' to Mead has importance in the word 'gesture', which he calls as the sign of a whole act. For example if a host opens the television while talking with his guests it is a gesture which signals a whole lot of actions that can follow. In this situation the gesture the first component of the act can be enough to signify that the host does not like to talk and calls out through the use of the gesture the beginning of the guests' adjustments to it. Gestures are therefore important internalized symbols because they have the same meaning for all individuals of a given society. Mead defines symbols as the stimulus whose response is given in advance. For example if someone insults you, what do you want to do? You may want to knock him down. A key element in the word becomes a stimulus whose response is given in advance in the community in question by the connotations of that word and intentions implied by its use evoke a blow as an appropriate response from a person so addressed. You should remember here that the gesture in question occurs in a process, through the conversation of gestures that goes on in the mind of the actor. So gestures are those that possess meaning. A significant

NSOU CC - SO - 03 251 symbol is that part of the act that calls out the response of the other. This assumes the interpretation of symbols as in the case of eh example of insult. 16.11 Criticism of Mead Mead's theory is criticized for giving up mainstream scientific techniques. The critics argue that scientifism and subjectivity are mutually exclusive. Critics also point out that many of Mead's concepts are confusing and vague. They critique the concepts used by Mead as incapable of providing a firm basis for any theory or research. Because the concepts are imprecise and vague it is difficult to operationalize them resulting in untestable propositions. The primary spotlight of symbolic interactionism on micro- contexts drop from its focus the sight of the social structure and the impact of macro-structures on society and behavior. The perspective ignores psychological factors that might impel actors in a particular way, instead they focus on meanings, symbols and interaction diminishing the value of all these. The result being that the symbolic interactionism of Mead makes a fetish of everyday life, reducing it to the study of immediate situations. 16.12 Conclusion Mead's major contribution to the field of social psychology was his attempt to show how the human self arises in the process of social interaction, especially by way of linguistic communication ("symbolic interaction"). In philosophy, as already mentioned, Mead was one of the major American pragmatists. Mead believed that people develop self-images through interactions with other people. He argued that the self, which is the part of a person's personality consisting of self-awareness and self-image, is a product of social experience.

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The two most important roots of Mead's work, and of symbolic interactionism in general, are the philosophy of pragmatism

and social (as opposed to psychological) behaviorism (i.e.: Mead was concerned with the stimuli of gestures and social objects with rich meanings rather than bare physical objects which psychological behaviorists considered stimuli). Mead develops William James' distinction between the concepts "I" and the "me." The "me" is the accumulated understanding of "the generalized other" i.e. how one thinks one's group perceives oneself etc. The "I" is the individual's impulses. The "I" is self as subject; the "me" is self as object. The "I" is the knower, the "me" is the known. The mind, or stream of thought, is the self-reflective movements of the interaction between the "I" and the "me." There is neither "I" nor "me" in the conversation of gestures; the whole act is not yet carried out, but the preparation takes place in this field of gesture. These dynamics go beyond selfhood in a narrow sense, and form the basis of a theory of human cognition. For Mead the thinking process
252 NSOU CC - SO - 03 is the internalized dialogue between the "I" and the "me." Mead rooted the self 's "perception and meaning" deeply and sociologically in "a common praxis of subjects" (Joas 1985: 166) found specifically in social encounters. Understood as a combination of the 'I' and the 'me', Mead's self proves to be noticeably tangled within a sociological existence. For Mead, existence in community comes before individual consciousness. First one must participate in the different social positions within society and only subsequently can one use that experience to take the perspective of others and thus become 'conscious'. 16.13 Summary For Mead, the development of the self is intimately tied to the development of language. For example, a dog barks, and a second dog either barks back or runs away. The "meaning" of the "barking gesture" is found in the response of the second organism to the first. But dogs do not understand the "meaning" of their gestures. They simply respond, that is, they use symbols without what Mead refers to as "significance." For a gesture to have significance, it must call out in a second organism a response that is functionally identical to the response that the first organism anticipates. In other words, for a gesture to be significant it must "mean" the same thing to both organisms, and "meaning" involves the capacity to consciously anticipate how other organisms will respond to symbols or gestures. According to Mead, through the use of vocal gestures one can turn "experience" back on itself through the loop of speaking and hearing at relatively the same instant. And when one is part of a complex network of language users, Mead argues that this reflexivity, the "turning back" of experience on itself, allows mind to develop. Mind is developed not only through the use of vocal gestures, but through the taking of roles, which will be addressed below. Here it is worth noting that although we often employ our capacity for reflexivity to engage in reflection or deliberation, both Dewey and Mead argue that habitual, non-deliberative, experience constitutes the most common way that we engage the world. The habitual involves a host of background beliefs and assumptions that are not raised to the level of (self) conscious reflection unless problems occur that warrant addressing. For Mead, if we were simply to take the roles of others, we would never develop selves or self-consciousness. We would have a nascent form of self-consciousness that parallels the sort of reflexive awareness that is required for the use of significant symbols. A role-taking (self) consciousness of this sort makes possible what might be called a proto-self, but not a self, because it doesn't have the complexity necessary to give rise to a self. How then does a self arise? Here Mead introduces his well-known neologism, the generalized other. When children or adults take roles, they can be said to be playing these roles in dyads. However, this sort of exchange is quite

NSOU CC - SO - 03 253 different from the more complex sets of behaviors that are required to participate in games. In the latter, we are required to learn not only the responses of specific others, but behaviors associated with every position on the field. These can be internalized, and when we succeed in doing so we come to "view" our own behaviors from the perspective of the game as a whole, which is a system of organized actions. The self that arises in relationship to a specific generalized other is referred to as the "Me." The "Me" is a cognitive object, which is only known retrospectively, that is, on reflection. When we act in habitual ways we are not typically self-conscious. We are engaged in actions at a non-reflective level. However, when we take the perspective of the generalized other, we are both "watching" and forming a self in relationship to the system of behaviors that constitute this generalized other. So, for example, if I am playing second base, I may reflect on my position as a second baseman, but to do so I have to be able to think of "myself" in relationship to the whole game, namely, the other actors and the rules of the game. We might refer to this cognitive object as my (second baseman) baseball self or "Me." Perhaps a better example might be to think of the self in relationship to one's family of origin. In this situation, one views oneself from the perspective of the various sets of behaviors that constitute the family system. Mead is a systemic thinker who speaks of taking the perspectives of others and of generalized others. These perspectives are not "subjective" for Mead. They are "objective" in the sense that they provide frames of reference and shared patterns of behavior for members of communities. (This is not to say that every human community has an equally viable account of the natural world. This is in part why we have science for Mead.) However, it is not only human perspectives that are objective for Mead. While it is true that only human beings share perspectives in a manner that allows them to be (self) conscious about the perspectives of others, there is an objective reality to non-human perspectives. How can a non-human perspective be objective? In order to answer this question, a few general remarks about Mead's notion of "perspective" are in order. First, it is important to note that perspectives are not primarily visual for Mead. Mead's account of the "Me" and the generalized other has often led commentators to assume that he is a determinist. It is certainly the case that if one were to emphasize Mead's concern with social systems and the social development of the self, one might be led to conclude that Mead is a theorist of the processes of socialization. And the latter, nested as they are within social systems, are beyond the control of individuals. However, when one considers the role of the "I" and novelty in his thinking, it becomes more difficult to view him as a determinist. But his emphasis on novelty only seems to counter determinism with spontaneity. This counter to determinism in itself doesn't supply a notion of autonomy—self-governance and self-determination—which is often viewed as crucial
254 NSOU CC - SO - 03 to the modern Western notion of the subject. However, Mead was a firm booster of the scientific method, which he viewed as an activity that was at its heart democratic. For him, science is tied to the manner in which human beings have managed from pre- recorded times to solve problems and transform their worlds. 16.4 Questions 1. Answer briefly the following questions: (6 marks) a. What is the 'conversation of gestures'? b. What is the implication of the concept 'significant others' in Mead's theorizing? 2. Answer in detail the following: (12 marks) a. Write in brief on the development of Mead's arguments on the development of self. b. What did Mead mean by 'generalized others'? Discuss in this context the importance Mead gave to the idea of society. 3. Write essay-type answers to the following: (20 marks) a. Analyze Mead's contribution to symbolic Interactionist perspective. b. Discuss how Mead develops his ideas on the relation between individual and society. 16.15 References Blumer, H. (1962/1969), Symbolic Interactionism, Englewood Cliff, N. J.

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256 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Shibutani, T. (1988), Society and Personality : Interactionist Approach to Social Psychology, Somerset, United Kingdom, Taylor and Francis. Slattery, Martin (2007). Sosyolojide Temel Fikirler. Ümit Tatlõcan; Gülhan Demiriz (Trans.). Bursa: Sentez Yayõnlar as in Fusun Alver Kocaeli and Sebnem Caglar The Impact of Symbolic Interactionism on Research Studies About Communication Science, International Journal of Arts & Sciences, ISSN: 1944-6934 : 08(07):479– 484 (2015). Stryker S., (1987), The Vitalization of Symbolic Interactionism, Social Psychology Quarterly, Vol. 50, No. 1. (Mar., 1987), pp. 83-94. Stryker, S., (1980), Symbolic Interactionism: a Social Structural Version, Menlo Park, California Press. Turner, J. (1995), The Structure of Sociological Theory, Jaipur, Rawat Publication. Udehn, L. (2001). Methodological Individualism: Background, History and Meaning. London and New York: Routledge. Wallace, R., and Wolf, A., (2005), Contemporary Sociological theory, New Delhi, Prentice Hall. Weinstein, E. A., & Tanur, J. M. (1976). Meanings, purposes, and structural resources in social interaction. Cornell Journal of Social Relations, 11(1), 105–110. 16.16 Glossary Generalized Other: "The generalized other" is a concept developed by G. H. Mead which can be thought of as understanding the given activity and the actors' place within the activity from the perspective of all the others engaged in the activity. Through understanding "the generalized other" the individual understands what kind of behavior is expected, appropriate and so on, in different social settings. 'Significant Other': A term used by George Herbert Mead to refer to those individuals who are most important in the development of the self, such as parents, friends, and teachers. 'Conversation of gestures': The 'conversation of gestures' formed the basis of George Herbert Mead's ideas of social behaviorism, a variant of pragmatism. Mead distinguished between non-significant conversation of gestures, conversation of significant gestures, and conversation of significant symbols. They correspond to the successive stages of the evolution of language and the mind. A gesture gains significance when it elicits a NSOU CC - SO - 03 257 response in an individual that resembles the response elicited by this individual's gesture in another individual, that is, when a symbol bears the same meaning to different actors. The mind emerges in language communication and is social in character, since thinking consists in the internalization of external conversations. The self of an individual forms through the internalization of interpersonal conversations. Like the conversation of significant gestures and symbols, the self is reflexive.
258 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Unit : 17 Contributions of H. Blumer Structure 17.1 Objectives 17.2 Introduction 17.3 Blumer's ideas on Meaning and Interpretation 17.4 Blumer's ideas on Structure and Process 17.5 Blumer's Methodology 17.6 Blumer's Ideas on 'Sensitizing Concepts' 17.7 Criticism against Blumer 17.8 Conclusion 17.9 Summary 17.10 Questions 17.11 References 17.12 Glossarys 17.1 Objectives • To understand Blumer's ideas on Meaning and Interpretation. • To explain Blumer's ideas on structure and process. • To have an idea of the overall theory and methodology of Blumer. 17.2 Introduction Herbert Blumer was an American sociologist of the Chicago School who wrote extensively on a series on symbolic interaction. Blumer's contribution to symbolic interactionism is his work on interpretation, ideas of structure and process and methodology. Blumer focused on the ways humans take control of their lives. The two parts that are significant in Blumer's contribution are symbols and interaction. Both produce meaningful interaction.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 259 17.3 Blumer's ideas on Meaning and Interpretation Unlike Mead, Blumer illustrated that interaction was not a simple stimuli-response sequence. Like Mead, he too, argued for the necessity of including subjective experience in explaining human interactions. He wanted to include a middle term in the couplet so that it becomes stimuli-interpretation-response. It means that two actors involved in an interaction interprets each others' actions or 'gives meaning' to them and responds to those. Thus the action of one is definitely a stimulus but it alone does not evoke response in the other. Therefore instead of merely acting to each others' actions in an automatic way (reaction) humans interpret or define each others' actions and they perform this interpretation on the basis of symbols. It means that the meaning attached to an action makes it not only meaningful to the reactor but also acts as a stimulus to his/her response. Thus the stimulus-interpretation- response process could be translated as a process of meaningful interaction. In order to understand fully the premises of Blumer's understanding of human action it is important to carefully look into the three premises as outlined by Wallace and Wolf (2006, 217- 20). 1.
Humans

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act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.

It means the individual designates different objects to himself, giving them meaning, judging their suitability to his actions and making decisions on the basis of that judgment. For example if a boy sneezes at class, first he feels embarrassed about it for which he excuses himself even if no one express their dissatisfaction to the act. 2.

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The meaning of things arises out of the social interaction one has with one's fellows.

It means that 'meaning' is socially constructed. It is not inherent in things. It is out of social interactions that individuals construct meanings of the objects (things) in question. For instance, in the example stated above the sneezing in public is considered a disturbance and a part of bad manners. It is an outcome of previous interactions. It is for this the boy has learnt to excuse himself in public whenever he sneezes. 3.
The meanings of things

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are handled in and modified through an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with things he encounters.

Blumer says that individuals first communicate the meanings of things to them through talking. For example, when one talks about his worries he does so to interpret how he feels of the thing as disturbing to him.
260 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Taken together the premises stated above indicate that symbolic interactionism emerges from an individual's ability to confer meaning to a situation. 17.4 Blumer's ideas on Structure and Process Blumer emphasized on an ever-active interacting people as unit of interest in sociology. But he was skeptical of the way sociology conceptualized a society as a structure. In emphasizing on interacting individuals Blumer did not underestimate the importance of structure but does not consider it a determinant of behavior. When he speaks of role playing he does not consider the cultural dictate behind the enactment of the role but considers it to be flexible and a space for improvisation for the actor. He believes that an individual possess self which is an object to itself. This means that the individual can act towards himself as he confronts the world. Action is pieced together as individual takes the setting of the act into account in making decisions. As acting humans, people do not simply respond to others in a structured manner. Blumer says that human action is preceded by the individual briefly sketching out plans and intentions. Human action for him in the most part is constructed by people making indications to themselves of what confronts them. Mead and Blumer does not deny structured action but only seeks to find and acknowledge that individuals can act in many unstructured and undefined situations in which humans devise their own conduct. Blumer emphasized on the ability of humans to use symbols and develop capacities for thinking and self-reflection. Blumer emphasized that humans have the capacity to view themselves as objects and are active creators of the world to which they respond. Blumer stressed on the process of role taking which humans mutually produce and construe each others' gestures. Actors are able to rehearse covertly various lines of activity and then express those behaviors that allow cooperative and organized activity. Blumer stressed on the creative, evaluating, defining and mapping processes that individuals undertake in order to continue their interactions with one and another. The symbolic nature of interaction keeps an assurance of its changeable characteristic through shifting the definitions of behaviors of humans. Blumer had consistently advocated a view of the social organization as temporary and constantly changing. To him, as behavior is interpretative, evaluational and definitional, social organization represents an active and fitting together of action by those interactions. Social organization therefore must be viewed as a process and not a structure. The social structure is an emergent phenomenon and not reducible in its constituent actions of individuals. Although the interactions are
NSOU CC - SO - 03 261 repetitive and structured by commonly shared definitions, it's symbolic nature reveals the potential for new objects to be inserted or old ones to be altered. The result is a re- evaluational, recreation or remapping of behaviors. The patterns of social organization represent emergent phenomenon that can serve as objects that define situations for actors. However the symbolic processes that give rise and sustain these patterns can also operate to change and revise them. 17.5 Blumer's methodology Blumer mounted a constant and determined attack on sociological theory and research. His critical questions were aimed at the utility of contemporary research procedures for finding the symbolic processes from which social structures and personality are built and sustained. Rather than the empirical world dictates the kind of research strategies to be used Blumer argued for research strategies to find out what is to be studied. Blumer shows that unlike functionalism, symbolic interactionism is committed to inductive approach. In this method the understanding or explanations are induced from the data. It states that the researcher does not begin with a theory rather ends up with one. The approach takes into account the process by which individuals define the world from their perspective and at the same time identify their world of objects. He sketches two methods by which the researcher can get closer to the empirical social world and delve deep into it. He refers to these as exploration ad inspection. The exploratory phase has two purposes: first, to provide the researcher with a close acquaintance with the sphere of social life which is unfamiliar and second, it helps to develop a focus or sharpens the researcher's investigation so that the research is grounded in the empirical world. The techniques involved are observing, interviewing, listening, reading and consulting. Inspection is intensive and focused examination of the content which is empirical in nature and involves analysis of the analytical elements used for the purpose of research. He introduces the term 'sensitizing concepts' to understand this further. A sensitizing concept lacks specification of attributes, gives the researcher a sense of reference in understanding empirical instances. It gives the researcher a sense of direction along which way to look. 17.5 Blumer's ideas on 'Sensitizing Concepts' A major area of controversy over Blumer's methodological position is the issue of operationalization of concepts. Blumer had consistently triggered his criticism against

262 NSOU CC - SO - 03 current deficiencies in research strategies while linking actual events to the empirical world. Blumer argues that it is only through the methodological processes of exploration and inspection that concepts can be attached to the empirical world. Rather than seeking false and grand scientific security in research objectives the investigators must explore and inspect events in the empirical world. He recognizes that sociological concepts do not link the empirical world to the actual. Since the world is composed of constantly shifting processes of symbolic interaction among actors in various contexts it is important to capture the contextual nature of the social world. More important is the fact that social reality is constructed from the symbolic processes among individuals stressing on the importance of looking at how this world is constructed in such a way. This is the requirement for 'sensitizing concepts'. The progressive refinement (by the process of induction) of these concepts used and by a careful and imaginative study of the world will help in understanding how this world is created through communication. Blumer discerns the use of rigid classification of concepts in a definitive form and rather proposes to see how far such concepts already in use can be molded to be more appropriate, sensitizing and explicitly communicable through description. With careful formulation and constant refinement these concepts can be used as building blocks for sociological theories. They can be used, incorporated into provisional theoretical statements that specify the conditions under which various types of interaction are likely to occur. In this way, the concepts of theory will recognize the shifting nature of the social world and provide a more accurate set of statements about a social organization. 17.7 Criticism against Blumer Blumer was criticized as unscientific, subjectivist and astructural. The critics have argued that Blumer is very limited as he conceptualizes the idea of macro and any objective phenomenon. They point out that he is merely adopting a position with existing ideas on human agency. Further the critics point out that Blumer adopts collective entities such as organizations, institutions etc as acts and as characterized by subjective processes. 17.8 Conclusion Blumer came up with three core principles to his theory . They are meaning, language, and thought. These core principles lead to conclusions about the creation of a person's self and socialization into a larger community (Griffin, 1997). The first core principle of meaning states that humans act toward people and things based upon the

NSOU CC - SO - 03 263 meanings that they have given to those people or things. Symbolic Interactionism holds the principal of meaning as central in human behavior. The second core principle is language. Language gives humans a means by which to negotiate meaning through symbols. Mead's influence on Blumer becomes apparent here because Mead believed that naming assigned meaning, thus naming was the basis for human society and the extent of knowledge. It is by engaging in speech acts with others, symbolic interaction, that humans come to identify meaning, or naming, and develop discourse. The third core principle is that of thought. Thought modifies each individual's interpretation of symbols. Thought, based-on language, is a mental conversation or dialogue that requires role taking, or imagining different points of view. According to Blumer's theory, interaction between individuals is based on autonomous action, which in turn is based on the subjective meaning actors attribute to social objects and/or symbols. Thus individual actors regulate their behaviour based on the meaning they attribute to objects and symbols in their relevant situation. Blumer theorized that assigning objects meaning is an ongoing, two-fold process. First, does the identification of the objects have situational meaning? Second, is the process of internal communication to decide which meaningful object to respond to? Acknowledging that others are equally autonomous, individuals use their subjectively derived interpretations of others (as social objects) to predict the outcome of certain behaviours, and use such predictive insight to make decisions about their own behaviour in the hopes of reaching their goal. Thus, when there is consensus among individual actors about the meaning of the objects that make up their situation, social coordination ensues. Social structures are determined as much by the action of individual actors as they determine the action of those individuals. Based on this, Blumer believed that society exists only as a set of potentials, or ideas that people could possibly use in the future. This complex interaction between meanings, objects, and behaviours, Blumer reiterated, is a uniquely human process because it requires behavioural responses based on the interpretation of symbols, rather than behavioural responses based on environmental stimuli. As social life is a "fluid and negotiated process," to understand each other, humans must intrinsically engage in symbolic interaction. Blumer criticized the contemporary social science of his day because instead of using symbolic interactionism they made false conclusions about humans by reducing human decisions to social pressures like social positions and roles. Blumer was more invested in psychical interactionism that holds that the meanings of symbols are not universal, but are rather subjective and are "attached" to the symbols and the receiver depending on how they choose to interpret them.

264 NSOU CC - SO - 03 17.9 Summary Blumer synthesized the pragmatist philosophy of George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) with Charles Horton Cooley's (1864–1929) notion of sympathetic introspection, particularly as it informs contemporary ethnography, to develop a sociologically focused approach to the study of human lived experience. In opposition to behaviorist, structuralist, and positivist views that have dominated the social sciences, Blumer championed using an interpretivist perspective when examining social life. He contended that theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of human behavior must recognize human beings as thinking, acting, and interacting entities and must, therefore, employ concepts that authentically represent the humanly known, socially created, and experienced world. Blumer's pioneering sociological perspective informed his analysis of a broad array of subjects including collective behavior, social movements, fashion, social change, social problems, industrial and labor relations, public opinion, morale, industrialization, public sector social science research, social psychology, and race relations. And, because his rendition of symbolic interactionism invariably portrays people as possessing agency, as reflective interactive participants in community life, he routinely called into question analyses of social life that rely on more stereotypical factors-oriented approaches. Although Blumer's 1958 article "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position" challenges psychological and psychoanalytic explanations of race relations by emphasizing social processes entailed in conflict, institutionalized power relations, and collective definitions of the situation, his most consequential contribution to the study of intergroup relations was his 1971 article "Social Problems as Collective Behavior." 17.10 Questions 1. Answer briefly the following questions: (6 marks) a. What are 'sensitizing concepts'? b. What is inspection? 2. Answer in detail the following: (12 marks) a. What is the special contribution of Blumer in symbolic interpretation? b. What is the methodology that Blumer developed necessary for sociological investigation? 3. Write essay-type answers to the following: (20 marks)
NSOU CC - SO - 03 265 a. What is the fundamental difference between Mead and Blumer's approaches to Interaction? b. What are the criticisms leveled against Blumer? Discuss. 17.11 References Blumer, H. (1962/1969), Symbolic Interactionism, Englewood Cliff, N. J.

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266 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Maines, D. (1977). Social organization and social structure in symbolic interactionist thought. Annual Review of Sociology. 3:235-59. Maines. D. (1988). Myth, text and interactionist complicity in the neglect of Blumer's macrosociology. Symbolic Interaction. 11:43-58.

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NSOU CC - SO - 03 267 Udehn, L. (2001). Methodological Individualism: Background, History and Meaning. London and New York: Routledge. Wallace, R., and Wolf, A., (2005), Contemporary Sociological theory, New Delhi, Prentice Hall Weinstein, E. A., & Tanur, J. M. (1976). Meanings, purposes, and structural resources in social interaction. Cornell Journal of Social Relations, 11(1), 105–110. 17.12 Glossary Sensitizing Concepts: It is a concept of a construct developed by Blumer in opposition to Kuhn's ideas of definitive concept. It can be any sociological concept which, in contrast to fully operationalized or 'definitive concepts', 'merely suggests directions along which to look'. Whereas 'definitive concepts have specified empirical referents which can be readily operationalized, e.g. 'social class' operationalized in terms of income level or years of schooling, sensitizing concepts are less precise. They alert sociologists to certain aspects of social phenomena. (Ref: Herbert Blumer. "What is Wrong with Social Theory." American Sociological Review 18 (1954): 3-10.) Exploration: This idea is basically about the value of exploratory studies, with an initial broad focus that is sharpened as the inquiry proceeds. It is not dependent on particular sets of techniques, the importance of seeking participants with knowledge on the area of study. Inspection: Blumer had developed two ways in which social phenomenon ought to be studied: Exploration and Inspection. Inspection is the examination of the empirical world which needs to be cast in a theoretical form. But there should be no conventional protocol, which would only serve to limit the empirical analysis. The procedure may be to examine analytical elements from different angles. The process should be flexible, creative and imaginative.
268 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Unit : 18 Critical Overview Structure 18.1 Objectives 18.2 Introduction 18.3 Criticism 18.4 Contemporary Symbolic Interactionism 18.5 Conclusion 18.6 Summary 18.7 Questions 18.8 Referencess 18.1 Objectives •

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To understand the criticism of symbolic interactionism. • To understand the nature of contemporary symbolic interactionism. • To understand the

relevance of this theory. 18.2 Introductions Critical attacks came from all sides. Psychologists interested in some of the same topics as Symbolic Interactionists tended to regard both the ideas and such methods as they saw in the work of the latter as lacking rigor and a sense of evidence, not to speak of replicable procedures by which evidence could be developed or produced committed to a behaviorist metaphysics, with occasional but comparatively rare exception they tended to deride the emphases of symbolic interactionism on minded processes, on thought, on symbols and meanings and definitions of the situation, and on the person as independent causal agent in the production of his/her own behavior. And they tended to deprecate such research as Symbolic Interactionists did accomplish to the extent that it departed (and, of course, virtually all of it did) from an experimental methodology and format (Stryker, 1987).
NSOU CC - SO - 03 269 Symbolic Interactionism as a theoretical perspective was not appreciated or recognized by the mainstream theorizing. Though it had a lasting effect on subsequent perspectives it was limited in scope for its deliberations on micro-understanding of life and social factors. The easy charge had always been that symbolic interaction was a micro sociological perspective, with no interest in structure, no belief in the power of organizations and institutions, and no constructs to examine such issues (Maines 1988). As noted earlier when considering the macro-micro debate, such a charge had always been misleading, as Blumer (1969), for instance, regularly wrote about "acting units," rather than actors. Yet, in recent years, Interactionists have more self-consciously addressed macro-sociological issues, using the intermediate level of meso-structure. This emphasis received prominence in the influential survey article by David Maines (1977) in the Annual Review of Sociology, titled "Social Organization and Social Structure in Symbolic Interactionist Thought," emphasizing the interactionist tradition of concern with structure, institutions, and organizations (see Overington and Mangham 1982). 18.2

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Criticism There are certain criticisms directed towards symbolic interactionist paradigm. One of these criticisms is that symbolic interactionism is largely deprived of a real social envision.

In other words, symbolic interactionism does not put forward a complete picture of

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a society since it sometimes describes society as a thing only in the minds of people (Slattery, 2007). This theory, as also stated by Udehn (2001), is an "American" idea that stresses the freedom of the individual and limited role of the society. The second one of the problems of the symbolic interactionist paradigm is stressed especially and clearly: (i) not taking into account human emotions very much and (ii) getting interested in social structure to a limited extent. In fact, the first one of these two incompetencies imply that symbolic interaction is not completely psychological and the second one implies that symbolic interaction is not completely sociological (Meltzer et al, 1975: 120; Akt: Slattery, 2007: 338). This theory pictures 'meaning' as something emerging by itself during interaction under a certain condition. It

does not

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take into account the basic social context in which the interaction is positioned. Consequently, it does not produce the sources of meaning. Moreover, symbolic interactionism

does not

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perceive any social reality beyond the one that humans create with their interpretations and for that reason it denies explaining society on a more general level (Slattery, 2007: 338). In 270

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summary, the principal condition for the formation of a meaning is the existence of an event. The following condition is the experience of these events. As Blumer points out; "the meaning of things directs action" (

O'Shaughnessy, 1992: 158).

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In order to understand human behaviors, it is necessary to understand definitions, meaning and processes formed by humans first. Elements such as social roles, traditional structures, rules, laws, purposes, etc. provide raw material to the individuals for forming definitions. In this context, symbolic interaction stresses social interaction, debate of definitions and taking emphatic role between people.

B. N. Meltzer (1959; 1972) and A. Brittan (1973) had presented criticisms against symbolic Interactionism in a systematic fashion. Meltzer has criticized Mead's ideas on social psychology. He contends that Mead's framework is either fuzzy or vague for providing consistency required in scientific explanation. He criticizes Mead for using improperly defined concepts such as 'mind', role-taking, 'I' etc in his presentation of his perspective. It is criticized that symbolic Interactionism has readily given up scientific techniques for qualitative analysis as if these qualitative expressions cannot be counted, enumerated and codified. These criticisms have been forwarded by Eugene Weinstein and Judith Tanur (1976) saying that science and subjectivism are not mutually exclusive. It means science can also be possible using subjective analysis. The traditional way of thinking states the opposite. It proposes science to be objective and symbolic interactionist theorizes just that which is applicable for a subjective analysis traditionally. The critics state that quantitative analysis can also be used in subjective interpretations. Manford Kuhn, William Kolb, Bernard Meltzer, James Petras and Larry Reynolds have criticized the vagueness of symbolic interactionism (Ritzer: 2011). They say that the theory in question has puzzling and inaccurate concepts incapable for a compact basis for research. Because these concepts are imprecise they are difficult to operationalize and therefore propositions from the theory cannot be generated for testing. Weinstein and Tanur (1970) have put forward the third major criticism against symbolic interactionism. They argue that symbolic interactionism has ignored the importance of large-scale social structure. It in most cases denies the importance or the impact of social structure on micro-level communication and behavior. At the same time symbolic interactionism has been criticized for denying or ignoring psychological factors as needs, motives, intentions etc. In both cases symbolic interactionism has been accused of making a 'fetish' of the everyday life marking an over importance on the immediate situation and a fanatical concern with the periodic image of life.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 271 Turner (1995) criticizes symbolic interactionism as a vague attempt to link between the interaction processes and its social structural products leaving the perspective with few statements about how, when, where and with what probability interaction processes operate to create, sustain and change varying patterns of social organizations. Symbolic interactionism considers the individual as a subject with a social position on the one hand. It defines the individual as the designer of a contextual and communicative identity on the other hand. However, cultural studies emphasize constantly changing social descriptions, reproduction of culture and society, and power and hegemony. The structural and cognitive approach of cultural studies are harshly criticized, while symbolic interactionism is regarded as ignoring social power structures and excessively emphasizing context. Moreover, it is possible to combine action and context oriented approach of symbolic interactionism and structure oriented communication approach of cultural studies in a complementary fashion (Krotz,2007: 81-82). Ultimately Interactionists, like others in the debate, concluded that a fixed distinction between levels is misleading (Wiley 1988, Law 1984), suggesting that institutions of all sizes can be analyzed using similar analytical tools. Some argue for a seamless sociology which recognizes that "separate" levels are actually intertwined and indivisible, with micro analyses implicated in macro ones, and vice versa (Fine 1990b). The debate has been important in its attempt to bridge theory groups, bringing micro-sociologists into intellectual and personal contact with macro-sociologists, breaching sub-disciplinary isolation. One reason it can plausibly be claimed that symbolic interaction has disappeared, although not by name, is the success of the argument that all levels of analysis must be considered in an adequate analysis. The micro-sociologist whether in exchange theory, ethnomethodology, or symbolic interaction disdains any interest in questions of larger institutions. In turn, most macro-sociologists (Structuralist, Marxist, or Institutionalist) now accept a vision of structures ultimately grounded on the actions of participants, even if they do not emphasize the power of the actor as much as Interactionists. If the goal of symbolic interaction is to maintain itself as a distinctive oppositional movement, then it has failed, with more and more outsiders addressing central issues and more and more insiders stepping outside the boundaries, not caring about their badges of courage. Yet, if the ultimate goal is to develop the pragmatic approach to social life into a view of the power of symbol creation and interaction— then symbolic interaction has triumphed gloriously.
272 NSOU CC - SO - 03 18.4 Contemporary Symbolic Interactionism Contemporary symbolic interactionists emphasize the reflexive, gendered, and situated nature of human experience. They examine the place of language and multiple meanings in interactional contexts (see Holstein and Gubrium 2000). This reflexive or narrative concern is also evidenced in other points of view, from phenomenology to hermeneutics, semiotics, psychoanalysis, feminism, narratology, cultural, discursive and dialogical psychology, interpretive sociology and cultural studies. This narrative turn moves in two directions at the same time. First, symbolic Interactionists (and other theorists) formulate and offer various narrative versions, or stories about how the social world operates. This form of narrative is usually called a theory, for example, Freud's theory of psychosexual development. Second, symbolic Interactionists study narratives and systems of discourse, suggesting that these structures give coherence and meaning to everyday life. (A system of discourse is a way of representing the world.) Systems of discourse both summarize and produce knowledge about the world (Foucault 1980: 27). There are many in the interactionist community who reject the narrative turn (as outlined above) and what it implies for interpretive work. These critics base their arguments on six beliefs: 1. The new writing is not scientific; therefore it cannot be part of the ethnographic project. 2. The new writers are moralists; moral judgments are not part of science. 3. The new writers have a faulty epistemology; they do not believe in disinterested observers who study a reality that is independent of human action. 4. The new writing uses fiction; this is not science, it is art. 5. The new writers do not study lived experience which is the true province of ethnography. Hence, the new writers are not participant observers. 6. The new writers are postmodernists, and this is irrational, because postmodernism is fatalistic, nativistic, radical, absurd and nihilistic. These six beliefs constitute complex discursive systems; separate literatures are attached to each. Taken together, they represent a formidable, yet dubious critique of the new interactionist project. They make it clear that there are no problems with the old ways of doing research. Indeed, the new ways create more problems than they solve. These beliefs serve to place the new work outside science, perhaps in the humanities, or the arts. Some would ban these persons from academia altogether. Others would merely

NSOU CC - SO - 03 273 exclude them from certain theoretical group that is from symbolic interactionism (Denzin, 2000). The criticisms against Symbolic Interactionism can be summarized as follows: The primary evolution and amendment of the theory is primarily in terms of its focus, application, and interpretations. • Symbolic Interactionism has been criticized for failing to apply to the macro level issues of social structure, politics and history; and for missing the micro level of issues such as emotions and the unconscious. • Other criticisms include a lack of clarity about the concepts and a failure to create a systematic set of principles or propositions that can be said to truly constitute a theory. • Despite or perhaps even because of the lack of precision in the theory, there are few if any areas of human interaction to which symbolic interaction has not been applied. 18.5 Conclusion Sociological social psychology, marginalized in the 1970s, has reemerged to contribute to the broadening of the discipline. Nowhere is this more evident than in the rejuvenation of the sociological study of the self, identity, and social role. The development of the social and symbolic self, a root issue of symbolic interaction from James, Cooley, and Mead, is central to interactionist research and theory and includes such issues as self- esteem, self-feeling, self-concept, identity work, and self-presentation. Symbolic interactionism, as practiced by those sociologists trained by Everett Hughes at the University of Chicago in the late 1940s and early 1950s, tended to deemphasize self in favor of situation; the sociology of Erving Goffman, implying that there was no deeply held "real" self, only a set of masks, was a prototype for this view. Yet, despite the attention to situation, Interactionists such as Ralph Turner (1976, 1978) emphasized that the creation of the self results from social and cultural trends. Hewitt (1989), for instance, argues that a basic conflict appears in American selves between individualism (independence) and community participation (interdependence). While Interactionists hold that no "real, true, core" self can be found, analyses of how selves develop are part of interactionist analysis—both by Interpretivist theorists associated with a post-modern literary analysis, and by social realists who are more closely connected to experimentation and hypothesis testing. Interactionism pictures the self as symbolic, situationally contingent, and structured. Symbolic interactionism was not considered as a mainstream sociological theory in less than two decades ago. Slowly, this theorizing has gained popularity and many of its concepts are now accepted.

274 NSOU CC - SO - 03 The way Blumer emphasized the role of Mead in the development of the Chicago School could be seen as a process of myth making, as Mead clearly had much less influence in his lifetime than Blumer supposes. One might argue that Blumer's emphasis of the role of George Herbert Mead in the 'Chicago School' was a mythical construction aimed ultimately at his own self-exaggeration. However, even if there is some actuality in this interpretation, does it tell us anything other than that the myth of Mead's importance in the school, through the construction of a heritage, is a legitimation of particular work practices? Does such an analysis lead on to a critique, or even the identification, of ideological frameworks within which (in this case) an academic discipline operates. The answer is that it can. If we leave the analysis at the level of 'Blumer legitimated his work through the creation of a spurious heritage', we have not, from a metascientific point of view, progressed beyond the taken-for-granted of the myth, other than to suggest a motivator for its genesis. And this is quite insufficient as it merely leads to the danger of replacing one myth with another. In the example, Mead's assumed centrality is due to far more than Blumer attempting to legitimate his position. Blumer did not act deliberately to lay a false trail. Genuinely, Blumer (who taught Mead's social psychology courses after the latter's death in 1931) believed he had grasped the essence of Mead's thought and applied it to developing a more 'critical' form of interactionism, which he called symbolic interactionism. Many subsequent scholars have tended to take the Mead-Blumer heritage for granted. They, too, view the 'Chicago School' as bound up with symbolic interactionism and make Mead (often through Blumer) the provider of a theoretical context and a direct influence on the sociological practitioners of symbolic interactionism. However, an uncritical acceptance of a Mead-Blumer tradition as indicative of 'Chicago School' sociology still begs a number of questions. Why did the critique of this view take so long to emerge? How was Blumer able to gain credibility for his Meadian view of the Chicago School? While it served Blumer's perspective, did he deliberately set out to create a view of the 'School' that saw Mead as the key founding father, or did other circumstances operate to facilitate or generate this myth? Are these other circumstances 'fortuitous' and random or are they indicative of an ideology of sociology? And what relation does that ideology have with a more general ideology of science or wider social ideology? Symbolic interactionism recognizes that the genuine mark of an empirical science is to respect the nature of its empirical world — to fit its problems, its guiding procedures of

NSOU CC - SO - 03 275 inquiry, the techniques of study, its concepts, and its theories to that world. It believes that this determination of problems, concepts, research techniques, and theoretical schemes should be done by direct examination of the actual empirical social world rather than by working with a simulation of that world derived from a few scattered observations of it, or with a picture of that world fashioned in advance to meet the dictates of some scheme of 'scientific' procedure, or with a picture of the world built up from partial or untested accounts of that world (Coser: 1977). One of the principal characteristics of Blumer's writing is its critical attack. There is an overarching tendency in Blumer's accounts of his theories to attack his detractors in the midst of explaining his own point of view. No attention is given in his discussion of the faults of other methods of inquiry to the danger that direct, interpersonal observation may also skew the data collected by the presence of the researcher, for instance, but each time he seeks to describe an aspect of Social Interactionism, he includes an assertion as to why that viewpoint is superior to one not in agreement with it. He cautions us to the dangers of forming theoretical models from incomplete data. He says that it deserves careful consideration and serves to point to one of the chief difficulties of engaging in social research (Wallace and Wolf: 2005). 18.6 Summary Social Interactionism, then, comprises a micro-level framework for studying social phenomenon not afforded by other major schools of sociological thought. Blumer places his principal emphasis on the process of interaction in the formation of meanings to the individual. He proceeds to place those meanings in the central role in explaining and accounting for human behavior (Coser: 1977). Resting on this theoretical foundation are several "root images" of the nature of human social action and their relationship to the process of meaning formation. Out of these "images" derives a natural and useful research methodology — which, it must be noted, is not entirely free of potential to distort the data collected by means of it — that involves personal immersion into the world the researcher wishes to study in order to assure that the most direct possible observation of that world can be made. Many Interactionists such as Stryker (1980) have tried to connect to the macro and structural components of sociology. It is a perspective that primarily values subjective meaning and an opposition to structure and deal with a methodology that views the
276 NSOU CC - SO - 03 world of the other as seen by them did question some important mainstream sociological concepts. It is seen now as an alternative which provides some important theoretical tools missing in mainstream sociology. As a theoretical perspective it has undergone expansion beyond the limits of micro-sociology. At present the Symbolic Interactionists are increasingly involved in major issues confronting sociological theory, such as micro- macro, agency-structure etc. Once interactionism may have had a partially deserved reputation as parochial and in- bred, but this is no longer deserved. In its post-Blumerian age, interactionism might be called intellectually promiscuous. Contemporary "Interactionists" blend their interest in "classical" interactionism (micro-sociological, nonstatistical, robustly relativistic, and proudly anti-positivistic) with virtually all sociological traditions. As a result, Interactionists have integrated a "Blumerian" approach with theoretical approaches linked to Durkheim, Simmel, Weber, Freud, Habermas, Baudrillard, Wittgenstein, Marx, Schutz, phenomenology, post-modem theory, feminism, semiotics, and behaviorism. What used to be a fairly narrow, tightly focused perspective now might be faulted for deemphasizing the traditional problems of situational definition, negotiation, impression management, and meaning creation that once animated symbolic interactionism? In its fragmentation, symbolic interactionism seems bound mainly by a few broad tenets, an ef fective organizational infrastructure, and some active publication outlets. Of course, this may be all that many perspectives share. The post-modem, post-structural textual readings and cultural studies of Norman Denzin (1986) and Patricia Clough (1992) seem light- years from the precise experimentation and theory construction of Peter Burke (1980) and David Heise (1979). It is symptomatic of the degree of fragmentation that some of the Blumerian "old guard" would question whether any of these are "real" Interactionists. Similarly the realist, descriptive ethnographies of Ruth Horowitz (1983) and Elijah Anderson (1978) are entirely dissimilar from the intensely personal and self-reflexive accounts of Carolyn Ellis (1991) and John Van Maanen (1988). Symbolic interactionism in the 1990s has a diversity that may vitiate its center. This splintering, of course, has benefits, in that diversity produces intellectual ferment. Yet, such broadness raises the question of what, if anything, post-Blumerian symbolic Interactionists share. Does a dominant model of symbolic interaction exist? Do the theorists who label themselves (or who are labeled) Interactionists, belong to the same school? One response is that if a sufficient number of individuals label them or joins an
NSOU CC - SO - 03 277 organization (like The Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction) then such a perspective exists. Yet, this degree of semi-coherence may raise questions about its justification as a perspective. 18.7 Questions 1. Answer briefly the following questions: (6 marks) a. What is symbolic interactionism? b. Who are main proponents of symbolic interactionism? c. What is the importance of Symbolic Interactionism as a perspective? 2. Answer in detail the following: (12 marks) a. Give an account of any two major criticisms against Symbolic Interactionism. b. Discuss following Mead the relationship between individual and society. c. Discuss after Blumer on 'sensitizing concepts' and its importance in sociology. d. Elucidate on Blumer's ideas on symbolic interactionism. 3. Write essay-type answers to the following: (20 marks) a. Discuss Mead's ideas on society and how it is formed through interaction. b. Discuss Blumer's insistence on meaning in symbolic interaction. 18.8 References Blumer, H. (1962/1969), Symbolic Interactionism, Englewood Cliff, N. J.

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280 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Unit-19 General Arguments of Feminism Structure 19.1 Objectives 19.2 Introduction 19.3 Feminist Theory and Sociological Theory 19.4 Why build a Feminist Sociological Theory? 19.5 Basic Questions 19.6 Historical Roots : Feminism and Sociology 19.7 A Theory for the Sociology of Women 19.8 Propositions for a Sociology of Women 19.9 Conclusion 19.10 Summary 19.11 Questions 19.12 References 19.1 Objectives • Gaining a clear understanding of the major movements of feminist thought and related areas of the body of knowledge making up the field of Gender, Sexuality and Feminist Studies. • Developing critical thinking in various disciplinary traditions, ethics of understanding disciplinary responsibility in order to conduct interdisciplinary work. • Developing a domain of inquiry including a variety of methodologies employed to address gender related issues. Module - VII : Feminist Perspective

NSOU CC - SO - 03 281 19.2 Introduction What has been the focus of feminist movement today? Feminist thought has been around for over a century now, bringing to light the lives and struggles of women and gender minorities. From the early 1900's to the recent '# Me-too' movement in 2018, feminists have had a very hard time convincing the world that it is, in fact, equal rights that they want and not disproportionate 'special treatment'. However, today, feminism has become a 'bad word', especially in the digital age, where there is, an abundance of opinions on social media equating it with 'man-hating' or misandry. Most people readily profess their commitment to 'equality', but shy away from identifying themselves as feminist. Feminists, both offline and online, continue to be dismissed, discredited and threatened with violence for demanding rights and speaking truth to power. Feminist theory is a generalized, wide-ranging system of ideas about social life and human experience developed from a woman-centered perspective. Feminist theory is woman-centered—or women-centered—in two ways. First, the starting point of all its investigation is the situation (or the situations) and experiences of women in society. Second, it seeks to describe the social world from the distinctive vantage points of women. Feminist theory differs from most sociological theories in that it is the work of an interdisciplinary and international community of scholars, artists, and activists. Feminist sociologists seek to broaden and deepen sociology by reworking disciplinary knowledge to take account of discoveries being made by this interdisciplinary community.In general, we draw on both feminist and sociological theories to reframe our understanding of women's material and cultural condition. Feminist theories often omit women' s contemporary position, concentrating on historical antecedents or utopian futures. The focus on praxis is often on creating revolution, egalitarian reform or cultural utopias. Most sociology is grounded in what is the relation of the individual to the world as it exists and is maintained. Feminist theory is an emancipatory theory focusing on the relation of the individual or group to the world as it can be conceived. Much of feminist theory emphasizes a social philosophy of women as opposed to a sociology of women. According to Janet Chafetz (1988) the following elements comprise a feminist sociological theory : a. Gender comprises a central focus or subject matter of the theory. b. Gender relations are viewed as a problem. c. Gender relations are not viewed as either natural or immutable.
282 NSOU CC - SO - 03 d. The test is whether feminist sociological theory can be used to challenge, counteract or change a status-quo that disadvantages or devalues women. Chafetz deliberately omits activism as a central component of what makes a theory feminist. Earlier sociological theories, which were also feminist, claim that theory must involve praxis (Millman and Kanter,1975; Cook and Fonow,1986). The feminist sociologist is involved in changing society in the very process of doing sociology. Chafetz rejects this activist definition of sociology. To her, feminist sociology is one which can be used for activist purposes but is not by definition activist. "It is a judgment of the theory itself, not of the scholar who created it" (Chafetz, 1988:5). 19.3 Feminist Theory and Sociological Theory A genuinely feminist approach to theory draws on concepts and analytic tools that are appropriate to the questions of women's experiences of inequality that promote activism. We can begin from an understanding of our own conditions (a sociology by women). This understanding need not depend on the concepts or definitions set by traditional research. We can develop models that use nonsexist concepts and language and move away from rigid either/or dichotomies. Instead of assuming a gulf between rational concepts such as the public and private spheres, or between the subject (researcher) and object (women respondents), feminist theorists acknowledge the continuity between them (a sociology about women). This new assumption reduces that bipolarity. Finally, the products and consequences of our thinking can be assessed against the probability of change for women (a sociology for women). The reasons for such feminist approach to theory move from the criticisms toward an integrative model which allows us to : (1) examine the possibility of a theoretical integration (2) account for historical fluctuation (3) develop models that are testable and challengeable through the use of feminist methodologies and praxis. 19.4 Why build a Feminist Sociological Theory? It is clear that early patriarchal and liberal feminist theories are inadequate to explain the development and maintenance of and the change in women's oppression in different cultures (Chafetz, 1988). The reasons for building a feminist theory or explanation derived from women's studies frameworks are clear. But why build a sociological theory? Theory as a practice can itself be examined from a feminist perspective, analyzed for potential
NSOU CC - SO - 03 283 consequences, and revisioned for its potential contributions to a understanding of women's lives. Patricia Hill Collins points to those aspects of the white scholarly community that have excluded black feminist intellectual traditions. These aspects include the assumption that scientists are distanced from their values, vested interests, and emotions attached to their gender, race, or class situation (Collins, 1990). A primary characteristic of white masculinist epistemology is the distinction between wisdom and knowledge. Wisdom consists of "mother wit" and experience as a criterion of meaning. Knowledge consists of "book learning" and additive objective facts which are accumulated and legitimated through scholarly processes controlled by dominant groups. Collins notes that a Black feminist epistemology rises out of an assertion that knowledge without wisdom is " adequate for the powerful, but wisdom is essential to the survival of the subordinate" (Collins, 1990:208). Collins then challenges us to reject competitive, additive theory building processes. She draws on the processes of dialogue to assess knowledge claims, a dialogue among women who share their wisdom about the world around them. She adds to this dialogue an ethic of care which includes personal expressiveness and emotions in the knowledge validation process. Theory "seeks to explain why phenomenon exist and why they reveal certain processes and properties" (Turner and Beeghley, 1981:2). If, then, sociological theory building can be used to illuminate not only products, outcomes, properties and classification schemes but also process, then sociological theory retains utility for feminist purposes. Our purpose is to explain some dimensions of the following questions : Why does sex inequality exist? What are its origins and consequences? How is it maintained? What are the dynamics of change? These are basic questions outlined by Chafetz in Feminist Sociology (1988), and expanded by the epistemological frameworks of Collins (1990) and Smith (1987) who argue for a dialogue grounded in women's experiences. Currently, the process of building a theory in the social sciences involves a set of rational, objective steps. These steps must be questioned, evaluated, and revised to maintain integrity from a feminist perspective. 19.5

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Basic Questions The impetus for contemporary feminist theory begins in a deceptively simple question: "And what about the women?" In other words, where are the women in any situation being investigated? If they are not present, why? If they are present, what exactly are 284 NSOU CC - SO - 03 they doing? How do they experience the situation? What do they contribute to it? What does it mean to them? In response to this question, feminist scholarship has produced some generalizable answers. Women are present in most social situations. Where they are not, it is not because they lack ability or interest but because there have been deliberate efforts to exclude them. Where they have been present, women have played roles very different from the popular conception of them (as, for example, passive wives and mothers). Indeed, as wives and as mothers and in a series of other roles, women, along with men, have actively created the situations being studied. Yet though women are actively present in most social situations, scholars, publics, and social actors themselves, both male and female, have been blind to their presence. Moreover, women's roles in most social situations, though essential, have been different from, less privileged than, and subordinate to the roles of men. Their invisibility is only one indicator of this inequality. Feminism's second basic question is: "Why is all this as it is?" In answering this question, feminist theory has produced a general social theory with broad implications for sociology. One of feminist sociological theory's major contributions to answering this question has been the development of the concept of gender. Beginning in the 1970s, feminist theorists made it possible for people to see the distinctions between (a) biologically determined attributes associated with male and female and (b) the socially learned behaviors associated with masculinity and femininity.

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They did so by designating the latter as "gender." The essential qualities of gender remain a point of theoretical debate in feminism, and these debates offer one way to distinguish among some of the varieties of feminist theory. But a starting point of agreement among nearly all varieties of feminist theory is an understanding of gender as a social construction, something not emanating from nature but created by people as part of the processes of group life. The third question for all feminists is: "How can we change and improve the social world so as to make it a more just place for all people?" This commitment to social transformation in the interest of justice is the distinctive characteristic of critical social theory, a commitment shared in sociology by feminism, Marxism, neo-Marxism, and social theories being developed by racial and ethnic minorities and in postcolonial societies. Patricia Hill Collins (1998:xiv) forcefully states the importance of this commitment to seeking justice and confronting injustice: "Critical social theory encompasses bodies of knowledge... that actively grapple with the central questions facing groups of people differently placed in specific political, social, and historic contexts characterized by injustice." This commitment to critical theorizing requires that feminist theorists ask how their work will improve the daily lives of the people they study.

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As the circle of feminists exploring these questions has become more inclusive of people of diverse backgrounds both in the United States and internationally, feminist theorists have raised a fourth question: "And what about the differences among women?" The answers to this question lead to a general conclusion that the invisibility, inequality, and role differences in relation to men that generally characterize women's lives are profoundly affected by a woman's social location—that is, by her class, race, age, affectional preference, marital status, religion, ethnicity, and global location. But feminist theory is not just about women, nor is its major project the creation of a middle-range theory of gender relations. Rather, the appropriate parallel for feminism's major theoretical achievement is to one of Marx's epistemological accomplishments. Marx showed that the knowledge people had of society, what they assumed to be an absolute and universal statement about reality, in fact reflected the experience of those who economically and politically ruled the world; he effectively demonstrated that one also could view the world from the vantage point of the world's workers.This insight relativized ruling-class knowledge and, in allowing us to juxtapose thatknowledge with knowledge gained from the workers' perspective, vastly expanded ourability to analyze social reality. More than a century after Marx's death we are still assimilating the implications of this discovery. Feminism's basic theoretical questions have similarly produced a revolutionarys witch in our understanding of the world: what we have taken as universal and absolute knowledge of the world is, in fact, knowledge derived from the experiencesof a powerful section of society, men as "masters." That knowledge is relativized if we rediscover the world from the vantage point of a hitherto invisible, unacknowledged "underside": women, who in subordinated but indispensable "serving" roles have worked to sustain and re- create the society we live in.

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This discovery raises questions about everything we thought we knew about society, and its implications constitute the essence of contemporary feminist theory's significance for sociological theory. Feminist theory deconstructs established systems of knowledge by showing their masculinist bias and the gender politics framing and informing them. To say that knowledge is "deconstructed" is to say that we discover what was hitherto hidden behind the presentation of the knowledge as established, singular, and natural—namely, that that presentation is a construction resting on social, relational, and power arrangements. But feminism itself has become the subject of relativizing and deconstructionist pressures from within its own theoretical boundaries. The first and more powerful of these pressures comes from women confronting the white, privileged-class,

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feminists—that is, from women of color, women in postcolonial societies, working- class women, and lesbians. These women, speaking from "margin to center" (

hooks, 1984),

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show that there are many differently situated women, and that there are many women-centered knowledge systems that oppose both established, male-stream knowledge claims and any hegemonic feminist claims about a unitary woman's standpoint. The second deconstructionist pressure within feminism comes from a growing postmodernist literature that raises questions about gender as an undifferentiated concept and about the individualself as a stable locus of consciousness and personhood from which gender and the world are experienced. The potential impact of these questions falls primarily on feminist epistemology—its system for making truth claims. 19.6

Historical Roots : Feminism and Sociology Feminism and sociology share a long-standing relationship originating in feminists turning to sociology to answer feminism's foundational questions: what about the women, why is all this as it is, how can it be changed to produce a more just society, and, more recently, what about differences among women? Sociology was identified from its beginning by activist women as one possible source of explanation and change. One strand of this history has been women sociologists' identifying and conceptualizing gender as both a descriptive and at least partially explanatory variable in their answers, providing a tool for separating biological maleness and femaleness from social masculinity and femininity (Feree, Khan, and Moriomoto, 2007; Finlay, 2007;Tarrant, 2006). Feminism and sociology need to be understood both as systems of ideas and as social organizations—for feminism, this means as a theory and as a social movement; for sociology, as an academic discipline and as a profession. Looked at in this way, we find that women, most of whom were feminist in their understandings,were active in the development of sociology as both a discipline and a profession from its beginnings, and that repeatedly, generation after generation, these women have had their achievements erased from the history of sociology by a male-dominated professional elite (Delamont, 2003; Skeggs, 2008). Despite such erasures, the feminist perspective is an enduring feature of social life. Wherever women are subordinated—and they have been subordinated almost always and everywhere—they have recognized and protested that situation (Lerner,1993). In the Western world, published works of protest appeared as a thin but persistent trickle from the 1630s to about 1780. Since then feminist writing has been a significant collective effort, growing in both the number of its participants and the scope of its critique (Cott, 1977; Donovan, 1985; Giddings, 1984; Lerner, 1993; Alice Rossi, 1974; Spender, 1982, 1983).

NSOU CC - SO - 03 287 Feminist writing is linked to feminist social activism, which has varied in intensity over the last two hundred years; high points occur in the liberationist "moments"of modern Western history. In U.S. history, major periods of feminist mobilization frequently are understood as "waves." First Wave feminism began in the 1830s as an off shoot of the anti slavery movement and focused on women's struggle for politicalrights, especially the vote. It is marked by two key dates—1848, when the first women's rights convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York, and 1920, when theNineteenth Amendment gave women the right to vote. Second Wave feminism (ca. 1960–1990) worked to translate these basic political rights into economic andsocial equality and to reconceptualize relations between men and women with theconcept "gender." Third Wave feminism is used in two senses—to describe theresponses by women of color, lesbians, and working-class women to the ideas of whiteprofessional women claiming to be the voice of Second Wave feminism (Feree, 2009)and to describe the feminist ideas of the generation of women who will live their adultlives in the twenty-first century. Feminist ideas were, thus, abroad in the world in the1830s when Auguste Comte coined the term "sociology" and feminist Harriet Martineau (1802–1876) was asked to edit a proposed journal in "sociology." Martineau is an important player in the history of sociology whose work has only been recovered under the impact of SecondWave feminism (Deegan, 1991; Hill, 1989; Hoecker-Drysdale, 1994; Lengermann and Niebrugge, 1998; Niebrugge, Lengermann, and Dickerson, 2010) and whose contribution undergirds the claim that women were "present at the creation" of sociology (Lengermann and Niebrugge, 1998). Sociology's development into an organized discipline in its "classic generation"—the period marked by white male thinkers who did significant work from 1890 to 1920 (e.g., Emile Durkheim [1858–1917] and MaxWeber [1862–1920] overlapped with the rise in activism in First Wave feminism as women pushed their crusade for the right to vote). Feminists Jane Addams, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Florence Kelley, and Marianne Weber played important roles in the development of sociology, creating theory, inventing research methods, publishing in sociological journals, belonging to sociological associations, and holding offices in professional associations—and directly or indirectly speaking from the standpoint of women. United States women of color Anna Julia Cooper and Ida B. Wells-Barnett, though barred by racist practices from full participation in the organization of sociology, developed both social theory and a powerful practice of sociological critique andactivism. Gilman is particularly significant in the history of feminist contributions to sociology, providing the first conceptualization of what will become the idea of gender in her concept of excessive sex distinction, which she defines as socially maintained differences between men and women that go beyond the differences dictated by biological reproduction.
288 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Between 1920 and 1960 feminist thinking and activism ebbed, partly due to asense of anomie produced by its victory in getting the vote, partly in response to social crises— World War I and its aftermath, the Great Depression, World War II and its aftermath, and the Cold War of the 1950s. Women sociologists were left without a framework for critique of their professional marginalization. They worked as isolated individuals for a foothold in the male-dominated university. Even so these women sociologists did research on women's lives and worked to conceptualize gender within the prevailing framework of "sex roles" in work such as Helen Mayer Hacker's "Women as a Minority Group" (1951) and Mirra Komarovsky's "Cultural Contradictions of Sex Roles" (1946). Beginning in the 1960s, as a second wave of feminist activism energized feminist thinking, women in sociology drew strength to confront the organization of their profession and to (re-) establish a feminist perspective in the discipline (Feree, Khan,and Morimoto, 2007; Niebrugge, Lengermann, and Dickinson, 2010). Key to their success was the leadership of individual women like Alice Rossi, the establishment of the Women's Caucus within the American Sociological Association and then in1971 of a separate feminist organization, Sociologists for Women in Society (SWS),which in 1987 undertook the financially daring launch of a new journal, Gender & Society, under the editorship of Judith Lorber. These moves brought women a feminist base from which to speak to the profession and a feminist publication from which to introduce ideas to the discipline. The effects of Second Wave feminism continue to this day in sociology. Women have moved into the profession in unprecedented numbers, as students, teachers, and scholars; the majority of undergraduate majors and about half of Ph.D. recipients are now women (Stacey and Thorne, 1996). Women hold office in the discipline's professional associations in percentages greater than their overall presence in the discipline (Rosenfeld, Cunningham, and Schmidt, 1997). Central to this Second Wave triumph has been establishing gender as a core concept in sociology. Gender, which is broadly understood as a social construction for classifying people and behaviors in terms of "man" and "woman," "masculine" and "feminine," is now an almost unavoidable variable in research studies—a variable whose presence implies a normative commitment to some standard of gender equality or the possibility that findings of inequality may be explained by practices of gender discrimination. The emphasis on gender vastly expanded the reach of feminist understandings to clearly include men as well as women, and the community of feminists cholars, though still primarily female, now includes important work by male feminists (Brickell, 2005; Connell, 1995; Diamond, 1992; Hearn, 2004; M. Hill, 1989; A. Johnson, 1997; Kimmel, 1996,

NSOU CC - SO - 03 289 2002; Messner, 1997; Schwalbe, 1996; Trexler,1995).Yet there remains a recurring unease about the relationship between feminism and sociology, an unease classically framed by Stacey and Thorne in their 1985essay "The Missing Feminist Revolution in Sociology" and revisited subsequently (Alway, 1995b; Chafetz, 1997; Stacey and Thorne, 1996; Thistle, 2000; Wharton, 2006). A "feminist revolution in sociology" presumably would mean reworking sociology's content, concepts, and practices to take account of the perspectives and experiences of women. This effort has been far from wholesale or systematic. Forinstance, within the sociological theory community, feminists constitute a distinct and active theory group, intermittently acknowledged but unassimilated, whose ideas have not yet radically affected the dominant conceptual frameworks of the discipline. The concern with gender has focused the energy of much feminist scholarship in sociology. But it may also have moved that energy away from two original primary concerns of feminist theory—the liberation of women and, as a means to that end, an articulation of the world in terms of women's experience. The study of gender is certainly not antithetical to these projects but neither is it coterminous with them. This issue attempts to take account of the enormous developments around the concept of gender while at the same time remembering that feminist theory is not the same thing as the sociology of gender, an awareness that may help explain recent developments in feminist theorizing such as the growth of intersectionality theory and the resurgence of sexual difference theory, as well as the persistence of materialist or socialist feminism. 19.7 A Theory for the Sociology of women A major challenge for feminist theorists is to bridge the structural and interpretive approaches available in the social sciences and in women's studies theory. An integrative theory of women's oppression should draw from all available models, not to construct a hodgepodge, but with an eye toward the patchwork quilt of women's traditional crafts. Such a patchwork would take the useful concepts of feminist models and draw them together to make a strong theoretical fabric. We first draw on structural approaches which contribute generalizable concepts and an " anticipated social structure" (Glaser and Strass,1971). These generalizable concepts should not determine ahead of time the questions we ask of women or the answers we hear from them. Instead, these provide frameworks for anticipating those social structures and organizations that might influence women's lives. Interpretive approaches then can contribute meaning and process at the individual level (Smith,1987). We outline how the concept of value can be used to frame women's experiences of oppression from a
290 NSOU CC - SO - 03 formal perspective. The poststructuralists argue that we cannot answer the question, "Are there women?" or "What is value?" – We believe that these questions must be asked , even if the medium of language will ultimately distort the reality of women's lives. 19.8 Propositions for a Sociology of Women What is the relationship of use value to exchange value in a given society? How does this relationship affect women in varying institutions such as the economy or the family? What are the relationships among patriarchy, colonialism and capitalism in the construction of societal values? We need to identify the relationships among different concepts in our model. a) Economics and Value The first proposition is that in a capitalist market economy, exchange value takes priority over use value. This model is expanded to show the interconnection of use value and exchange value in the patriarchal structure (Benston,1969). The contribution of Feminist theory has been the recognition that throughout any period of economic history women have contributed in both types of labor. b) Sexuality and Value In the definition and everyday experience of sexuality, there are several frames of reference.The first is the family, as this is the major institution in which sexual behaviors, attitudes and norms are structured. The other frames are the politics of motherhood and reproductive freedom, and finally, public sexuality markets of prostitution and pornography. Each of these dimensions helps us to identify the integration and contradictions in the roles of heterosexual women predominantly and the roles of all women in light of market and colonial factors. c) Self -esteem and Value The social- psychological construct of self- concept identifies important aspects of how society and the individual interact. Every social being has a self-concept. The self-evaluation of that identity provides the comparative concept which Weber stated we must come to understand. Use value, in this instance, would include both the individual self- evaluation which leads to personal well- being (Am I a good person? Do I have value?)and the social factors which influence the construction of that evaluation by which the self- concept becomes a resource or a liability in social settings.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 291 In a market context, self-esteem becomes both a resource and a liability. Much of the human capital required for employment is predicted on some self-resource : achievement in school; ability to persevere in the face of failure; and the presentation of a confident, skilled self. As a resource we can build self-esteem through a range of self-help courses and books, but most psychological literature indicates that females, in general, will have access to lower levels of this resource than men. Thus, we have the proliferation of consumer products targeted toward women to "assert ourselves gently", or to "dress for success". 19.9 Conclusion

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Feminist theory develops a system of ideas about human life that features women as objects and subjects, doers and knowers. Feminism has a

history as long as women's subordination—and women have been subordinated almost always and everywhere.Until the late 1700s feminist writing survived as a thin but persistent trickle of protest; from that time to the present,

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feminist writing has become a growing tide of critical work. While the production of feminist theory has typically expanded and contracted with societal swings between reform and retrenchment, the contemporary stage of feminist scholarship shows a self-sustaining expansion despite new conservative societal trends. 19.10 Summary Feminist

scholarship is guided by four basic questions: And what about the women? Why is women's situation as it

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is? How can we change and improve the social world?

and What about differences among women? Answers to these questions produce the varieties of feminist theory. This section patterns this variety to show four major groupings of feminist theory. Theories of gender difference see women's situation as different from men's, explaining this difference in terms of two distinct and enduring ways of being, male and female, or institutional roles and social interaction, or ontological constructions of woman as "other." Theories of gender inequality, notably by liberal feminists, emphasize

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women's claim to a fundamental right of equality and describe the unequal opportunity structures created by sexism.

Gender oppression theories include feminist psychoanalytic theory and radical feminism. The former explains the oppression of women in terms of psychoanalytic descriptions of the male psychic drive to dominate; the latter, in terms of men's ability and willingness to use violence to subjugate women. Structural oppression theories include socialist feminism and intersectionality theory; socialist feminism describes oppression as arising from a patriarchal and a capitalist attempt to control social production and reproduction; intersectionality theories trace
292 NSOU CC - SO - 03 the consequences of class, race, gender, affectional preference, and global location for lived experience, group standpoints,and relations among women. Today, women's empowerment is on the development agenda of governments and civil society organizations around the world, and this is owed in large part to the relentless struggles undertaken by feminists over several decades. Both governments and corporations seem to now understand the importance of women empowerment, even as they continue to keep their distance from "radical feminists". Nothing demonstrates this better than the cause of the #MeToo Movement, where, particularly the corporate sector, which had co-operated gender equality as a cause, showed that it would only care about women's rights as long as they were not asking for "too much". Closer home, schemes such as Beti Bachao Beti Padhao and the Pradhan Mantri Yojana that have been introduced to benefit women in India, still look like stop-gap measures because they only target the most visible, material parts of gender disparity. They however, do not attempt to address the patriarchal structures that cause this disparity. 19.11 Questions (1) What has been the focus of Feminism in the last decade specially in India? (2) Discuss in brief the historical roots of Feminism. (3) How far Feminist Theory is different from the grand sociological theories? (4) Do you think that women are really empowered today? Justify your answer with reasons. 19.12 References 1. Ritzer George, "Sociological Theory"(2011), Rawat Publications ; Delhi. 2. Ray, Raka. Fields of Protest: Women's Movements in India Archived 7 July 2014 at the Wayback Machine. University of Minnesota Press; Minneapolis, MN. 1999. Page 13. 3. Kumar, Radha. The History of Doing Archived 10 January 2016 at the Wayback Machine, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 1998. 4. Sen, Amartya. "The Many Faces of Gender Inequality." The New Republic, 17 September 2001; page 39. 5. Feminism in the Last Decade: An Interactive | Economic and ...www.epw.in › engage › article › womens-day-feminism-in-the-last-de..
NSOU CC - SO - 03 293 Unit - 20 The Stages of Development of Feminism Structure 20.1 Objectives 20.2 Introduction 20.3 Salient Features: What is Feminism about? 20.4 Waves of Feminism 20.4.1 The First Feminist Wave 20.4.2 The Second Feminist Wave 20.4.3 The Third Wave 20.5 Criticism 20.6 Conclusion 20.7 Summary 20.8 Questions 20.9 Suggested Readings 20.10 References 20.11 Glossary 20.1 Objectives • To understand the history of feminism • To understand the rise of feminism as an ideology in Europe and America • To conceptualize feminism and to bring out its characteristics. 20.2 Introduction The rise of Feminism as an ideology in Europe and America can be traced back to the mid19 th century as a consequence of emergence of the ideals from the Enlightenment and French Revolution. The tensions and conflicts of Enlightenment made the starting point of the debate regarding the role and position of women in the society. The existing ideas at the 18 th century society was that of master-slave, based on the assumed physical

294 NSOU CC - SO - 03 and intellectual differences between them. Masculinity and Feminity were constructed as opposite two poles. The former was assigned rational, objective and scientific tone while the latter with the stereotypes of emotionalism, sensuality and irrationality. Thinkers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau (1718-78) reinforced this dichotomy. Rousseau in Emile (1762) propounded different models of education based on sexual differences. He proposed that education for boys should be intended to develop their natural instincts for freedom and rationality whereas the female should be educated so that they can be good mother and wife. But later the Feminist thinkers forcefully challenged the assumption about female inferiority and the birth of Feminism. These early feminist thinkers were MaryWollstonecraft (1759- 97), Margaret Fuller (1810-50) and Harriet Martineau (1802-76). To speak precisely, the term Feminism can be used to describe a political, cultural or economic movement aimed at establishing equal rights and legal protection for women. One important point here to remember is that Feminism must not be merged with Women's Movement that encompassed a broader designation. Not all women associates are necessarily feminists. They are generally drawn from an urban elite. Feminists were and remain a minority. Sometimes they have been criticized as being "bourgeois" and critics try to discredit them. Feminism is actually a method of analysis, a way of looking at the world from women's perspective. The origin of the term can be tracked back to 1871 when it was used as a medical term to define feminisation of the bodies of male patients. 20.3 Salient Features: What is Feminism about? Before we start with Feminism let us make some points with Feminism clear. Firstly, Feminism is not the belief that women are superior. Secondly, Feminism is not hating man (Misandry). Thirdly, Feminism is not male oppression. It aims only at achieving and establishing equality between men and women. Therefore, Feminist is a person who believes in the social, political and economic equality of the sexes. 20.4 Waves of Feminism The history of the feminist movement is divided into three waves. The First wave refers to the movement of the 19 th through early 20 th centuries, which dealt mainly with suffrage, working conditions and educational rights for women and girl. The Second wave (1960- 1980) dealt with the inequality of laws, as well as cultural inequalities and the role of women in society. The Third wave of Feminism (1990-2000) is seen as both a continuation of the second wave and a response to the perceived failures. The metaphor of the wave
NSOU CC - SO - 03 295 has been used extensively to characterize feminist activities. The first wave relates to the initial period of Feminism and the Second wave emerged during the late 1960's.More recently there has been a debate on the usefulness of the wave metaphor for capturing the complexities of feminism. The discussion seeks to challenge the metaphor and replace it with others, such as geological one with eruptions and flowers or radio waves with their many frequencies. Apart from all other things to understand Feminism today, it is important to know their history. As already noted, this will depend largely on the National contexts for the period being studied, for example the link between the abolition of slavery movement at the beginning of U.S. feminisers or the importance of 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, the aim of which was "to discuss the social, civil, religious condition and rights of women. Born during the last decade of the 19 th century the golden age of feminism was reached prior to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. During the war the Feminists prioritized concentrating on serving their countries and they generally suspended their claims in the context of Patriotism. The assumption was like that after the war was over they will be rewarded with the granting of rights, particularly the right to vote. Although this did happen in the United Kingdom in 1918, Germany in 1919 and the United States 1920, many countries continued to deny women the franchise for many years. For example, Spain, Brazil, France Japan Argentina, Greece, India, Finland, Norway, Denmark enfranchised women after quite a long period of time.The waves of feminism are discussed in detail as follows: 20.4.1 The first feminist wave The First wave of Feminism consisted largely of white, middle class, well educated women. It refers to an extended period of feminist activity during the 19 th century and early 20 th century, in the United Kingdom and United States. Originally it focused on the promotion of equal contract and property rights for women. However, by the end of the 19 th century activism focused primarily on gathering political power particularly on women's suffrage. Discussions about the vote and women's participation in politics led to an examination of the differences between men and women. But still huge sacrifice was made by the First wave Feminists who showed enormous courage and daring in their demand not just for votes but the reform of Laws in which women and children are literally the property of man. The end of First wave is often associated with the periods in the early 20 th century during and after World War 1. To be more specific the first wave of feminism actually started in the late 1700 and lasted till the early 1900.Apart from all other things this time abuse with women began

296 NSOU CC - SO - 03 to be considered as a matter of shame to the intellectuals. This time the society and government started recognising the importance of equal rights. First Wave feminism promoted equal contract and property rights for women opposing ownership of married women by their husbands. By the late 19 th Century, feminist activism was primarily focused on the right to vote. American first wave feminism ended with passage of the 19 th Amendment to the US constitution in 1919,granting women voting right .But the struggle for the vote was only in the beginning and it had many different opinions. First Wave feminism promoted equal contract and property rights for women oppossing ownership of married women by their husbands. By the late 19 th Century, feminist activism was primarily focused on the right to vote. American first wave feminism ended with passage of the 19 th Amendment to the US constitution in 1919,granting women vote right .But the struggle for the vote was only in the beginning and it had many different opinions. After securing the right to vote apparently around 1920's-the great depression of the 1930's forced the menfolk to return to the home. During this period of high unemployment, women were accused of taking the jobs from man. The interwar period was marked by the rise of Fascism in many countries, and the consequent hostile environment in which feminists were forced with limited margin from manoeuvre. With the outbreak of World War II in 1939, men were obliged to fight and women got back their jobs. Then, after the war had ended the women were expected to return to the home and take responsibility for their "Domestic obligations". 20.4.2 The second feminist wave The second Feminist wave is often associated with the periods in the early 20 th Century, during and after World War I (1914-1918) when most women in the western world were granted the right to vote. Second wave feminism broadened the debate to a wide range of issues like sexuality, family and workplace, reproductive rights and office inequalities whereas First wave Feminism focused mainly on suffrage and gender equality Second wave feminism refers to the period of activity in the early 1960's and lasting throughout the late 1980's. It was actually a continuation of the earlier phase of Feminism. Second wave Feminism has continued to exist since that time and co-exists with Third wave Feminism. The Feminist activist and author Carol Hawick coined the slogan "The Personal is Political" which became synonymous with the Second wave. Second wave feminists saw women's cultural and political inequalities as inextricably linked and encouraged women to

NSOU CC - SO - 03 297 understand as per their personal life as deeply politicized and as reflecting sex-based power structure. The French author and philosopher Simon De Beauvoir wrote novels and now she is best known for her metaphysical novels including the Second sex a detailed analysis of women's oppression and a foundation base of Contemporary Feminism. It was written in 1949 and was translated in English in the year 1953.It sets out a feminist existentialism which accepted the affirmation that "One is not born a woman but becomes one". She argued that women have been considered deviant and abnormal. Even Mary Wollstonecraft considered men to be the ideal towards which women should aspire. The phrase women' s liberation was first used in the United States in 1964 and first appeared in print in 1966. Bra burning also became associated with the movement though the actual prevalence of Bra burning is debatable. Within the broader second wave feminists' movement, two movements emerged; while one wants to change society from within, the other radical movement questions fundamentally if society's hierarchical and patriarchal nature was the main problem. Both these movements made major contributions however through their influence in society in general. Whereas today we take many things for granted such as women in the workforce become increasingly acceptable after the 1960's .Moreover, delaying in marriage is not a question in today's society butthis was not the rule in pre 1960's and parts of Europe. Ultimately the second wave feminists movement gave women the opportunity to talk more about the condition of state and politics also. In short, the second wave Feminism has the following agenda like Birth control, Equal rights amendment, Sexual discrimination, sexual harassment and so on. Just as the abolitionists, 19 th century women were more aware of their lack of power and encouraged them to form the first women's rights movement which is also termed as First Wave Feminism-the Protest movement in the 1960's inspired many white and middle class women to organize their own movement which is known as second wave Feminism. Second wave Feminism actually refers mostly to the radical feminism of the leftist movement in post war western societies-among them the student's protest, the anti - Vietnam war movement, the lesbian and gay movement and in the United states the Civil rights and the Black power movement. These movements criticised capitalism and Imperialism and focused on the notion and interest of oppressed group. The demand of the second wave was not only the political and legal equality but also control over their reproductive and sexual roles. The need for this change was originally felt during

298 NSOU CC - SO - 03 second world war which acted as a base stone for the movement that was supported by the feminist political activists. This tendency is also called Gyno-criticism and involves three major aspects. First of them examines and recognizes the work of female writers. This aspect observes their place and how they are considered in the literary history. The Second aspect of the second wave is based on how a woman is characterized by the works of both male and female authors.The third is the most important aspect which recognises the context of women empowerment and criticizing the way women have been treated in different cultures.The achievements of the Second wave were the equal pay act of 1963 Education amendment of 1972. The leaders and activists of Second wave were Betty Friedman (1921-2006), Emma Goldman (1869-1940) Margaret Sanger (1879-1966) and Hillary Clinton. Because the second wave of feminism found voice amid so many other social movements it was easily marginalized and viewed as less important. Whereas the first wave feminism was generally propelled by middle class, western and white women the second phase drew in women of colour and developing nations, seeking sisterhood and solidarity claiming women's struggle is class struggle.' 20.4.3 The Third Wave Feminism : Transversal Politics Third wave feminism began in the early 1990's -arising as a response to perceived failures of the second wave. It seeks to challenge or avoid the second wave's definitions of feminism which overemphasized the experience of upper middle-class women. Started in the early 1990s, this wave continued until 2012. The feminists consider the role of equal civil rights and other movements during the second wave, but they see the feminism from a different perspective. They emphasise on the individual rights as well as the acceptance of diversity. Third wave feminists often focus on micro politics and challenge the Second wave's paradigm as to what is or is not good for females. Born with the privileges that the first and second wave feminists see themselves as capable, strong and assertive social agents. Third wave feminists and Post-modern Feminists attack the binaries of the masculine and the feminine sex-gender related structure. Although the term inter sectionally was coined in 1989, a few years before the Third wave began, they embraced this concept during this wave. Rebecca Walker coined the term to highlight the third wave's focus on queer and non-white women. In 1992, she published an article in response to the Anita Hill case, about how she is sick of women being silenced and man using their privileges to get away with sexual harassment and other forms of oppression. In the end she states "I am not a post-feminism feminist. I am the third wave.'' Walker wanted to establish that third wave feminism is not just a reaction but a movement itself, because
NSOU CC - SO - 03 299 women's issues were far from over. Third wave feminists have broadened their goals, focusing on theory, and abolishing gender role expectations and stereotypes. Unlike the determined position of Second wave feminists about women in pornography, sex work and prostitution, third wave feminists were rather ambiguous and divided about these themes (feminist sex wars). While some thought these sexual acts are degrading and oppressing women, others saw it as empowering that women own their sexuality. There was a division of opinion but Third wave feminism embraced differences, personal narratives and individualism instead of having one agenda. Its focus was less on political changes and more on individualistic identity. Third wave feminists wanted to transform traditional notions of sexuality and embrace "an exploration of women's feelings about sexuality that included vagina centered topics as diverse as orgasm, birth and rape. One of Third wave feminists' primary goals was to demonstrate that access to contraception and abortions are women's reproductive rights. Besides Third wave feminism regarded race, social class and trans gender rights as central issues. It also paid attention to workplace matters such as glass ceiling, unfair maternity leave policies, respect for working mothers and the rights of mothers who decide to leave their careers to raise their children full time. In fact, third wave Feminism broke the boundaries. 20.5 Criticism One issue raised by critics was a lack of cohesion because of the absence of a single cause for third wave feminism. The first wave fought for and gained the right for women to have access to an equal opportunity in the work place, as well as the end of legal sex discrimination. The Third wave allegedly lacked a cohesive goal and was often seen as an extension of the Second wave. Some argued that the third wave could be dubbed the Second wave part two when it comes to the politics of feminism. Though a number of different approaches exist in feminist criticism there exist some areas of commonality. The list is excerpted from Tyson (92). Women are oppressed by patriarchy, politically, socially and psychologically. Patriarchal ideology is the primary means by which women ate oppressed. In every domain, where patriarchy reigns, woman is other; she is marginalized, defined only by her difference from male norms and values. All of western (Anglo-European) civilization is deeply rooted in patriarchal ideology, for example, in the Biblical portrayal of Eve as the origin of sin and death in the world.While Biology determines our sex, culture determines our gender. All feminist activity, including feminist theory and literary criticism, has as its ultimate goal to change the world by promoting gender equality. Feminist criticism has, in many ways, followed what some theorists of the three waves of feminism had pointed out:

300 NSOU CC - SO - 03 First Wave Feminism-late 1700 s and early 1900's writers like Mary Woolstonecraft highlight the inequalities between the sexes. Activists like Susan B. Anthony contributed to the women's suffrage movement which led to National Universal Suffrage in 1920 with the passing of the 19 th Amendment. But critics considered the way novelists discriminate and marginalize the women characters here. Second Wave Feminism The second wave of Feminism was started in the early 1960's and continued till late 1970's. It was the time when the movement of equal rights and equal working conditions for women was on peak. National organization for women was started in 1966 as a movement to create equal working conditions for women in America. Many Feminist scholars see the generational division of second wave as problematic Third wave Feminism. Third wave was criticised for the lack of cohesion because of the absence of a single cause for third wave feminism. The third wave allegedly lacked a cohesive goal and was often seen as an extension of the second wave. One argument ran that the equation of the third wave feminism within individualism prevented the movement from growing and moving. 20.6 Conclusion The long, and at times radically innovative, history of feminism is all too easily forgotten. When 'second-wave' feminism emerged in the late 1960s, it seemed, at the time at least, unexpected, surprising, and exciting. One big difference during the years since then has been the way Western women have become much more aware of other feminisms – not just in Europe, but across the world – that, hopefully, may challenge our cherished ideas and certainties, and undermine any complacency that we may have developed. That wider awareness is due to a number of factors. Technical advances are certainly important: the fact, for example, that feminists in different countries can now communicate quickly and effectively, share experiences and information with large numbers of people, through the Internet. Academic feminism has played an important role in this. A great many universities, certainly in most Western countries, now run courses on women's studies, and specifically on feminism. Academic research has given us extremely valuable insights into women's lives at other times and in other cultures, inviting us to think about differences, as well as about common causes. Academic theses, scholarly articles and texts, as well as conferences, have all helped disseminate important information about feminism across the world.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 301 20.7 Summary In the 20th century, we find that the first-wave' feminists had demanded civil and political equanimity. In the 1970s, 'second-wave' feminism focused on, and gave great importance to, sexual and family rights for the women. 'The personal is the political' was a popular 1970s catch word that some contemporary feminists seem to want to oppose. The political is reduced to the merely personal questions revolving around sexuality and family life – which have other greater political implications under consideration. Natasha Walter, in her work,The New Feminism (1998), while reinforcing that women are 'still poorer and less powerful than men', debates that the task for recent feminism is to 'attack the material basis of economic and social and political inequality'. An important point she made though she remains extremely unclear about precisely what that attack would mean. She reveals to have come up with a new idea instead of one that had been around for long, that we want to shoulder with men to change society and do not want to pit against men. After all, especially if things are to change in the family arena, there is a need for men to take on a fair share of domestic work as more and more women move out of the home. In short, we must collaborate and work with men to create a more equal society. The long, and at times radically innovative, history of feminism is all too easily forgotten. When 'second-wave' feminism emerged in the late 1960s, it seemed, at the time at least, unexpected, surprising, exciting. One big difference during the years since then has been the way Western women have become much more aware of other feminisms – not just in Europe, but across the world – that, hopefully, may challenge our cherished ideas and certainties, and undermine any complacency that we may have developed. That wider awareness is due to a number of factors. Technical advances are certainly important: the fact, for example, that feminists in different countries can now communicate quickly and effectively, share experiences and information with large numbers of people, through the Internet. Academic feminism has played an important role in this. A great many universities, certainly in most Western countries, now run courses on women's studies, and specifically on feminism. Academic research has given us extremely valuable insights into women's lives at other times and in other cultures; inviting us to think about differences, as well as about common causes. Academic theses, scholarly articles and texts, as well as conferences, have all helped disseminate important information about feminism across the world (Walters:2005). Feminist history calls on us to imagine the world in new ways. It has the power to alter social relations by exposing the undeserved privileges that perpetuate long-standing

302 NSOU CC - SO - 03 social inequities. Feminism and its historical sequence will help you rethink history through the lens of feminist analysis. It explores the origins and strategies of women's activism, Ranging through different waves and argues for the importance of valuing women in a society that has long devalued women's contributions. The nit will help your understanding of feminist history by highlighting the regulation of sexual boundaries, with an emphasis on the elasticity of both sexual identities and sexual politics (Freedman:2006). 20.8 Questions I. Answer Briefly: a. What is First Wave Feminism? b. What is Second Wave Feminism? II. Answer in Detail: a. How will you bring out the history of the emergence of Feminism in the world? b. How is contemporary Feminism different from its classical forms? c. Write a critique of the Feminist understanding of the social world. d. What is the post modernist feminist view on the bifurcation of the masculine and the feminine issues? 20.9 Suggested Readings Sheila Rowbotham, The Past is Before Us: Feminism in Action since the 1960s (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1990). Sheila Rowbotham, A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States (London: Viking, 1997). Marsha Rowe (ed.), Spare Rib Reader (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982). Jennifer Mather Saul, Feminism: Issues and Arguments (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Lynne Segal, Is the Future Female? Troubled Thoughts on Contemporary Feminism (London: Virago Press, 1987). Lynne Segal, Why Feminism? (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999).

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304 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Feminity- Femininity (also called womanliness or girlishness) is a set of attributes, behaviors, and roles generally associated with women and girls. Although femininity is socially constructed some research indicates that some behaviors considered feminine are biologically influenced. To what extent femininity is biologically or socially influenced is subject to debate. It is distinct from the definition of the biological female sex as both males and females can exhibit feminine traits. Bourgeoisie- Bourgeoisie is a French term that can mean sociologically- defined social class, especially in contemporary times, referring to people with a certain cultural and financial capital belonging to the middle or upper middle class: the upper, middle, and petty bourgeoisie (which are collectively designated "the bourgeoisie"); an affluent and often opulent stratum of the middle class who stand opposite the proletariat class.

NSOU CC - SO - 03 305 Unit - 21 Varieties of Feminism Structure 21.1 Objectives 21.2. Introduction 21.3. Varieties of Feminist Theory 21.3.1 Gender Difference (Cultural Feminism) 21.3.2 Gender Inequality (Liberal Feminism) 21.3.3 Gender Oppression (Radical Feminism) 21.3.4 Structural Oppression (Socialist Feminism) 21.4. Other Varieties of Contemporary Feminist Theory 21.4.1Black Feminism 21.4.2 Post-Structuralist Feminism 21.5. Conclusion 21.6. Summary 21.7. Questions 21.8. References 21.9. Suggested readings 21.10 Glossary 21.1Objectives Developing

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a system of ideas about human life that features women as objects and subjects, doers and knowers

Getting to know the varieties that show four major groupings of feminist theory Understanding the contemporary stage of feminist scholarship which

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shows a self-sustaining expansion despite new conservative societal trends 306

NSOU CC - SO - 03 21.2 Introduction Feminism has a history as long as women's subordination—and women have been subordinated almost always and everywhere.Until the late 1700s feminist writing survived as a thin but persistent trickle of protest;from that time to the present,

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feminist writing has become a growing tide of critical work. While the production of feminist theory has typically expanded and contracted with societal swings between reform and retrenchment, the contemporary stage of feminist scholarship shows a self-sustaining expansion despite new conservative societal trends. Feminist

theory remained on the margins of sociology, ignored by the central male formulators of the discipline until the 1970s. Since the 1970s, a growing presence of women in sociology and the momentum of thewomen's movement have established feminist theory as a new sociological paradigm that inspires much sociological scholarship and research. Feminist scholarship is guided by four basic questions: What about the women? Why is women's situation as it

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is? How can we change and improve the social world?

and What about differences among women? Answers to these questions produce the varieties of feminist theory. 21.3. Varieties of Feminist Theories This variety shows four major groupings of feminist theory. Theories of gender difference see women'ssituation as different from men's, explaining this difference in terms of two distinctand enduring ways of being, male and female, or institutional roles and social interaction, or ontological constructions of woman as "other." Theories of gender inequality,notably by liberal feminists, emphasize

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women's claim to a fundamental right ofequality and describe the unequal opportunity structures created by sexism.

Genderoppression theories include feminist psychoanalytic theory and radical feminism. Theformer explains the oppression of women in terms of psychoanalytic descriptions ofthe male psychic drive to dominate; the latter, in terms of men's ability and willingness to use violence to subjugate women. Structural oppression theories includesocialist feminism and intersectionality theory; socialist feminism describes oppression as arising from a patriarchal and a capitalist attempt to control social productionand reproduction; intersectionality theories trace the consequences of class, race, gender, affectional preference, and global location for lived experience, group standpoints,and relations among women. Atthe

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current moment, this typology is located within the following intellectual trends:

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A steady movement toward synthesis, toward critically assessing how elements ofthese various theories may be combined; (2) A shift from women's oppression tooppressive practices and structures that alter both men and women; (3) Tension between interpretations that emphasize culture and meaning and those that emphasize the material consequence of powers; (4)

Finally,

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the fact that feminist theory is comingto be practiced as part of what Thomas Kuhn has called "normal science," that is, itsassumptions are taken for granted as a starting point for empirical research. 21.3.1

Gender Difference Theories of gender difference are currently among the oldest of feminist theories experiencing a resurgence of interest and elaboration. Although historically the concept of"difference" has been at the center of several theoretical debates in feminism, we useit here to refer to theories that describe, explain, and trace the implications of the waysin which men and women are or are not the same in behavior and experience. Alltheories of gender difference have to confront the problem of what usually is termed"the essentialist argument": the thesis that the fundamental differences between menand women are immutable. That immutability usually is seen as traceable to three factors: (1) biology, (2) social institutional needs for men and women to fill different roles,most especially but not exclusively in the family, and (3) the existential or phenomenological need of human beings to produce an "Other" as part of the act of self-definition.There has been some interest in sociobiology by feminist scholars, most notably AliceRossi (1977, 1983), who have explored the thesis that human biology determines manysocial differences between men and women. A continuation of this feminist interest inthe interaction of biology and sociocultural processes is also to be found in recentstatements on new (or neo-) materialism (Ahmed, 2008; Davis, 2009; Hird, 2004). Butoverall the feminist response to sociobiology has been oppositional (Chancer andPalmer, 2001; Risman, 2001). Theories of gender difference important in feministtheory today issue from a range of locations: the women's movement, psychology,existential and phenomenological philosophy, sociology, and postmodernism.

308 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Cultural Feminism Cultural feminism is unique among theories analyzed here in that it is less focusedon explaining the origins of difference and more on exploring—and even celebrating—the social value of women's distinctive ways of being, that is, of the ways in whichwomen are different from men. This approach has allowed cultural feminism to sidestep rather than resolve problems posed by the essentialist thesis. The essentialist argument of immutable gender difference was first used againstwomen in male patriarchal discourse to claim that women were inferior to men andthat this natural inferiority explained their social subordination. But that argument was reversed by some First Wave feminists who created a theory of cultural feminism,which extols the positive aspects of what is seen as "the female character" or "feminine personality." Theorists such as Margaret Fuller, Frances Willard, Jane Addams,and Charlotte Perkins Gilman were proponents of a cultural feminism that argued thatin the governing of the state, society needed such women's virtues as cooperation,caring, pacifism, and nonviolence in the settlement of conflicts (Deegan and Hill,1998; Donovan, 1985; Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, 1998). This tradition hascontinued to the present day in arguments about women's distinctive standards forethical judgment (Day, 2000; Gilligan, 1982; Held, 1993), about a mode of "caringattention" in women's consciousness (Fisher, 1995; Reiger, 1999; Ruddick, 1980),about a female style of communication (M. Crawford, 1995; Tannen, 1990, 1993,1994), about women's capacity for openness to emotional experience (Beutel andMarini, 1995; Mirowsky and Ross, 1995), and about women's lower levels of aggressive behavior and greater capacity for creating peaceful coexistence (Forcey, 2001;Ruddick, 1994; Wilson and Musick, 1997). The theme from cultural feminism most current in contemporary literature isthat developed from Carol Gilligan's argument that women operate out of a differentmethod of moral reasoning than men. Gilligan contrasts these two ethical styles as"the ethic of care," which is seen as female and focuses on achieving outcomes whereall parties feel that their needs are noticed and responded to, and the "ethic of justice,"which is seen as male and focuses on protecting the equal rights of all parties (Gilliganand Attanucci, 1988). Although much research is concerned with whether there aregender differences in people's appeal to these two ethics, the more lasting influenceof this research lies in the idea that an ethic of care is a moral position in the world(Orme, 2002; Reitz-Pustejovsky, 2002; F. Robinson, 2001). Despite criticism (Alcoff,1988; Alolo, 2006) cultural feminism has wide popular appeal because it suggests thatwomen's ways of being and knowing may be a healthier template for producing ajust society than those of an androcentric culture.
NSOU CC - SO - 03 309 21.3.2 Gender Inequality Four themes characterize feminist theorizing of gender inequality. Men and womenare situated in society not only differently but also unequally. Women get less of thematerial resources, social status, power, and opportunities for self-actualization thando men who share their social location—be it a location based on class, race, occupation, ethnicity, religion, education, nationality, or any intersection of these factors. This inequality results from the organization of society, not from any significantbiological or personality differences between women and men. For although individual human beings may vary somewhat from each other in their profile of potentials and traits, no significant pattern of natural variation distinguishes the sexes.Instead, all human beings are characterized by a deep need for freedom to seekself-actualization and by a fundamental malleability that leads them to adapt to theconstraints or opportunities of the situations in which they find themselves. To saythat there is gender inequality, then, is to claim that women are situationally lessempowered than men to realize the need they share with men for self-actualization. All inequality theories assume that both women and men will respond fairly easilyand naturally to more egalitarian social structures and situations. They affirm, inother words, that it is possible to change the situation. In this belief, theorists ofgender inequality contrast with the theorists of gender difference, who present apicture of social life in which gender differences are, whatever their cause, moredurable, more penetrative of personality, and less easily changed.
Liberal Feminism The major expression of gender inequality theory is liberal feminism, which arguesthat women may claim equality with men on the basis of an essential human capacityfor reasoned moral agency, that gender inequality is the result of a sexist patterningof the division of labor, and that gender equality can be produced by transformingthe division of labor through the re-patterning of key institutions—law, work, family,education, and media (Bem, 1993; Friedan, 1963; Lorber, 1994; Pateman, 1999;A. Rossi, 1964; Schaeffer, 2001). Historically the first element in the liberal feminist argument is the claim forgender equality. This claim was first politically articulated in the Declaration of Sentiments drafted at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 with the express purpose of paralleling and expanding the Declaration of Independence to include women. It opens withthe revisionist line "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all man and women arecreated equal", changes the list of grievances to focus on women's state, and concludes with a call for

310 NSOU CC - SO - 03 women to do whatever is required to gain equal rightswith men. In its arguments, the Declaration of Sentiments let the women's movementlay claim to the intellectual discourses of the Enlightenment, the American and Frenchrevolutions, and the abolitionist movement. It claimed for women the rights accorded toall human beings under natural law, on the basis of the human capacity for reason andmoral agency; asserted that laws which denied women their right to happiness were"contrary to the great precept of nature and of no authority"; and called for changein law and custom to allow women to assume their equal place in society. The denialof those rights by governments instituted by men violates natural law and is the tyrannical working out of multiple practices of sexism. The radical nature of this foundationaldocument is that it conceptualizes the woman not in the context of home and familybut as an autonomous individual with rights in her own person (DuBois, 1973/1995). Liberal feminism, thus, rests on the beliefs that (1) all human beings have certain essential features—capacities for reason, moral agency, and self-actualization—(2) the exercise of these capacities can be secured through legal recognition of universal rights,(3) the inequalities between men and women assigned by sex are social constructionshaving no basis in "nature," and (4) social change for equality can be produced by anorganized appeal to a reasonable public and the use of the state. Contemporary liberal feminism has expanded to include a global feminism that confronts racism in North Atlantic societies and works for "the human rights ofwomen" everywhere. And this discourse has continued to express many of its foundational statements in organizational documents such as the National Organization forWomen's Statement of Purpose and the Beijing Declaration. These organizationalstatements of purpose rely on an informing theory of human equality as a right thatthe state—local, national, international—must respect. These arguments are beingfreshly invoked in debates with the political right over reproductive freedom (Bordo,1993; Solinger, 1998), in debates with postmodernists over the possibility and utilityof formulating principles of rights (K. Green, 1995; A. Phillips, 1993; P. Williams,1991), and in feminist considerations of the gendered character of liberal democratictheory and practice (Haney, 1996; Hirschmann and Di Stefano, 1996; A. Phillips,1993; Thistle, 2002). Liberal feminists' agenda for change is consistent with their analyses of the basisfor claiming equality and the causes of inequality: they wish to eliminate gender asan organizing principle in the distribution of social "goods," and they are willing toinvoke universal principles in their pursuit of equality (Sallee, 2008). Some recentwritings even argue for the elimination of gender categories themselves (Lorber, 2000,2001). Liberal feminists

NSOU CC - SO - 03 311 pursue change through law—legislation, litigation, andregulation—and through appeal to the human capacity for reasoned moral judgments,that is, the capacity of the public to be moved by arguments for fairness. They arguefor equal educational and economic opportunities; equal responsibility for the activities of family life; the elimination of sexist messages in family, education, and massmedia; and individual challenges to sexism in daily life. Liberal feminists have workedthrough legislative change to ensure equality in education and to bar job discrimination; they have monitored regulatory agencies charged with enforcing this legislation; they have mobilized themselves to have sexual harassment in the workplace legally defined as"job discrimination"; and they have demanded both "pay equity" (equal pay for equalwork) and "comparable worth" (equal pay for work of comparable value) (Acker,1989; England, 1992; R. Rosenberg, 1992). For liberal feminists, the ideal gender arrangement would be one in which eachindividual acting as a free and responsible moral agent chooses the lifestyle mostsuitable to her or him and has that choice accepted and respected, be it for housewifeor househusband, unmarried careerist or part of a dual-income family, childless orwith children, heterosexual or homosexual. Liberal feminists see this ideal as one thatwould enhance the practice of freedom and equality, central cultural ideals in America.Liberal feminism, then, is consistent with the dominant American ethos in its basicacceptance of democracy and capitalism, its reformist orientation, and its appeal tothe values of individualism, choice, responsibility, and equality of opportunity. 21.3.4 Gender Oppression Theories of gender oppression describe women's situation as the consequence of adirect power relationship between men and women in which men have fundamentaland concrete interests in controlling, using, and oppressing women—that is, in thepractice of domination. By domination, oppression theorists mean any relationship inwhich one party (individual or collective), the dominant, succeeds in making the otherparty (individual or collective), the subordinate, an instrument of the dominant's will. Instrumentality, by definition, is understood as involving the denial of the suborbinate's independent subjectivity (Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, 1995). Women's situation, for theorists of gender oppression, is centrally that of being dominatedand oppressed by men. This pattern of gender oppression is incorporated in the deepest and most pervasive ways into society's organization, a basic arrangement of domination most commonly called patriarchy, in which society is organized to privilege men in all aspects of social life. Patriarchy is not the unintended and secondaryconsequence of some other set of

312 NSOU CC - SO - 03 factors—be it biology or socialization or sex rolesor the class system. It is a primary power arrangement sustained by strong and deliberate intention. Indeed, to theorists of gender oppression, gender differences and gender inequality are by-products of patriarchy. Radical Feminism Radical feminism is based on two emotionally charged central beliefs: (1) that womenare of absolute positive value as women, a belief asserted against what they claim tobe the universal devaluing of women, and (2) that women are everywhere oppressed—violently oppressed—by the system of patriarchy (Bunch, 1987; Chesler, 1994; Daly,1973; C. Douglas, 1990; Dworkin, 1989; Echols, 1989; French, 1992; Frye, 1983;Hunnicutt, 2009; MacKinnon, 1989, 1993; Monrow, 2007; Rhodes, 2005; Rich, 1976,1980). With passion and militance similar to the "black power" cry of African -American mobilization and the "witnessing" by Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, radicalfeminists elaborate a theory of social organization, gender oppression, and strategies for change. Radical feminists see in every institution and in society's most basic stratificational arrangements—heterosexuality, class, caste, race, ethnicity, age, and gender—systems of domination and subordination, the most fundamental structure of which isthe system of patriarchy. Not only is patriarchy historically the first structure of domination and submission, it continues as the most pervasive and enduring system ofinequality, the basic societal model of domination (Lerner, 1986). Through participation in patriarchy, men learn how to hold other human beings in contempt, to seethem as nonhuman, and to control them. Within patriarchy men see and women learnwhat subordination looks like. Patriarchy creates guilt and repression, sadism andmasochism, manipulation and deception, all of which drive men and women to otherforms of tyranny. Patriarchy, to radical feminists, is the least noticed yet the mostsignificant structure of social inequality. Central to this analysis is the image of patriarchy as violence practiced by menand by male-dominated organizations against women. Violence may not always takethe form of overt physical cruelty. It can be hidden in more complex practices ofexploitation and control: in standards of fashion and beauty; in tyrannical ideals ofmotherhood, monogamy, chastity, and heterosexuality; in sexual harassment in theworkplace; in the practices of gynecology, obstetrics, and psychotherapy; and inunpaid household drudgery and underpaid wage work (MacKinnon, 1979; Rich, 1976,1980; L. Roth, 1999; B. Thompson, 1994; N. Wolf, 1991). Violence exists wheneverone group controls in its own interests the life chances, environments, actions, andperceptions of another group, as men do to women.Patriarchy exists as a near-universal social form because men can muster themost

NSOU CC - SO - 03 313 basic power resource, physical force, to establish control. Once patriarchy is inplace, the other power resources—economic, ideological, legal, and emotional—alsocan be marshaled to sustain it. But physical violence always remains its base, and inboth interpersonal and intergroup relations, that violence is used to protect patriarchyfrom women's individual and collective resistance. How is patriarchy to be defeated? Radicals hold that this defeat must begin witha basic reworking of women's consciousness so that each woman recognizes her ownvalue and strength; rejects patriarchal pressures to see herself as weak, dependent, andsecond- class; and works in unity with other women, regardless of differences amongthem, to establish a broad-based sisterhood of trust, support, appreciation, and mutualdefense (Chasteen, 2001; McCaughey, 1997; Whitehead, 2007). With this sisterhoodin place, two strategies suggest themselves: a critical confrontation with any facet ofpatriarchal domination whenever it is encountered and a degree of separatism aswomen withdraw into women-run businesses, households, communities, centers ofartistic creativity, and lesbian love relationships. Lesbian feminism, as a major strandin radical feminism, is the practice and belief that "erotic and/or emotional commitment to women is part of resistance to patriarchal domination" (Phelan, 1994; Rudy,2001; Taylor and Rupp, 1993). 21.3.4 Structural Oppression Structural oppression theories, like gender oppression theories, recognize that oppression results from the fact that some groups of people derive direct benefits fromcontrolling, using, and subjugating other groups of people. Structural oppression theorists analyze how interests in domination are enacted through social structure, hereunderstood as those recurring and routinized large-scale arrangements of social relations that arise out of history, and are always arrangements of power. These theoristsfocus on the structures of patriarchy, capitalism, racism, and heterosexism, and theylocate enactments of domination and experiences of oppression in the interplay ofthese structures, that is, in the way they mutually reinforce each other. Structuraloppression theorists do not absolve or deny the agency of individual dominants, butthey examine how that agency is the product of structural arrangements. In this section we look at two types of structural oppression theory: socialist feminism andintersectionality theory.

314 NSOU CC - SO - 03 Socialist Feminism The theoretical project of socialist feminism develops around three goals: (1) toachieve a critique of the distinctive yet interrelated oppressions of patriarchy andcapitalism from a standpoint in women's experience, (2) to develop explicit and adequate methods for social analysis out of an expanded understanding of historicalmaterialism, and (3) to incorporate an understanding of the significance of ideas intoa materialist analysis of the determination of human affairs. Socialist feminists haveset themselves the formal project of achieving both a synthesis of and a theoreticalstep beyond other feminist theories, most specifically Marxian and radical feministthought (Acker, 2008; Eisenstein, 1979; Fraser, 1989, 1997; Fraser and Bedford, 2008;Gimenez, 2005; Hartsock, 1983; Hennessey and Ingraham, 1997; Jackson, 2001;MacKinnon, 1989; Dorothy Smith, 1979, 1987, 1990a, 1990b, 1999a, 1999b, 2000a,2004a, 2009; Vogel, 1995). Socialist feminists accept the Marxian analysis of capitalism's class relations asan explication of one major structure of oppression. But they reject the Marxiananalysis of patriarchy as a by-product of the same economic production. Instead theyendorse the radical feminist argument that patriarchy, while interacting with economicconditions, is an independent structure of oppression. Socialist feminism sets out to bring together these dual knowledges—knowledgeof oppression under capitalism and of oppression under patriarchy—into a unifiedexplanation of all forms of social oppression. One term used to try to unify these twooppressions is capitalist patriarchy (Eisenstein, 1979; Hartmann, 1979; A. Kuhn andWolpe, 1978). But the term perhaps more widely used is domination, defined above(under "Gender Oppression") as a relationship in which one party, the dominant,succeeds in making the other party, the subordinate, an instrument of the dominant's will, refusing to recognize the subordinate's independent subjectivity. Socialist feminism's explanations of oppression present domination as a lar ge-scale structuralarrangement, a power relation between categories of social actors that is reproducedby the willful and intentional actions of individual actors. Women are central to socialist feminism as the primary topic for analysis, and as the essential vantage point ondomination in all its forms. But these theorists are concerned with all experiences ofoppression, both by women and by men. They also explore how some women, themselves oppressed, actively participate in the oppression of other women, for example,privileged- class women in American society who oppress poor women (Eisenstein,1994; Hochschild, 2000).

NSOU CC - SO - 03 315 21.4. Other Varieties of Contemporary Feminist Theory Let us discuss some other varieties of feminism in this connection. These are of prime importance in this regard. 21.4.1 Black Feminism Black feminists point out that while gender may be the main source of oppression experienced by white, middle class women, black women are typically oppressed by their race and class as well. What is a source of oppression for white women may be a source of liberation for blacks ; whereas the family can be the principal instrument of subordination for white women, it can be a haven from a racist outside world for blacks. White women are often the racist oppressors, which hardly equates with the concept of 'sisterhood'- women's solidarity. When white women talk of the need to expand opportunities for women to work in the labor market in order to liberate themselves from the stranglehold of domesticity, they do not usually mean the kind of work many black women are forced to do, since most black women are working class. Preoccupation among some white feminists is profoundly irrelevant for many women in the third world, where poverty and starvation, lack of education are ubiquitous. 21.4.2 Post-structural Feminism In the case of Post-structural Feminism it has led its proponents to explore the implications of the use of the category 'women' in feminist analysis. In practice this means questioning whether feminism is correct to claim it speaks on behalf of all human beings who are called women. According to Butler(1990), problems arise if we assume that being called a woman indicates a life being led in a common set of circumstances and with a common set of experiences.Furthermore, there are also problems if it is assumed that 'women' all have a similar sense of themselves- that all women share a common identity. She points out that while it is useful at times to highlight the common interests of women over a specific issue, for example, over the question of equal pay, assumptions of a shared core identity between women usually backfires on feminism. Once feminism claims to be speaking for all women, a process of resistance and division almost always sets in among the very women feminism is supposed to be unifying. Butler suggests that rather than trying to make the category of women the fixed point at the center offeminism, feminist theory should encourage a flexible, open-ended exploration of what it means to be a woman. In this light, different experiences and attitudes among women are valued as sources of richness and diversity that help to empower, rather than undermine feminism.

316 NSOU CC - SO - 03 21.5. Conclusion For most of the time that sociological theorists debated the nature of modern society, a source of disadvantage experienced by half the world's population went unattended. The assumption was that the world as experienced by men was the same as that experienced by women.It was not until the political clamour of the 1960's and the renewed vigor of a woman's movement which originated at the turn of the century to secure the vote, that feminist theorizing became established as an indispensable part of sociology. During this so-called 'second wave of feminism', sociological theories began to be constructed to explain the specific experiences of women and to point out the societal route to female emancipation and fulfillment. Purpose of feminism has been to show how the acquisition of an understanding of the social conditions in which women live their lives open up the opportunity to reconstruct their world and thereby offer them the prospect of freedom. Feminist theory offers five key propositions as a basis for the revision of standard sociological theories. First, the practice of sociological theory must be based ina sociology of knowledge that recognizes the partiality of all knowledge, the knoweras embodied and socially located, and the function of power in effecting what becomesknowledge. Second, macro social structures are based in processes controlled bydominants acting in their own interests and executed by subordinates whose work ismade largely invisible and undervalued even to themselves by dominant ideology. 21.6 Summary Thus, dominants appropriate and control the productive work of society, including notonly economic production but also women's work of social reproduction. Micro-interactional processes in society are enactments of these dominant-subordinate power arrangements, enactments very differently interpreted by powerful actors andsubordinate actors. These conditions create in women's subjectivity a bifurcated consciousness along the line of fault caused by the juxtaposition of patriarchalideology and women's experience of the actualities of their lives. Thus what has been said for women may be applicable to all subordinate peoples in some parallel, though not identical, form. 21.7 Questions a) What are the main contributions of feminism to the contemporary lifestyle? b) Discuss the main currents of feminism- black, radical and others. c) Evaluate the obstacles faced by feminists in recent times. d) Hatred to men : a myth or a real threat of feminism? Justify with reasons.

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NSOU CC - SO - 03 319 President Trump's advisor Kellyanne Conway: "I look at myself as a product of my choices, not a victim of my circumstances, and that's really to me what conservative feminism, if you will, is all about." First wave feminism: Kicked off with the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention to discuss the "social, civil, and religious condition of woman" and continued into the early twentieth century. It culminated in 1920 with the passage of the 19th amendment, which gave women the right to vote, though some states made it difficult for women of color to exercise this right until well into the 1960s. Second wave feminism: Began in the 1960s and bloomed in the 1970s with a push for greater equality. Think Gloria Steinem, Dorothy Pitman Hughes, Betty Friedan. It was marked by huge gains for women in legal and structural equality. Third-wave feminism: Beginning in the 1990s, it looked to make feminism more inclusive, intersectional and to allow women to define what being a feminist means to them personally.

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a theory is a set of interrelated concepts used to describe, explain, and predict how society and its parts are related to each other. Theories are sets of interrelated concepts and ideas that have been scientifically tested and combined to clarify, and expand our understanding of people, their behaviours, and their societies.	A Theory is a set of interrelated concepts used to describe, explain, and predict how society and its parts are related to each other. Theories are sets of inter-concepts and ideas that have been scientifically tested and combined to clarify, and expand our understanding of people, their behaviors, and their societies.

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Sociological theory is a set of assumptions, assertions, and propositions, organized in the form of an explanation or interpretation, of the nature, form, or content of social action. 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. Therefore, the important characteristics of sociological theory are as follows i. Sociological theories are abstract generalizations. ii. Sociological theories are logical propositions. iii. Sociological theories are conceptualizations regarding social phenomena. iv. Sociological theories are empirical generalizations. v. Sociological theories are factual. NSOU CC - SO - 03 11 vi. Sociological theories are provisional in nature. vii. Sociological theories are verifiable. 1.5 Building Blocks of Sociological	Sociological theory is a set of assumptions, assertions, and propositions, organized in the form of an explanation or interpretation, of the nature, form, or content of social action. Sociological theory is defined as a set of interrelated ideas that allow for the systematisation 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. Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology Page 9 School of Distance Education The important characteristics of sociological theory are as follows. 1. Sociological theories are abstract generalisations. 2. Sociological theories are logical prepositions. 3. Sociological theories are conceptulisations regarding social phenomena. 4. Sociological theories are empirical generalisations. 5. Sociological theories are factual based. 6. Sociological theories are provisional in nature. 7. Sociological theories are verifiable Types of Sociological

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concepts. Generally, concepts denote phenomena. A concept embraces the aspects of the social world that are considered essential for a particular purpose. Concepts are constructed from definitions. A definition is a

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allows visualising the phenomenon that is denoted by the concept. It enables all investigators

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are frequently expressed with the words of everyday language, it is difficult to avoid words that

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9/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	55 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	55 WORDS

varied meanings— and hence point to different phenomena for varying groups of people. It is for this reason that many concepts in natural sciences are expressed in technical or more neutral languages, such as the symbols of mathematics. In sociology, expression of concepts in such special languages is sometimes not only impossible but also undesirable. Hence the symbols (

varied meanings—and hence point to different phenomena—for varying groups of scientists. It is for this reason that many concepts in science are expressed in technical or more neutral languages, such as the symbols of mathematics. In sociology, expression of concepts in such special languages is sometimes not only impossible but also undesirable. Hence the verbal symbols

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defined as precisely as possible so that they point to the same phenomenon

defined as precisely as possible so that they point to the same phenomenon

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with conventional language, a body of theory rests on the assertion that researchers will ultimately define concepts unambiguously. The concepts of theory

with conventional language, a body of theory rests on the premise that scholars will do their best to define concepts unambiguously. The concepts of theory

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12/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	42 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	42 WORDS

Some concepts relate to concrete phenomena at specific times and places. Other, more abstract, concepts depict phenomena that are not related to concrete times or places. For example, in the context of small-group research, concrete concepts would refer to the persistent interactions of particular individuals (

Some concepts pertain to concrete phenomena at specific times and locations. Other, more abstract, concepts point to phenomena that are not related to concrete times or locations. For example, in the context of small-group research, concrete concepts would refer to the persistent interactions of particular individuals,

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whereas an abstract conceptualization of such phenomena would refer to those general properties of face-to-face groups that are not tied to particular individuals interacting at a specified time and location. Whereas abstract concepts are not tied to a specific context,

whereas an abstract conceptualization of such phenomena would refer to those general properties of face-to-face groups that are not tied to particular individuals interacting at a specified time and location. Whereas abstract concepts are not tied to a specific context,

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14/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	52 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	52 WORDS

that some of the concepts of theory go beyond specific times and places, it is equally critical that there be procedures for making these abstract concepts pertinent to observable situations and occurrences. The utility of an abstract concept can be demonstrated only when the concept is brought to analyze some specific empirical problem encountered by

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abstract concepts should be accompanied by a series of statements known as operational definitions, which are sets of procedural instructions telling researchers how to go about discerning phenomena in the real world that are denoted by an abstract concept. Others argue, however, that the nature of our concepts in sociology precludes such formalistic training. At best, concepts can be only devices that must change with the changes in society, and so we can only intuitively and conditionally apply abstract concepts to the actual analysis. Variables:

abstract concepts should be accompanied by a series of statements known as operational definitions, which are sets of procedural instructions telling investigators how to go about discerning phenomena in the real world that are denoted by an abstract concept. Others argue, however, that the nature of our concepts in sociology precludes such formalistic exercises. At best, concepts can be only devices that must change with the Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology Page 6 School of Distance Education changes in society, and so we can only intuitively and provisionally apply abstract concepts to the actual analysis. Variables

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Concepts that denote properties as size, weight, density, velocity etc. refer to differences in degree among phenomena.

Concepts that denote properties as size, weight, density, velocity etc. refer to differences in degree among phenomena.

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is stated in neutral, objective, and unambiguous terms so that the theory means the same thing to all who examine it; and,

is stated in neutral, objective, and unambiguous terms so that the theory means the same thing to all who examine it. ? Reliability and

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how variation in one phenomenon is related to variation in another

how variation in one phenomenon is related to variation in another.

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19/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Statements and Formats: The concepts of theory must be connected to one another and these connections among concepts constitute theoretical statements. These statements

Statements and Formats To be useful, the concepts of theory must be connected to one another. Such connections among concepts constitute theoretical statements. These statements

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the way in which events denoted by concepts are interrelated, they also provide an understanding of how and why events should be connected. When these theoretical statements are grouped together, they constitute a theoretical format (

the way in which events denoted by concepts are interrelated, and at the same time, they provide an interpretation of how and why events should be connected. When these theoretical statements are grouped together, they constitute a theoretical format.

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21/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

formats. There are five basic approaches in sociological theory for generating theoretical statements and formats: (1)

formats. There are five basic approaches in sociological theory for generating theoretical statements and formats: (1)

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22/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Concepts are constructed from definitions; theoretical statements link concepts together; and statements are organized into five basic types of formats.

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Meta-theoretical schemes deal with the basic issues that a theory must address. In many sociological circles, meta-theory is considered

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The philosophical debates like idealism versus materialism, induction versus deduction, causation versus association, subjectivism versus objectivism, and so on are re-evoked 14

The philosophical debates like idealism versus materialism, induction versus deduction, causation versus association, subjectivism versus objectivism, and so on are re-evoked

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Analytical Scheme is a classification scheme that denotes the key properties, and interrelations among these properties, in the social universe. There are many different varieties of analytical schemes, but they all share an emphasis on

Analytical Scheme is a classification scheme that denotes the key properties, and interrelations among these properties, in the social universe. There are many different varieties of analytical schemes, but they share an emphasis on

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of the social world. Explanation of an empirical event comes whenever a place in the classificatory scheme can be found for

of the social world. Explanation of an empirical event comes whenever a place in the classificatory scheme can be found for

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empirical event. There are two basic types of analytical schemes: (1) naturalistic schemes, which try to develop a tightly knitted system of categories that is supposed to capture the way in which the invariant properties of the universe are ordered and (2) sensitizing schemes, which are more loosely assembled categories of concepts intended only to sensitize and orient researchers and theorists to certain critical processes. 3) Discursive Schemes are typically easier to understand than those that are more formal, but the weakness is that the variables and forces highlighted and the dynamic relations among them are vague and imprecise. Even with certain vagueness in language, it is still possible to recognize the basic theoretical argument and convert it into a more formal format like an analytical model or propositional scheme.

empirical event. There are two basic types of analytical schemes: (1) naturalistic schemes, which try to develop a tightly woven system of categories that is presumed to capture the way in which the invariant properties of the universe are ordered and (2) sensitizing schemes, which are more loosely assembled congeries of concepts intended only to sensitize and orient researchers and theorists to certain critical processes. Discursive Schemes are typically easier to understand than those that are more formal, but the weakness is that the variables and forces highlighted and the dynamic relations among them are vague and imprecise. Even with a certain vagueness in language, it is still possible to recognise the basic theoretical argument and convert it into a more formal format like an analytical model or propositions scheme. Scheme

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Propositional Scheme is a theoretical statement that specifies the connection between two or more variables. It tells us how variation in one concept is

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variation in another. Propositional Schemes vary perhaps the most of all theoretical approaches. They vary primarily along two dimensions: (1) the level of abstraction and (2) the way propositions are organized into formats. Some are highly abstract and contain concepts that do not denote any particular case but all cases of a type. By using these two

variation in another. Propositional Schemes vary perhaps the most of all theoretical approaches. They vary primarily along two dimensions: (1) the level of abstraction and (2) the way propositions are organized into formats. Some are highly abstract and contain concepts that do not denote any particular case but all cases of a type. By using these two

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dimensions, several different types of propositional schemes can be isolated: (a) axiomatic formats, (b) formal formats, and (c) empirical formats.

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Formats: An axiomatic organization of theoretical statements includes a set of concepts some of which are highly abstract in nature; others, more concrete. Second, there is always a set of existence statements that describe those types and classes of situations in which the concepts and the propositions that incorporate them apply. Third, propositional statements are stated in a hierarchical order. At the top of the hierarchy are axioms, or highly abstract statements, from which all other theoretical statements are logically derived. The axioms should be consistent with one another, although they do not have to be logically interrelated. The axioms should be highly abstract; they should state relationships among abstract concepts. These relationships should be law-like in that the more concrete theorems derived from them have not been disproved by empirical investigation.

formats. An axiomatic organization of theoretical statements involves a set of concepts some of which are concepts are highly abstract; others, more concrete. Second, there is always a set of existence statements that describe those types and classes of situations in which the concepts and the propositions that incorporate them apply. Third, propositional statements are stated in a hierarchical order. At the top of the hierarchy are axioms, or highly abstract statements, from which all other theoretical statements are logically derived. The axioms should be consistent with one another, although they do not have to be logically interrelated. The axioms should be highly abstract; they should state relationships among abstract concepts. These relationships should be law-like in that the more concrete theorems derived from them have not been disproved by empirical investigation.

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32/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	100 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	100 WORDS

Formal theories are loose versions of axiomatic schemes. The idea is to develop highly abstract propositions that are used to explain some empirical event. Some highly abstract propositions are seen as higher-order laws, and the goal of explanation is to visualize empirical events as instances of this covering law. Deductions from the laws are made, but they are much looser, rarely conforming to the strict rules of axiomatic theory. Moreover, there is recognition that extraneous variables cannot always be excluded, and so the propositions have a condition that if other forces do not interfere, then the relationship among concepts in the proposition should hold true. c) Empirical Formats:

Formal theories are loose versions of axiomatic schemes. The idea is to develop highly abstract propositions that are used to explain some empirical event. Some highly abstract propositions are seen as higher-order laws, and the goal of explanation is to visualize empirical events as instances of this covering law. Deductions from the laws are Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology Page 8 School of Distance Education made, but they are much looser, rarely conforming to the strict rules of axiomatic theory. Moreover, there is recognition that extraneous variables cannot always be excluded, and so the propositions have a condition that if other forces do not impinge, then the relationship among concepts in the proposition should hold true. Empirical Formats

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consist of generalizations from specific events, in particular empirical contexts. They are too tied to empirical contexts, times, and places. In fact, they are generalizations that require a theory to explain them. There are other kinds of empirical generalizations also, which are often termed as middle-range theories, 16

consist of generalizations from specific events, in particular empirical contexts. They are too tied to empirical contexts, times, and places. In fact, they are generalizations that are in need of a theory to explain them. There are other kinds of empirical generalizations also. These are often termed middle-range theories,

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34/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	189 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	189 WORDS

because i) they are more abstract than a research finding, and ii) their empirical content pertains to variables that are also found in other domains of social reality. 5) Analytical Modelling Scheme is a diagrammatic representation of social events. The diagrammatic elements of any model include: (1) concepts that denote and highlight certain features of the universe; (2) the arrangement of these concepts in visual space so as to reflect the ordering of events in the universe; and (3) symbols that mark the connections among concepts, such as lines, arrows, vectors etc. The elements of a model may be weighted in some way, or they may be sequentially organized to express events over time, or they may represent complex patterns of relations and other potential ways in which properties of the universe affect one another. In sociology, most diagrammatic models are constructed to emphasize the causal connections among properties of the universe. That is, they are designed to show how changes in the values of one set of variables are related to changes in the values of other variables. Sociologists generally construct two different types of models, which are known as analytical models and causal models. Analytical models are more abstract

because they are more abstract than a research finding and because their empirical content pertains to variables that are also found in other domains of social reality. Analytical Modeling Scheme is a diagrammatic representation of social events. The diagrammatic elements of any model include: (1) concepts that denote and highlight certain features of the universe; (2) the arrangement of these concepts in visual space so as to reflect the ordering of events in the universe; and (3) symbols that mark the connections among concepts, such as lines, arrows, vectors, and so on. The elements of a model may be weighted in some way, or they may be sequentially organized to express events over time, or they may represent complex patterns of relations and other potential ways in which properties of the universe affect one another. In sociology, most diagrammatic models are constructed to emphasize the causal connections among properties of the universe. That is, they are designed to show how changes in the values of one set of variables are related to changes in the values of other variables. Sociologists generally construct two different types of models, which can be termed analytical models and causal models. Analytical models are more abstract:

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highlight more generic properties of the universe, and they portray a complex set of connections among variables. In contrast, causal models are more empirically grounded

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Theories vs. Grounded Theories Speculative theories are abstract, impressionistic and rooted in a philosophical system. The

Theories Vs. Grounded Theories Speculative theories are abstract, impressionistic and rooted in a philosophical system. The

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Comte and Spencer, have synthesized the findings of a variety of disciplines to derive a formidable collection of theoretical statements to explain social processes and organizations. These are essentially theories generated by logical

Comte and Spencer have synthesized the findings of a variety of disciplines to formulate a formidable array of theoretical statements to explain social processes and organisations. These are essentially theories generated by logical

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deduction from a priori assumptions. They are based on certain methodological and philosophical assumptions and generate theoretical entities and conceptual schemes. Grounded theories, on the other hand, are based on the findings of empirical research and they are appropriate to their specific uses. They produce specific sociological laws, principles and empirical generalizations. Grounded theory is

deduction from a priori assumptions. They are based on certain methodological and philosophical assumptions and generated theoretical entities and conceptual schemes. Grounded theories, on the other hand, are based on the findings of empirical research and they are suited to their specific uses. They produce specific sociological laws, principles and empirical generalizations. Grounded theory is

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39/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	106 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	106 WORDS

theoretical framework and partly research methodology. It combines theory and research and serves as a guide for many social science researchers in their projects. Grounded theory is an attempt to develop theories from an analysis of the patterns, themes, and common categories discovered in empirical research. It emphasizes research procedures when developing theories. 1.7.2 Grand Theory vs. Miniature Theory A grand theory is a broad conceptual scheme with systems of interrelated propositions that provide a general frame of reference for the study of social processes and institutions. However, it is different from speculative theory. The grand theory is rooted in the empirical world - however loosely, whereas speculative theories are based on philosophical systems. The

theoretical framework and part research methodology. It combines theory and research and serves as a guide for many social science researchers in their projects. Grounded theory is an attempt to develop theories from an analysis of the patterns, themes, and common categories discovered in observational research. It emphasizes research procedures when developing theories. Grand Theory Vs. Miniature Theory A grand theory is a broad conceptual scheme with systems of interrelated propositions that provide a general frame of reference for the study of social processes and institutions. However, it is different from speculative theory. The grand theory is rooted in the empirical world - however loosely whereas speculative theories are based on philosophical systems. The

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and Sorokin's theory of socio-cultural dynamics are examples of grand theories. Miniature theories are what Merton called as Middle range theories,

and Sorkin's theory of socio-cultural dynamics are examples of grand theories. Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology Page 10 School of Distance Education Miniature theories are what Merton called as Middle range theories:

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theories intermediate to the minor working hypotheses evolved during the day-to-day routines of research, and the all inclusive speculations comprising a master speculative scheme from which it is supposed to derive a very large number of empirically observable uniformities of social behaviour. The miniature theories are partial, more specific and their frame of reference is considerably limited. They are less pretentious than the grand theories. Merton's theory of reference groups is an example of such a theory. 1.7.3 Macro Theories vs. Micro Theories Macro theories are broader in scope and encompass

Theories intermediate to the minor working hypotheses evolved during the day-to-day routines of research, and the all inclusive speculations comprising a master speculative scheme from which it is hoped to derive a very large number of empirically observed uniformities of social behaviour. The miniature theories are partial, more specific and their frame of reference is considerably limited. They are less pretensions than the grand theories. Merton's theory of reference groups is an example of such a theory. Macro Theories Vs. Micro Theories Macro theories are broader in scope and encompass

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array of laws while micro theories have a narrower frame of reference. Macro theories are concerned with total societal patterns. Theories of society, culture and institutions constitute the tradition of macro sociology. Micro sociology is concerned with interactions among the units of society. Small group theories represent the micro tradition in contemporary sociology. The distinction between the two types of theories is based on the size of the unit of analysis rather than the level of analysis. Macro theories deal with society as a whole. Micro theories deal with the 20 NSOU CC - SO - 03 subsystems that constitute the whole. System theory

array of laws while micro theories have a narrower frame of reference. Macro theories are concerned with total societal patterns. Theories of society culture and institutions constitute the tradition of macro-sociology. Micro sociology is concerned with interactions among the atoms of society. Small group theories represent the micro tradition in contemporary sociology. The distinction between the two types of theories is based on the size of the unit of analysis rather than the level of analysis. Macro theories deal with society as a whole. Micro theories deal with the sub-systems that make up the whole. Parsons System theory

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grand theory category; Micro theories come under miniature theories. 1.8 Major schools of sociological thought

grand theory category; Micro theories come under miniature theories. Major schools of sociological thought

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Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that originally attempted to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

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the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued survival over time. Many functionalists argue that social institutions are

the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued existence over time. Many functionalists argue that social institutions are

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system and that a change in one institution will inculcate change in other institutions. Societies are seen as coherent, bounded and essentially relational constructs that function like organisms, with their various parts or social institutions working together to maintain and reproduce them. The various parts of society are assumed to work for the overall social equilibrium. All social and cultural phenomena are therefore seen as being functional in the sense of working together to achieve this

system and that a change in one institution will precipitate a change in other institutions. Societies are seen as coherent, bounded and fundamentally relational constructs that function like organisms, with their various parts or social institutions working together to maintain and reproduce them. The various parts of society are assumed to work for the overall social equilibrium. All social and cultural phenomena are therefore seen as being functional in the sense of working together to achieve this

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state. These components are then primarily analysed in terms of the functions they play. A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part,

state. These components are then primarily analysed in terms of the function they play. A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part.

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Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent elements- norms, customs, traditions, institutions

Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent elements; namely norms, customs, traditions and institutions.

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A common analogy, popularized by Herbert Spencer, presents these parts of society as “organs” that work toward the proper functioning of the “body” of society as a whole. 1.8.2 Structuralism

A common analogy, popularized by Herbert Spencer, presents these parts of society as "organs" that work toward the proper functioning of the "body" as a whole Structuralism

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of signs. The major propositions of Structuralism are listed below: i. The underlying elements of the structure remain constant, and it is the varying relationships between them that produce different languages, systems of ideas, and types of society. ii. There is the proposition that what appears to us as solid, normal, or natural, is in fact the end result of a process of production from some form of underlying structure. iii. Structuralism transforms our commonsense notions of individuals. Individuals are seen as the product of relationships, rather than as the makers of social reality. iv. Structuralism holds the view that history is discontinuous and marked by radical changes. 1.8.3 Conflict Theory

of The major propositions of Structuralism are listed below. The first is that the underlying elements of the structure remain constant, and it is the varying relationships between them that produce different languages, systems of ideas, and types of society. Secondly, there is the implication that what appears to us as solid, normal, or natural, is in fact the end result of a process of production from some form of underlying structure. Thirdly, structuralism transforms our commonsense notion of individuals: they too are seen as the product of relationships, rather than as the authors of social reality. Finally, structuralism holds the view that history is discontinuous and marked by radical changes. Conflict theory

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Conflict Theory claims that society is in a state of perpetual conflict and competition for limited resources. Marx and Weber were the major proponents of conflict theory. Conflict Theory assumes that those who have wealth

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perpetually try to increase their resources at the expense and suffering of others (majority) in a society. It is a power struggle which is most often won by wealthy elites and lost by the common people of common means. Power attributes its owner the ability to get what

perpetually try to increase their wealth at the expense and suffering of those who have not. It is a power struggle which is most often won by wealthy elite and lost by the common person of common means. Power is the ability to get what

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53/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Competition over scarce resources is at the heart of all social relationships. Competition rather than consensus is characteristic of human relationships.

Competition over scarce resources is at the heart of all social relationships. Competition rather than consensus is characteristic of human relationships. ?

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54/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	49 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	49 WORDS

Inequalities in power and reward are built into all social structures. Individuals and groups that benefit from any particular structure strive to see it maintained. iii. Change occurs as a result of conflict between competing interests rather than through adaptation. Change is often abrupt and revolutionary rather than evolutionary. 1.8.4 Interactionism Interactionism –

Inequalities in power and reward are built into all social structures. Individuals and groups that benefit from any particular structure strive to see it maintained. ? Change occurs as a result of conflict between competing interests rather than through adaptation. Change is often abrupt and revolutionary rather than evolutionary. Interactionism Interactionism

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55/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

is a theoretical perspective that derives social processes (such as conflict, cooperation, identity formation etc.) from human interactions. It is the study of how individuals act within society.

is a theoretical perspective that derives social processes (such as conflict, cooperation, identity formation) from human interaction. It is the study of how individuals act within society.

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56/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	138 WORDS	99%	MATCHING TEXT	138 WORDS

has grown in the latter half of the twentieth century and has become one of the dominant sociological perspectives in the world today. Interactionism was first linked to the work of James Parker. George Herbert Mead, as an advocate of pragmatism and the subjectivity of social reality is considered a leader in the development of interactionism. Herbert Blumer expanded on Mead's work and coined the term "Symbolic Interactionism". Symbolic Interactionism is a theoretical approach to understand the relationship between humans and society. The basic notion of Symbolic Interactionism is that human action and interaction are understandable only through the exchange of meaningful communication or symbols. In this approach, humans are portrayed as acting as opposed to being acted upon. The main principles of Symbolic Interactionism are: i. Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them ii. These meanings arise from social interaction

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57/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Social action results from a fitting together of individual lines of action

social action results from a fitting together of individual lines of action

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58/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

on the concrete details of what goes on among individuals in everyday life.

on the concrete details of what goes on among individuals in everyday life.

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59/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	61 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	61 WORDS

use and interpret symbols not only to communicate with each other, but also to create and maintain impressions of themselves, to create a sense of self, and to create and sustain what they experience as the reality of a particular social situation. From this perspective, social life consists largely of a complex network of countless interactions through which life takes on shape and meaning. 1.9

use and interpret symbols not only to communicate with each other, but also to create and maintain impressions of to create a sense of self, and to create and sustain what we experience as the reality of a particular social situation. From this perspective, social life consists largely of a complex fabric woven of countless interactions through which life takes on shape and meaning.

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60/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

The origins of the conflict perspective can be traced to the classic works of Karl Marx.

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61/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

Concepts denote phenomena. A concept describes the aspects of the social world that are considered essential for a particular purpose. Concepts are constructed from definitions.

concepts denote phenomena. A concept embraces the aspects of the social world that are considered essential for a particular purpose. Concepts are constructed from definitions.

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62/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

the same thing and to understand what it is that is being studied.

the same thing and to understand what it is that is being studied.

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63/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Concepts that denote properties as size, weight, density, velocity etc. refer to differences in degree among phenomena.

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64/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

The concepts of theory must be connected to one another and these connections among concepts constitute theoretical statements. These statements

the concepts of theory must be connected to one another. Such connections among concepts constitute theoretical statements. These statements

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65/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

the way in which events denoted by concepts are interrelated, they also provide an understanding of how and why events should be connected.

the way in which events denoted by concepts are interrelated, and at the same time, they provide an interpretation of how and why events should be connected.

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66/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

these theoretical statements are grouped together, they constitute a theoretical format. .

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67/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

There are five basic approaches in sociological theory for generating theoretical statements and formats: (1)

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68/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Theories Speculative theories are abstract, impressionistic and rooted in a philosophical system.

Theories Speculative theories are abstract, impressionistic and rooted in a philosophical system.

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69/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

These are essentially theories generated by logical deduction from a priori assumptions. They are based on certain methodological and philosophical assumptions and generate theoretical entities and conceptual schemes 28

These are essentially theories generated by logical deduction from a priori assumptions. They are based on certain methodological and philosophical assumptions and generated theoretical entities and conceptual schemes.

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70/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	32 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	32 WORDS

Grounded theories, on the other hand, are based on the findings of empirical research and they are appropriate to their specific uses. They produce specific sociological laws, principles and empirical generalizations. Grounded theory is

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71/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	36 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	36 WORDS

Theory A grand theory is a broad conceptual scheme with systems of interrelated propositions that provide a general frame of reference for the study of social processes and institutions. The grand theory is rooted in the empirical world

Theory A grand theory is a broad conceptual scheme with systems of interrelated propositions that provide a general frame of reference for the study of social processes and institutions. However, it is different from speculative The grand theory is rooted in the empirical world -

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72/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

Miniature theories are what Merton called as Middle range theories,

Miniature theories are what Merton called as Middle range theories:

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73/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	46 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	46 WORDS

a set of interrelated concepts used to describe, explain, and predict how society and its parts are related to each other. Sociological theories are sets of interrelated concepts and ideas that have been scientifically tested and combined to clarify, and expand our understanding of people, their behaviours, and their societies.

A set of interrelated concepts used to describe, explain, and predict how society and its parts are related to each other. Theory b) c) Assumption 2. Sets of inter-concepts and ideas that have been scientifically tested and combined to clarify, and expand our understanding of people, their behaviors, and their societies

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/QB_Theoretical_Perspectives_in_Sociology.pdf

74/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

array of laws while micro theories have a narrower frame of reference. Macro theories are concerned with total societal patterns. Theories of society, culture and institutions constitute the tradition of macro sociology. Micro

array of laws while micro theories have a narrower frame of reference. Macro theories are concerned with total societal patterns. Theories of society culture and institutions constitute the tradition of macro-sociology. Micro

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75/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Micro sociology is concerned with interactions among the units of society. Small group theories represent the micro tradition in contemporary sociology

Micro sociology is concerned with interactions among the atoms of society. Small group theories represent the micro tradition in contemporary sociology.

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76/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part,

A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part.

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77/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that originally attempted to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

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78/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued survival over time.

the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued existence over time.

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79/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	39 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	39 WORDS

Societies are seen as coherent, bounded and essentially relational constructs that function like organisms, with their various parts or social institutions working together to maintain and reproduce them. The various parts of society are assumed to work for the overall social equilibrium

Societies are seen as coherent, bounded and fundamentally relational constructs that function like organisms, with their various parts or social institutions working together to maintain and reproduce them. The various parts of society are assumed to work for the overall social equilibrium.

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80/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

Conflict Theory claims that society is in a state of perpetual conflict and competition for limited resources.

Conflict theory 38. _____ claims that society is in a state of perpetual conflict and competition for limited resources.

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81/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

Change occurs as a result of conflict between competing interests

Change occurs as a result of conflict between competing interests

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82/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	38 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	38 WORDS

theories intermediate to the minor working hypotheses evolved during the day-to-day routines of research, and the all inclusive speculations comprising a master speculative scheme from which it is supposed to derive a very large number of empirically observable uniformities of social behaviour.

Theories intermediate to the minor working hypotheses evolved during the day-to-day routines of research, and the all inclusive speculations comprising a master speculative scheme from which it is hoped to derive a very large number of empirically observed uniformities of social behaviour.

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83/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

of interrelated propositions or principles designed to answer a question or explain a particular phenomenon;

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84/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability.

SA Hridinayana Dutta.docx (D16101320)

85/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

of society is organized to meet different needs and each has particular consequences for the form and shape of society;

of society, each of which is organized to fill different needs and each of which has particular consequences for the form and shape of society.

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86/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Thus functionalism is simply a view of society as a self-regulating system of interrelated elements with structured social relationships and observed regularities. Functionalism

Thus functionalism is simply a view of society as a self-regulating system of interrelated elements with structured social relationships and observed regularities. Functionalism

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87/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

social and cultural systems as collective responses to fundamental biological needs of individuals modified by cultural values;

social and cultural systems as collective responses to fundamental biological needs of individuals modified by cultural values.

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88/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

structured social relationships which focuses on the function of each element in the maintenance and development of a total structure); and

structured social relationships. Radcliffe-Brown focused primarily on the function of each element in the maintenance and development of a total structure, and

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89/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

concerned with the overall features of social structure and the general nature of social institutions;

concerned with the overall characteristics of social structure and the general nature of social institutions.

W https://mtusociology.github.io/assets/files/Handout%20-%20Sociological%20Theories%20II%20Contempo ...

90/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	43 WORDS	48%	MATCHING TEXT	43 WORDS

The functionalist perspective is based largely on the works of Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons, and Robert Merton. Functionalism views society as a system of interconnected parts that work together in harmony to maintain a state of balance and social equilibrium for the whole.

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91/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS

Functionalists use the terms functional and dysfunctional to describe the effects of social elements on society. Elements of society are functional if they contribute to social stability and dysfunctional if they disrupt social stability.

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92/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	72%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

Functionalism emphasizes the harmony and order that exist in society, focusing on social stability and shared community values. From this perspective, disorganization in the system, such as deviant behaviour, leads to change because

Functionalism emphasizes the consensus and order that exist in society, focusing on social stability and shared public values. From this perspective, disorganization in the Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology Page 14 School of Distance Education system, such as deviant behavior, leads to change because

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93/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

components must adjust to attain stability. When one part of the system is dysfunctional, it affects all other parts and creates social problems, prompting social change. 2.5

components must adjust to achieve stability. When one part of the system is not working or is dysfunctional, it affects all other parts and creates social problems, which leads to social change.

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94/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	32 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	32 WORDS

if all goes well, the parts of society produce order, stability, and productivity. If all does not go well, the parts of society then must adapt to recapture a new order, stability, and productivity.

If all goes well, the parts of society produce order, stability, and productivity. If all does not go well, the parts of society then must adapt to recapture a new order, stability, and productivity.

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95/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	42 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	42 WORDS

Social consensus, order and integration are key beliefs of functionalism as this allows society to continue and progress because there are shared norms and values that mean all individuals have a common goal and have a vested interest in conforming and thus conflict is minimal.

Social consensus, order and integration are key beliefs of functionalism as this allows society to continue and progress because there are shared norms and values that mean all individuals have a common goal and have a vested interest in conforming and thus conflict is minimal.

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96/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

coined pivotal concepts, such as 'role', 'norms', and 'social systems' that came to form the basic building blocks of contemporary sociology. Moreover, a few concepts

coined pivotal concepts, such as 'role', 'norms', and 'social systems' that came to form the basic building blocks of contemporary sociology. Moreover, a few functionalists concepts,

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97/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	37 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	37 WORDS

such as 'role model' and 'self –fulfilling prophecy', have entered our colloquial vocabulary as well. ii. It is most well known not for the specific concepts that it introduced but rather for the meta-theoretical framework on which it is based.

such as 'role model' and 'self –fulfilling prophecy', have entered our colloquial vocabulary as well. Structural functionalism is most well known not for the specific concepts that it introduced but rather for the meta theoretical framework on which it is based.

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98/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

how the different parts work together for the good of the system. The classic structural functionalist image of society is as an organism such as body, with different parts working together

how the different parts work together for the good of the system. The classic structural functionalist image of society is as an organism such as body, with different parts working together

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99/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

an interdependent way. iv. In addition, structural functionalism emphasizes 'systems within system'. For instance, while

an interdependent way. In addition, structural functionalism emphasizes 'system within systems'. For instance, while

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100/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

can be considered its own self contained 'system' or unit, it is also a component of

can be considered its own self contained 'system' or unit, it is also a component of

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101/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

to heightened awareness of shared moral bonds and increased social cohesion.

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102/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Merton, R.K. (1957). Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe Illinois: The Free Press

Merton, R. K. (1948/1968). Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press.

W http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

103/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	46 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	46 WORDS

a set of interrelated concepts used to describe, explain, and predict how society and its parts are related to each other. Sociological theories are sets of interrelated concepts and ideas that have been scientifically tested and combined to clarify, and expand our understanding of people, their behaviours, and their societies.

A set of interrelated concepts used to describe, explain, and predict how society and its parts are related to each other. Theory b) c) Assumption 2. Sets of inter-concepts and ideas that have been scientifically tested and combined to clarify, and expand our understanding of people, their behaviors, and their societies

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104/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

Concepts denote phenomena. A concept describes the aspects of the social world that are considered essential for a particular purpose. Concepts are constructed from definitions.

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105/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

the same thing and to understand what it is that is being studied.

the same thing and to understand what it is that is being studied.

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106/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Concepts that denote properties as size, weight, density, velocity etc. refer to differences in degree among phenomena.

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107/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

The concepts of theory must be connected to one another and these connections among concepts constitute theoretical statements. These statements

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108/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

the way in which events denoted by concepts are interrelated, they also provide an understanding of how and why events should be connected.

the way in which events denoted by concepts are interrelated, and at the same time, they provide an interpretation of how and why events should be connected.

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109/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

these theoretical statements are grouped together, they constitute a theoretical format. .

these theoretical statements are grouped together, they constitute a theoretical format.

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110/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

There are five basic approaches in sociological theory for generating theoretical statements and formats: (1)

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111/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Theories Speculative theories are abstract, impressionistic and rooted in a philosophical system.

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112/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS

These are essentially theories generated by logical deduction from a priori assumptions. They are based on certain methodological and philosophical assumptions and generate theoretical entities and conceptual schemes Grounded Theories

These are essentially theories generated by logical deduction from a priori assumptions. They are based on certain methodological and philosophical assumptions and generated theoretical entities and conceptual schemes. Grounded theories,

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113/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	32 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	32 WORDS

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114/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	36 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	36 WORDS

Theory A grand theory is a broad conceptual scheme with systems of interrelated propositions that provide a general frame of reference for the study of social processes and institutions. The grand theory is rooted in the empirical world

Theory A grand theory is a broad conceptual scheme with systems of interrelated propositions that provide a general frame of reference for the study of social processes and institutions. However, it is different from speculative The grand theory is rooted in the empirical world -

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115/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

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116/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	38 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	38 WORDS

theories intermediate to the minor working hypotheses evolved during the day-to-day routines of research, and the all inclusive speculations comprising a master speculative scheme from which it is supposed to derive a very large number of empirically observable uniformities of social behaviour.

Theories intermediate to the minor working hypotheses evolved during the day-to-day routines of research, and the all inclusive speculations comprising a master speculative scheme from which it is hoped to derive a very large number of empirically observed uniformities of social behaviour.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/QB_Theoretical_Perspectives_in_Sociology.pdf

117/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

array of laws while micro theories have a narrower frame of reference. Macro theories are concerned with total societal patterns. Theories of society, culture and institutions constitute the tradition of macro sociology. Micro

array of laws while micro theories have a narrower frame of reference. Macro theories are concerned with total societal patterns. Theories of society culture and institutions constitute the tradition of macro-sociology. Micro

W https://studyres.com/doc/8901128/theoretical-perspectives-in-sociology-university-of-calic...

118/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Micro sociology is concerned with interactions among the units of society. Small group theories represent the micro tradition in contemporary sociology

Micro sociology is concerned with interactions among the atoms of society. Small group theories represent the micro tradition in contemporary sociology.

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119/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part,

A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part.

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120/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that originally attempted to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

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121/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	66%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Abraham, M.F. (1982). Modern Sociological Theory- An Introduction (pp. 1-38). NY: Oxford University Press. Turner, J. H. (1974). The Structure of Sociological Theory (3

Abraham, Francis M., Modern Sociological Theory : An introduction, Oxford University Press, Kolkata (2001). 3. Turner, Jobathan H., The Structure of Sociological Theory,

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/202.pdf

122/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued survival over time.

the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued existence over time.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/QB_Theoretical_Perspectives_in_Sociology.pdf

123/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	39 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	39 WORDS

Societies are seen as coherent, bounded and essentially relational constructs that function like organisms, with their various parts or social institutions working together to maintain and reproduce them. The various parts of society are assumed to work for the overall social equilibrium.

Societies are seen as coherent, bounded and fundamentally relational constructs that function like organisms, with their various parts or social institutions working together to maintain and reproduce them. The various parts of society are assumed to work for the overall social equilibrium.

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124/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Conflict Theory claims that society is in a state of perpetual conflict and competition for limited resources.

Conflict theory 38. _____ claims that society is in a state of perpetual conflict and competition for limited resources.

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125/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

Change occurs as a result of conflict between competing interests

Change occurs as a result of conflict between competing interests

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126/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

liberal household, in which morality, modern industrial system, economic individualism and exploitation of labour were topics of concern,

liberal household, in which morality, modern industrial system, economic individualism and exploitation of labor were topic of concern.

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127/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

the natural sciences, particularly biology, as well as philosophy and social sciences. He graduated from London School of Economics in the year 1924. In 1927 he

the natural sciences, particularly biology, as well as philosophy and social sciences. He graduated from London school of economics in the year 1924. In 1927 he

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128/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

from Hiedelberg University. He began his teaching at Harvard University

from Hiedelberg University. He began his teaching at Harvard University.

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129/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

affected by environments, heredity and culture on the one hand and religious, metaphysical and political systems on the other,

affected by environments, heredity and culture on the one hand and religious, metaphysical and political systems on the other.

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130/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	43 WORDS	79%	MATCHING TEXT	43 WORDS

defined social action as a process in the actor situation system which has motivational significance to the individual actor or NSOU CC - SO - 03 45 in the case of collectivity, its component individuals. Social actions are concerned with organism (actor/s),

defined social action by saying that "it is a process in the actor-situation system which has motivational significance to the individual actor or in the case of collectivity its component individuals". Social actions are concerned with organism, actor's

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131/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

actor's relations with other persons, and social institutions. Parsons used the term "unit act" to refer to a process involving: i) a hypothetical

actor's relations with other persons and social institutions. Parsons used the term "Unit act" to refer to a hypothetical actor in a hypothetical

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132/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Instead of constructing action in terms of something concrete Parsons conceptualized action systems as a means for analyzing social phenomena. Parsons (1937)

Instead of constructing action in terms of something concrete (such as business or an individual). Parsons conceptualized action systems as a means for analyzing social phenomena. Parsons

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133/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

further maintain that actions are organized into three modes or realms: social systems, personality systems and cultural systems. These systems are analytically rather than empirically distinct;

further maintain that actions are organized into three modes or realms: social systems, personality systems and cultural systems. These systems are analytically rather than empirically distinct.

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134/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

these systems are not physically separate entities but rather a simplified model of society that Parsons and Shils (ibid) use to explain the organization of action.

these systems are not physically separate entities but rather a simplified model of society that Parsons and Shils use to explain the organization of action.

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135/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS

actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, actors who are motivated in terms of tendency to the 'optimization of gratification' and whose relations to

actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, actors who are motivated in terms of a tendency to the "optimization of gratification" and whose relation to

W https://mtusociology.github.io/assets/files/Handout%20-%20Sociological%20Theories%20II%20Contempo ...

136/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

situations, including each other, is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols." (Parsons 1951:5). Thus a social system

situations, including each other, is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols. (Parsons, 1951:5–6) ? This definition seeks to define a social system

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137/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

Pattern Variables In Toward a General Theory of Action (1951), Parsons and Shils develop a set of concepts called the pattern variables. The pattern variables are a dichotomous set of five-

Pattern variables In toward a general theory of action (1951), parsons and shils develop a set of concepts called the pattern variables. The pattern variables are a set of five '

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138/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	39 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	39 WORDS

not only to the individual level but to the collective level as well. They refer at once to the variant normative priorities of social system, the dominant modes of orientation in personality systems, and the patterns of values in cultural systems.

not only to the individual level but to the collective level but to the collective level as well. They refer at once to the variant normative priorities of social system, the dominant modes of orientation in personality systems, and the patterns of values in cultural systems.

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139/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

a pattern variable as a dichotomy, one side of which must be chosen by an actor before the meaning of a situation is determinate for him, and thus

a pattern variables is a dichotomy, one side of which must be choosen by an actor before the meanings of a situation is determinate for him and thus

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140/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

describes alternatives of action between which each person (and group) has to choose in every situation. The actions are shaped by the three systems: personality, cultural, and social.

describes alternatives of action between which each person (and group) has to choose in every situation. The actions are shaped by the three systems: personality, cultural, and social. 1.

W https://studyres.com/doc/8901128/theoretical-perspectives-in-sociology-university-of-calic...

141/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	8 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	8 WORDS

is expected to be emotionally "neutral". 2. Self-orientation/Collectivity-orientation:

is expected to be emotionally "neutral". 2. Self-orientation/Collectivity-orientation

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142/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

becoming friends with a teacher go beyond the clear boundaries of teacher/student relation (

becoming friends with a teacher, going beyond the clear boundaries of teacher/student relation.

W https://studyres.com/doc/8901128/theoretical-perspectives-in-sociology-university-of-calic...

143/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

a renowned dichotomy first formulated by the German theorist Ferdinand Tonnies,

a renowned dichotomy first formulated by the German theorist Ferdinand Tonnies (1963/1935).

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144/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

According to these classic dichotomies, modern societies are based on individualistic "purposiveness" and functional interdependence, whereas traditional societies are rooted in collectivistic "sameness" (or community) and an intense feeling of community.

According to these classic dichotomies, modern societies are based on individualistic "purposiveness" and functional interdependence. While traditional societies are rooted in collectivistic "sameness" (or community) and an intense feeling of community.

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145/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	65%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

of pattern variables are perceptible NSOU CC - SO - 03 49 in contemporary society at all three levels (social, cultural and personality), the

of each pattern variables are readily apparent in contemporary society at all three levels (social, cultural and personality). The

W https://studyres.com/doc/8901128/theoretical-perspectives-in-sociology-university-of-calic...

146/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	45 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	45 WORDS

Parsons' conceptual scheme, social systems are divided into sectors, each corresponding to a functional requisite- that is, A, G, I, L. Any sub-system can be divided into these four functional sectors; and then each of these sub-systems can be divided into four functional sectors; and so on.

Parsons' conceptual scheme became increasingly oriented to function, social systems are divided into sectors, each corresponding to a functional requisite that is, A,G,I, or L. In turn, any sub-system can be divided into these four functional sectors. And then, each of these sub-systems can be divided into four functional sectors, and so on. (

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147/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

survival of the system. Hence, the propositions documenting the contribution of items for meeting survival

survival of a system. The propositions documenting the contribution of items for meeting survival

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148/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

the items meet survival needs of the system because it exists and, therefore, must be surviving. (

the items meet survival needs of the system because it exists and, therefore, must be surviving. 2.8

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149/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

the joy of discovering that it was possible to examine human behaviour objectively and without using loaded moral

the joy of discovering that it was possible to examine human behaviour objectively and without using loaded moral

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150/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

He was educated with prominent socialists like Sorokin, Harold Garfinkel and others in the Harvard University under the tutelage of Talcott Persons.

He was educated with prominent socialists like Sorokin, Harold. Garfinkel and others in the Harvard University under the tutelage of Talcott Persons.

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151/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

concepts like self fulfilling prophesy, role model, deviant behavior and focus groups

concepts like self fulfilling prophesy, role model, deviant behavior and focus groups.

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152/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

On Theoretical Sociology (1967) v. Social Theory and Functional Analysis (1969) vi. The Sociology of Science (1973) vii. Social Ambivalence and Other Essays (1976) 3.7

On Theoretical Sociology (1967), Social Theory and Functional Analysis (1969), The Sociology of Science (1973), and Social Ambivalence and Other Essays (1976).

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/SOC2C05.pdf%20originalNEW.pdf

153/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Merton, to begin analysis with the postulate of functional unity or integration of social whole diverts attention away from

Merton, to begin analysis with the postulate of functional unity' or integration of social whole can divert attention away from

W https://studyres.com/doc/8901128/theoretical-perspectives-in-sociology-university-of-calic...

154/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

consequences of a given social or cultural item for diverse social groups and various individual members of these groups.

consequences of a given social or cultural item for diverse social groups and for individual members of these groups."

W https://studyres.com/doc/8901128/theoretical-perspectives-in-sociology-university-of-calic...

155/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	59 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	59 WORDS

cannot be assumed; at most it is an empirical question to be determined by social research. Further, it is possible for some social or cultural items to have functions for some groups within a social system and not for others. Instead, Merton offers a "provisional assumption" that widespread and persisting socio-cultural forms have a "net balance" of positive over negative consequences (Elwell 2013).Merton

cannot be assumed; at most it is an empirical question to be determined by social research. Further, it is possible for some social or cultural items to have functions for some groups within a social system and not for others. Instead, Merton offered a "provisional assumption" that widespread and persisting sociocultural forms have a "net balance" of positive over negative consequences. Merton

W http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

156/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

on how different patterns of social organization with more inclusive social systems are created, maintained, and changed not only by the requisites/

on how different pattern of social organization with in more inclusive social systems are created, maintained, and changed not only by the requisites

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157/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	51 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	51 WORDS

systems may well have functional needs or prerequisites, but these needs may be met by a diversity of forms. Calling it a "major theorem of functional analysis," Merton asserts, "just as the same item may have multiple functions, so may the same function be diversely fulfilled by alternative items" (Merton 1948/1968: 87–88). 3.7.1 Concept of

systems may well have functional needs or prerequisites, Merton asserted, but these needs may be met by a diversity of forms. Calling it a "major theorem of functional analysis," Merton asserted that "just as the same item may have multiple functions, so may the same function be diversely fulfilled by alternative items" (Merton 1948/1968, 87–88). One of

W http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

158/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

focus on stability of traditional functionalism, Merton introduces the concept of "dysfunction". Whereas functions contribute to the adjustment of the system, dysfunctions are those consequences that lead to instability and ultimately change.

focus on stability of traditional functionalism, Merton introduced the concept of "dysfunction." Whereas functions contribute to the adjustment of the system, dysfunctions are those consequences that lead to instability and ultimately change.

W http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

159/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

that institutional structures and cultural elements are interrelated and mutually supporting, and that the dominant orientation of

that institutional structures and cultural elements are interrelated and mutually supporting, and that the dominant orientation of

W http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

160/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	142 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	142 WORDS

systems is towards stability. "As we survey the course of history, it seems reasonably clear that all major social structures have in due course been cumulatively modified or abruptly terminated. In either event, they have not been eternally fixed and unyielding to change" (Merton, 1948/1968: 95). Merton insists that social structures can only be analyzed in terms of both statics (stability) and dynamics (change). The concept of dysfunction, which allows functional theory to focus on change, is based on tension, strain, or contradictions within component elements of socio-cultural systems. Dysfunctional elements create pressures for change within the system (Merton, 1948/1968: 176). Social mechanisms within the system, including the interrelation of predominantly mutually supporting elements of the system, operate to keep these strains in check, in an attempt to limit or minimize change of the social structure. However, such mechanisms are not always effective, and the amassing of stress and resulting conflict often

systems is to stability. "As we survey the course of history, it seems reasonably clear that all major social structures have in due course been cumulatively modified or abruptly terminated. In either event, they have not been eternally fixed and unyielding to change" (Merton 1948/1968, 95).Merton Quote 2 Merton insisted that social structures can only be analyzed in terms of both statics (stability) and dynamics (change). The concept of dysfunction allows functional theory to focus on change. The concept of dysfunction is based on tension, strain, or contradictions within component elements of sociocultural systems. Dysfunctional elements create pressures for change within the system (Merton 1948/1968, 176). Social mechanisms within the system, including the interrelation and predominantly mutually supporting elements of the system, operate to keep these strains in check, attempting to limit or minimize change of the social structure. However, such mechanisms are not always effective, and the accumulation of stress and resulting conflict often

W http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

161/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

One of the primary goals of functional analysis is to identify these dysfunctions and examine how they are contained or reduced in the

One of the primary goals of functional analysis is to identify these dysfunctions and examine how they are contained or reduced in the

W http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

162/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

system as well as how they sometimes cause systemic or fundamental change. (Merton, 1948/1968: 107)

system as well as how they sometimes cause systemic or fundamental change. Merton, 1948/1968,

W http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

163/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	37 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	37 WORDS

Merton, "Functions are those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system; and dysfunctions, those observed consequences which lessen adaptation or adjustment of the system." Motive, on the other hand, is the 56

Merton, 1948/1968, p. 107. "are those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system; and dysfunctions, those observed consequences which lessen adaptation or adjustment of the system." Motive, on the other hand, is the

W http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

164/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

subjective orientation of the actor engaged in the behavior (Merton 1948/1968: 105). The failure to distinguish between functions and motives is one of the principal sources of confusion for students of functionalism.

subjective orientation of the actor engaged in the behavior (Merton 1948/1968, 105). The failure to distinguish between functions and motives is one of the chief sources of confusion for students of functionalism.

W http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

165/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

not prepared. Merton argued that it is the job of the sociologist to uncover the latent functions of social activities and institution.

not prepared. Merton argued that it is the job of the sociologist to trying uncover the latent functions of social activities and institution.

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166/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

consequences or functions of socio- cultural items-whether positive or negative, manifest or latent- "for individuals, for subgroups, and for the more inclusive social structure and culture" (

consequences or functions of socio- cultural items-whether positive or negative, manifest or latent- "for individuals, for subgroups, and for the more inclusive social structure and culture.

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167/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	40 WORDS	77%	MATCHING TEXT	40 WORDS

visualizes contemporary functional thought as compensating for the ambitious over-emphasis of earlier theorists on the crucial types of consequences of socio-cultural items for each other and if the facts dictate, for the social whole. iii. The indispensability of functional items for social systems:

visualizes contemporary functional thought as compensating for the excesses of earlier forms of analysis by focusing on the crucial types of consequences of socio-cultural items for each other and if the facts dictate, for the social whole. 3. The indispensability of functional items for social systems:

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168/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

the assumption that if a social pattern is well established, it must be meeting some essential needs

The assumption is that if a social pattern is well established, it must be meeting some basic needs

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169/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

indispensable for the survival of the system; and again, certain social or cultural forms

indispensable for the survival of the social system; and certain social or cultural forms

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170/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

functional analysis should concern with various types of "functional alternatives,' or functional equivalents," and "functional substitutes" with in social systems. In this way, functional analysis

functional analysis of concern with various types of "functional alternatives,' or functional equivalents," and "functional substitutes" with in social systems. In this way, functional analysis

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171/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	58 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	58 WORDS

the continued existence of a system. Rather, functional analysis must specify (1) Social patterns, whether a systematic whole or some subparts, under consideration; (2) the various types of consequences of these patterns for empirically established survival requisites; and (3) the processes whereby some patterns rather than others come to exist and have the various consequences for each other and for systemic wholes.

the continued existence of a system. Rather, functional analysis must specify (1) Social patterns under consideration, whether a systematic whole or some subpart; (2) the various types of consequences of these patterns for empirically established survival requisites; and (3) the processes whereby some patterns rather than others come to exist and have the various consequences for each other and for systematic wholes.

W https://studyres.com/doc/8901128/theoretical-perspectives-in-sociology-university-of-calic...

172/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

the sort of functions advocated by Talcott Parsons in the form of functional pre requisites. Merton argued that use of religion as a therapeutic device could be substituted effectively by the alternative

the sort of functions advocated by Talcot parson's in the form of functional pre requisites'. Merton argued that use of religion as a therapeutic device could be substituted effectively by the alternative

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173/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

like counselling and reasoning which can help members understand the values of normal life in society.

like counseling and reasoning which can make then understand the values of normal life in society.

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174/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	8 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	8 WORDS

them to become work-oriented, independent and self-reliant; which

them to become work-oriented. Independent and self reliant which

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175/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

of the fact that any part of society may be functional or

of the fact that any part of society may be functional, dysfunctional or

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176/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	113 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	113 WORDS

A Protocol for Executing Functional Analysis To explain the causes and consequences of particular structures and processes, Merton insists that functional analysis begins with "sheer description" of individual and group activities. In describing the patterns of interaction and activity among units under investigation, it will be possible to distinguish clearly the social items to be subjected to functional analysis. Such descriptions can also provide a major clue to the functions performed by such patterned activity. The first of these steps is for investigators to indicate the principal alternatives that are excluded by the dominance of a particular pattern. The second analytical step beyond sheer description involves an assessment of the meaning, or mental and emotional significance, of the activity for group members.

A Protocol for Executing functional Analysis To ascertain the causes and consequences of particular structures and processes, Merton insists that functional analysis begins with "sheer description" of individual and group activities. In describing the patterns of interaction and activity among units under investigation, it will be possible to discern clearly the social items to be subjected to functional analysis. Such descriptions can also provide a major due to the functions performed by such patterned activity. The first of these steps is for investigators to indicate the principal alternatives that are excluded by the dominance of a particular pattern. The second analytical step beyond sheer description involves an assessment of the meaning, or mental and emotional significance, of the activity for group members.

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177/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Illustrating Merton's Functional Strategy Merton's paradigm and protocol for constructing functional theories

Illustrating Merton's Functional Strategy Merton paradigm and protocol for constructing functional theories

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178/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	52 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	52 WORDS

the middle range are remarkably free of statement about individual and system needs or requisites. Merton approaches the questions of the needs and requisites fulfilled by a particular item only after description of (1) the item in question, (2) the structural context in which the item survives, and (3) its meaning for the individuals involved.

the middle range are remarkably free of statement about individual and system needs or requisites. In his protocol statements Merton approaches the questions of the needs and requisites fulfilled by a particular item only after description of (1) the item in question, (2) the structural context in which the item survives, and its meaning for the individuals involved

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179/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

it is possible to establish both the manifest and latent functions of an item, as well as the net balance of functions and dysfunctions of the item for varied segments of a social system. 3.10

it is then possible to establish both the manifest and latent functions of an item, as well as the net balance of functions and dysfunctions of the item for varied segments of a social system.

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180/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Elwell, F. W. (2013). Merton on Functional Analysis, Retrieved from http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm 60

Elwell, Frank W., 2013, "Merton on Functional Analysis," Retrieved August 31, 2013, [use actual date] http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

W http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

181/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	66%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Abraham, M.F. (1982). Modern Sociological Theory- An Introduction (pp. 1-38). NY: Oxford University Press. Turner, J. H. (1974). The Structure of Sociological Theory (3

Abraham, Francis M., Modern Sociological Theory : An introduction, Oxford University Press, Kolkata (2001). 3. Turner, Jobathan H., The Structure of Sociological Theory,

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182/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part,

A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part.

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183/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that originally attempted to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

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184/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued survival over time. Functionalism

the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued existence over time. Functionalism

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185/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	67%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Merton, R.K. (1957). Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe Illinois: The Free Press Parsons, T. (1951). The Social System (P. 5). New York: Free Press.

SA MA -II SOC Contemporary Sociological Theories.pdf (D123321207)

186/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

society as a system of interconnected parts that work together in harmony to maintain a state of balance and social equilibrium for the whole.

SA submission.docx (D43130034)

187/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

A. (1977). Masters of Sociological Thought: Ideas in Historical and Social Context.

A. (2011). Masters of Sociological Thought Ideas in Historical and Social Context.

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM_Main/1st%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/PGSO%20S1%2001%20(Block% ...

188/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Merton, R.K. (1957). Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe Illinois: The Free Press

Merton, R. K. (1948/1968). Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press.

W http://www.faculty.rsu.edu/~felwell/Theorists/Essays/Merton1.htm

189/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part,

A function is the contribution made by a phenomenon to a larger system of which the phenomenon is a part.

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190/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Functionalism Functionalism is a sociological theory that attempts to explain social institutions as collective means to meet

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191/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued survival over time. Functionalism

the apparent stability and internal cohesion of societies necessary to ensure their continued existence over time. Functionalism

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192/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

The Constitution of Society- Outline of the Theory of Structuration.

The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration.

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193/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

as the "probability that one actor within social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance ,

as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance,"

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194/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Coser. 1956. The Functions of Social Conflict, 1956, London Routledge and Kegan Paul,

Coser, L. (1956) the Functions of Social Conflict. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 9.

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195/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

the groups with power will pursue their interests and those without power will pursue theirs.

The groups with power pursue their interests, and those without power pursue theirs.

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196/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance

the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance,"

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197/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Dahrendorf outlines three types of intervening variable conditions-1. Condition of organization that affects the transformation

Dahrendorf outlines three types of intervening empirical conditions: (1) conditions of organization that affect the transformation

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198/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	74 WORDS	61%	MATCHING TEXT	74 WORDS

conflict group, 2conditions of conflict that determine the from and intensity of conflict. 3. Condition of structural changes that influence the kind, speed, and depth of changes in the social structure. The variables in his theoretical scheme are – 1. Degree of conflict group formation 2. Degree of intensity of conflict 3. Degree of violence of the conflict NSOU CC - SO - 03 133 4. Degree of changes in the social structure 5. And rate of such

conflict groups; (2) conditions of conflict that determine the form and intensity of conflict and (3) conditions of structural change that influence the kind, speed, and the depth of the changes in social structure. Thus, the variables in the theoretical scheme are the (1) degree of conflict- group formation; (2) the degree of intensity of the conflict; (3) the degree of violence of the conflict; (4) the degree of change of social structue; and (5) the rate of such

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199/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	39 WORDS	51%	MATCHING TEXT	39 WORDS

The more the political conditions are met the more likely is the formation of the conflict group. The more dominant groups permit organisation of the opposed interest, the more likely are the political conditions to be met. The more social conditions

The more the "political" conditions of organization can be met, the more likely is the formation of a conflict group. 1. The more dominant groups permit organization of opposed interest, the more likely are the political conditions of organization to be met. 2. The more the "social" conditions

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200/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

the more likely are the social conditions to be met. The less the technical conditions are met, more

the more likely are the social conditions to be met. II. The less the technical, political, and social conditions of organization are met, the more

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201/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	35 WORDS	65%	MATCHING TEXT	35 WORDS

the conflict. The more the distribution of authority and other rewards are associated with other , the more intense will be the conflict. Less the mobility between the super and subordinate groups, the more intense will be the conflict.

the conflict. III. The more the distribution of authority and other rewards are associated with each other (superimposed), the more intense is the conflict. IV. The less the mobility between super-and subordinate groups, the more intense is the conflict.

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202/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

The intervening empirical conditions cause quasi groups to become conflict groups.

the intervening empirical conditions that cause quasi groups to become conflict groups.

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203/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	47 WORDS	57%	MATCHING TEXT	47 WORDS

types of intervening variables a. Conditions of organisations that affect the transformation of latent quasi group into manifest conflict groups. b. Conditions of conflict that affect the form and intensity of conflict. c. Conditions of structural changes that affect the kind, speed and depth of the changes in the social structure. 8.7.2

types of intervening empirical conditions: (1) conditions of organization that affect the transformation of latent quasi groups into manifest conflict groups; (2) conditions of conflict that determine the form and intensity of conflict and (3) conditions of structural change that influence the kind, speed, and the depth of the changes in social structure.

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204/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

society as a system of interconnected parts that work together in harmony to maintain a state of balance and social equilibrium for the whole.

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205/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	37 WORDS	55%	MATCHING TEXT	37 WORDS

The more a leadership cadre among quasi group can be developed, the more the technical conditions will be met. b. The more the idea system is developed, the more technical conditions will be met. 2. The political conditions of

The more a leadership cadre among quasi groups can be developed, the more likely are the technical conditions of organization to be met 2. The more a codified idea system, or charter, can be developed, the more likely are the technical conditions of organization to be met. B. The more the "political" conditions of

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206/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	65%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

The more the members of a quasi-group communicate, the more likely are the social conditions to be met. 8.8

The more opportunity for members of quasi groups to communicate, the more likely are the social conditions of organization to be met 4.

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207/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

is that neither structural functionalism nor Marxism alone provides an acceptable perspective on advanced society.

is that neither structural functionalism nor Marxism alone provides an acceptable perspective on advanced society.

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208/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	42 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	42 WORDS

Dahrendorf contends that post capitalist society has institutionalized class conflict into state and economic spheres. For example, class conflict has been habituated through unions, collective bargaining, the court system, and legislative debate. In effect, the severe class strife typical of Marx's time is no longer relevant.

Dahrendorf contends that postcapitalist society that has institutionalized class conflict into state and economic spheres.For example, class conflict has been habituated through unions, collective bargaining, the court system, and legislative debate. In effect, the severe class strife typical of Marx's time is not longer relevant.

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209/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

society can be split up into the "command class" and the "obey class" and class conflict should refer to situations of struggle between those with authority and those without.

society can be split up into the "command class" and the "obey class" and class conflict should refer to situations of struggle between those with authority and those without.

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210/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	82%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

He claims that structural functionalists neglect realities of social conflict and that Marx defined class too narrowly and in a historically-specific context.

He claims that structural functionalists pay too little attention to the realities of social conflict and that Marx defined class too narrowly and in a historically-specific context.

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211/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Dahrendorf combines elements from both of these perspectives to develop his own theory concerning class conflict in

Dahrendorf combines elements from both of these perspectives to develop his own theory about class conflict in

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212/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

Dahrendorf claims that capitalism has undergone major changes since Marx initially developed his theory on class conflict. This new system of capitalism, which he identifies as

Dahrendorf states that capitalism has undergone major changes since Marx initially developed his theory on class conflict. This new system of capitalism, which he identifies as

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213/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

is characterised by diverse class structure and a fluid system of power relations. Thus, it involves a much more complex system of inequality 8.10

is characterized by diverse class structure and a fluid system of power relations. Thus, it involves a much more complex system of inequality.

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214/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Coser. 1956. The Functions of Social Conflict,1956, London Routledge and Kegan Paul,

Coser, L. (1956) the Functions of Social Conflict. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 9.

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215/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

that conflict might serve to solidify a loosely structured group. In a society that seems to be disintegrating, conflict with another society

that conflict may serve to solidify a loosely structured group. In a society that seems to be disintegrating, conflict with another society

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216/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

serve to produce cohesion by leading to a series of alliances with other groups. Conflicts within a society,

serve to produce cohesion by leading to a series of alliances with other groups. Within a society,

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217/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

conflict, can bring some ordinarily isolated individuals into an active role.

conflict can bring some ordinarily isolated individuals into an active role.

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218/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	46 WORDS	79%	MATCHING TEXT	46 WORDS

the subordinate members in a system of inequality question the legitimacy of the existing distribution of scared resources, the more likely are they to initiate conflict. 2. The fewer the channels of redressal of grievances over the distribution of resources , the more likely are they to question the

The more subordinate members in a system of inequality question the legitimacy of the existing distribution of scaree resources, the more 107 likely are they to initiate conflict. A. The fewer are the channels for redressing grievances over the distribution of scare resources by subordinates, the more likely are they to question legitimacy. 1. The

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219/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	72 WORDS	72%	MATCHING TEXT	72 WORDS

The functions of conflict for the respective parties 1. The more violent or intense is the conflict, the more-clear cut is the boundaries between the respective parties. 2. The more violent is the conflict, the more internally differentiated are the parties , the more likely to centralize their decision – making structures 3. The more violent is the conflict, the more it is perceived to affect the welfare of all segments of the conflict parties. 4. The more

the functions of conflict for the Respective parties : I. The more violent or intense is the conflict, the more clear-cut are the boundaries of each respective conflict party. II. The more violent or intense is the conflict and the more internally differentiated are the conflict parties, the more likely is each conflict party to centralize its decision-making structure. III. The more violent or intense is the conflict and more it is perceived to affects the welfare or all segments of the conflict parties, the more

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220/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	73%	MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

is the conflict, the more it leads to suppression of dissent and forced conformity to norms and values 5. The more conflict leads to conformity, the greater is the accumulation of

is the conflict, the more conflict leads to the suppression of dissent And deviance within each conflict parity as well as forced conformity to norms and values. V. The more conflict between parties leads to forced conformity, the greater is the accumulation of

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221/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	87 WORDS	68%	MATCHING TEXT	87 WORDS

The functions of conflict for the social whole 1. The more differentiated and functionally interdependent are the units in a system , the more likely are the conflicts to be frequent but of low intensity. 2. The more frequent are conflicts, less is their intensity, low is their level of violence, the more likely are conflicts in a system (a) to increase the level of innovation and creativity of system units, (b) promote normative regulations, (c) increase awareness of realistic issues, and (d) increase number of associative coalitions among social units. 3. The more

the Functions of conflict for the social whole 112 I. The more differentiated and functionally interdependent are the unit in a system, the more likely is to be frequent but of low degrees of intensity and violence. II. The more frequent are conflict, the less is their intensity, and the lower is their level of violence, then the more likely are conflict in a system to (a) increase the level of innovation and creativity of system, units, (b) release hostilities before they polarize system units, (c) promote normative regulation of conflict relations, (d) increase awareness of realistic issues, and (e) increase the number of associative coalitions among social units. III. The more

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222/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

the greater will be the level of internal social integration and greater the capacity to adapt to the external environment.

the greater will be the level of internal social integration of the system and the greater will be its capacity to adapt to its external environment. 8.6

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223/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Coser. 1956. The Functions of Social Conflict, 1956, London Routledge and Kegan Paul,

Coser, L. (1956) the Functions of Social Conflict. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 9.

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224/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

the system's basis of integration as well as its adaptability to the environment. Coser

the system's basis of integration as well as its adaptability to the environment. Coser

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225/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	54 WORDS	63%	MATCHING TEXT	54 WORDS

a system question the legitimacy of the existing distribution of scarce resources, the more likely they are to initiate into conflict The fewer the channels for redressing grievances over the distribution of scarce resources by the deprived, the more likely they are to question legitimacy. The fewer internal organizations there are segmenting emotional energies of the

a system of inequality question the legitimacy of the existing distribution of scaree resources, the more 107 likely are they to initiate conflict. A. The fewer are the channels for redressing grievances over the distribution of scare resources by subordinates, the more likely are they to question legitimacy. 1. The fewer are the internal organizations segmenting emotional energies of subordinates, the

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226/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	42 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	42 WORDS

a communication function. Prior to conflict, groups may be unsure of their adversary's position, but as a result of conflict, positions and boundaries between groups often become clarified, leaving individuals better able to decide on a proper course of action in relation to their adversary.

a communication function. Prior to conflict, groups may be unsure of their adversary's position, but as a result of conflict, positions and boundaries between groups often become clarified. Individuals therefore are better able to decide on a proper course of action in relation to their adversary.

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227/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

to question legitimacy. The greater the ego deprivation s of those without grievances channels, the more likely they are to question legitimacy.The more membership in

to question legitimacy. 2. The greater are the ego deprivations of those without grievance channels, the more likely are they to question legitimacy B. The more membership in

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228/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	38 WORDS	61%	MATCHING TEXT	38 WORDS

and the less mobility allowed, the more likely they are to withdraw legitimacy. The more deprivations are transformed from absolute to relative, the more likely are the deprived to initiate conflicts .The less the degree to which socialization experience of

and the less mobility allowed, the more likely are they to withdraw legitimacy. II. The more deprivations of subordinates are transformed from absolute to relative, the greater will be their sense of injustice, and hence, the more likely are they to initiate conflict. A. The less is the degree to which socialization experiences of

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229/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

internal ego constraints, the more likely are they to experience relative deprivation. The less the external constraints is applied to the

internal ego constraints, the more likely are they to experience relative deprivation. B. The less are the external constraints applied to subordinates, the

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230/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	55%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

the intensity of conflict. The more primary are the relations among the parties to a conflict, the more

the Duration of Conflict I. The less limited are the goals of the opposing parties to a conflict, the more

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231/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	43 WORDS	59%	MATCHING TEXT	43 WORDS

The Outcomes of Conflict- the more intense the conflict, the more clear-cut the boundaries of each respective conflict party. I. The more intense the conflict and the more differentiated the division of labor of each conflict party, the more likely each to centralize its decision-making structure.

the functions of conflict for the Respective parties : I. The more violent or intense is the conflict, the more clear-cut are the boundaries of each respective conflict party. II. The more violent or intense is the conflict and the more internally differentiated are the conflict parties, the more likely is each conflict party to centralize its decision-making structure.

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232/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	61%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

III. The more intense the conflict and the more it is perceived to affect all segments of each group, the more conflict promotes structural and ideological solidarity among members of respective conflict groups. IV. The more

III. The more violent or intense the conflict and more it is perceived to affects the welfare or all segments of the conflict parties, the more conflict promotes structural and ideological solidarity among members of each conflict party. IV. The more

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233/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

the more intense the conflict, the more conflict leads to suppression of dissent and deviance within each conflict

The more violent or intense is the conflict, the more conflict leads to the suppression of dissent And deviance within each conflict

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234/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	82%	MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

forced conformity to norms and values. The more conflict between groups leads to forced conformity, the more the accumulation of hostilities and the more likely internal group conflict in the long run .

forced conformity to norms and values. V. The more conflict between parties leads to forced conformity, the greater is the accumulation of hostilities, and the more likely is internal group conflict to surface in the long run.

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235/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	43 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	43 WORDS

can become aware of their objective interests and form a conflict group, the more likely is conflict to occur. The more the technical conditions of organisation can be met, the more likely is the formation of the conflict group . The more a leader cadre among

can become aware of 103 their objective interests and form a conflict group, the more likey is conflict to occur. A. The more the "technical" conditions of organization can be met, the more likely is the formation of a conflict group. 1. The more a leadership cadre among

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236/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	55 WORDS	60%	MATCHING TEXT	55 WORDS

organization can be met. The more the political conditions of the organization can be met, the more likely is the formation of the conflict group. 158 NSOU CC - SO - 03 The more the dominant group permits organization of opposed interest, the more likely can the political conditions of the organization be met. The more

organization to be met. B. The more the "political" conditions of organization can be met, the more likely is the formation of a conflict group. 1. The more groups permit of opposed interest, the more likely are the political conditions of organization to be met. 2. The more the "social" conditions of organization can be met, the more

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237/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

the social conditions of the organization can be met, the more likely are the formation of the conflict group.

the "social" conditions of organization can be met, the more likely is the formation of a conflict group. 3.

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238/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

the more recruiting is permitted by structural arrangements, more likely are the social conditions to be met.

The more recruiting is permitted by structural arrangements (such as propinquity), the more likely are the social conditions to be met.

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239/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	48 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	48 WORDS

the more the technical, political and social conditions of organization are met, the more intense is the conflict. The more the distribution of authority and other rewards are associated with each other, the more intense is the conflict The less the mobility between super and subordinate groups, the more intense is the conflict.

The less the technical, political, and social conditions of organization are met, the more intense is the conflict. III. The more the distribution of authority and other rewards are associated with each other (superimposed), the more intense is the conflict. IV. The less the mobility between super-and subordinate groups, the more intense is the conflict.

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240/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	58%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

of conflict for both the parties to a conflict and the social whole within which the conflict occurs.

of conflict for (1) the respective parties to the conflict and (2) the systemic whole in which the conflict occurs.

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241/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

inequalities in power and reward are built into all social structures. Individuals and groups who benefit from any particular structure strive to see it maintained.

Inequalities in power and reward are built into all social structures. Individuals and groups that benefit from any particular structure strive to see it maintained. ?

W https://studyres.com/doc/8901128/theoretical-perspectives-in-sociology-university-of-calic...

242/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

Since distribution of authority is the fundamental source of conflict, changes resulting from class conflict will bring about changes in the authority system.

Since differential distribution of authority is the fundamental source of conflict, changes resulting from class conflict are essentially changes in the authority system.

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243/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

Since differential distribution of authority is the fundamental source of conflict, changes resulting from conflict are essentially changes in the authority system.

Since differential distribution of authority is the fundamental source of conflict, changes resulting from class conflict are essentially changes in the authority system.

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM_Main/1st%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/PGSO%20S1%2001%20(Block% ...

244/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

dialectical sociology is the systematic study of social conflict which involves conceptualization of opposing forces with conflicting interests. The dialectical model begins with a dichotomy of opposites such as individual and

Dialectical sociology is the organized study of social conflict which entails a conceptualization of opposing forces with conflicting interests. The dialectical model begins with a dichotomy of opposites such as slave and

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245/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

Dahrendorf's model is a dialectical model because he saw conflict as inherent in the dichotomous division of all social organisations into contending categories of roles— those who have authority and those who are subjected to authority.

Dahrendorf's conceptualization of conflict is a dialectical model because he saw conflict as inherent in the dichotomous division of all social organizations into contending categories of roles- those who have authority and those who are subjected to authority.

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246/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

allows expression of hostility and mending of strained relations. It leads to the elimination of specific sources of conflict between parties and enables redressal of conflict between parties through establishments of new norms or affirmation of

allows expression of hostility and the restoration of strained relationship. It leads to the elimination of specific sources of conflict between the parties and enables redressal of grievances through the establishment of new norms or the affirmation of

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247/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	79%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

revitalize the economy , lubricate the social system, facilitate release of tension and frustration and enable social system to adjust itself. However, conflict

revitalize the economy and lubricate the social system. Above all they facilitate the release of tension and frustration and enable the social system to adjust itself. Conflict

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248/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	41 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	41 WORDS

conflict when different positions call for different things. According to Dahrendorf, these different defined areas of society where people's roles may be different are called imperatively coordinated associations. The groups of society in different associations are drawn together by their common interests. 166

conflict when in different positions that call for different things. According to Dahrendorf, these different defined areas of society where people's roles may be different are called imperatively coordinated associations. The groups of society in different associations are drawn together by their common interests.

W https://studyres.com/doc/8901128/theoretical-perspectives-in-sociology-university-of-calic...

249/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

exchange of activity, tangible or intangible and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two

exchange of activity, tangible or intangible, and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two

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250/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

exchange theory. The behavioural sociologist focuses upon the relationship between the effects of an actor's behaviour on the environment and their impact on the actor's later

exchange theory. ? The behavioral sociologist is concerned with the relationship between the effects of an actor's behavior on the environment and its impact on the actor's later

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251/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	69%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

the same behaviour is likely to be repeated in future in similar situations. However if the reaction has been painful or punishing then there is less

the same behavior is likely to be emitted in the future in similar situations. If the reaction has been painful or punishing, the behavior is less

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252/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

between the history of environmental reactions or consequences and the nature of present

between the history of environmental reactions or consequences and the nature of present

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253/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

that people are social and spend a significant amount of their time interacting with other people.

that people are social and spend a considerable portion of their time interacting with other people.

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254/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

system of signs – a structure – and the meaning of each sign is produced by the relationship

system of signs , which has structure and the meaning of each sign is produced by the relationship

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255/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

the structure of the language. Thus, instead of an existential world of people shaping their surroundings, we have

the structure of language. Thus, instead of an existential world of people shaping their surroundings, we have

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256/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

a world in which people, as well as other aspects of the social world, are

a world in which people, as well as other aspects of the social world, are

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257/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Dahrendorf, Ralph. (1959) Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. Stanford University Press:

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258/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

W. I. Thomas's (1931) notion of the 'definition of the situation'

W.I.Thomas's notion of the definition of the situation.

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259/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings' (Blumer, 1962: 179).

the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings" (Blumer: 1969).

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260/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them; (2)

Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. ?

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261/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

the meaning of things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with others; (3) meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by

The meaning of such is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. 3. These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by

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262/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

the impact of meanings and symbols on human action and interaction.

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263/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

and individuals are to be understood in terms of societies of which they are members. In

and individuals are to be understood in terms of the societies of which they are members. In

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/202.pdf

264/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

human beings act towards things on the basis of meanings that the things have for them.

human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.

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265/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

these meanings are a product of social interaction in human society.

these meanings are a product of social interaction in human society.

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266/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

stood in contrast to the psychological reductionism of behavior and the structural determinism of macro-oriented sociological theories.

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267/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	75%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

In social interactions they learn meanings and symbols that allow them to exercise their distinctive capacity for thought.

In social interaction people learn the meanings and the symbols that allow them to exercise their distinctively human capacity for thought. 4.

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268/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Meanings and thoughts allow people to carry distinctively human action and interaction.

Meanings and symbols allow people to carry on distinctively human action and interaction. 5.

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269/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

People are able to alter or modify the meanings that they use in action and interaction on the basis of interpretation of the situation.

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. 6.

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270/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

interact with themselves enabling them to examine possible courses of action, assess their relative advantages and disadvantages. g. The intertwined patterns of action and interaction make up

interact with themselves, which allows them to examine possible courses of action, assess their relative advantages and disadvantages, and then choose one. 7. The intertwined patterns of action and interaction make up

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271/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

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Prentice Hall. 138 3. Brittan, A. (1973), Meanings and Situations, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 4.

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272/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

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273/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	55%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

Mead, G. H. (1934/64) Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of Social Behaviourist, Chicago, Chicago University Press Meltzer, B. (1975), Symbolic Interactionism: Genesis, Varieties and Criticisms, London, Kegan Paul 242

Mead, G. H. (1962 [1934]) Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. (4) Meltzer, B. N., Petras, W., & Reynolds, L. T. (1975) Symbolic Interactionism: Genesis, Varieties Criticism. Routledge & Paul,

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274/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

and the world as dynamic processes and the actor's ability to interpret the world.

and the social world as dynamic processes, and (3) the centrality of actors' ability to interpret the social world.

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275/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	82%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

these meanings are modified and handled through interpretative process that is used by each individual in dealing with the things

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276/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	68%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

to understand conventional gestures, employ those gestures to take the role of others and imaginatively rehearse lines of action. 16.5

to (1) understand and use 'conventional gestures', (2) 'to employ the gestures' to 'take the role of the other', and (3) to imaginatively 144 rehearse alternative lines of action.

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277/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	47%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

The second stage is the play stage. In this stage children start learning to take the attitude of others to themselves.

the game stage. During the play stage, children learn how to take the attitude of particular others to themselves,

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278/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	73%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

is the immediate response of an individual to others. It is incalculable, unpredictable, creative aspect of self.

is the immediate response of an individual to the other; it is the unpredictable and creative aspect of the self.

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279/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

mature self emerges when a generalized other is internalized so that the community

mature self, arises when a 'generalized other' is internalized so that 'the community

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280/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

process. The social process precedes the mind and is not a product of the mind.

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281/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

responses that are taken over by the individual in the form of 'me'. Thus in this sense

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282/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

society around with him giving him the ability through self-criticism to control

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283/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

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284/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

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285/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	55%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

Mead, G. H. (1934/64) Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of Social Behaviourist, Chicago, Chicago University Press. Meltzer, B. (1975), Symbolic Interactionism: Genesis, Varieties and Criticisms, London, Kegan Paul.

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286/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.

act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.

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287/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

The meaning of things arises out of the social interaction one has with one's fellows.

The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. 3.

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288/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

are handled in and modified through an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with things he encounters.

are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used the person in dealing with the things he encounters. ?

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289/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

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290/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

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291/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	55%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

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292/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

The two most important roots of Mead's work, and of symbolic interactionism in general, are the philosophy of pragmatism

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293/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	66%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

To understand the criticism of symbolic interactionism. • To understand the nature of contemporary symbolic interactionism. • To understand the

To understand the concept of symbolic Interactionism 2. To know the varieties of symbolic interactionism. 3. To understand the

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294/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

Criticism There are certain criticisms directed towards symbolic interactionist paradigm. One of these criticisms is that symbolic interactionism is largely deprived of a real social envision.

Criticism There are certain criticisms directed towards symbolic interactionist paradigm. One of these criticisms is that symbolic interactionism is largely deprived of a real social envision.

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295/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	124 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	124 WORDS

a society since it sometimes describes society as a thing only in the minds of people (Slattery, 2007). This theory, as also stated by Udehn (2001), is an "American" idea that stresses the freedom of the individual and limited role of the society. The second one of the problems of the symbolic interactionist paradigm is stressed especially and clearly: (i) not taking into account human emotions very much and (ii) getting interested in social structure to a limited extent. In fact, the first one of these two incompetencies imply that symbolic interaction is not completely psychological and the second one implies that symbolic interaction is not completely sociological (Meltzer et al, 1975: 120; Akt: Slattery, 2007: 338). This theory pictures 'meaning' as something emerging by itself during interaction under a certain condition. It

a society picture or theory. Since it sometimes describes society as a thing only in the minds of people (Slattery, 2007). This theory, as also stated by Udehn (2001), is an "American" idea that stresses the freedom of the individual and limited role of the society. The second one of the problems of the symbolic interactionist paradigm is stressed especially and clearly: (i) not taking into account human emotions very much and (ii) getting interested in social structure to a limited extent. In fact, the first one of these two incompetencies implies that symbolic interaction is not completely psychological and the second one implies that symbolic interaction is not completely sociological. This theory pictures meaning as something emerging by itself, during interaction under a certain condition. It

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296/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

take into account the basic social context in which the interaction is positioned. Consequently, it does not produce the sources of meaning. Moreover, symbolic interactionism

take into account the basic social context in which the interaction is positioned. Consequently, it doesn't produce the sources of meaning. Moreover, symbolic interactionism

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297/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

perceive any social reality beyond the one that humans create with their interpretations and for that reason it denies explaining society on a more general level (Slattery, 2007: 338). In 270

perceive any social reality beyond the one that humans create with their interpretations and for that reason it denies explaining society on a more general level. In

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298/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

summary, the principal condition for the formation of a meaning is the existence of an event. The following condition is the experience of these events. As Blumer points out; "the meaning of things directs action" (

summary, the principal condition for the formation of a meaning is the existence of an event. The following condition is the experience of these events. As Blumer points out; "the meaning of things directs action".

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299/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	51 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	51 WORDS

In order to understand human behaviors, it is necessary to understand definitions, meaning and processes formed by humans first. Elements such as social roles, traditional structures, rules, laws, purposes, etc. provide raw material to the individuals for forming definitions. In this context, symbolic interaction stresses social interaction, debate of definitions and taking emphatic role between people.

In order to understand human behaviors, it is necessary to understand definitions, meaning and processes formed by humans first. Elements such as social roles, traditional structures, rules, laws, purposes, etc. provide raw material to the individuals for forming definitions. In this context, symbolic interaction stresses social interaction, debate of definitions and taking emphatic role between people.

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300/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

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302/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	55%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

Mead, G. H. (1934/64) Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of Social Behaviourist, Chicago, Chicago University Press Meltzer, B. (1975), Symbolic Interactionism: Genesis, Varieties and Criticisms, London, Kegan Paul

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303/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	285 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	285 WORDS

Basic Questions The impetus for contemporary feminist theory begins in a deceptively simple question: "And what about the women?" In other words, where are the women in any situation being investigated? If they are not present, why? If they are present, what exactly are 284 NSOU CC - SO - 03 they doing? How do they experience the situation? What do they contribute to it? What does it mean to them? In response to this question, feminist scholarship has produced some generalizable answers. Women are present in most social situations. Where they are not, it is not because they lack ability or interest but because there have been deliberate efforts to exclude them. Where they have been present, women have played roles very different from the popular conception of them (as, for example, passive wives and mothers). Indeed, as wives and as mothers and in a series of other roles, women, along with men, have actively created the situations being studied. Yet though women are actively present in most social situations, scholars, publics, and social actors themselves, both male and female, have been blind to their presence. Moreover, women's roles in most social situations, though essential, have been different from, less privileged than, and subordinate to the roles of men. Their invisibility is only one indicator of this inequality. Feminism's second basic question is: "Why is all this as it is?" In answering this question, feminist theory has produced a general social theory with broad implications for sociology. One of feminist sociological theory's major contributions to answering this question has been the development of the concept of gender. Beginning in the 1970s, feminist theorists made it possible for people to see the distinctions between (a) biologically determined attributes associated with male and female and (b) the socially learned behaviors associated with masculinity and femininity.

Basic Questions ? The impetus for contemporary feminist theory begins in a deceptively simple question:"And what about the women?" ? In other words, where are the women in any situation being investigated? If they are not present, why? If they are present, what exactly are they doing? How do they experience the situation? What do they contribute to it? What does it mean to them? ? In response to this question, feminist scholarship has produced some generalizable answers. Women are present in most social situations. Where they are not, it is not because they lack ability or interest but because there have been deliberate efforts to exclude them. Where they have been present, women have played roles very different from the popular conception of them (as, for example, passive wives and mothers). ? Indeed, as wives and as mothers and in a series of other roles, women, along with men, have actively created the situations being studied. Yet though women are actively present in most social situations, scholars, publics, and social actors themselves, both male and female, have been blind to their presence. ? Moreover, women's roles in most social situations, though essential, have been different from, less privileged than, and subordinate to the roles of men. Their invisibility is only one indicator of this inequality. ? Feminism's second basic question is:"Why is all this as it is?" ? In answering this question, feminist theory has produced a general social theory with broad implications for sociology. ? One of feminist sociological theory's major contributions to answering this question has been the development of the concept of gender. ? Beginning in the 1970s, feminist theorists made it possible for people to see the distinctions between (a) biologically determined attributes associated with male and female and (b) the socially learned behaviors associated with masculinity and femininity.

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304/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	202 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	202 WORDS

They did so by designating the latter as "gender." The essential qualities of gender remain a point of theoretical debate in feminism, and these debates offer one way to distinguish among some of the varieties of feminist theory. But a starting point of agreement among nearly all varieties of feminist theory is an understanding of gender as a social construction, something not emanating from nature but created by people as part of the processes of group life. The third question for all feminists is: "How can we change and improve the social world so as to make it a more just place for all people?" This commitment to social transformation in the interest of justice is the distinctive characteristic of critical social theory, a commitment shared in sociology by feminism, Marxism, neo-Marxism, and social theories being developed by racial and ethnic minorities and in postcolonial societies. Patricia Hill Collins (1998:xiv) forcefully states the importance of this commitment to seeking justice and confronting injustice: "Critical social theory encompasses bodies of knowledge... that actively grapple with the central questions facing groups of people differently placed in specific political, social, and historic contexts characterized by injustice." This commitment to critical theorizing requires that feminist theorists ask how their work will improve the daily lives of the people they study.

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As the circle of feminists exploring these questions has become more inclusive of people of diverse backgrounds both in the United States and internationally, feminist theorists have raised a fourth question: "And what about the differences among women?" The answers to this question lead to a general conclusion that the invisibility, inequality, and role differences in relation to men that generally characterize women's lives are profoundly affected by a woman's social location—that is, by her class, race, age, affectional preference, marital status, religion, ethnicity, and global location. But feminist theory is not just about women, nor is its major project the creation of a middle-range theory of gender relations. Rather, the appropriate parallel for feminism's major theoretical achievement is to one of Marx's epistemological accomplishments. Marx showed that the knowledge people had of society, what they assumed to be an absolute and universal statement about reality, in fact reflected the experience of those who economically and politically ruled the world; he effectively demonstrated that one also could view the world from the vantage point of the world's workers.This insight relativized ruling-class knowledge and, in allowing us to juxtapose thatknowledge with knowledge gained from the workers' perspective, vastly expanded ourability to analyze social reality. More than a century after Marx's death we are still assimilating the implications of this discovery. Feminism's basic theoretical questions have similarly produced a revolutionarys witch in our understanding of the world: what we have taken as universal and absolute knowledge of the world is, in fact, knowledge derived from the experiencesof a powerful section of society, men as "masters." That knowledge is relativized if we rediscover the world from the vantage point of a hitherto invisible, unacknowledged "underside": women, who in subordinated but indispensable "serving" roles have worked to sustain and re- create the society we live in.

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306/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	110 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	110 WORDS

This discovery raises questions about everything we thought we knew about society, and its implications constitute the essence of contemporary feminist theory's significance for sociological theory. Feminist theory deconstructs established systems of knowledge by showing their masculinist bias and the gender politics framing and informing them. To say that knowledge is "deconstructed" is to say that we discover what was hitherto hidden behind the presentation of the knowledge as established, singular, and natural—namely, that that presentation is a construction resting on social, relational, and power arrangements. But feminism itself has become the subject of relativizing and deconstructionist pressures from within its own theoretical boundaries. The first and more powerful of these pressures comes from women confronting the white, privileged-class,

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307/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

feminists—that is, from women of color, women in postcolonial societies, working- class women, and lesbians. These women, speaking from “margin to center” (

feminists—that is, from women of color, women in postcolonial societies, and working-class women. ? These women, speaking from “margin to center”,

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308/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	84 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	84 WORDS

show that there are many differently situated women, and that there are many women-centered knowledge systems that oppose both established, male-stream knowledge claims and any hegemonic feminist claims about a unitary woman’s standpoint. The second deconstructionist pressure within feminism comes from a growing postmodernist literature that raises questions about gender as an undifferentiated concept and about the individualself as a stable locus of consciousness and personhood from which gender and the world are experienced. The potential impact of these questions falls primarily on feminist epistemology—its system for making truth claims. 19.6

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309/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Feminist theory develops a system of ideas about human life that features women as objects and subjects, doers and knowers. Feminism has a

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is? How can we change and improve the social world?

is:”How can we change and improve the social world

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311/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	42 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	42 WORDS

feminist writing has become a growing tide of critical work. While the production of feminist theory has typically expanded and contracted with societal swings between reform and retrenchment, the contemporary stage of feminist scholarship shows a self-sustaining expansion despite new conservative societal trends. 19.10 Summary Feminist

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312/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

women's claim to a fundamental right of equality and describe the unequal opportunity structures created by sexism.

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a system of ideas about human life that features women as objects and subjects, doers and knowers

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314/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

shows a self-sustaining expansion despite new conservative societal trends 306

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is? How can we change and improve the social world?

is:"How can we change and improve the social world

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316/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	41 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	41 WORDS

feminist writing has become a growing tide of critical work. While the production of feminist theory has typically expanded and contracted with societal swings between reform and retrenchment, the contemporary stage of feminist scholarship shows a self-sustaining expansion despite new conservative societal trends. Feminist

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current moment, this typology is located within the following intellectual trends:

current moment, this typology is located within the following intellectual trends: (1)

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318/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	47 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	47 WORDS

A steady movement toward synthesis, toward critically assessing how elements ofthese various theories may be combined; (2) A shift from women's oppression tooppressive practices and structures that alter both men and women; (3) Tension between interpretations that emphasize culture and meaning and those that emphasize the material consequence of powers; (4)

A steady movement toward synthesis, toward critically assessing how elements of these various theories may be combined; (2) A shift from women's oppression to oppressive practices and structures that after both men and women; (3) Tension between interpretations that emphasize culture and meaning and those that emphasize the material consequence of powers;

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319/320	SUBMITTED TEXT	32 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	32 WORDS

the fact that feminist theory is comingto be practiced as part of what Thomas Kuhn has called "normal science," that is, itsassumptions are taken for granted as a starting point for empirical research. 21.3.1

The fact that feminist theory is coming to be practiced as part of what Thomas Kuhn has called "normal science," that is, its assumptions are taken for granted as a starting point for empirical research. ?

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women's claim to a fundamental right ofequality and describe the unequal opportunity structures created by sexism.

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[1] PREFACE In a bid to standardize higher education in the country, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has introduced Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) based on five types of courses viz. core, discipline specific / generic elective, ability and skill enhancement for graduate students of all programmes at Honours level. This brings in the semester pattern, which finds efficacy in sync with credit system, credit transfer, comprehensive and continuous assessments and a graded pattern of evaluation. The objective is to offer learners ample flexibility to choose from a wide gamut of courses, as also to provide them lateral mobility between various educational institutions in the country where they can carry their acquired credits. I am happy to note that the University has been recently accredited by National Assessment and Accreditation Council of India (NAAC) with grade "A". UGC (Open and Distance Learning Programmes and Online Programmes) Regulations, 2020 have mandated compliance with CBCS for U.G. programmes of all the HEIs in this mode. Welcoming this paradigm shift in higher education, Netaji Subhas Open University (NSOU) has resolved to adopt CBCS from the academic session 2021-22 at the Under Graduate Degree Programme level. The present syllabus, framed in the spirit of syllabi recommended by UGC, lays due stress on all aspects envisaged in the curricular framework of the apex body on higher education. It will be imparted to learners over the six semesters of the Programme. Self Learning Materials (SLMs) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. From a logistic point of view, NSOU has embarked upon CBCS presently with SLMs in English / Bengali. Eventually, the English version SLMs will be translated into Bengali too, for the benefit of learners. As always, all of our teaching faculties contributed in this process. In addition to this, we have also requisitioned the services of best academics in each domain in preparation of the new SLMs. I am sure they will be of commendable academic support. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stakeholders who will participate in the teaching-learning based on these study materials. It has been a very challenging task well executed, and I congratulate all concerned in the preparation of these SLMs. I wish the venture a grand success. Prof. (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar Vice-Chancellor

[2] Printed in accordance with the regulations of the Distance Education Bureau of the University Grants Commission. First Print : December, 2021 Netaji Subhas Open University Under Graduate Degree Programme Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) Subject : Honours in Sociology (HSO) Course : Sociology of India – 02 Course Code : CC–SO–04

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Unit 1 Gandhi and Ambedkar Structure 1.1 Objectives 1.2 Introduction 1.2.1 Role of Social Reformers in Removal of Social Evils 1.2.2 Ambedkar as the Emancipator of Depressed Class 1.3 Obstacles Faced by Ambedkar 1.3.1 Both are Patriots (Gandhi and Ambedkar) 1.4 Reformation of Hinduism 1.4.1 Difference with Gandhi 1.4.2 Present Day Scenario 1.5 Conclusion 1.6 Summary 1.7 Suggested Reading 1.8 Questions 1.9 Glossary 1.1 Objectives ? To learn about the roles played by Gandhi and Ambedkar in bringing social changes; ? To understand the importance of equality and curbing down discriminations in Hindu society ? To evaluate the significance of Gandhi and Ambedkar in present day Indian scenario. 1.2 Introduction Mankind has witnessed from time to time the emergence of great souls who have shown us the path of knowledge and taught us how to live an ideal life. Perhaps these two stalwarts, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) and Bhimrao Ramji
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 8 Ambedka(1891-1956) with their basic philosophy of the welfare of the poor and the down-trodden, are a part of the same Vedic heritage. Before their arrival on the scene, the Hindu social organization was based on the hierarchy of the four Varnas: the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudras. This four-fold division of society was laid down by Manu and was generally called Chaturvarna. According to this system, the social and economic status of the Hindus was decided by their birth. There was no chance to choose their occupations by their own will. This decisive feature of the Hindu society had created a number of serious problems such as the feelings of high and low, superiority and inferiority, and inequality or unhappiness among the population. One section of the Hindu was treated by the other sections as second rate, third-rate citizens or slaves. The lower castes were suppressed, depressed and harassed. 1.2.1 Role of Social Reformers in Removal of Social Evils In order to remove such social evils several worthy sons of India have engaged their energies and talents. Twenty five hundred years ago, Buddha made the first effort. Twelfth century Basava fought against the caste orthodoxy. Saints like Kabir, Chaitanya, Eknath and Tukaram spent their life time advising and reforming the various sections of the Hindu population in different parts of the country. The Brahmo Samaj of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and the Arya Samaj of Dayanand Saraswati showed the path of reform to the traditional Hindu society. Jyotirao Phule and Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda fought against the outmoded caste practices. The Theosophical Society, the Prarthana Society Samaj, Satyshodhak Samaj, Servants of India Society did vigorous movements to bring great reforms in India. The names of Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar were mentionable in the line of such great reformers of the Indian society. Mahatma Gandhi's efforts were mainly spiritual and religious in character whereas Ambedkar's efforts were mainly political and legal in character. The Hindus those who studied the liberal philosophy and democratic institutions of the western countries naturally began to revolt against the caste centric attitudes. The works of Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar highlighted the early impulses of social reformation in India. Ambedkar was born in 1891. It was then the time of convulsive contradictions, confusions and conflicts existing in the Indian society. As Ambedkar was progressing through his early years, momentous revolutionary changes were sweeping across the land gradually. These restless decades were engaged into nationalist movements along with political ideology of deeper values restoring the traditional ethos of the Indian economy, society and culture. The pace of social change failed to satisfy the untouchables of the Indian society.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 9 1.2.2 Ambedkar as the Emancipator of Depressed Class Ambedkar was acknowledged as the emancipator of the depressed classes in the country. He dominated the Indian political scene during the most crucial time when India was going through a series of political crises. He secured the important rights and liberties for the under-privileged sections of our country and also won a compact package of political rights especially for the depressed population of the Shudras. Having secured the coveted degrees from the different renowned universities in the world, he was well armed with a formidable knowledge of various field of sciences, Constitutions and laws of different nations. He was an erudite scholar, a great legal luminary, a great Constitutional expert, a parliamentarian, a statesman, a powerful writer, a journalist, a jurist and above all, a savior of the depressed sections of the Indian population. Despite, these achievements, the stigma of untouchability was attached to him. After his advanced education, when he accepted the post of secretary in the military department of the Baroda government, peons used to fling files at him and did not allow him to drink water from the common pot. The humiliations he suffered at the bands of the caste Hindus made him to challenge the outmoded institutions of the Hindu religion. He studied the Vedas, Shastras, Puranas, Shrutis, and all important Vedic literatures concerning Hinduism. Whenever he found any fault he laid his finger on it. Till the last breath of his life, he fought against the oppressive practices of the depressed class. His approach to any problem was comprehensive and aimed at examining and repairing the institutions which were in crises. He launched an aggressive campaign against Hinduism. He was anti-slavery, and anti-priest. He believed that unless people were awakened, it was not possible to do away with the various evils afflicting Hinduism. He did not believe in God or destiny. He believed that as long as the conscience of the slaves was not awakened against the hatred for slavery, there was no hope for salvation. Self-awakening, he believed, could provide them necessary strength to fight against evils in society. Self-help, self-elevation and self-respect were the prime ideas in his preaching. He said that all men were born equal and died equal. He held that the Hindu society should be reorganized on two main principles of equality and absence of casteism. At school and college, Ambedkar had a hard time owing to the prevailing practice of untouchability. Mahatma Gandhi was free from such harassment while his studies were in progress. He was lucky belonging to an upper caste. This is why his school and college days meant opportunities for gaining knowledge, inspiration and joy.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 10 1.3 Obstacles Faced by Ambedkar Ambedkar faced numerous obstacles in his political career. When the British government proclaimed officially in 1932 that it would concede the demand for separate electorates for the untouchables, Gandhiji opposed the plan strongly on the ground that it would break up the Hindu community and announced his fast unto death if the scheme was not withdrawn. Ambedkar was equally determined to have it implemented. But Gandhiji 's fast forced him to accept a compromise. Thus, on humanitarian grounds, he signed the Poona Pact of 1932, to save Gandhi's life. Ambedkar stood for an opposition to the ideas of Manu. Manu codified rules, norms and regulations designed to oppress two categories of human beings- the Shudras and women. It was alarming but true that, in accepting Buddhism, Ambedkar accepted a version of Hinduism which belonged to the Shudras and which went against the ideology and institutions of Brahminical Hinduism. We should also note that Buddha exercised an equally great influence on the life of Mahatma Gandhi. 1.3.1 Both are Patriots (Gandhi and Ambedkar) Mahatma Gandhi was rightly hailed as the patriot monk and freedom fighter of India. When he saw that the Indian society was being afflicted with the various social evils, he launched a determined struggle for independence of the country and removal of the evils. He pleaded for a thorough reform of the rigid caste system and felt remorse for the bad situation of the country. Ambedkar was a great patriot too and therefore throughout his life he strove hard to restore unity and strength of the country and always came forward with practical solutions of the various problems emerging in the country. Ambedkar did recognize a myriad of other identities in India such as sub- castes, castes, groupings of castes. He, however, argued that identity should be within the bounds of rule of law, the demands of development, justice and participation. He stated

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that the most vital need of the day was to create consciousness among the masses. The sense of a common nationality,

the feeling not that they were Indians first and Hindus, Mohammedans or Sindhis and Kanares afterwards, but that they were Indians first and Indians last. Ambedkar thus had practical ideas to overcome the divisive forces operating in a country like India. The means adopted by Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar was to improve the lot of the masses in India who were stimulated in different directions. It was by employing the principles of the humanistic philosophy, Mahatma Gandhi wanted to solve all problems and develop a united strong nation. Ambedkar did not agree to this solution, humanistic and man making philosophy preached that God pervaded and dwelt among the poor. But the high caste Hindus gave discriminatory treatment to the poor and the have nots. Mahatma Gandhi

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 11 argued that the Hindus should not give up religion but should encourage the society to grow. It indicated that casteism and untouchability must be vanished from our society. This was difficult, according to Ambedkar, because the followers of Hinduism continued to practice caste based ideas and doctrines in the social and political spheres. 1.4 Reformation of Hinduism Whereas Gandhi carried on a lifelong campaign for the reform of the Hindu society, his self-description as an orthodox or Sanatani Hindu also expressed important meanings for our understanding of him, especially in view of fact that he was among the few leaders and thinkers of modern India who accepted and defended what may be described as popular Hinduism. Ambedkar also believed that any "ism" in the sense of religion which contained something that was not amenable to reason and was mainly based on belief which was erroneous. He observed that if a religion was based on principles, it could amend itself in the line with reason and logic. He did not believe that any existing religious opinions of Hinduism were amenable to reason or logic. This was one reason why Sanatana Hinduism had irrational prejudices. Ambedkar argued that initially Hinduism was a missionary religion, but gradually it developed the rigidity of the caste system which became the core of Hinduism and the missionary spirit of Hinduism was waned. The 19th century witnessed the emergence of several reformist movements in India. Mahatma Gandhi's Mission movement was the movement for the social and religious awakening of the Indian people. Mahatma Gandhi was the Hindu saint to proclaim that the religion of the Hindus was confined to their kitchen. He condemned the idea of untouchability and other social injustices and humiliations. Similar spirit of rebellion against injustice and restoring brotherhood of man guided Ambedkar in his life. Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar could be addressed as two radical and bold leaders of modern India. They were the defenders of the poor and the down-trodden. Both were the champions of the underdog and the emancipators of the backward people. Both were heroic and symbols of revolt. If Gandhiji was a reformer and an ascetic, Ambedkar was a fighter and a revolutionary. Both of them were phenomenally active and influential. Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar grew up in their own different social set-up. The circumstances of the two were remarkably different. Gandhiji's personality was unique. He stood in the tradition of the ancient seer of the Vedas and Upanishads. Several great personalities, tried to highlight the various

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 12 qualities of Mahatma Gandhi, one of the stalwarts of modern India and abroad. They also paid similar rich tributes to his intellectual and modern outlook. Mahatma Gandhi's thirst for knowledge was virtually unquestionable. Very early in his life he perceived so many great things in his society . He was side by side introduced as one of the new currents in the eastern and western philosophies. He was a great humanist, an idealist, and an ascetic pilgrim of the city of God. With his knowledge and message, he wandered from place to place and inspired the people of this land and other lands. He believed, education was the realization of the best in man-body, soul and spirit. He maintained that education must be based on ethics and morality. Ambedkar was neither born great nor his greatness thrust upon him. He achieved greatness by sheer sincere hard work. He faced endless troubles all his life. Ambedkar enthroned himself in the hearts of millions of Indians. He was considered as a second Buddha in India. His work as Constitutionalist, professor, political leader and socio- religious reformer had endeared him to the generations of Indians. Ambedkar's personality was multidimensional in nature. He was a great scholar and his writings covered with diverse fields of knowledge. Both Gandhiji and Ambedkar sought to reform the existing society by questioning its basic presuppositions. They fought against various persistent evils of the Indian society, while both were rebels and reformers, they differed considerably in their principles and ideologies. Mahatma Gandhi tried to rebuild India mainly through spiritual and higher values of the glorious ideals of India's past. Ambedkar wanted to rebuild India with a complete rejection of India's past. While Gandhiji welcomed socialism in India but he didn't envisage the political, administrative and judicial institutions for the common people. Ambedkar had a vision of the plans, policies, the form of government and institutions for the development of the depressed castes in order to reduce the economic inequalities. Ambedkar too, believed that religion was a foundation for human life and society and society could not be survived without morality. He argued that a system of moral values was necessary to promote harmonious life upholding equality and brotherhood and rejecting superstitious mysticism, irrationality and blind beliefs. As a humanist and a scientific thinker, he was a bitter critic of the Hindu social order. He hoped that Hinduism could be reformed if not revolutionized. When he considered the idea of abandoning Hinduism for some other religion, he found his answer in the message of Buddhism. Buddhism was one of Indian origins and was, according to him, superior to other religion including Hinduism. Hinduism haunted him all his life like a ghost; it was Buddhism that he finally found, his solace. Ambedkar had to face very bitter experiences right from his childhood till the independence (of the country) and even

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 13 later. The deliberate attempt was taken to harass him led to his mental torture and number of humiliations inflicted on his learning and the future works of him. The untouchables were made to suffer numerous social disabilities and they were told that this was their fate determined by their birth. Ambedkar observed that untouchables considered Hinduism as a veritable chamber of horrors ; the iron law of caste, the heartless law of the Karma and the senseless law of status by birth were veritable instruments of torture which Hinduism had forged against them. Ambedkar had to fight on two formidable fronts. To secure the social and religious rights, he had to face the opposition of the caste Hindus; he also had to struggle against the national parties and the British rule. Since no support was forthcoming from either of them, he was left with the only alternative of starting a separate organization for the upliftment of the untouchables. Thus he had to make heroic efforts to inspire the down-trodden classes to raise the banner of revolt against the oppressive ideas of an institution of Hinduism. The rebel that he was in the sense, Ambedkar protested against the socio -economic oppression of the Hindu society. He fought for the political rights and the religious beliefs. He advocated the upliftment of the down-trodden through education, organization and agitation and separate electorate for the depressed classes. Ambedkar embraced Buddhism and recommended it to his followers, but the followers themselves had not responded in any large numbers nor had they benefited from the conversion in any substantial measure. By their ideas and activities, both Gandhi and Ambedkar welcomed the rise and development of democratic institutions in India. Both these thinkers had sought to foster individual liberties and rights. On the other hand Gandhjii had gone to the extent of welcoming socialism for India and not into the details of the political, administrative and judicial institutions for the attainment of the common people. Dr. Ambedkar however spelt out the plans and policies and the form of government having different institutions for the constructive development of the depressed classes of people to reducing the gap between the haves and the have-nots. Ambedkar wanted to nationalize lands, so that the poor people could have some means of livelihood. Mahatma Gandhi encouraged the establishment of religious centers to train youths on socio-religious lines. Ambedkar fought for the creation of government institutions and machineries for the protection of the poor people and provided some means for their livelihood. He upheld the principles of equitable distribution of national wealth so that the poor people could avoid starvation in the first instance. Dr.Ambedkar was quite against the system of Panchayati Raj. The Panchayat system was a council of the village elders, usually from the upper castes. They had traditionally promoted the wealth and well

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 14 being of the upper castes and denied opportunities to the lower castes. The Panchayat system was thus destructive to the upliftment and progress of the depressed classes and hence he opposed the Panchayat system bill in the Bombay legislative council and in the Indian constituent assembly later. Generally While Ambedkar favored the Buddhist philosophy of liberation and equality, Mahatma Gandhi was in line with monism or Advaita. From Ambedkar's point of view, monism or Advaita was not of much help. According to Ambedkar, Buddhism was practicable in a poverty-stricken society like that of India because it advocated compassion and love. Under monism, man became individualistic and heartless. Generally, it was engaged to exploit others. Thus, the poverty-stricken societies were exploitable and worst sufferer further more. Mahatma Gandhi came from a high caste and therefore he had not faced such caste related trouble and he did not refer to convert any one to other religion. Although both Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar were comparatively great patriots, both of them were very active and energetic till the end of their lives and served for the welfare of the people. Mahatma Gandhi inspired and guided several active and prominent Indians who created various institutions and ashrams, schools and hospitals and spread his message across the Indian subcontinent and across the world. Since Mahatma Gandhi came from an upper caste background, he had no hurdles to cross or humiliations to suffer unlike Ambedkar. Mahatma Gandhi had another natural advantage. He got the backing of the educated upper caste people who had money, property, social and political high positions and connections to build and run various institutions. They could easily give and collect donations. Even they could build publishing houses to publish the works by and on Mahatma Gandhi. They could easily get the support from the government or administrative agencies or offices. When the disciples of Mahatma Gandhi held meetings or discussions, they could get audience of students and citizens. Mahatma Gandhi was a revolutionary but he was a philosophical and social revolutionary too.. He was viewed as a political revolutionary or a danger to the British Empire or the government of India. His resources and energies were not diverted for countering any unfavorable or hostile propaganda. He was wearing half necked clothes and this commanded instant reception and acceptance of his personality and mission. People listened to his lessons attentively and followed his advice readily. He acquired disciples and adherents from all over India. Dr.Ambedkar had a great initial problem. His caste always raised many questions. Although the Maharaja of Baroda and the Maharaja of Kolhapur gave him much support and assistance for his education and employment, this was not enough. He had to fight everywhere. He became educated as an advocate and became a professor but it was not easy for him like the many

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 15 upper caste friends and supporters. Most of his followers and supporters came from the lower castes, specially the Mahars and others. They did not have any privileged position in society. They were not the men of property or wealth also. They could of course follow Ambedkar sincerely. But they could not command or offer the advantages which the upper castes possessed. But on the other hand, much of the works of Mahatma Gandhi was carried out since his departure by most of his followers who belonged to the upper castes of Hindu generally. Dr. Ambedkar was not lucky to enjoy that type of advantage. However, in another sense, Ambedkar might be said to be more fortunate than Mahatma Gandhi as his programme was legal, socio-economic and political in nature. He was a minister of the government of India and influential member of the Parliament. He was in the privileged position in the constituent assembly. He was the chairman of the drafting committee. He was in a unique position to establish his own ideas into the Constitution and certainly influenced the proceedings or debates in the constituent assembly. Of course the Constitution was not up to his likings in all respects. There were many shortcomings in its framework to present to the country. But even as it was, the position he held and the powers he exercised were certainly great. The educational work done by Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar had been remarkably comparable and significant in the educational history of India. Although a number of schools, colleges, hostels and ashramas were established following the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi. A large number of schools and colleges also were established by Ambedkar himself in his own lifetime, and also by his followers in the later years. Ambedkar's contribution to develop India's educational institutions was particularly great. His learning and scholarships had greatly impressed the scheduled caste as well as the other section of the people of India. The three Universities were named after him and the latest one was the Marathwada University at Aurangabad in Maharashtra. There are countless schools and colleges, including the technical and medical institutions had been named after him. Mahatma Gandhi established schools and colleges throughout the country and even outside but in case of Ambedkar, the concentration of the institutions was mainly in western and southern India. Mahatma Gandhi had a unified and universal vision. Ambedkar also had a similar vision but the intensity of his feelings for the scheduled castes was so great that it often appeared that his plans and programs were mostly for his people. He stood for all people. But obviously he gave priority to the interests and problems of his own people. The present-day Indian politics might be followed to continue the philosophy and program of Ambedkar. Throughout his life he exhorted his followers to educate themselves, organize themselves at various levels and fight for their political and
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 16 other rights. He stood for winning various rights and liberties for his people and wanted to fight for them continuously. Many of the people in India had a misconception that Dr. Ambedkar fought only for reservation of his people. As a matter of fact, this was largely a strategy for the upper caste people. Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru, in the mid 40s, contemplated this policy of reservation. While these leaders were the initiator of the policy, which was really known as the Congress government policy and Mahatma Gandhi got the blessings of it. Gandhi aimed at the upliftment of the Harijans and their rehabilitation in the Hindu society with honor and happiness. He recommended self-reliance for all; he certainly favoured the idea of aiding the Harijans. He was not for charity. But he was certainly for help and assistance to the unfortunate sections of society. In his own way he had initiated several ideas and experiments to aid and assist Harijans. The Harijan Seva Sangha was the organization which carried out valuable work for the improvement of the conditions of the Harijans. The most important thing to be noted here that Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress leaders and those leaders who became ministers after independence, had the common ideology and policy of treating Harijans as part of the Hindu society which meant that the presence of Hindu electorate at various levels was very natural. The later Congress leaders pursued this policy in a crude and rough-handed manner to create the vote banks of the Harijans for the Congress leaders, Harijan or non-Harijan. This policy continued to be followed in several respects even today. However Dr.Ambedkar was basically opposed to this philosophy and programme. He believed that the Hindu had no philosophy or programme to uplift the downtrodden scientifically or systematically but in a business-like way. They wanted to continue the same traditional philosophy of domination, exploitation and ill-treatment of the Harijans. Hence Ambedkar believed that any philosophy or programme which aimed at uplifting the Harijans had to be devised by the Harijans themselves. This is why be advised, his followers again and again to develop their own thinking, action plans and policies which could be pursued independently in the democratic framework and electoral politics. 1.4.1 Difference with Gandhi Ambedkar registered his basic difference with Mahatma Gandhiji in the form of the Poona Pact of 1932 by which he gave a notice to the Congress men that the Harijans would develop their own leadership and power and programme and would like to exercise their own vote in their own electorate. This thinking and programme which was in defiance of the Congress policy and programme must be taken as separate and defiant even from Mahatma Gandhi's point of view. While Mahatma Gandhi was not averse to independent challenging approaches, he was for all practical purposes for a unified and coordinated approach to the country's problems of winning independence,

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 17 socio-economic and industrial modernisation. His ideas and plans seemed nearer to the plans and programmes of the Congress party than those for which Ambedkar stood for such as separate development, separate electorate, separate parties and policies for his people because he did not trust the mainstream, predominantly upper castes Hindu, Congress leadership. It is possible that if universally oriented and bold and broad-minded leader like Mahatma Gandhi was at the helm of affairs in the Congress party or government, they would have welcomed the challenging, parallel approach of bold leaders like Ambedkar. However, as the later history showed, the Congress party or government leaders were not so broad minded and business like enough to trust Ambedkar to try his independent programmes. The Congress leaders and ministers generally failed to take Ambedkar into confidence and make his ideas and experiments a part of the Congress policies and programmes. Some fault in this matter perhaps might be lied at the door of Ambedkar too. So, as a result, the Congress developed its own schedule caste policy and programmes and had its own brand and quota of schedule caste leaders so that Ambedkar could be side tracked and left to follow his own ideas and programmes without rocking the boat of the Congress government. The Questions may be raised that the Congress leaders did not come up to the standard of genuineness, honesty, earnestness, boldness and with the universality of Mahatma Gandhi and perhaps this was the reason why they could not come in forward with the bold and constructive initiatives launched by Ambedkar at various stages in the 1930s, 40s and 50s.In 1956 he left Hinduism and embraced Buddhism. In a way, this was the point of departure from the philosophy of Mahatma. who had advocated a religious policy of understanding, tolerance, coordination and integration. This was the essence of his dream of Swadeshi and Swaraj. The thrust of Mahatma Gandhi's religious philosophy was that each religion was adequate and satisfactory to its followers; there could be exchange of opinions and views; but there was no need for any religious conflicts or wars. Conversion was also needless unless one was genuinely interested or had serious or uniquely disturbing problems in one's own religion. Mahatma Gandhi had rebuked the Christian missionaries on the ground that they were converting the poor Hindus which they did not need and did not give them bread which they badly needed. From many Hindus' point of view, Ambedkar's conversion was not a sound step although it was tolerable in view of the fact that Buddhism was another form of Hinduism and in that sense the departure was not fundamental. Perhaps Mahatma Gandhi would have viewed Ambedkar's conversion in this light although perhaps he would have liked Ambedkar to be within Hinduism and from that position to make serious efforts to reform the whole structure and process so that none ever felt the need to desert Hinduism. For about a hundred years now, Mahatma Gandhi has acted as a great source of
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 18 inspiration and guidance to the various sections of the Indian people. He has been a source of inspiration for the modernization and enlightenment to the whole subcontinent. His message has been delivered for the Hindus no doubt but also for the others unmistakable. In a way, Mahatma Gandhi has been quietly accepted and glorified and worshipped. He has not provoked any fierce opposition or controversy from any upper castes or lower castes and his message has been generally begin and progressive. It has been broad and umbrella like so that all groups of people with diverse opinions and preferences can be brought under his banner without anyone feeling small or uninvited. Gandhi's missions and institutions are accepted and functioned as spiritual and religious service and counsel to all those who care to go to these establishments. It may be said that most of the people who have taken advantage have been generally from the upper castes, but the important point is that no castes are specifically barred, much less as a policy or conscious strategy. Thus, Mahatma Gandhi and his disciples have been peacefully functioning in the midst of the generations of Indians in India and abroad. But, unlike Mahatma Gandhi, Ambedkar could not leave behind any socio-spiritual or religious order or vast organization. From his point of view, he attained his salvation by going over to Buddhism. Years ago, he had taken a sort of vow to see that he would not die in Hinduism. That vow he kept. To his good fortune, lakhs of his followers embraced Buddhism at Nagpur in 1956 and periodically a few thousands had undergone conversion to Buddhism over there. But there had been no great or well financed and efficient organization to stabilize, consolidate and spread the message and philosophy of Ambedkar. As we have said earlier that Ambedkar is rather unfortunate in having his followers who are largely poor and disadvantaged and who stand in need of various types of help. From this viewpoint, the credit has been given to the Indian people and leaders at the central as well as state level. Although Ambedkar's followers have gone over to Buddhism from time to time but since 1956, they have not been deprived of the socio-economic or other help of reservation resulting to their conversion to Buddhism. By and large, Ambedkar's followers, whether Hindu or Buddhist, have continued to obtain different types of help and concessions as deserving socio-economically backward people, so much so that, on this analogy, backward people of other communities like the Muslims and Christians have been rightly asking for such help and concessions. Thus, Ambedkar has triggered a lot of socio-economic and political changes. Ambedkar has turned into a symbol of the resurgence of the various suppressed people in the various parts of the country. Mahatma Gandhi coming from an upper caste background has been quietly accepted and assimilated by the Indians. But Ambedkar has been embraced vigorously by the backward people, the suppressed people, and the well understanding upper caste people. They have accepted him as

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 19 a great leader of their country; they cannot pretend to feel that his ideas and plans have been to their liking in all respects. Ambedkar has gone a long way in symbolizing self-respect and dignity and identity to the millions of the lower castes in the country. The upper caste followers of Mahatma Gandhi have not taken much trouble to think that they are the heir to great civilization; the people do not find it difficult and do assert their identity. For the lower caste millions of the people, the problem of identity and respectable socio-economic and political status is important and urgent. Here Ambedkar is looked upon as a savior. Not only several Universities, colleges and schools have been established in the different parts of the country, as we have referred to earlier, but more and more statues are erected to perpetuate his memory. This is not only to express our gratitude to Ambedkar but also to meet at least partially the growing demand of the lower castes to assert their identity and plant their symbol in the prominent places everywhere. 1.4.2 Present Day Scenario In the current climate of privatization and entry into the multinational companies in India, the chances of the backward castes getting employment or other opportunities are not very bright. The main reason behind is that the better qualified and socially forward castes, with their established contacts and influence, will snap up the opportunities and positions that become available. This has been happening in different parts of the country. In this case, what needs to be done by the backward castes is to take their leader's advice very seriously. Long back Dr.Ambedkar had repeatedly advised his followers that they should take education seriously and improve their awareness and skills constantly. They should be on the lookout for opportunities and its end results. He advised them to be a part of the Indian mainstream and not keep away grumbling and complaining all the time. He also motivated them to adopt a positive approach to life, politics and social affairs. This was a challenging task for the people and society together. The question of such vow was not arising in case of the upper castes, the mainstream followers of Gandhi, because they had been generally keeping up with the latest trends in business, education, industry, employment, and so on. As a result, they would have been solving their problems and saving themselves from the various types of deprivation. The followers of Ambedkar, especially those who were the leaders and ministers at the central and state levels, did many welfare works for improving the lot of the backward castes. This was however being done gradually and indirectly. There were mostly the backward castes leaders in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. They had launched many policies which were generally favorable to the backward castes including Harijans. Since India's socio-political, economic and industrial system were more NSOU ? CC-SO-04 20 capitalistic and less socialistic in nature , so it would help promote the progress of the well off and well educated upper castes and inversely it would slow down the progress and advancement of the lower castes. Mahatma Gandhi had advocated the philosophy of socialism for the welfare of the poor and the depressed. The poor and the depressed would be treated equally and be kept better under socialism than capitalism. Under socialism, the government is usually anxious to meet the basic needs of the citizens regardless of the differences of caste ,religion etc. This advantage will not be available automatically with the progressive disappearance of the socialist ideas and practices on the economic and industrial fronts. Socialism of course had its own demerits where Ambedkar was not solely one of the admirers of socialism or communism. He strongly opposed communism and. he was generally in favor of a democratic system of parliamentary type under which minorities and lower castes would be comparatively safer by means of the use of vote, political parties and an independent judiciary. Ambedkar was also put off by the lack of religion or opposition to religion implied by a communist system. Therefore, generally Ambedkar was in favor of continuing a democratic system of parliamentary type under which the poor and backward castes would be able to secure a reasonable protection of their rights and freedom and means of livelihood. Mahatma Gandhi on the whole had a constructive and even forgiving attitude towards the past history, traditions and intellectual heritage, including the ancient literature and epics and others. He certainly argued that wholesale acceptance of these sources or philosophies was insulting to human intelligence. He did emphasize a rigorous examination of the various ideas and ideals recommended by the Vedas, Shastras and the Rishis or Seers of the past. However, over all, he had an admiring attitude and he emphasized a consistent and systematic use of these sources and ideas for nursing the vision of modern India. He felt no difficulty in accepting and commending these intellectual treasures. His attitude was scientific and critical and he was of course against any blind belief and acceptance of any philosopher or hero of the past. To Ambedkar, several aspects, ideas or ideals of the past were revolting. Ambedkar rightly revolted against the exploitative tradition of the Hindus and their discriminatory caste system. He went to some length to trace the origin of the Shudras and their place in the Hindu society. Several of his criticisms appeared to be bitter and unacceptable to the old-fashioned and conservative Hindus. Some of his bold statements aroused controversies and debates. His book on the 'Annihilation of Caste' is a clear example of his bold attitude and philosophy. While some critics believed that this hurt the sentiments of the Hindus, others defended Ambedkar, saying that, as a scholar and intellectual, he had every right to study and draw his own conclusions regarding the epic heroes. The constructive critics held that those who did not agree with Ambedkar had the freedom to offer their own analysis,

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 21 criticism and views to rebut those of Ambedkar. The other dimension of the controversy was whether or not the Maharashtra government was right in bringing out the concerned publication containing Ambedkar's views. Some people felt that the government should not spend public money on such public criticism on the people's heroes like Ram. Of course this view was not accepted. Constructive critics also pointed out that there was nothing wrong if the government published the literature or books of a great leader like Ambedkar although some part of it had contained a criticism of some popular heroes or epics. Public funds were well used and the cause of freedom of expression was well served by undertaking the publication. Suppression of criticism or views even in such basic or sensitive matters was not desirable. This was the overall reaction of the people at large in regard to the issue of Ambedkar's books and arguments. In case of Gandhi, such a situation never arose because his views and arguments, however pungent, were not seen in such a light. Besides, in case of Gandhi most of the books were largely published by private publishers or institutions and the question of criticizing by any government did not arise. It can be stated that both

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in his training and in his vision of life, Ambedkar was deeply aware of the larger dynamics of the world, its complexity and differential bearing on social groups, localities and nations.

He was pragmatic in his approach although not in his concerns. 1.5 Conclusion Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi considered the 'Father of the Nation', is renowned as the leader of the nationalist movement against British rule in India. He is very eminent for his doctrine of Satyagraha (non-violent protest). On the other hand is

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Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, the architect of the Constitution of India,

who worked very hard for the rights of the Dalits. These two men are highly respected as well as critiqued by many across the world. 1.6 Summary They not only helped India gain its freedom but also made efforts to eradicate the social problems that existed back then. Both of them identified the problems faced by the lower castes and helped them get empowered. They tried to bring about changes in the systems that existed and led India towards development. Though they both identified the evil of untouchability as the biggest curse of the social order, they differed in their approaches towards its removal. They also paved a way for India after independence.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 22 1.7 Bibliography 1. Nagla,B.K. (2013), Indian Sociological Thought, Rawat Publications, New Delhi. 2. Sachidananda. (1988), Social Change In Modern India, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi. 3. Shah,G. (2001), Dalit Identity And Politics, Sage Publications, New Delhi. 4. Singh,Y. (1993), Social Change In India, South Asia Books. 5. Zellion,E. (2001), From Untouchables To Dalits, Manohar, Delhi. 6. https://www.sociologygroup.com/gandhi-ambedkar-ideologies/ 7. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24713655?seq=1 1.8 Exercise 1. Discuss critically the roles of Gandhi and Ambedkar in present day scenario. 2. Briefly discuss the significance of Poona Act in the history of India. 3. Evaluate the role of social reformers in bringing social changes during the second half of 19 th century India. 1.9 Glossary Ahimsa- Non-violence Brahmacharya- Self-disciplined conduct, including celibacy Charkha- Spinning wheel; wheel of life Dharma- Religion, moral practice, duty Harijans - Gandhi's term for the untouchables of the Indian caste system Himsa- Violence Satyagraha- Holding fast to Truth; used by Gandhi to describe actions of nonviolent or passive resistance Swadeshi- National self-reliance; used by Gandhi to label his movement for the boycott of foreign goods Swaraj- Indian independence, self-rule

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Dalit- includes those who are designated in administrative parlance as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes.

Unit 2 Gandhi on Harijans Structure 2.1 Objectives 2.2 Introduction 2.2.1 Coining of the Term 'Harijans' 2.3. Gandhi and Untouchables 2.3.1 Gandhi's Contribution 2.3.2 Serving Nation by Removal of Untouchability 2.4 Strategies for Eradication of Untouchability 2.4.1 Role of Ambedkar in Removal of Untouchability 2.4.2 Formation of Harijan Sevak Sangh 2.5 Present Day Scenario 2.6 Conclusion 2.7 Summary 2.8 Questions 2.9 Suggested Readings 2.1 Objectives ? To understand the concept of Harijans ? To learn about Gandhi's contribution towards untouchables ? To develop a view about the current situations on untouchability 2.2 Introduction In India, according to the last Census, 101 million people belong to the scheduled castes. This vast group thus, comprises 15 percent of the population but is not concentrated in one area and is widely dispersed in different parts of the country. The members of the group have been diversely known at different times. In the Gupta time they have been described as living apart from village settlements and known as 'Chandala'. The Manusmriti marks off this group as its touch pollutes; it also lays
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 24 down elaborate regulations to perpetuate their segregation from the rest of the population. Some of these regulations are extant even now in the form of disabilities for these people. They are said to be outside of the pale of the Hindu Varna vyavastha. In fact they have been described as 'a-Varna' or without Varna. This idea led the Census Superintendent for Assam in 1931 to suggest the term and throughout his report, it was said to be an improvement on earlier times like depressed classes or outcastes. These groups have been relegated by Hindu custom to such unclean and polluting professions as scavenging, sweeping, leather working and washing clothes. For thousands of years, they are forced to live apart, work apart, eat separately and worship apart. Even in death and after, the distinction lingers. They are excluded from using the common cremation ground. As late as 1946, the Mahajans of Navasari in Gujarat had to be persuaded with great effort to permit the body of an old member of a Scheduled Caste to be cremated on the common ground. Even when they give up their traditional and ritually unclean occupations or take up such respectable roles as cultivators or servants, they continue to suffer the disabilities of their caste status. In certain areas, besides being untouchables, they have been regarded as unapproachable. At one place in the south, these people had to keep away from different levels of upper caste people -33 feet from the lowest group, 66 feet from the second middling caste group, and 99 feet from the Brahmins. Rules ordained that an untouchable had to shout a warning before entering a street so that his contaminating shadow might not fall on the ritually cleaner persons. What style of dress or ornaments he could wear and what not, was prescribed by custom. He could not enjoy music at weddings. Nor could he enter a house belonging to a caste Hindu, or any Hindu temple or draw water from a common well. Disregard of these prohibitions had led to serious consequences. Chamars had been beaten for dressing like Rajputs and mounting of a horse by an untouchable bridegroom for his bridal procession had led to the boycott of the caste in question by higher caste neighbors. In 1931, the Kallar of Ramnad in Tamil Nadu framed ten prohibitions for the exterior castes, viz: 1. Adi-dravidas and Devendrakula Velalars should not wear clothes below their knees. 2. These men and women should not wear gold ornaments. 3. Their women should carry water in pitchers and not in copper or brass vessels. 4. Their children should not read. 5. Their children should only attend the cattle of Mirasdaras.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 25 6. They should not cultivate the land. 7. They must sell their land to Mirasdars at cheap rates. 8. They must work as coolies for a mere pittance. 9. They should not use Indian music in their marriage ceremonies and other festivities. 10. They must stop the practice of going on a palanquin or a horse in a marriage procession. 2.2.1 Coining of the term 'Harijans' The word harijan was used by the poet Narsi Mehta much before Gandhi used it. Mehta himself was a Nagar Brahmin but he was very close to the harijans. Shailendra Mahato, one of the prominent leaders of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, had come out with a new finding that poet Valmiki was the first to use the term harijan. Perhaps Valmiki himself belonged to an untouchable caste. Mahato had accused Ambedkar of being anti-adivasi. He put them in the category of Scheduled Tribes, just to obliterate their separate identity. Sometime back the Indigenous People's Conference was held in Geneva, which vehemently opposed the categorization of the adivasi as the "Scheduled Tribes." Mahato also said that Ambedkar never wanted the adivasis to have their own representation in the Indian legislatures on account of his minness. It was Gandhi who fought for the rights of all categories of the deprived people including the harijans and others. 2.2.2 Untouchables in different parts of India The untouchables in different parts of India do not form one solid mass. They are split up into hundreds of castes and sub-castes. There are about 1100 such groups. Some of these are spread out in different states and regions and share a common identity and sometimes a common name. Even if they are listed in terms of certain common characteristics and similarities there will still be some 400 separate groups. Each untouchable community has a name, a separate occupation, its own set of rules and more often than not, its own mechanism for social control. These groups practise untouchability amongst themselves. They would not eat together or accept water from the hands of any other untouchable nor do they allow inter-marriage among different groups. The untouchables of Uttar Pradesh consider the untouchables of Punjab lower than themselves. They not only do not inter- marry with them but even do not drink from the same vessel. This shows how strong the notion of untouchability is in the Indian mind. Even though the untouchables are suffering from a number of disabilities on account of this notion, they are unable to give it up even among themselves.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 26 2.3 Gandhi and Untouchables Having brought up in an orthodox Vaishnava family in a region where untouchability is strong even today, Gandhiji realized the heavy odds against which he had to contend in the campaign for the removal of untouchability. Although he sincerely believed that uplift of the untouchables was an end in itself, there was no doubt that he realized its wide socio-political ramifications. In the unceasing efforts that he made for the attainment of this objective, he did not fail to bring in political and psychological arguments besides the religious. Sociologists have sometimes failed to reconcile Gandhiji's ideas on Varna and caste. Varna, according to Gandhiji, had nothing to do with caste. To him caste was a caricature of Varna and a source of shame to Hinduism and to India. He praised Varna for a number of reasons : it ensured hereditary skill and limited competition, released men for happiness and spiritual pursuits and rejected the idea of superiority and inferiority. The large number of castes and sub-casts together with their elaborate ceremonials did not signify any religious system or order for Gandhiji. Swami Vivekananda held that caste was simply a crystallized social institution and not a religious institution. Gandhiji stoutly denied that there was any sanction for untouchability in the Hindu scriptures. The Bhagwad Gita nowhere shows that the chandala is in any sense inferior to the Brahmin. To him untouchability was a sin. He regarded practice of untouchability as satanic activity. Confronted by a series of quotations from Manu, Brihaspati and Baudhyana , he pleaded literary ignorance of the Shastras but claimed to understand the secret o Hinduism. It was for these reasons that he regarded it is an excrescence of Hinduism. He was however, opposed to the destruction of caste although it sanctioned untouchability. It would be as wrong to do so as to destroy the body because of an ugly truth. Gandhi saw that Hindu society was sharply divided into the caste Hindus and the untouchables. This would be a serious problem for national integration. It was necessary to put up a united front against British imperialism. Removal of untouchability could be an eminently suitable step to defeat the policy of divide and rule employed by the British. It is for this reason that he advanced the argument that Indians could not claim equality to millions of their own countrymen. On one occasion he compared the atrocities committed towards the untouchables by caste Hindus to atrocities committed by the British rulers in Punjab in 1919. His heart was so much grieved at the disabilities and humiliations heaped on the untouchables that he expressed a desire to be reborn an untouchable in the next life so that he might share the sorrow, sufferings and affronts leveled at them. It was essential for religious people to embrace the untouchables as love was the root of religion and the lowly should be raised to one's heart.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 27 Another plea he advocated that exploitation of the untouchables was the root cause of India's slavery. Gandhiji wanted the end of exploitation of one country by another, and of one person by another. He wanted the end of hatred between one community and another as he thought hate to be considered as one form of violence. Swaraj to him had no meaning unless it meant the removal of untouchability and also of its attendant disabilities. There was indeed a more dire need of Swaraj for the untouchables than for others. As he observed: 'I am not interested in freeing India merely from the English yoke. I am bent upon freeing India from any yoke whatever'. Although Gandhiji was speaking and writing against untouchability long before his epic fast in 1932, it was then for the first time that Indians and the British realized his passion for the work. When new reforms were on the anvil, separate electorate was proposed for the untouchables. He opposed this on the ground that it would perpetuate the segregation of the Harijans and thus make the institution permanent. Dr. Ambedkar favored separate electorate as the best means to give the Scheduled Castes the power to redress the wrongs. Gandhiji embarked on a fast unto death in Yervada prison. Through his fast Gandhiji wanted to throw in the scale of justice. On the sixth day of the fast the British Government relented and the Poona Pact was signed. It signified the abandonment of the scheme of separate electorate and doubled the representation of Scheduled Castes in the state legislatures. On breaking his fast he declared: 'They may hold my life as hostage for its due fulfillment'. 2.3.1 Gandhi's Contribution Gandhi has drawn a comprehensive programme for rendering service to the harijans; though he is fully convinced that one cannot achieve liberation through others. One has to work for it. He believes that unless one eats, he cannot have full stomach or one cannot see heaven unless one meets his death. Basically, his programme for the harijan liberation was for changing the hearts and minds of the caste Hindus. To that end, he and his ashram inmates engaged themselves in daily scavenging work in the ashram and even sometimes in the surrounding areas. He was firmly of the opinion that as part of their atonement for the oppressions of harijans by their ancestors for centuries, the members of the upper caste must serve them in all earnestness. He did believe that the untouchables were true harijans—the children of God. These children of God often made dirty their hands and bodies so that people of other sections of the society could lead a clean and healthy life. If the untouchables failed to perform their work, how could Brahmins lead a life of purity and cleanliness? But all this must change and even the upper caste people would have to undertake their own scavenging work. Hence, he prayed for the day when sweepers would hold the Bhagavad Gita in their hands, and the Brahmins would have

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 28 broomstick in their hands. It is only through such change of social roles that a new social order based on equity and justice could be established. Of late a very clever question has been raised by the people with vested interests. If harijans are the children of God, then are all others the children of Satan? This question itself is based on bad logic. All that Gandhi has meant that the untouchables are as much the children of God as others. Harijans may be the special children of God as they serve his creation with their all strength and sincerity. But he moves further while replying to the above question. He asserts that when the caste Hindus will give up the practice of untouchability voluntarily, only then all "touchable" people will deserve to be truly called harijans. And in such a situation alone the grace of God will come over them. Gandhi has worked for a society free from the scourge of untouchability based on equity, equality and justice. He described himself as a scavenger, weaver, peasant and worker. In the course of his trial, he described his profession as that of a scavenger. He turned himself into a scavenger on his own volition. We should not forget that the word "mehatar" (scavenger) is a derivative of the word mahatar (greater)". He looked at the elimination of untouchability as his life's work and for that he was willing to sacrifice his life. We knew that the aim of his life was to attain moksha (salvation). But he asserted that if at all he would have rebirth, he would prefer to be born as an untouchable so that he could feel their pain and suffering in his own persona. During a meeting at Ahmedabad in 1916 he said with all sincerity and seriousness at his command that he was even willing to offer his head in the course of his effort to eliminate the scourge of untouchability in the society. 2.3.2 Serving nation by removal of untouchability For Gandhi broomstick was a symbol of revolution. He was of the opinion that society devoid of equality and brotherhood could never reach the state of revolution. Such a society could never fight against slavery. He believed that the Valmikis were the most downtrodden even among the Dalits. They occupied the same place in the society which the mother occupied in the family. He said: 'By treating removal of untouchability as an Ashram observance, we assert our belief, that untouchability is not only not a part and parcel of Hinduism, but a plague, which it is the bounden duty of every Hindu to combat. Removal of untouchability spells the breaking down of barriers between man and man, ultimately leading to unity of all beings. We find such barriers erected everywhere in the world, but here we have been mainly concerned with the untouchability which has received religious sanction in India, and reduced crores of human beings to a state bordering on slavery.' NSOU ? CC-SO-04 29 It was Gandhiji's practice to attack evils from both ends. Thus, for the eradication of untouchability and uplift of Harijans, the latter had to play a positive role and not to remain silent beneficiaries. He asked them to lead pure lives and adopt clean habits. They should give up beef and carrion eating. They should also give up drinking and abandon untouchability amongst themselves. They were advised not to be violent. They were bound to triumph if they bore their persecution patiently. In case of persecution, they should migrate to other villages. In fact, he approved of the emigration of Scheduled Castes from village Kavitha after intense persecution by caste Hindus. Creating dissatisfaction among them would only tend to perpetuate a vicious division amongst the Hindus. 2.4 Strategies for eradication of untouchability A number of practical steps were recommended for the removal of untouchability. All public schools, temples and roads that were open to other non-Brahmins should be open to them also. Caste Hindus were asked to open schools for harijan children, to dig wells for them and to render them all personal service that they may need. Propaganda for temperance and hygiene would have to be made among them. On the removal of untouchability, the harijans would have the same status as that enjoyed by others. Gandhiji held that education and reform among the harijans should not be a precondition for removal of untouchability. He believed that unless untouchability was removed, no reform could take place. Removal of untouchability was not an easy task and Harijan Sevaks had to contend against severe opposition. In the village of Kavitha , Rajputs mercilessly attacked helpless harijans for daring to send their children to public school. In Kathiawar, harijans were persecuted by caste Hindus as they were held to be responsible for the outbreak of epidemic among cattle. The most stubborn opposition was to the programme of temple entry by the harijans. Gandhiji insisted on it because he regarded it as one spiritual act that would constitute the method of freedom to the untouchables and assure them that they were not outcastes before God. Some of his impatient and over enthusiastic workers wanted to stage a Satyagraha at the entrance of temples along with harijans to prevent orthodox persons from entering temples. As this would have amounted to compulsion, Gandhiji did not permit it. No one can be purified against his will. The orthodox should be converted to the belief that it was wrong to prevent harijans from entering temples. The Government of Travancore by a proclamation threw upon the door of its state temples to harijans in 1936. Two years earlier, the Temple Entry Bill introduced in the Madras Assembly by a private member

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 30 could not be passed due to stiff opposition of orthodox Hindus and apathy of the Government. Gandhiji's work gave self-respect to the rising generation of Scheduled Castes. B.S.Murthy, a harijan leader from Andhra, once observed: 'The first lesson I learnt from Mahatma Gandhi fifteen years ago is that no one can suppress or depress me except myself '. Gandhi stood for sarvodaya but the journey must start with antodaya. He was never moved by the feeling of pity rather he was driven by a strong sense of duty. That was also true of his work for the harijans. That is why in his scheme of constructive programme, Harijan seva occupied a central position. In Gandhian perspective, both Nelson Mandela and Martin Luther King Jr. were the real messiahs of the poor and the downtrodden. Dr. King always underlined the fact that unless the mind of the Whites had been pure and compassionate, the problems of the Blacks could not be solved. Gandhi exhorted the caste Hindus to undertake Harijan seva as a matter of their self-assigned duty so that they could undergo a genuine change of heart and could reach a state of purity and piety. 2.4.1 Role of Ambedkar in removal of untouchability The works done by Gandhi and Ambedkar were complementary to each other. Gandhi wanted to bring back the Dalits to the mainstream of the society through service and elimination of untouchability, primarily through a movement for the change of heart of the caste Hindu. On the other hand, Ambedkar wanted to achieve the same goal through getting them involved in a struggle for their liberation. But many people forget that without Gandhi's support, Ambedkar would not have become the Law Minister of the country. Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to bring foreign experts for the making of the Indian Constitution. It was on Gandhi's initiative that Ambedkar was made

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the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly.

Gandhi wanted Ambedkar to work as a representative of all sections of the Indian society, instead of remaining just a representative of his own community. Thus ,transcending different castes and sub-castes, through the works of Gandhi and Ambedkar, a collective identity of the entire harijan community emerged. That was no small contribution. Gandhi's commitment and contribution to the harijan could be also illustrated by the fact that towards the end of his life he refused to bless any married couple if one of them was not from the untouchable community. On the other hand, we must take into account what Ambedkar said on 25 September 1932 after signing the Poona Pact with Gandhi. He said: 'I must confess that I was surprised, immensely surprised when I met him, that there was so much in common between him and me. In fact, whenever any disputes were carried to him.... I was astounded to see that the man who held such divergent views from mine at the Round Table Conference came
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 31 immediately to my rescue. I am very grateful to Mahatmaji for having extricated me from what might have been a very difficult situation' (The Life of Mahatma Gandhi, by Louis Fischer, Bhavan's eighth edition,2003, p. 407). Gandhi tried to make caste Hindus to get rid of the feeling and practice of untouchability. Ambedkar, on the other hand, worked to organize Dalits to make them struggle to have their own dignity of life and identity. Thus, their movements, taking to different paths had the same goal—a new sense of dignity and identity for Dalits. As stated earlier, their movements were complementary to each other. It was on account of such movements that a national consensus emerged which led to the abolition of untouchability as provided under Article 17 of our Constitution. It was also made a cognizable offence. It was for the same cause that the Mahatma treated himself as harijan for all practical purposes. He identified himself entirely with them. Among the fundamental duties ascribed under our Constitution, it became the sacred duty of every Indian to work towards the spread of unity and brotherhood among the Indian people, transcending all differences and distinctions based on religion, language, region and class. That idea was also one of the major contributions of Gandhi who not only had perceived such a dream for India, but also had worked tirelessly to that end. 2.4.2 Formation of Harijan Sevak Sangh For the uplift of the harijans and for preaching the message for the removal of untouchability, Gandhi established in 1933 the Harijan Sevak Sangha. By strenuous efforts he collected large sums for its use. When some harijans demanded that the Sangha be manned only by themselves, Gandhi insisted that caste Hindus should be engaged in this work as they had to atone for their past sins against the harijans. He asked his followers to proceed with the work with utmost patience. Once Gandhi's enthusiastic followers attacked Swami Lalnath , leader of the orthodox group, as he attempted to make a speech. Pained at this , he undertook a seven day fast to atone for the mistake of his followers. He declared that it was impossible by violence to wean millions of caste Hindus from the evil of untouchability which they had hitherto been taught to regard as an article of faith. He said that a sacred cause cannot be served by a satanic method. He held that means was as important as the end. He asked the caste Hindus not only to show silent sympathy for the cause but to help it actively. If they did not do anything to defend the helpless and downtrodden and remained spectators, they might become abettors to the crime. He knew that untouchability could not be removed through legislation but believed that the aid of law could be invoked when it acted as hinders or interferes with the progress of reform.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 32 Critics of Gandhi held that the harijan Movement was essentially political in nature. It was motivated by his concern for the solidarity of Hinduism and by his anxiety not to allow the harijans to go out of the Hindu fold. This allegation was promptly denied by Gandhi. The Anti- Untouchability idea had dawned upon him at the age of twelve. It was not without protest that he performed ablutions at his mother's bidding on touching a scavenger called Uka in his school. He was an ardent believer in Advaita philosophy. His passion for the untouchability work was an integral part of his life. So close was his identification with the harijans that he regarded himself as a Bhangi, a scavenger, a weaver and a labourer. 2.5 Present Day Scenario The power seekers and power brokers hardly engage themselves in creating a new social order. Rather they are ever engaged in vitiating, dividing and even destroying the social fabric. We firmly believe that the mind, social fabric and the culture of our country have been built up by our saints and sages. Even the mind of Indian society has been built brick by brick by ardent and high-minded social reformers and spiritualists. But presently a number of political parties have undertaken the task of vitiating its social and cultural mind. It is also a part of such conspiracy that a faceless and mindless assertion is being made to say that Mahatma Gandhi is an anti- Dalit and he even has heaped insults on them by calling them harijans. This is nothing but a shameless attempt to promote their own interests by making caste Hindus and the rest (particularly the Dalit) to fight each other. There is no intention of doing any good to any section of the society,at least of all to the Dalits in the entire game. This is just an attempt to butter their own bread. There is a saying in Vidarbha that which of the bulls engaged in a fierce duel wins is hardly of any concern or consequence to the plot owner. The plot in any case, would be destroyed in the process. This is an undeniable truth. We should never forget that Mahatma Gandhi belongs to all of us, indeed to all humanity. He does not belong to any particular province or caste or language. One who belongs to all, in fact belongs to none. Hence everyone has the freedom to criticize or even condemn him without any rhyme or reason. Power seekers are hardly interested in any objective study of history. They pick up some stray points or incidents out of their historical context to support their allegation even against an innocent and pure person like Mahatma. But they could not change the glaring and truthful facts of history. It is much easier to attack Gandhi without making a close study of our freedom struggle or even his life and teachings. But such attempts confuse the common man. That could be a serious cause for worry. Kusumagraj, a leading poet, has a poem called Akherchi Kamai—the last earning. It
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 33 depicts a scene where five phantoms sit together in a city place and engage each other in a kind of dialogue. 2.6 Conclusion Banishment of untouchability by law alone does not solve the problem. It has to be admitted that untouchability has not been banished from the hearts of millions of people and the hands of law cannot reach all the nooks and corners of the country where petty injustices and discriminations are practised against the untouchables. Shri Jagjivan Ram, who had been a Union Minister for more than two decades, had always been talking of social revolution and held that most harijans still live in 'Psychological cages'. Murthy has observed : 'life is more than law and law cannot solve problems of fundamental human attitudes. The mind of the so-called upper castes has changed very considerably. The change is, however, not yet complete'. This is corroborated by the annual reports published by the Commissioner of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. In the year 1966-67, 2,981complaints were received at the headquarters and in the regional offices of the Commissioner dealing with the practices of untouchability, harassment, land and housing problems, service matters and matters relating to education, drinking water, allotment of shops, etc. While untouchability is not generally met with in towns, it is still rampant in the countryside. At frequent intervals we read news about oppressions heaped on harijan women and children. Sometimes cases of burning of harijans are also reported. 2.7 Summary Progress in this regard is naturally slow. Mental attitudes take time to change. Education, economic betterment, technological development and social mobility are hastening the pace of change and a recent study by Sunanda Patwardhan on the Scheduled Casts of Maharashtra reveals the rapid strides made by them in western India. The twin processes of westernization and sanskritization are at work among them. With a frail body but indomitable will, Gandhiji throws himself in this work, sets its tone and directs it. It is for the present generation to carry the work forward with revolutionary fervor and establish social equality and banish discrimination based on caste. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that he lived and died for that cause. Ignoring all this, those who create unnecessary controversy by putting our leaders against each other are failing from their primary duty enshrined under our Constitution out of their mean mindedness and selfish interests. Nay, they are also

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 34 committing a crime against our society and against all Indian people. The whole country should realize this truth in the depth of its being. 2.8 Suggested Readings 1. Gandhi M.K., Ashram Observancesin Action (Ahmedabad,1955) p.76 2. Gandhi M.K., Removal of Untouchability (Ahmedabad,1954)p.192. 3. Harper E.B., Social Consequences of an Unsuccessful low Caste Movement, in Social Mobility In The Caste System In India (The Hague,1968),p.36. 4. Pyarelal, The Epic Fast(Ahmedabad,1952)p.144 5. Sachidananda, Social Change In Village India,1988 6. Tendulkar D.G., Mahatma(Bombay,1952)p.235 2.8 Questions 1. Discuss in brief the role of Gandhiji in banishment of untouchability. 2. Discuss in details the factors responsible for the formation of Harijan Seva Sangh. 3. Critically analyze the role of Ambedkar in removal of untouchability 4. Evaluate the current situation of untouchables in India today. 5. Discuss the sociological significance of untouchables in Indian context. 6. Point out the importance of the position of untouchables as mentioned in ancient scripts.
Unit 3 Ambedkar : Dalit and Hindu Society Structure 3.1 Objectives 3.2 Introduction 3.3 Who are Dalits? 3.4 Gandhi – Ambedkar Debate 3.5 Dalit Identity 3.6 Ambedkar on Hindu society 3.7 Dalit Movement 3.8 Contemporary issues on Dalit 3.9 Conclusion 3.10 Summary 3.11 Questions 3.12 Suggested Readings 3.13 Glossary 3.1 Objectives ? To understand the views and contributions of B.R Ambedkar on the issues of depressed class especially Dalits, their rights and position in the mainstream society along with an extensive study on the Dalit movements. ? To understand the renowned debates between Gandhi and Ambedkar on the various issues related to untouchability, Dalits, conversion of religion, caste system prevailing in the structure of Hindu society. ? To understand the idea of the identity formation and its usage in the processes of our structural society. ? To understand the social livings of the Dalits, their various movements, the transition of their identity from the colonial to post colonial period. 3.2 Introduction “In the Hindu religion, one can[not] have freedom of speech. A Hindu must surrender his freedom of speech. He must act according to the Vedas. If the l
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 36 Vedas do not support the actions, instructions must be sought from the Smritis, and if the Smritis fail to provide any such instructions, he must follow in the footsteps of the great men. He is not supposed to reason. Hence, so long as you are in the Hindu religion, you cannot expect to have freedom of thought” —B.R. Ambedkar (Firstpost 2018) There is a divisional as well as hierarchical differentiation in each and every society. The masses are categorized on the basis of various determinant factors which are rigidly integrated in the structure of our society. From a sociological perspective we always tend to see such divisions as oppressor and the oppressed which is the operating principle in this society. Thereby a new deliberation is needed in order to make the academic world more sensitive and responsive towards the issues and concerns of the subaltern-oppressed communities. Amongst these, the Dalits, who constitute 15% of India’s population, their struggle for moral equality, justice, rights and position have always been a heated debate. B.R Ambedkar was an icon who was remembered principally as the chief drafts man of the Indian Constitution. Also he was a valiant fighter for finding out the suitable place for the Dalits in the existing caste structure. He himself belonged to Mahar caste of Maharone of the lowest caste of Maharashtra. His strategies to achieve the goal of empowering Dalits might be shifted with changing contexts but the goal always remained same i.e., attaining equality with caste Hindus in all spheres of life. Ambedkar, himself, strongly advocated for abolishing the caste system and supported Dalit struggles. Ambedkar was not just a political figure but adored by a large mass of India as a prophetic icon. For the Dalits, their transformation from having non existential identity into right bearing citizens was mostly due to his socio–political struggles. His presence provided the Dalits as an inspiration and momentum to new social movements. He inspired the Dalit Buddhist movement and also campaigned against social discrimination towards the untouchables (Dalits). 3.3 Who are Dalits? In simple terms Dalit means ‘oppressed’ ‘broken/ scattered’ in Sanskrit and Hindi. Dalit is mostly used for the ethnic groups in India that have been kept repressed.

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Dalits are excluded from the four fold Varna system of Hinduism and are seen as forming a fifth Varna, also known by the name of

Panchanama. They are considered impure and polluting and are therefore physically and socially excluded and isolated

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 37 from the rest of society. The Scheduled Castes (SCs) and the Scheduled Tribes (STs) are officially designated groups of historically disadvantaged people in India. In modern literature, the Scheduled Castes are referred to as 'Dalit' which has been popularized by B.R. Ambedkar. They are also known as 'Untouchables' who are members of the lowest social group in the Hindu caste system. 3.4 Gandhi – Ambedkar Debate Gandhi is deeply religious minded in nature. He rejects untouchability, but in Smriti text preached for untouchability . He supports Varna divisions as they are occupational categories. He does not think of them as ascriptive in nature. He believes that religion is about a person's identity. Values and beliefs are attached to it and therefore one cannot change religion by which conversion is not right. On the other hand, Ambedkar argues that Hinduism should be abolished. It is not a religion but is a class ethic. It preaches inequality. There is little hope and space given to the depressed castes, therefore he has recommended change of religion or conversion to other religion. Gandhi argues that upper castes can wash their sins through inter - caste marriages. Ambedkar too recommends inter–caste marriages, but he argues that the upper castes section will never allow doing the same. While seeking solution to the problems of these depressed class called Dalits in one hand, Dr. Ambedkar has inferred from the whole ongoing situation that only the untouchables can lead untouchables towards the assertion of rights in the Hindu structural society.

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He never observes the support of any caste Hindu led groups for his mission for Dalits, namely, social justice and equality.

It is very significant to mention that when he has launched his Satyagraha to establish equality among the Hindus by asking the people to allow the Harijans to enter the temples, he has not been supported by either Gandhiji or Hindu leaders or the Indian National Congress. After independence, while quitting the Nehru Cabinet in 1951, he has achieved the realization that the conversion of the Harijans into Buddhism is the only alternative to escape from the dominance of Hinduism (i.e. Brahamànism) and from the curse of untouchability, so as to enjoy an equal status and to live with pride and self-respect on par with others in the Hindu community. It has been the Satyagraha for the human rights as untouchables are denied the use of natural water like the caste Hindus everywhere in the country. They have been prevented to fetch water from the Chavadar tank of Mahad. This Satyagraha helps unite the untouchables to fight for their human rights.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 38 It is true that Gandhiji himself denounces the practice of untouchability which has been operating in the Hindu society and therefore he has

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launched the anti- untouchability campaign for awakening the consciousness of the Hindus to the wrongs inflicted on the Harijan community. He has also helped Harijans to raise their rights and status. But Dr. Ambedkar has not been satisfied with the political approach of Gandhiji and his bona fides. Consequently, Dr. Ambedkar

has been emerged as a prominent leader of the Harijan community specially at the

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time of the Poona Pact in Sept. 1932. He vehemently has criticised the way of handling the problems of the Harijans by Gandhiji.

In fact, Gandhiji has viewed untouchability as a political problem and not as a social problem. But Dr. Ambedkar has been afraid that the Gandhian approach in dealing with the problem of untouchability adheres to make caste Hindus more powerful and untouchables weaker. There has been raised deep hostility

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between Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar over the upliftment of untouchables.

It was then

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the Second Round Table Conference in London in 1931 , in which Gandhi vehemently opposed Ambedkar's demand for separate electorates for the Dalits. The intense feelings of the Dalits against Gandhi were manifested by black flag demonstrations

against him on his return to Bombay.

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In 1932, the Communal Award of the British government granted separate electorates for the depressed classes.

M.K. Gandhi took upon fast

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unto death in his prison cell in Poona, protesting that separate electorates were a device which would separate the untouchables from

the Hindu society for ever. As Gandhi weakened, Dr. Ambedkar capitulated, but it was

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only when some Hindu leaders pledged their help in the removal of untouchability, and agreed that the untouchables would have seats in all elected bodies.

Dr.

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Ambedkar, however, never reconciled himself to this outcome. According to him, it forced the Dalits to agree to live at the mercy of the Hindus.

On the contrary, the impact of the evil still persists, even forty six years after independence.

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According to the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, there are many areas where these weaker sections are denied even common access to drinking water. There has been a sharp increase in the atrocities on them, and their socio-economic conditions are deteriorating, despite the Dalit

movements. 3.5 Dalit Identity Sunita Reddy Bharati in her article " Dalit : A Term Asserting Unity" has stated that the term Dalit is a socially constructed identity. She has also stated that the subaltern communities who have been discriminated all these years identify themselves with Dalits. Therefore, they have come together and united in opposition to other groups of the Hindu social order.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 39 The word Dalit was not first used by B.R Ambedkar, rather this term

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was used in 1930's in Hindi and Marathi translation of 'depressed classes' by the British

who called as Scheduled Castes. Sunita Reddy Bharati argued that the 'Dalit Panthers' revived the term in their 1973 manifesto and explained its usage of the term to include several sections or groups such as

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the Scheduled Tribes, Neo-Buddhists, working people, landless and poor peasant women and all those being exploited politically, economically, and

were also discriminated on the grounds of religion. "The clearest definition of Dalit in its contemporary usage comes from a letter written to Zelliot by Gangadhar Pantawane, a professor of Marathi at Milind College, now at Marathwada University in Aurangabad, and founder editor of Asmitadarsh (Mirror of Identity), the chief organ of Dalit literature:" To me ,Dalit is not the

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caste. He is a man exploited by the social and economic traditions of this country. He does not believe in God, rebirth, soul, holy books teaching separatism, fate and heaven because they have made him a slave. He does believe in humanism. Dalit is a symbol of change and revolution" (

Bharati: 2002) Dalit identity is a term which is used as a label to identify and provide a platform for Dalits in asserting their stand and rights in the mainstream societal structure. 3.6 Ambedkar on Hindu Society For Ambedkar the Hindu code based caste system was the most ancient concept , more than the Vedas based on ascription and dominance. He argued that this form of Hindu fold caste system was the most exploitative, discriminative and rigid structure of the Indian society. He viewed caste as inhuman, undemocratic and authoritarian. His firm belief was that the caste system would hamper the fabric of social unity in the society and generate caste conflicts and wars challenging the basic structure and roots of democracy. He therefore preferred to follow the political approach in dealing with the problems of untouchables and identified their interests, by taking affirmative actions of safeguards and reservations as a solution. His ideas about religion is more of a function of a true religion which is to uplift the individual. For that purpose it should teach the virtues of fellow-feeling, equality and liberty. Religion should mainly be concerned with principles only. It cannot be a matter of rules. The moment it degenerates into rules, it ceases to be religion as it kills responsibility which is the essence of a truly religious act. Religion is for man and not man for religion (Bardia: 2009). He criticised Hinduism, its injustice, Tyranny and humbug. Ultimately Ambedkar renounced Hinduism and embraced Buddhism. Since 1935, he preached his philosophy

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 40 to renounce Hinduism. As mentioned in the earlier section that Ambedkar recommended change of religion or conversion to other religion so that there would be a space for the Dalits to rise to equal position in the mainstream society. While explaining the foundation of Buddha's religion, Ambedkar said that "Buddhism denies the existence of God and soul. The real basis of Buddhism is rational way to eradicate suffering. "There is said Buddha 'suffering in the world, suffering wide spread'. Ninety percent people were afflicted with suffering or misery of some kind or the other. The main object of Buddhism is to emancipate the suffering humanity."(Bardia:2009). Ambedkar was a great admirer of Buddhism. He embraced Buddhism because Buddhism instructed people how they should behave with one another and to do his duty towards each other. The relation with God would be revealed in the light of equality, fraternity and liberty. For him, Buddhism was based on morality. Ambedkar, in his historic speech in Nagpur on October 15, 1956, a day after he had embraced Buddhism, said, "The movement to leave the Hindu religion was taken in hand by us in 1955, when a resolution was made in Yeola. Even though I was born in the Hindu religion, I will not die in the Hindu religion. This oath I made earlier; yesterday, I proved it true. I am happy; I am ecstatic! I have left hell — this is how I feel. I do not want any blind followers. Those who come into the Buddhist religion should come with an understanding; they should consciously accept that religion"(Times of India,2019) 3.7 Dalit Movement The Indian society is segmentally divided on the basis of caste. The status of a person is determined on his caste in which he or she is born. In traditional caste system, the lowest caste lies at the bottom of the social ladder and the upper caste at the top. People belonging to lower caste have to be subjected to various caste disabilities. Amongst these low castes there belong to the Dalits who are also called untouchables and not allowed to change their caste occupation. The extent of disabilities is so high that they are not even allowed to stay in the mainstream society rather they would have to live in the peripheries or the outskirts of villages and towns. These oppressed Dalits have been raised with various struggles to fight against the social exploitation in all forms. It has become evident that there are factors which have made deep impact on caste system which has also brought social upheaval and an awakening among Dalits. Firstly, the impact of western ideas and its values such as liberality of thought, individual freedom and equality which have started making inroads into the traditional matrix of the Hindu social system and the caste and other institutions.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 41 Secondly, the British administration with its rational and modern concepts such as equality before law and introduction of modem technology created the necessary intellectual and psychological climate for the emergence of social reforms movements. The Scheduled Castes are known as Harijans i.e., the children of God coined by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933.There are many studies on Dalits and its socio-political condition but there are only a few systematic empirically sound studies on their movements. The Mahar movement of Maharashtra has been considered as an all India movement. There has been many contributions by various proponents such as Gail Omvedt, Bharat Patankar , Ghanshyam Shah who have given an

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overview of the Dalit liberation in India. The former deals with the colonial period whereas the latter looks at both the colonial and the post colonial periods.

The study by Verba, Ahmad and Bhatt (1972) on the Blacks and the Harijnas has given us

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a comparative picture of the movements of these communities in the USA and India.

The main issues around which most of the Dalit movements have been centered in the colonial and post colonial periods are confined to

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the problem of untouchability. There have been various movements started for maintaining or increasing reservations in political offices, government jobs and welfare programmes. Ghanshyam Shah classifies the Dalit movements into reformative and alternative movements. The former tries to reform the caste system to solve the problem of untouchability.The alternative movement attempts to create an alternative socio-cultural structure by conversion to some other religion or by acquiring education, economic status and political power. Both These above types of movements use political means

and sources

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to attain their objectives. The reformative movements are further divided into Bhakti movements, neo-Vedantik movements and Sanskritisation movements. .

Patankar and Omvedt classify the Dalit movement into caste based and class based movements. Bhakti movement in 15th century has

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developed two traditions of saguna and nirguna. The former believes in the form of God

mostly

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Vishnu or Shiv relating to the Vaishnavite or Shaivaite traditions. It preaches equality among all castes though it subscribes to the Varnashram dharma and the caste social order. The devotees of Nirguna believe in formless universal God. Ravidas and Kabir are the major figures of this tradition. It becomes more popular among the Dalits in urban areas in the early 20th century as it opens the possibility of salvation for all. It says about social equality.

Neo-Vedantik movement was

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initiated by Hindu religious and social reformers. These movements attempted to remove untouchability by taking them into the fold of the

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 42 caste system. Dayanand Saraswati who was

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the founder of Arya Samaj believed that the caste system was a political institution created by the rulers for the common good of society and not a natural or religious distinction.

Satish Kumar Sharma's book on "

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Social Movements and Social Change" examines the relationship between the Arya Samaj and the untouchables.

The study is confined to Punjab only but some of the observations are relevant for other part of the country as well. Arya Samaj has fought against the political movements of

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the untouchables. It goes against any move initiated by the untouchables for their solidarity and integration.

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The neo-Vedantic movements and non-Brahmin movements have played an important catalytic role in developing anti-caste or anti Hinduism Dalit movements in some parts of the country. The Satyashodhak Samaj and the self-respect movements in Maharashtra and the Tamil Nadu,the Adhi Dharma and Adi Andhra movement in Bengal and Adi-Hindu movement in Uttar Pradesh are important anti-untouchability movements which have been launched in the last quarter of the 19th and the early

part of 20th century.
There were

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scattered references to the Adi-Andhra, the Adi-Hindu and the Namashudra movements. Mark Juergensmeyer's book

on "Religion

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as Social Vision" dealt with the Adi Dharma movement against untouchability in 20th century Punjab. The main plea of the movement was that the untouchables constituted a distinct religious community similar to those of

Sikhs, Hindus and Muslim communities.

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Nandini Gooptu in her study on UP in the early 20th century briefly analysed the emergence of the Adi-Hindu movement in the urban areas of the region. Like Adi-Dharma, the leaders of the Adi-Hindu movement believed that the present form of Hinduism was imposed on them by the Aryan invaders. The movement did not pose a direct threat to the caste system. It was in essence, conceived as and remained a protest against the attribution of stigmatised roles and functions to the untouchable by means of a claim not to be Aryan Hindus; it was not developed into a full blown, direct attack on the caste system.

A section of untouchables who could improve their economic condition either by abandoning or continuing their traditional occupations launched struggles for higher status in the caste hierarchy. They followed Sanskritic norms and rituals. They tried to justify their claim to a higher social status in the caste hierarchy by inventing suitable mythologies.

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The Shanars or Nadars of Tamil Nadu however crossed the boundary of untouchability.The Iravas of Kerala also blurred if not completely destroyed, the line of untouchability.The Nadars had organized movements in the late 19th century NSOU ? CC-SO-04 43 against the civic disabilities which they suffered. They

formed their caste organization in 1903 called SNDP Yogam.

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According to it the low social status of the Iravas was due to their low social and religious practices.

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The association launched activities for sanskritising the norms and customs of the Iravas.They launched a Satyagraha for temple entry in the 1920s.They bargained with the

then government for economic opportunities and political positions.

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A major anti-touchability movement was launched by Dr Ambedkar in the 1920s in Maharashtra.

He saw the opportunity and

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possibility of advancement for the untouchables through the use of political means to achieve social and economic equality with the highest classes in modern society.

He

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organized the independent labour party on secular lines for protecting the interests of the laboring classes.

It was dominated by Mahars. The

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Dalits demanded a separate electorate in the 1930s which led to a conflict between Ambedkar and

Gandhi. In the early 1930s Ambedkar concluded that the only way of improving the status of the untouchables was to renounce the Hindu religion.

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He found that Buddhism was appropriate as an alternative religion for the untouchables. He preferred Buddhism because it was an indigenous Indian religion of equality; a religion which was anti-caste and anti Brahmin. Ambedkar and his followers were converted to Buddhism in 1956.

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The movement for conversion to Buddhism had spread Dalit consciousness irrespective of whether Dalits became Buddhist or not. The Dalits of Maharashtra launched the Dalit Panther Movement in the early 1970s.Initially it was confined to the urban areas of Maharashtra and it

was not spread in Gujarat, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and other states.

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Assertion for Dalit identity has almost become a central issue of Dalit movement. This involves local level collective action against discrimination and atrocities. Statues of Dr Ambedkar are found not only in urban Dalit localities but also in many villages where their number is fairly large. Dalits contribute to installing Ambedkar statues in their neighbourhood. They have to

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struggle to get a piece of land from local authorities to install the statue.

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The statues and photos of Dr Ambedkar are an expression of Dalit consciousness and their assertion for identity.

There are several local movements in which Dalits as a mass have to migrate from their villages protesting against discrimination and atrocities. In 1980s there are five such incidents. In protest against torture and beating among the Dalits ,the village Sambarda has undertaken hijarat en mass migration like refugees from their native village and camped in the open before the district collector office for 131 days in 1989.Their demand stands for alternative settlement where their life and dignity will be secured. They want to get a concrete solution: alternative land to protect their
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 44 dignity. They are able to reach their mission against all odds and collusion between the ruling elite and vested interests. At last the village level movements have been succeeded in mobilizing Dalits in different parts of Gujarat. The Dalit movements are dominated by their middle class raising

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issues related to identity and reservations of government jobs and political positions. There

is widespread local level assertion against the practice of untouchability and discrimination. Their struggles have brought Dalits on the agenda of mainstream politics. In academic circles the movements have forced a section of intellectuals to critically review not only Indian traditions and culture but also the paradigms of modernity and Marxism. They have exploded number of myths created by Brahminical ideology. The Dalit movements have also successfully built up a good deal of pressure on the ruling classes. However several scholars and activists feel that Dalits have been reduced to a pressure group within the mainstream politics. Gail Omvedt observes that the post-Ambedkar Dalit movement has been ironically only that in the end, a movement of Dalits, challenging some of the deepest aspects of oppression and exploitation but failing to show the way to transformation. 3.8 Contemporary Issues on Dalit The whole issue on the condition of Dalit in our country is still not solved rather it is a data sheet of tragedies. According to a report by National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) on the Prevention of Atrocities against Scheduled Castes, a crime is committed against a Dalit every 18 minutes. Every day, on an average , Dalit women are raped, murdered , Dalit houses are burnt. Dalits live below the poverty line, they are under nourished and 45 percent of the population are illiterate. The data also show that Dalits are prevented from entering police stations in 28 percent of Indian villages. They are also denied access to water sources in 48 percent of our villages because untouchability remains a stark reality even though it has been abolished in 1955. As written in

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the Constitution – " The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker section of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation." —

Article 46
of the Indian Constitution Even after more than 70 years of independence, Dalits continue to face the violence and discrimination from the contemporary society. One of the recent incident is the
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 45 tragic suicide of Rohit Vermula , a Ph D student in the Hyderabad Central University who hanged himself, blaming his birth as a " fatal accident" in a final note which portrays the failure of Constitution in providing free and fair India. Even after all such incidents there has been no creation of new laws for the protection and upliftment of Dalits. The Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, and the SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act,1989, prescribe punishments from crimes against Dalits that are much stringent than corresponding offences under the IPC. Special courts have been established in major states for speedy trial of cases registered exclusively under these acts. In 2006, former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh even equated the practice of "untouchability" to that of "apartheid" and racial segregation in South Africa. In December 2015, the SC and ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Bill, passed by Parliament, made several critical changes. New activities were added to the list of offences. Among them were the preventing SCs/ STs from using common property resources., from entering any places of public worship, and from entering an education or health institution. In case of any violation, the new law said that the courts would presume unless proved otherwise that the accused non- SC/ ST person was aware of the caste or tribal identity of the victim. 3.9 Conclusion The term Dalit represents a broader social category of people. With changing time and context, in more recent years, it has become a nationwide phenomenon and is widely used by all untouchables irrespective of traditional and rigid caste distinctions. It has also become a symbol of their social identity. We may be democratic republic, but justice, equality, liberty and fraternity, the four basic tenets promised in the Preamble of our Constitution are clearly not available to all. Dalits continue to be oppressed and discriminate in many villages , in educational institutions, in the job sector, etc., leaving them behind in acquiring a position as equal as others in the mainstream society. 3.11 Summary There is always a question as to why violent incidents still have never decreased but has been always on news even after such protection laws. Chandra Bhan Prasad in his co-authored book "Defying the Odds: The Rise of Dalit Enterprenuers" he has said that caste is not simply a law and order problem. Caste violence can only be

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 46 eradicated with the birth of a new social order. He has also argued that the upward mobility of some Dalits has been caused by market reforms post-1991, ironically this leads to higher incidence of atrocities in the form of a backlash. 3.11 Questions ? Multiple choice questions: 1) Who launched the Dalit Panther movement in the early 1970's? a) Dalits of Maharshtra b) Dalits of North-east c) Dalits of Andhra Pradesh d) Dalits of Uttar Pradesh 2) The book ' Annihilation of Caste' was written by- a) Mahatma Gandhi b) B.R Ambedkar c) Partha chatterjee d) Amartya Sen 3) The term 'Harijan' was coined by- (a) M.Gandhi, b) B.R Ambedkar, (c) Gail Omvedt, (d) J. Nehru ? Answer the following questions: 1) Why are Dalits considered Untouchable? 2) Compare and contrast the views on Dalit's position in the structure of Hindu society? 3) Discuss the issues and causes of the Dalit movement? 4) Enlist the various reforms and measures taken for the discrimination against the Dalit? 3.12 Suggested Readings 1. Ambedkar, B.R (1936) Annihilation of Caste : The Annotated Critical Edition Paperback – 1 Jan 2015 2. Gehlot N.S. (1993) DR. AMBEDKAR, MAHATMA GANDHI AND DALIT MOVEMENT 3. Guru Gopal, (1993) "Dalit Movement in Mainstream Sociology" Source:

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Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 37, No. 42 (Oct. 19-25, 2002), pp. 4339-4340 11. Zelliot, E (2001): From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on Ambedkar Movement,

Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi. 12. https://www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/618535.B_R_Ambedkar 13. Source: The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 54, No. 3/4 (July - Dec. 1993), 382-387 Published by: Indian Political Science Association 3.13 Glossary ? Subaltern : This describes the lower social classes and other social groups displaced to the margins of society. ? Depressed class : The Depressed Classes, presently known as the. 'Scheduled Castes' and 'Harijans', constitute a group of. castes of the Hindus in India. The population of these classes was around 64.5 millions i.e. about 15 per cent. ? Harijan : a member of the group formerly known as untouchables in India, a term used by Gandhiji.
Unit 4 Indological and Ethnographic Approaches Structure 4.1 Objectives 4.2 Introduction 4.3 What is Indology? 4.4 Orientalist Perspective 4.5 Indological Perspective: G.S Ghurye 4.6 Categorisation of Indology 4.7 Subalternative Perspective 4.8 Ethnography 4.9 History of Ethnography 4.10 Ethnographers in India 4.11 Thick Description 4.12 Advantages and Challenges in Doing Ethnography 4.13 Conclusion 4.14 Summary 4.15 Questions 4.16 Suggested Readings 4.17 Glossary 4.1 Objectives ? To understand the twin approaches i.e., the indological approach and ethnographic approach which have been used popularly by various scholars, sociologists and anthropologist to know Indian society. ? To understand in the upcoming sections, the usage of these approaches, its uses, its limitations and the challenges. ? To give an overview description of the process of studying societies through the key principle tools of indology and ethnography.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 49 4.2 Introduction The

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Indological perspective claims to understand Indian society through the concepts, theories and frameworks that are closely associated with Indian civilization.

Ethnographic approach is a qualitative research method. Applying this approach an in-depth study is carried upon by the researcher to study particular group, communities, etc. In this method “fieldwork” plays an important role by which the researcher studies culture of a particular society through close interaction, participation, observation and engagement in the everyday life. 4.3 What is Indology? Indology in literal terms means the study of Indian society and culture. In practice it is an approach to study Indian society with its culture, language, beliefs, ideas, customs, rituals, ceremonies, taboos, codes, institutions and related components which are guided by Indian societal values and civilization. These studies are considered different from the European society, as it has its own approach. Ideology, more specifically, deals with interpretation of ancient texts, and linguistic studies of problems of ancient Indian culture which is supplemented by archaeological, sociological, anthropological, numismatic and ethnographic evidences and vice versa. Historically, Indian society and culture are unique in itself, therefore the Indological approach rests on the assumption that the specificity of Indian social realities could be grasped better through the ‘texts’. It may also be viewed that Indological approach refers to the historical and comparative method based on Indian texts in the study of Indian society. Therefore, Indologists use ancient historical texts, epics, religious manuscripts and texts, archaeological evidences, etc., in the study of Indian social institutions. The texts are basically included the classical ancient literatures of ancient Indian society such as Vedas, Puranas, Manu Smriti, Ramayana, Mahabharata and others. Indologists study social phenomena by interpreting these above classical texts. Available data in each of these fields are to be augmented by a great deal of honest, competent and exhaustive field work. None of the various techniques can, by itself, lead to any valid conclusion about ancient India. Combined empirical operations are indispensable in this field study of Indology. Apart from Sanskrit scholars and Indologists, many sociologists have also used traditional texts in extensive way to study Indian society. Therefore, it is called as “textual view” or “textual perspective” of social phenomena as it depends upon texts. Thus, textual variety of such studies that emerged in the late 1970s marks a prominent shift from the European to the American tradition of social

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 50 anthropology. Indological studies generally have been conducted during this period covering a wide range of subjects like social structure, relationships, cultural values, kinship, ideology, etc. Indology demands inter-disciplinary, multi- disciplinary and cross disciplinary approaches. Indology is also older than sociology. It is antique owing its origin 1784 by Sir William Jones of Calcutta. It was in the year 1784 that Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in India to enhance and further the cause of “Oriental research”, in this case, research into India and the surrounding regions. One of the main activities of this organization was to collect the old manuscripts of India, of which there was enormous collection of Sanskrit manuscripts with society. It is the beginning of Indology in India, which has been followed by several other scholars. The studies based on texts that have been conducted by many scholars, sociologist and indologists. Most of these studies are based on textual materials either drawn from epics, legends, myths, or from the folk traditions and other symbolic forms of culture. Most of these are also studied by Indian sociologists . A good number of studies following this method have been done by foreign-based scholars like B. Cohn and M.Singer also. Many founding fathers of Indian Sociology are also influenced by Indology like B.K. Sarkar, G.S. Ghurye, R.K. Mukherjee, K.M. Kapadia, Irawati Karve, P.H. Prabhu, Louis Dumont. 4.4 Orientalist Perspective Within Indology there is the bifurcation of two studies. That is Indology or Indic studies and Oriental studies. Both of them have some commonalities and differences. Indology is a sympathetic and positive picture of non- European society of the East including Indian society and culture. Orientalism gives an unsympathetic and negative account of the Indian society. Indology is said to be the result of westerners’ labour of love for the Indian wisdom. And Orientalism emerged as the ideological need of the Bristish Empire. Indologist like William Jones, Louis Renou and Celestin Bougle in France and Wilson in British India are the reputed figures and the Orientalist include Max Muller, William Archard, Max Weber, Karl Marx. There is a general tendency among the Indologist to exaggerate the virtue of Indian culture. Orientalist were trying to see negative aspect of Indian tradition and rationalize missionary activities and colonial legacy. Indologists had given over emphasized on Indian spiritualist and under emphasized the materialistic culture but the Orientalist did the reverse as they undermined spirituality and over emphasized on materialistic

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 51 culture. The Oriental Institute in Baroda was the second important Indological center in India founded in 1893 by Maharaja of Baroda. The major objective of the institute was to develop a well equipped library of rare and unpublished manuscript and reference books on Oriental and Indological studies. Bernard S. Cohn had analysed orientalists' perspective to explain the textual view. The orientalists took a textual view of India offering a picture of its society as being static, timeless and space less. In this view of the Indian society, there was no regional variation and no questioning of the relationship between perspective, normative statements derived from the texts and the actual behaviour of groups. Indian society was seen as a set of rules, which every Hindu followed (Cohn and Singer, 1968: 8). Bernard S. Cohn further mentioned : "The orientalists tended to be better educated and from the upper classes of Great Britain; same as Sir William Jones were trained as scholars before their arrival in idea and they wanted to treat Sanskrit and Persian learning with the same methods and respect as one would treat European learning..." (Cohn, 1998: 10-11). When field studies in many areas of their interest in India became difficult, textual analysis, either of classics or ethics or field notes from an earlier data, represented a fruitful basis for continued analysis of Indian structure and tradition in the 1970s and 1980s (Singh, 1986: 41). An Indological approach has been the hallmark of several sociologists. They have hammered against the acceptance of theoretical and methodological orientations of the western countries. These scholars have emphasized the role of traditions, groups rather than individual as the basis of social relations and religion, ethics and philosophy as the basis of social organization. For example, R.N. Saxena (1965: 1-13) agrees with this Indological or scriptural basis of studying Indian society. He has stressed on the role of the concepts of Dharma, Artha, Kamma and Moksha. Dumont and Pocock (1957: 9-22) emphasize the utility of Indological formulations. They observe: "In principle,

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a sociology of India lies at the point of confluence of sociology and Indology".

Indology is representative of people's behaviour or that guides people's behaviour in a significant way. The use of the Indological approach during the early years of Indian sociology and social anthropology is seen in the works of S.V. Ketkar, B.N. Seal and B.K. Sarkar. G.S. Ghurye, Louis Dumont, K.M. Kapadia, P.H. Prabhu and Irawati Karve have tried to explore Hindu social institutions and practices, either with reference to religious texts or through the analysis of contemporary practices. Initially, Sir William Jones established the Asiatic Society of Bengal and also introduced the study of Sanskrit
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 52 and Indology. The knowledge of Sanskrit also helps to understand the great culture and philosophical tradition of India. The Indological writings dealing with the Indian philosophy, art, and culture are reflected in the works of Indian scholars like A.K. Coomarswamy, R.K. Mukerjee, D.P. Mukerji, G.S. Ghurye, L. Dumont and others who have used Indological approach in their research. They have tremendously enriched the field of Indian sociology. 4.5 Indological Perspective : G.S Ghurye The salient features of Indological approach are described in this section exhaustively for better understanding of this approach . As Indian society is unique in itself and therefore can be studied through studying its values and cultures which are different from western society. Indologist emphasizes more on understanding Indian society rather than providing solution to the problems. This perspective seldom uses field view to understand heterogeneity which broadens the perspective and opens up new vistas to study Indian society. He is pioneer in the field of modern indology and he has improved a lot upon the narrow view of Indian society taken by Classical Indologists. His general view of society underlies that Indian society is unique and it should be understood in terms of concept and theories particular to Indian society.

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According to him, Indian society is a 'Hindu Society' and that cannot be understood without understanding Hindu tradition. He has 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

has taken into consideration

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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. He has

understood caste in terms of its various features and he has mentioned six features of caste as follows: 1. Division of labor 2. Principle of purity and pollution 3. Hierarchy 4. Civil and religious disabilities 5. Hereditary nature 6. Endogamy NSOU ? CC-SO-04 53 4.6 Categorisation of Indology Indological perspective changes with time and space and with nature of study which is broadly categorized as — 1. Classical Indology It was prevalent before 1920 and was mostly dominated by British Intellectuals. It was purely a book view approach in which Sanskrit texts were translated. Some of the profound proponents were William Jones who established Asiatic Society in Calcutta, Max Muller who wrote the famous book 'Sacred Books of the East' and translated Vedas and other sacred texts. The primary source for their study and understanding Indian society was ancient religious, historical and archaeological evidences. Western scholars had very narrow and critical view about Indian society which was continuously falsified by Indian scholars. India was considered as a land of villages which were self-sufficient, isolated, static and orthodox according to western scholars' viewpoint. 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, Panchayat system and Jajmani system etc., were considered other elements of Indian social structure. 2. 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 which was sometimes also referred as 'Social Indology'. Modern Indology was used by academicians in contrast to scholars and officials of Classical Indology. G S Ghurye was considered as 'father of Modern Indology'. He synthesized Classical Indological approach with anthropological diffusionist approach. After independence, the use of Indology was 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, Panchayat systems etc., was emphasized with an Indological approach.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 54 4.7 Subalternative Perspective Subaltern perspective brought new genre to the analysis of Indian nationalism. This school of thought adopted the "history from below" approach (like European Marxist scholars) for the analysis of Indian nationalism. It was the Antonio Gramsci who used the word 'subaltern' for the subordinate class in terms of class, gender, race, language and culture. Such perspective limits the understanding of Indian society. "In the context of India, Ranjit Guha, in his book Elementary Aspect of Peasants insurgency in Colonial India highlighted the "autonomous domain" of peasant's struggle, which is independent from the elite. According to Guha, elitist historiographies were "unable to put the peasants' conditions and their insurgency in correct perspective as they could not go beyond limitations that were existed in colonial India." Elitist historiography had the view that Indian nationalism is the product of elite. Guha questioned the interpretation of elitist historiography of Indian nationalism on two counts: first, elitist role in the construction of Indian consciousness and second, the making of India as a nation. Subaltern historiographies also question the Marxist school of thought for being tendency of merging into the "nationalist ideology of modernity and progress". Subaltern believed that Marxist school of thought ignored the "ideology of caste and religion" as a factor in Indian history. According to this subaltern school, by ignoring the ideology of caste and religion, somewhere Marxist also followed the same path like the elitists . Therefore, subaltern historiography tried to establish the voice and contribution of marginalized sections of Indian society by adopting the method of looking 'history from below'. Colonialist scholars believed that British rulers, administrators as well as policies, institutions and cultures created the India as a modern nation. On the other hand, nationalist scholars had the view that the personalities of Indian elites with the existing structure developed the ideas to counter the colonial narratives, ultimately shaped the Indian nationalism. According to Ranjit Guha, these two elitist historiographies could be understood primarily as a function of "stimulus and response". Guha argued that rather than guided by idealism or altruism, Indian nationalist tried to get the reward in "form of share of wealth, power and prestige created by and associated with the colonial rulers." For this, there were an interplay of "competition and collaboration" between colonial masters and native elites. Guha had the view that the whole natives' venture of Indian nationalism was guided by idealism in which "Indian elite led to the people from subjugation to freedom." In other words, if one sees the whole arguments of elitist interpretation of Indian nationalism then see

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 55 that it highlights the contribution made by the elites only either ‘colonial’ or ‘native bourgeois’. This elitist historiography has ignored the contribution made by the people on their own, which is independent from elite. Now, if you try to see that later generation of Indian sociologists who had basically adopted or have been trained in the craft of Indology, Ghurye definitely had taken care of the fieldwork traditions along with the issue of the use of the ancient texts. His certain imperial works were still relevant to the social anthropology. So the contribution of Ghurye as an Indologist was very significant to learn the society and culture of Indian society. 4.8 Ethnography The term ethnography comes from the Greek words ‘ethnos’ (which means people or nation) and ‘grapho’ (which means ‘I write’) . Ethnography is a research method which is initially distinctive to social anthropology and later it has been used in sociology and adopted by sociologists, which has emerged to address this specific subject matter. The ethnographic method is a qualitative methodology that involves the practice of “fieldwork” in which the researcher studies, social interactions through participation , observation and engagement in the everyday life culture of a particular society through close interaction,. Thus, the information or the account that is produced from these observations is known as ethnography. When we talk about scientific research or approach it is more of systematic investigation of scientific theories and hypothesis, on the other hand the naturalist approach deals with researcher’s own interpretation of the society. For Ethnographers these approaches are seen as a failure in understanding the various aspects of human behavior in a particular setting. The aim of ethnography is to give an analytical description of other cultures doing exploration of a particular phenomenon. This is done by the researcher using observation, exploration, description and explanation through the unstructured accounts and analysis of a particular phenomenon. There are certain techniques that are associated with the practice of fieldwork. The technique of observation is predominantly used as an ethnographic method, in which the researcher observes and records her or his observations of a culture and writes an account. The method of participant observation is commonly followed by ethnographers from the twentieth century onwards, which dates back to the work of Malinowski. In this method the researcher is not just an observer and scientist, but also a fellow person who participates in the life of the society or culture in which he gets immersed for an extended period as one belonging to them and find out the

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 56 hidden facts. Learning the language of a culture is often thought as a central prerequisite for ethnographic fieldwork. Establishing rapport with the ‘natives’ of a field is a technique that ethnographers follow. The ability to understand a culture with such participation and showing the account to readers who are alien to the culture is an important skill and integral part to ethnographic writings. Ethnography is linked to the lived experience of the ethnographer (Berry, 2011). 4.9 History of Ethnography The zoologist Alfred Cort Haddon who turned as an anthropologist was one of the first scientists who collected ethnographic material from the Torres Straits Islands. The concept of “anthropological fieldwork” was most likely introduced by Haddon from the discourse of naturalists (Stocking 1985: 80). Collections of empirical data and observation were a long tradition among missionaries and administrators of the European colonies in the nineteenth century. Among many anthropologists Lewis Henry Morgan ,who was an American Lawyer began the discourse on the development of formal ethnography from the nineteenth century . Morgan used some of the techniques associated with ethnography to investigate the kinship systems among some native American groups with the aim of comparing it with those of the European- Americans. Bronislaw Malinowksi , a Polish born functionalist anthropologist who was often considered to be the founder of contemporary ethnography. Participant observation was one of the key methods in ethnography and his work was one of the most significant one in the field of ethnography. Malinowski spent six years from 1914-1920 in the Trobriand Islands, making three expeditions to his field and writing accounts work on the systems of exchange of the Trobriand Islanders. Bronislaw Malinowski also learned the language of the Trobriand Islanders instead of relying on native interpreters as his forbears had done. This had become the earliest example of a researcher’s immersion in the field to produce an ethnographic account. His work was one of the most influential ethnographic works until now. In the Preface of “Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea” , James George Frazer writes- “In the Trobriand Islands, to the east of New Guinea, to which he next turned his attention, Dr. Malinowski lived as a native among the natives for many months together, watching them daily at work and at play, conversing with them in their own

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 57 tongue, and deriving all his information from the surest sources - personal observation and statements made to him directly by the natives in their own language without the intervention of an interpreter" (Frazer in Malinowski 2005: v). This became the standard procedure of ethnographic fieldwork. This work set the parameters for the ethnographic method not only in Britain, but also in various debates among anthropologists in the United States of America, across Europe and indirectly it influenced future generations of social anthropologists in India. Another example of an ethnographic study is about William Foote Whyte (June 27, 1914 – July16, 2000) who was a sociologist profoundly known for his ethnography study in urban sociology, i.e., " Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum", the book which was published in 1943. He was a pioneer in participant observation, where he lived for four years in an Italian community in Boston . Street corner society described and studied various groups and communities within the district. He gave a detailed account of how local gangs were formed and organized, also described the relations of social structure, politics and racketeering in the particular district. Whyte differentiated between "corner boys" whose lives revolved around street corners and nearby shops and "college boys" who were educated with definite aims how to place them in the social ladder in his study. 4.10 Ethnographers in India In the Indian context, some of the earliest ethnographies of the twentieth century emerged from fieldwork in the Indian villages. While this was a break from earlier studies of caste practices based on texts like the Manusmriti, it also differed from anthropological accounts of Europeans, and also the'native' anthropologists began to interrogate and provide accounts of their 'own' cultures. M.N. Srinivas' ethnography of the village of Rampura in the Mysore District, which was published in 1976 as "The Remembered Village" was a canonical text in this regard (Srinivas 1988). This work was significant as it pointed to a shift in the objective of ethnography in the second half of the twentieth century, and because it opened up the debate of how, even a racially and linguistically "native" ethnographer of all intents and purposes, remained an outsider to her/his field. M.N. Srinivas who did his fieldwork in the village of Rampura was a classic example in understanding ethnography. Srinivas spoke the same language as those in Rampura and was by all accounts believed to be more of a native to the village in Mysore state than a British anthropologist would be. At the same time his urban upbringing, his education in other states in India and abroad, his Brahmin identity and his class background set him apart from the villagers in Rampura, a position that is reflected in his ethnography.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 58 4.11 Thick Descriptions The approach of 'thick description' in writing ethnography was popularised by the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz in the 1970s. Geertz wrote about thick description in "The Interpretation of Cultures" borrowing the concept from Gilbert Ryle. Thick description as an ethnographic technique is still predominant. It also implies that the observer should interpret culture and not just record actions as "facts". According to Geertz, an ethnographer must present a thick description which is composed not only of facts but also of interpretations. Thick description specifies conceptual structures and meanings , and is opposed to thin description which is a factual account without any interpretation. In his book "Interpretation of Cultures" he outlines the role of an ethnographer and analyses a culture by interpreting signs to understand the deeper meanings within its context. He explains it by giving an example of 'winking' i.e., how a winking can have different meanings and its action can itself be interpreted. 4.12 Advantages and Challenges in Doing Ethnography The knowledge produced by ethnographic fieldwork of different cultures is different from that of archival research. It allows the researcher to record first hand observations about cultures instead of relying only on textual and other secondary materials that provide a rich source of visual data and help to reveal unarticulated needs. "In the Indian context, the interest in ethnographies of villages in the mid twentieth century emerged in the context of the nationalist imagination. They provided information of local caste practices, social transformations etc., in the villages as opposed to earlier works of indologists who primarily relied on textual sources and on informants. The shift in perspectives arising from the use of different sources of data had been identified as the shift from the "book view" to the "field view" (Srinivas 1996: 200). Ethnography thus helps in understanding the culture, traditions , everyday life of a particular group through ethnographer's lens. Researchers have to be careful so as not to romanticise the culture being observed. Bronislaw Malinowski (1930) cautioned against a tendency of ethnographers to notice and write about the sensational, and of treating customs and beliefs of a culture as a collector might treat savage "curios" (ibid:217). The researcher must not just record observations made in the field, but also try and understand the meanings attached to

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 59 the various actions and practices of the natives in the field. Researcher must be familiar in the language spoken in the field. The linguistic requisite sometimes restricts ethnographer to English speaking sites in a transcultural multi-sited Ethnography. The researcher must conform to a code of ethics so as not to harm or breach the confidence of anyone. Doing fieldwork and immersion in a field of a culture, which is different from the researcher's own culture, is challenging. But an ethnographer can face different kinds of challenges when the field is not too far away from "home", particularly in a discipline where the tradition of a faraway "other" culture has been a model for ethnography (Robben & Sluka 2011). One of the key principal challenges faced by ethnographers is on "returning" from the "field", from the break of their everyday life is how to order the diffuse and varied materials collected in the field and write it accordingly in an arranged order. 4.13 Conclusion Both the above approaches, the Indological method and the ethnographic method are significant and have been key tools for many sociologist, anthropologists, etc., in understanding the in-depth study of a particular group, community, culture, etc. Indology may be said to have come into being when European scholarship discovered Sanskrit. This is generally believed to have happened in the closing years of the 18th century. Likewise if we talk about ethnography, collection of empirical data and observation has been a long tradition among the missionaries and administrators of the European colonies in the nineteenth century. 4.14 Summary Still in the contemporary period, these approaches are used and crafted by contemporary sociologists and anthropologist. These methods have become indispensable in development of research. It helps with getting detailed accounts of everyday life of a particular group through using of scriptural texts or first hand observations. 4.15 Questions 1. Write a short note on Indological perspective of G.S Ghurye? 2. Who is one of the most influential ethnographers whose work has defined the parameters of the ethnographic method in Anthropology?
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 60 3. What is one of the central challenges of doing ethnographic fieldwork in another culture? 4. Discuss the Indological approach and ethnographic approach in understanding a particular group? 5. Write a short note on Thick description ? 4.16 Suggested Readings ? Benedict, Ruth. Patterns of Culture. New York: Mentor, 1960 [1946]. ? Combined methods of Indology , D.D Kosambi Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology Vol. 7, 2013 ? Dumont, Louis (1980). Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its ? Evans-Pritchard, E. E. The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People, 1940 ? Geertz, Clifford. "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" In Interpretation of Cultures, 1973. ? Geertz, Clifford. Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books, 1973. ? Malinowski, Bronislaw. Argonauts Of The Western Pacific: An Account Of Native Enterprise And Adventure In The Archipelagoes Of Melanesain New Guinea. London: Routledge. 2005 [1922]. ? Marcus, G. E. "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi- Sited Ethnography". Annual Review of Anthropology 24, (1995): 95–117. ? Mead, M. Coming of Age in Samoa, 1928. Prakashan. ? Srinivas, M. N. The Remembered Village. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998 [1976]. ? Stocking Jr., George W. (Ed.). "The Ethnographer's Magic: Fieldwork in British Anthropology From Tylor to Malinowski " In Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, p. 70–120. ? Whyte,William Foote. 'Participamt Observer: An Autobiography', Cornell University Press (1994) ? Whyte,William Foote. 'Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum' University of Chicago Press (4 th edition,1993)
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 61 4.17 Glossary ? Indological approach : It

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claims to understand Indian society through the concepts, theories and frameworks that are closely associated with Indian civilization.

Indologists make sense of India through lens of Indian culture. ? Orientalist approach: In art history, literature and cultural studies, Orientalism is the imitation or depiction of aspects in the Eastern world. These depictions are usually done by writers, designers, and artists from the West. ? Subaltern : This describes the lower social classes and other social groups displaced to the margins of society ? Textual View : Indologists analyse social phenomena by interpreting the classical texts. Apart from Sanskrit scholars and Indologists, many sociologists have also used extensively traditional texts to study Indian society. Therefore, it is called as "textual view" or "textual perspective" of social phenomena as it depends upon texts. ? Field View: Field theory examines how individuals construct social fields, and how they are affected by such fields. Social fields are environments in which competition between individuals and between groups take place, such as markets, academic disciplines, musical genres, etc.

Unit 5 Dalit Politics Structure 5.1 Objectives 5.2 Introduction 5.3 Understanding Caste and the Dalit Status 5.4 Early Roots of Dalit Politics 5.5 Ambedkar's Struggles 5.6 Post-Ambedkar Dalit Struggles 5.7 The Republican Party of India 5.8 The Dalit Panthers 5.9 Rise of the Bsp and Beyond 5.10 Dalit Civil Society and the Struggles for Dalit Human Rights 5.11 The Formation and Role of Ncdhr 5.12 Emergence of the Nacdor 5.13 Dalit Solidarity Networks 5.14 Recent Trends in Dalit Politics 5.15 Problems Afflicting Dalit Politics 5.16 Conclusion 5.17 Summary 5.18 Questions 5.19 Suggested Readings 5.1 Objectives ? Who is a Dalit? ? The early evolution of dalit resistance ? Ambedkar's contribution to the development of the dalit struggles ? Trends in Dalit struggles in the post-independence period till the 1980s ? Emerging trends in dalit struggles since the 1980s ? The role played by civil society organizations in promoting dalit human rights ? The problems of dalit politics

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 63 5.2 Introduction Dalits have been socially and economically marginalized for centuries. In their efforts to seek social justice, since the early twentieth century they have increasingly engaged with politics, though the roots of the struggles go further back into the past being embedded in their religious and social protest movements. Since the days of British rule they have tried to use the political channel to seek social justice and remedy their conditions. However, the Dalits' engagements with politics were never unilinear; there have been different political attachments, different ideological orientations – often not only diverse but conflicting, and different priorities. Patterns and extent of struggles were largely conditioned by regional social diversities and nature of leadership. The unfurling of the struggles were again impacted upon by the nuances of wider national politics. 5.3 Understanding Caste and the Dalit Status To understand the 'Dalit' and the Dalit situation in India, we need to first understand caste and caste-based stratification as it exists in the country. Casta is not an Indian word; it is a word drawn from Portuguese word 'Casta' , meaning pure breed. The corresponding terms used in the Indian languages are 'varna' and 'Jati'. Varna refers to the notional four- fold hierarchic division of society into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and the Sudras. Jati refers to the numerous endogamous groups, rather localized and having a regional base. Caste position has remained an indicator of both economic power and social status for centuries. Those who are at the top of the caste hierarchy have remained the main beneficiaries of goods and services, while those positioned at the lower end suffer denial. Inter-caste disparities are evident in standards of living, educational attainments, health parameters and economic levels. At the same time, the struggles for changing the balance are equally visible. Etymologically, the word "Dalit" is derived from Sanskrit word "Dalita" - means "oppressed." In the Indian socio-cultural context, they were untouchables located at the lowest end of the caste hierarchy. In ancient times, the untouchables were referred as "Chandala" or "Avarna". The official term used for this section of the population is Scheduled Caste. Today, the untouchable castes are frequently referred to as Dalits. Socio-cultural and economic factors have for thousands of years entrenched the marginalisation of the 'untouchable castes' that form the core of the Dalit population.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 64 Caste stratification, rooted in Hindu religion, made for the inhuman degradation of a section of the population stigmatizing them as polluting and hence untouchable, leading to their persistent exclusion from goods and services. The products of their labour, of course, were not ostracized. In fact, their stigmatization formed the basis of the surplus extraction of their labour. Marked out as an identity group on the basis of their caste, they were doomed to perform certain demeaning jobs which were essentially labour-intensive, physically hazardous, and of low remunerative value. Aspirations for wealth, power and status were cut at the roots in the name of god and the god-stipulated caste norms, as members of the low castes were prohibited by religious stipulations from accumulating the fruits of their labour. This Brahminical order of society developed from the later Vedic period and crystallized over time into a rigid stratification system. Time and again, ritual power and state authority joined hands to ensure the smooth continuance of the order. The very idea of purity and pollution that stands at the centre of hierarchical caste stratification is violence entrenched. Overt and covert violence takes, inter alia, the form of limiting the social and economic space of the Dalits and has clearly dysfunctional effects in multiple senses. The freedom of socially interacting and inter-marrying is firmly circumscribed by caste norms , just as are the possibilities of economic betterment of the low castes. 5.4 Early Roots of Dalit Politics History abounds with the tales of struggles of the oppressed people. In fact, the struggles for social justice have such a long history in India that its roots are almost as old as the caste system itself. The early struggles were largely articulated in terms of religious discourse and debates, challenging the basics of the Brahminical order and positing more democratic and egalitarian alternatives. Buddhism , Jainism, the Bhakti Movement at a later period of time and numerous village deities or gram devatas were just some of the examples of the alternative non-Brahminical stream searching for a more egalitarian order. By the 1920s the autonomous anti-caste tradition had clearly begun to take shape in India. The Adi movements, unfolding in different parts of the country, were seen to be challenging Hinduism and the Hindus on racial grounds and could be regarded amongst the forerunners of the Dalit movement. In Punjab the Adi Dharm Movement, also referred to as the Ravidasi Movement, developed since the mid-1920s. It had mainly a Chamar following and rested on the preachings of the sixteenth century Bhakti poet named Ravidas. The Ravidasis

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 65 considered themselves to be the original inhabitants of India and regarded their religion as the Adi Dharm. In their opinion, the Hindus had come from outside India and enslaved them. While the first attempts to unite the untouchables could be seen in the formation of the caste federations since the early twentieth century, it was the Adi movements across the country that sought to emphasise separate identity in relation to the Hindu community. At an organizational level we find that in the 1930s three 'pan India' organizations had emerged to deal with caste issues. These early social organizations were not formally organized at an all India level but were linked to political parties through nationwide networks. Interestingly, they revealed three completely different ideological directions and represented three altogether different lines in terms of all India politics. These three organizations were [i] The Depressed Classes Federation. It was an Ambedkarite body which was connected with Ambedkar's Independent Labour Party. [ii] The Depressed Classes League or the Harijan League. It was Gandhian and connected with the Congress party. [iii] The Depressed Classes Association. This organization was linked with right wing Hindus of the Hindu Mahasabha. 5.5 Ambedkar's Struggles Ambedkar (1891-1956) is often referred to as the father of Dalit politics. On a pan- Indian scale, drawing Dalits and Dalit issues into the political arena was done by Ambedkar. B.R. Ambedkar an untouchable Mahar by birth, was born in MHOW near Indore. He has been one of the greatest votaries of social justice and democracy to have come up in modern India. With the arrival of Dr B.R.Ambedkar on India's political scene in 1919, the untouchables' demands for justice came to be articulated in terms of the modern language of politics. His struggle revolved around the vision of 'annihilation of caste'. He was seen to be carving out space for his movement for the emancipation of the untouchables in the crevices left by the contradictions between various Indian political parties and groups on the one hand, and the colonial power on the other. He struggled hard to maximise this space, an effort that eventually led to the placing of the Dalit issue on the national political agenda. At the centre of his struggles was his uncompromising commitment to social justice and his condemnation of the Hindu Brahminical social structure. Ambedkar's academic acumen, extensive knowledge of both Indian and western philosophical thought , his expertise in economics and law placed him in an

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 66 undoubtedly strong position in bargaining for the rights of the untouchables, also called the Depressed Classes. He was a member of the untouchable Mahar caste. His personal experiences as a member of an untouchable caste , the associated pain and the trauma, stimulated his determination to take up their cause for social justice. This he did with firm determination and unmatched skill. For the first time in modern Indian history, the untouchables began learning the use of political tools for protecting their rights. Dr Ambedkar's able leadership was reflected in his presentations before the Simon Commission in 1928, at the Round Table Conferences between 1930-32 as well as in the Constituent Assembly debates where he was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee and subsequently as first law minister of independent India. By the mid-1930s Ambedkar was convinced of the necessity of breaking from the Hindu folds. After long years of thought on the matter, he finally decided to accept Buddhism. His conversion to Buddhism in 1956 shortly before his death was not simply a matter of religious choice ; it was essentially a social choice and was inextricably linked to his political struggle. 5.6 Post-Ambedkar Dalit Struggles Ambedkar's followers range across a wide social and political spectrum. To them, Ambedkar is virtually an icon. The untouchable castes, who are today widely known as Dalits, see in Ambedkar the vision of freedom and justice, a dream to be pursued. They do not rally under any single banner, but Ambedkar remains the father figure; each and every political and social stream espousing the cause of the dalits , claim to bear the legacy. From the purely political claims to the Ambedkarite legacy as manifest in the struggles of the Republican Party or the Bahujan Samaj Party, to the neo-Buddhist converts in search for an alternative identity of dignity, the entire spectrum of Ambedkarite following is indeed fascinating. 5.7 The Republican Party of India On 30 September 1956, B. R. Ambedkar had announced the establishment of the "Republican Party of India" , but before the formation of the party, he passed away on 6 December 1956. However, his followers and activists planned to go ahead and form the party. As such, it was formally established in 1957. Its founder was N. Sivaraj, who remained its President till 1964. Several of its leaders including B.K. Gaikwad, B.C. Kamble, Dighe, G.K. Mane, Hariharrao Sonule, Datta Katti, were elected to the Parliament in 1957.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 67 In Uttar Pradesh the Republican Party of India (RPI) was the first relatively successful attempt on the part of the Scheduled Castes to escape the political dominance of the upper castes. It was led by the more prosperous members of the Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh and enjoyed a brief period of organisational coherence and electoral success in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Over the years however , the Party suffered from internal discord and several splinter groups emerged to claim the name of Republican Party of India. From the 1960s the Republican Party weakened as it suffered several splits. It was an ongoing story of splits, unity and more splits. The whole history of splits, reunions and renewed splits in the RPI had hardly any ideological basis; clash of personalities and personal political ambitions seemed to play the dominant role. 5.8 The Dalit Panthers As the Republican Party of India split following factional feuds, the Dalit Panthers emerged to fill the vacuum. In the early 1970s, the Dalit Panther Movement emerged in Maharashtra. It was, in fact, part of the country-wide wave of radical politics. The Panthers relied on the teachings of both Marx and Ambedkar and also drew inspiration from the Black Panther Movement in the USA. They attempted to build up a grand war against the varna-jati system. Their tools were both political and cultural. However, the long-lasting impact of the Panthers in the field of Dalit culture was perhaps more than in the field of politics. Through their efforts there emerged an altogether new genre of protest literature. Dalits, associated with and inspired by the movement, articulated their interests through a wide range of creations – stories, novels poetry, music and drama. In fact, it would not be an overstatement to say that since the seventies Marathi literature virtually underwent a revolution. Forceful writings came from poets like Daya Pawar, Waman Nimbalkar, Arjun Dangle, Namdeo Dhasal and J.V. Pawar, as also short story writers like Tarachandra Khandekar, Yogiraj Waghmare, Avinash Dolas, Yogendra Meshram and others. However, differences within the Panthers surfaced by the eighties. The major contentious issues were, inter alia, whether or not to include non-Dalit poor and non- buddhist Dalits; whether to give primacy to cultural or economic struggles. And then of course, there were the clashes between personalities, for example, between Raja Dhale and Namdeo Dhasal. Soon splits began to take place and different factions aligned with different political parties.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 68 5.9 Rise of the BSP and Beyond By the end of the 1980s, Dalit pressure groups and political parties had risen to prominence. Particularly noticeable was the rise of the DS 4, and from it the Bahujan Samaj Party with assertive leaders like Kanshi Ram and Mayawati. The Backward and Minorities Employees Federation (BAMCEF) had been formed by Kanshi Ram in 1973 to further the cause of the marginalized sections. In 1981 Kanshi Ram tried to extend this activity in a political direction, while preserving the “apolitical” status of BAMCEF, by founding another organisation DS-4. The DS 4 was an abbreviation of Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti. It was founded on 6 December 1981 by Kanshi Ram to organise Dalits and other oppressed groups of India. Subsequently, Kanshi Ram opted for a political party as a means of engaging with formal politics. And, as such, the BSP was formed in 1984 under the initiative of Kanshi Ram. Here , the movement of Kanshi Ram markedly reflected a different strategy with the focus on the ‘Bahujan’ identity encompassing all the SCs, STs, BCs, OBCs and religious minorities rather than ‘Dalit’ only. It may be noted that in many respects, the BSP inherited the political tradition of the Republican Party of India in northern India. In 2001, Mayawati took the reins of the party from Kanshi Ram.

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She served four separate terms as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

Her meteoric rise since the early 1990s was clearly visible. In course of time, the party’s base was sought to be expanded from bahujan samaj to sarvajan samaj by drawing in the Brahmins. But, Mayawati’s success was followed by successive setbacks over the past several years. By 2017, Mayawati was left with little more than her Jatav base. Brahmins had long abandoned her, seeing more gains elsewhere; Muslims were dismayed at her inactivity in the face of repeated communal clashes. Mayawati had painstakingly built the BSP and mobilised her constituency to produce a winning formula at the polls. But disinclination to delegate and decentralise, and distrust of competent subordinates, besides failure to meet the aspirations of young Dalits, amongst other factors, brought the BSP to a state of stagnation. For a while, the baton of Ambedkarite politics appeared to be passing on to agitationists such as the Bhim Army, and young protestors like those in Bhima Koregaon. A felt need to re-assert Dalit identity gave birth to the Bhim Army in 2015. Bhim Army and its founder Chandrashekhar shot to national prominence after a caste conflict broke out in Saharanpur. It was after the riots and the subsequent arrest of Chandrashekhar that the organisation came into national headlines. Even as its rise to prominence was

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 69 hardly sustained, it did throw up certain major questions and challenges for the existing Dalit leadership. The assertiveness of the Dalits evident in agitations spearheaded by the Bhim Army was, in a sense, replicated a few years later at Bhima Koregaon as hundreds and thousands of Mahars poured into the streets to protest attacks from upper castes on the occasion of the commemoration of the 1818 Battle of Koregaon that is considered to be of legendary importance for the Dalits. 5.10 Dalit Civil Society and the Struggles for Dalit Human Rights From the 1980s and 1990s a visible shift in the nature of social and political mobilizations of Dalits was evident. This was primarily through the rise of the so - called 'New Social Movements'. The issue of caste began to be articulated in terms of identity politics by Dalit groups across the country. Almost everywhere Dalits became more conscious and assertive of their political, legal and constitutional rights. Further, they began to increasingly structure their demands within the wider international human rights discourse. 5.11 The Formation and Role of NCDHR The National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights, known in brief as the NCDHR, was formed in 1998. Its base is in New Delhi. A significant role has been played by the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights or NCDHR in promoting the struggle for Dalit human rights. In its first phase, it undertook interventions for raising the visibility of Dalit issues at various levels - state, national and international. In phase two, NCDHR's work was instrumental in bringing international attention and media coverage, that drew widespread attention to the injustices and oppression faced by Dalits. To name just a few, the NCHDR was involved in events such as the World Conference Against Racism in South Africa (2001), the World Social Forums, the historic 40-day Dalit Swadhikar Rally across India converging into World Social Forum in Mumbai ('04), the first ever public hearing on The Situation of the Dalits in India, at the European Parliament in Brussels (Dec '06), and the first International Conference on the Human Rights of Dalit Women at the Hague (Nov 2006). In the third phase, NCDHR sought foremost to hold the state responsible for not

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 70 checking the 'impunity' being enjoyed by non-Dalits in the criminal justice administrative system. Specifically, we challenge the state and its justice delivery mechanism, including the Human Rights institutions that are in place, to actually implement and enforce its constitutional and legislative measures to safeguard, protect and promote the basic human rights of Dalits. During this phase, the emphasis was on grass-roots mobilization, linking and strengthening campaigns, alliance building, and systematic monitoring and advocacy of atrocities against Dalits to pressure the Criminal Justice system to act. 5.12 Emergence of the NACDOR Initiated by Centre for Alternative Dalit Media (CADAM), the National Confederation of Dalit Organisations , NACDOR was launched at a three day national conference of Dalit organizations held between 8-10 December 2001 with the participation of about one hundred and fifty Dalit organisations from fifteen states. Since then, many other Dalit organisations approached and joined NACDOR. In less than five years, National Conference of Dalit Organisations (NACDOR) emerged as a powerful assertion of the Dalits. NACDOR on the occasion of India Social Forum in New Delhi, ensured the participation of more than three hundred partner Dalit Organisations. 5.13 Dalit Solidarity Networks From the late 1990s, Dalit Solidarity Networks were set up in different countries to promote the cause of Dalit human rights. Dalit Solidarity Networks have formed in the US, Germany, the UK, the Netherlands, France, Denmark and Sweden. They have brought under their folds individuals as well as concerned groups. Besides, they have linked up with international human rights organisations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch for the purpose. Seminars and workshops are organised, websites put up, signature campaigns and petitioning are undertaken. In March 2000, the International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN) was formed. It is a network of national solidarity networks, groups from affected countries and international bodies concerned about caste discrimination. It aims at linking grass- root priorities with international mechanisms and institutions to establish 'dalit rights' as 'human rights'. Its work involves encouraging the U.N., E.U. and other bodies to recognise the fact that caste based discrimination must be treated as a central human rights concern.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 71 5.14 Recent Trends in Dalit Politics Today , alongside the earlier patterns of struggles, Dalits are increasingly attempting to articulate their demands in terms of the global human rights paradigm. A highly articulate Dalit elite, conscious of their rights, began to emerge in India from the first half of the twentieth century itself - thanks to Ambedkar's persistent efforts. Independence, subsequent legal administrative and political developments all acted as boosters in their own ways. Today, it is this Dalit elite which has come forth to assert 'Dalit rights as human rights'. The movement is not a grass-root movement, but the struggles are professedly for each and every Dalit. Those at the helm of the struggle are conscious of the many facets of Dalit oppression, understand the need to mobilise across the country and beyond; they speak of what the state had promised to give, yet failed to deliver over the years; they reprimand the state for its failure to protect Dalit human rights; and, remind the people of the democratic commitment of the state, its support for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the long history of struggles against racism. 'Networking' is crucial to the present form of organising. This upcoming leadership is on the whole comfortable with modern technology and use these devices such as the internet, e-mail facilities for the purpose. This is not the rustic, illiterate, unsophisticated Dalit that we come by; it is a largely transformed, intellectually sophisticated Dalit coming into the fore in the process of an unfolding identity. Collective identity, rather than icons have become significant. The 'Dalit' identity historically had reached significant levels in the seventies with the unfolding of the Dalit Panther movement in Maharashtra. Today it is once more the collective identity which comes of age as in place of projecting individual leaders collective identity gets projected as in terms of the NCDHR or Dalit Solidarity Networks. Activation of the Dalit diaspora is momentous. They have already come forth to organise several successful international conferences in different countries focusing on the demands of Dalit human rights. In bringing the issue to the attention of the global community their contributions remain far from insignificant. Dalit struggles have today drawn forth the attention of several international human rights organisations including Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch apart from a number of NGOs working in different countries. Since the 1990s attention of UN bodies were forthcoming. The new mood and wide mobilisation on the question of Dalit human rights was sharply visible in the context of the U.N.'s 2001 Durban Conference on racism. For the first time the battle lines were elaborately drawn out at the level of the international fora on the question of Dalit human rights, and Dalit politics ascended to new heights.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 72 Major issues that have come into focus in the course of the Dalits' struggles over the years have been questions related to educational access, land reforms, right to minimum wages, atrocities and discriminatory practices, representation in employment and implementation of reservation facilities. Today, in addition to these and encompassing these, is the question of recognition of the human rights of the Dalits. At the national level, despite a growing visibility of their presence, Dalits have had limited success in making their mark in parliament. Political activism of the Dalits, centring around Ambedkar's philosophy, is prominent mainly among educated and employed middle-class Dalits, neo-Buddhists and castes like Mahars, Chamars , Jatavs . A large section of the Dalit community still remains politically rather inactive. Further, the BSP and the Republican Party have been frequently seen to enter into manipulative politics, building opportunistic alliances with upper caste parties. These apart, several Dalit leaders have got co-opted by the dominant ruling class and are unable to carry ahead the struggle for an alternative discourse. However, the potential importance of the Dalit vote bank is hardly overlooked by mainstream political parties as we find the latter from across the spectrum attempting to reach out to the Dalits from different angles. 5.15 Problems Afflicting Dalit Politics As the Dalit movement in India seeks to strengthen itself and gain momentum, it is not without its problems. Perhaps the biggest problem is that there is no single organizational frame within which the Dalits' struggles can be accommodated. Rather than speaking of a single movement we need to speak of multiple movements; some directly political, some indirectly so. Internal tensions within the movement are clearly visible. While there appears a common bonding amongst Dalit activists in their critique of the 'Hindu' Brahminical order and the acceptance of the iconic stature of Ambedkar evident in the ritualized celebrations of his birth and death anniversaries , tensions and conflicts reflect the fragmentation of the movement. Further, networking between Dalit activists, both political and non-political, remains weak. While both the lines of struggles, the political and civil society based movements are committed to the cause of amelioration of the conditions of the Dalits, they proceed along distinctly different courses, seldom linking up. Leadership is another major problem. Following Ambedkar, no leader of similar stature enjoying support of all Dalit categories , has emerged in the field of Dalit politics. Rather, there are many leaders vying with each other and competing for attention and support of the Dalit masses . Not infrequently have Dalit political groups and parties got caught in the tangle of

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 73 vote bank politics and frequently shifting allegiances have increased their vulnerablilty to manipulations and criticisms . The reservation issue has been one of the major issues in focus in the contemporary Dalit movement. Yet, its appeal has remained predominantly an urban appeal; the appeal to the rural populace seems weaker. Moreover, as Dalits in their ongoing struggles critique the Brahminical system, they are yet to posit an alternative culture in opposition to it. The absence of a comprehensive alternative culture is a major weakness of the movement. Further, there appears to be an overall lack of understanding of the totality of the Dalit question and the resultant inability to network with other related struggles of marginal people, such as the working classes- tribes- religious and other minorities etc. 5.16 Conclusion The Dalit movement, despite its tremendous potential, has till now remained essentially fragmented. Major differences revolve around questions of targets, leadership, coordination, 'graded inequality', lack of awareness and understanding of the complexities of the issues; widespread illiteracy, the rural –urban divide , political fragmentation, differences along religious lines and on attitudes towards religion, class differences and lack of coordination of movements across regions are some of the visible hurdles. Even as significant advances are noticeable in the field of global networking for Dalit human rights, effective networking amongst Dalit groups have hardly developed at the grass-root levels within the country. At the grass-root levels, Dalit struggles are still waged largely along earlier lines focusing on questions of reservations, education, land rights, displacement, and citizenship rights (where relevant, as in West Bengal). What appears to be in focus at such a level is a fragmented rights approach rather than a holistic human rights perspective and a comprehensive political awareness. 5.17 Summary Dalit politics is essentially structured around the demand for social justice for the most marginalized section of Indian society. While it has early roots in different forms of protest movements, the credit of raising it to the level of a pan-Indian political movement lies with B.R.Ambedkar. The imprint of Ambedkar's struggles remain visible in the unfolding of post-Ambedkar Dalit politics, despite its many deviances. The many faces of Dalit politics as are evident today all claim to owe
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 74 allegiance to Ambedkar's legacy. Today, alongside the diverse lines of political struggles undertaken by different Dalit political parties, groups and organisations at the national level, civil society activists have stepped in to take the Dalit issues to the international audience, thus giving Dalit politics a new dimension. The struggles however suffer manifold weaknesses . The future success or otherwise of the Dalit struggles would depend on how soon and how effectively the problems are addressed . 5.18 Questions Broad Questions [each question 18 marks] 1. How did Ambedkar's struggles impact upon dalit politics ? 2. Identify the recent trends in dalit politics. 3. What are the major weaknesses of dalit politics today ? Medium length answers required [each question 12 marks] 1. Discuss in brief the importance of the Dalit Panther Movement. 2. Write a note on the politics of the BSP. 1. How have civil society organizations contributed to the dalit movement ? Short questions [each question 6 marks] 1. Who is a dalit ? 2. Write a brief note on the Bhim Army. 3. Briefly discuss the role of the NCDHR in promoting dalit human rights. 5.19 Suggested Readings ? Chatterjee, Debi, Ideas and Movements Against Caste in India: Ancient to Modern Times, Abhijeet Publications, New Delhi, 2010, Deshpande, Ashwini, Affirmative Action in India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2013. ? Doniger, Wendy and Brian K. Smith tr.,

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Unit 6 Changing Nature of Dalit Politics: Caste & Religious Minorities Structure 6.1 Objectives 6.2 Introduction 6.3 Conversion of Dalits from Hinduism to Other Religions: A Tool of Protest 6.4 Dalit Muslims' Political Mobilization 6.5 Dalit Christians' Struggles for Social Justice 6.6 Ambedkar's Conversion Movement and Navayana Buddhists 6.7 The Politics of Conversion and Re-conversion 6.8 Conclusion 6.9 Summary 6.10 Questions 6.11 Suggested Readings 6.1 Objectives ? How caste considerations have led to religious conversions. ? Ambedkar's conversion movement ? The plight of Dalits in minority communities. ? The mobilization attempts made by Dalits of minority communities to protect their human rights through conversions. ? The nature of responses to Dalit conversions 6.2 Introduction India is a land of many religious denominations. Hindus comprise the majority of around eighty percent of the population today, while the minorities including the Muslims, Christians, Buddhists and others make up around twenty percent of the total population. Stratification of Indian society along caste lines developed over time, with its origin going

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 76 back some thousands of years in history. Based on the Hindu Brahminical philosophy of Varnashrama Dharma it entrenched the socio-cultural and economic marginalisation of the low, 'untouchable castes', who, variedly termed, today form the core of the Dalit population. This inegalitarian social order germinated in the late Vedic period. In course of time, through the Sutras and Shastras it got firmly structured, resulting in the social marginalisation of a vast section of the population. There were those who were low down in the caste hierarchy, those who were outside the system which included the tribals and those professing other religions referred to by the derogatory term 'Mlechchas', and of course there were the women of all castes and creeds who were deemed to be no superior than the low caste Sudras. Historically speaking, members of the untouchable castes were victims of perpetual Brahminical oppression as they were stigmatized as polluting to the upper orders of society. They were relegated to perform demeaning tasks, socially humiliated, and educationally deprived, and all in the name of religion. Over and above all and subsuming all, they had been denied through generations the very basis of human rights - human dignity. Members of these castes were frequently abused, insulted, beaten up, and even massacred. It is they who form the core of India's Dalit population. It may be noted that, the caste system in India is predominantly rooted in the Hindu religious discourse. Theoretically speaking, the minority religions do not subscribe to the norms of caste- based stratification of society. Yet, at the level of ground reality, the latter are hardly free from the impact of caste and the caste system. This is borne out by several facts. First, within the respective non-Hindu communities, stratification that is akin to caste stratification and influenced by it, is often evident. Secondly, those who have moved from the Hindu fold into these communities through conversion have hardly been free of their earlier caste burdens. Thirdly, many of the converted have come from low Hindu castes or Dalit categories and have been exposed to caste oppression within the new community and also from outside the community. Fourthly, mainstream caste based Hindu society tends to stereotype all religious minorities not simply as the 'other' but rather as the 'inferior other' and thereby relegate them to the virtual position of inferior castes. Under the circumstances mentioned above , post –independence India's democratization process has seen the most complex political interfaces involving caste and assertions of the marginalized, not only belonging to the Hindu fold but also outside.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 77 6.3 Conversion of Dalits from Hinduism to Other Religions: A Tool of Protest Conversion has long been a language of protest of the socially marginalized caste groups in India. In different parts of the country Dalits, as individuals or in groups, have from the ancient past till today sought solace in religions other than Hinduism. The history of conversion movements clearly shows that Dalits have not been converting to other religions simply because they have preferred to adhere to a different belief system. Most convert because they actively "reject" Hinduism and see conversion as a potent tool for challenging the hierarchies of caste. Sometimes the low castes have set up their own religious orders forming sects such as the Adi Dharm and Matua Dharma, at other times they have turned to alternative institutionalized religious options like Christianity and Islam. The major pre- existing institutionalized religions to which sizeable Dalit conversions have taken place over the years happen to be Christianity, Islam and Buddhism. Dalit converts to other religions are frequent victims of human rights violations. Economic marginalisation, social exclusion and humiliation continue to chase them. That is, neither have they been able to totally escape from the trappings of their earlier identity, nor could they find the anticipated human dignity within the new milieu. On the whole it seems that in many cases conversion to the otherwise egalitarian religions have failed to assure the measure of social justice which the Dalit converts had expected. Here, of course, the responses to conversion have not been uniform in all instances. Sometimes, discrimination is more overt than at other times. But, the humiliation seems to persist. Marginalized as they are, the Dalit converts to other religions have persistently been struggling for their rights. The struggles have been essentially on two fronts. One, in terms of the wider social surroundings. The other is in terms of the non-Dalits within their own religious folds. Struggles of the Dalit converts thus revolve around different issues. Most importantly, they demand social justice and human rights in society at large, within their community and from the state. It is here that the question of reservation has repeatedly come up; and, for the converts, barring the neo-Buddhists, the state response has so far been negative.

6.4 Dalit Muslims' Political Mobilization In the face of caste- based oppression, sections of low caste Hindus converted to Islam at different points of time in history , with the expectation of redemption from caste oppression. However, their problems were hardly resolved as they continued to suffer from caste oppression.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 78 The Quran upholds the equality of all Muslims. Yet, caste (zat, jati, biraderi) remains a defining feature of Indian Muslim society, with significant regional variations. While the severity of caste among the Indian Muslims is hardly as acute as among the Hindus, and the practice of untouchability is virtually absent, caste and associated notions of caste- based superiority and inferiority still do play an important role in Indian Muslim society. In most parts of India, Muslim society is based on the existence of numerous endogamous and generally occupationally specific caste groups, that have their own caste appellations. Dalit and Backward Caste Indian Muslims are believed to be around 85% of the Muslim population and about 10% of India's population. Caste-like stratification is present amongst the Muslims. We find that Muslims are broadly divided into three categories – Ashrafs [noble born] , Ajlaf [mean and lowly] and Arzal [excluded]. Each of these in turn are sub- divided into different occupational and endogamous groups. The lowest in the hierarchy suffer from discrimination within the community as well as from outside the community. An independent research study was commissioned by the National Commission for Minorities in April 2007. It was conducted by Professor Satish Despande of the Sociology Department of Delhi School of Economics, Delhi University over a period of eight months. The National Sample Survey's 61 st Round survey data (2004-05) was the basis of the data source. It was found that the Muslim Dalits are generally worse off among all Dalits in terms of most economic and educational criteria. Despite their lowly status , the caste-related problems of India's Dalit Muslims are rarely addressed. Contrary to the position of the Dalit Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists, they are not classified in the 'Scheduled Caste' category; this, despite the fact that they often suffer similar types of discrimination as fellow Dalits of other religious backgrounds. Apart from the lack of official classification as 'Scheduled Castes', the plight of Dalit Muslims suffer also because they receive less attention from their own society since the Muslims clerics consider the caste system , and the ensuing discrimination , as un-Islamic. They refuse to acknowledge that caste discrimination can take place among Muslims. The 1980 Mandal Commission Report had recognized the problem of backwardness among Muslims . In the wake of the Mandal Report, the politics of low caste Muslims gained impetus since 1990s. The rise of a small articulate middle class amongst the low caste Muslims facilitated the process. The All India Backward Muslims Morcha [AIBMM] was set up in 1994 under the leadership of Azaz Ali. The main demand was the scrapping of the 1950 Presidential Order that excluded Dalit Muslims /Christians from the Scheduled Caste list and the demand for making them eligible for affirmative action and other welfare policies that Scheduled Castes are entitled to. Their priority was to gain recognition for Dalit Muslims as Scheduled Castes. Following a split in the organization in 1998, the All India Pasmanda Muslim Mahaz [AIPMM] was formed in that same year. This was an

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 79 umbrella organization of a number of Dalit and backward Muslim organizations from states including Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Delhi. In contemporary India, particularly in Bihar, Pashmanda movements have attempted to mobilize the low castes in support of their rights. With growing political consciousness, the Pasmanda organisations have been attempting to forge links with other low caste organizations across religions. They were seen to mobilize around Mahadalit – MBC- Pasmanda bloc . The rising political consciousness of Pasmanda Muslims was evident during the 2005 Assembly elections in Bihar. 6.5 Dalit Christians' Struggles for Social Justice It is estimated that there are some sixteen million Dalit Christians in India. They comprise about sixty percent of the country's total Christian population. But, even as converts, their Dalit identity does not seem to leave them. They face discrimination from multiple sources, the most important being - non-Dalit Christians, upper caste Hindus, Dalit Hindus, the state and government and the clerical authorities in the Church. Looking at facts, it is clearly evident that on the whole the occupational patterns of the Dalit Christian are similar to that of the Hindu Dalits. Several studies and reports have highlighted that caste prejudices against Dalit Christians have remained more or less similar both inside and outside Christianity in most parts of the country, especially where the traditional social and occupational relations did not change significantly over time. Converted Dalits are very often still tied up with their caste and traditional occupations as agricultural workers in lands owned by upper castes in rural areas. This reinforces the local power relations which in a way propagate the existing caste practices. As a result, Dalit Christians often become subject to discrimination, slavery, bondage, atrocities and economic exploitation. Reports show that the incidences of atrocities on Christians in general and Dalit Christians in particular have increased in recent years mostly due to the re-emergence of Hindu nationalism and anti-conversion movements. It has been alleged, that Indian-Christian theology tends to be exclusionary and non-dialogical by turning a deaf ear to the collective religious resources of the Dalits and, seeks to foster the hegemonic objectives of the caste communities. It may further be noted that in the works of several Indian-Christian theologians of the nineteenth century emphasis was placed on reconciling the meaning of the Hindu scriptures [the Vedas] with the Christian scriptures [the Bible] and on reinterpreting the incarnation and atonement of Christ through the symbolism of Vedanta. The result was a vision of a national Christian church which would be a haven for Hindu Christians, with the Hindu component being seen primarily along Brahminic lines. This has had a long-lasting impact.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 80 Over the years, discrimination and marginalisation of the Dalit Christians has been evident within the frame of the Church in varying degrees. This has led to the emergence of the critical Dalit response from within its parameters and has been referred to as Dalit theology. Dalit theology began to take shape in the early 1980's when A.P. Nirmal, then a faculty member at the United Theological College, floated the idea of "Shudra Theology." But now, Dalit theology has come of age and it stands by its own uniqueness and creativity. A.P. Nirmal, James Massey, M.E. Prabhakar, M. Azariah, K. Wilson, V. Devasahayam and F.J. Balasundaram are some of the prominent persons who figure in this theological movement. As theology predominantly became a vehicle to serve the elite interests, marginalizing the Dalits' faith, Dalit theology manifested itself as a counter-theology movement. The attempt was to see Christ and Christianity from a Dalit perspective, carving out their own space within the Church. With the setting up of the Dalit Christian Liberation Movement (DCLM) in south India the struggles of the Dalit Christians for equality and justice received a boost. In some of the northern states too efforts at bringing together the Dalit Christians have been under way. The DCLM submitted a Manifesto to the Tamil Nadu Bishops' conference which demanded inter alia that the Church authorities should enact necessary laws to declare the practice of untouchability within the church as a punishable offence. It also demanded that the authority structure in the catholic church should be decentralized and democratized to incorporate Dalit clergy and lay participation in the decision-making bodies such as parish councils, boards of trustees for education and multipurpose societies, etc. The Bishops of Tamil Nadu , in 1990, acknowledged caste discrimination within the Church as violative of human rights. At the end of the meeting they issued a joint statement outlining certain measures for rectification of the situation. These included the following: that in places of worship and cemeteries, catholic Scheduled Castes should be treated equally; that in admissions to Catholic educational institutions, preference should be given to Catholic Scheduled Castes; in jobs in schools run by the dioceses and religious congregations Scheduled Castes Catholics should be given preference; and, funds mobilized through the joint action of Tamil Nadu Bishops and religious congregations for the higher education of eligible Scheduled Castes Catholics. Further, continuous efforts were to be made to secure the rights of the Christian Scheduled Castes from the Centre and state governments. A National Conference on Human Rights was organised by the National Coordination Committee For Dalit Christians at YMCA in New Delhi on 27 November 1997. Bishops, Members of Parliament, Government officials, Commission Secretaries, Directors of various organisations, Theologians, Priests, Religious, Media Persons etc., participated in the meeting. On 3 October 1998, 7,000 people staged a rally in Delhi, the national capital, demanding the introduction of the long pending bill for constitutional rights for Dalit Christians. The
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 81 rally was attended by around three thousand young people sporting black bands. They came from every corner of India. The rally was inaugurated at the Sacred Heart cathedral by the Most Rev. Dr. Alan de Lastic, Archbishop of Delhi, President of the CBCI. Also present were religious superiors and Christian Dalit leaders. The delegates to the rally were welcomed by Bishop Chinnappa, Chairman Catholic Bishops' Conference of India (CBCI) Commission for SC/ST/BC. In his speech, he criticized the government for delaying the extension of equal rights despite being fully aware of the inhuman conditions in which the Dalit Christians subsist. Loudly voicing their slogans in demand of change, the rally proceeded to parliament but they were blocked in front of the parliament street police station. The Poor Christian Liberation Movement (PCLM) was established in 1990 and registered in March 2000, under Indian Public Trust Act, 1920, as a non-political, non-partisan and non-profit making organisation. The source of inspiration was stated to be Jesus Christ, Dr. Ambedkar and M.K. Gandhi. Interestingly, the PCLM submitted a Memorandum to Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh on 27 August 2004 demanding that instead of meeting the demand of the Church leadership of including the converted Christians in the Scheduled Castes category, a Dalit Christians Finance and Development Board be constituted for the concerted welfare and development of converted Dalit Christians all over the country. They felt that inclusion of the Dalit Christians in the category of Scheduled Castes is not going to make any difference. This , however, seems to be a minority viewpoint amongst the Dalit Christians, as the more vocal opinion appears to be in favour of their demand for Scheduled Caste status. Nonetheless, repeated appeals for recognition of their Scheduled Caste status seems to fall to deaf ears as the Dalit Christians remain denied of reservation facilities on the ground of their being Christians. Here, religion , rather than their socio-economic condition, becomes decisive. 6.6 Ambedkar's Conversion Movement and Navayana Buddhists Ambedkar had systematically charted the course for mass conversion to Buddhism in protest against Brahminical oppression. It came at a particular phase of his struggle in continuation with the other facets of his political movement and was undoubtedly a political protest. On 14 th October 1956, Dr Ambedkar renounced Hinduism along with an estimated half a million other Dalits to embrace Buddhism. The ceremony was undertaken under the

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 82 auspices of a Buddhist monk, Sri Chandramani at Nagpur. There were three stages to the ceremony. In the first stage, Chandramani initiated Ambedkar to the Buddhist faith, the Pancha Shila i.e., the five Precepts namely abstention from killing, stealing, illicit sex, lying and taking intoxicants. This was followed by the Tri Sarana – taking refuge in the Buddha, the Sangha (Brotherhood of Monks) and the Dharma. The recitations were done in Pali, the language of the ancient Theravada literature. In the second stage, Ambedkar spoke in Marathi before the vast assembled crowd and committed himself to twenty two oaths which he had formulated. Of these, the last dozen comprised of his dedication to Buddhism, including his own rendering of the Pancha Shila. The first ten, by contrast , were devoted to a careful set of rejections of Brahminical Hinduism. In the third part of the ceremony , Ambedkar led the masses through the conversion process through a repetition of his twenty two oaths. Here , too, the proceedings were in Marathi. It may be noted that the Buddhists, converted to Buddhism under the auspices of the Ambedkar movement, are referred to as Neo-Buddhists or Navayana Buddhists. Navayana Buddhism, with its rejection of the caste system at its core, represented a revolutionary alternative to Brahminical Hinduism .A look at the twenty two oaths of the conversion , reveals that seven of the first eight oaths [1 to 6 and 8] laid down the rejection of Brahminical deities and traditions. These are followed by two more oaths [9 and 10] embracing social equality, and thus rejecting caste. One more [19] reiterates both these points, typing them up, explicitly as the negation of Hinduism through the adoption of Buddhism. The oaths were as follows: 1. I

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shall have no faith in Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwara, nor shall I worship them. 2. I shall have no faith in Rama and Krishna, who are believed to be incarnation of God, nor shall I worship them. 3. I shall have no faith in Gauri, Ganapati and other gods and goddesses of Hindus, nor shall I worship them. 4. I do not believe in the incarnation of God. 5. I do not and shall not believe that Lord Buddha was the incarnation of Vishnu. I believe this to be sheer madness and false propaganda. 6. I shall not perform Shraddha nor shall I give pind. 7. I shall not act in a manner violating the principles and teachings of the Buddha. 8. I shall not allow any ceremonies to be performed by Brahmins. 9. I shall believe in the equality of

man.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 83 10. I

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shall endeavour to establish equality. 11. I shall follow the Noble Eightfold Path of the Buddha. 12. I shall follow the

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paramitas prescribed by the Buddha. 13. I shall have compassion and loving-kindness for all living beings and protect them. 14. I shall not steal. 15. I shall not tell lies. 16. I shall not commit carnal sins. 17. I shall not take intoxicants like liquor, drugs, etc. 18. I shall endeavour to follow the Noble Eightfold Path and practice compassion and loving-kindness in everyday life. 19. I renounce Hinduism, which disfavors humanity and impedes the advancement and development of humanity because it is based on inequality, and adopt Buddhism as my religion. 20. I firmly believe the Dhamma of the Buddha is the only true religion. 21. I consider that

I have taken a new birth. 22. I

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solemnly declare and affirm that I shall hereafter lead my life according to the teachings of Buddha'

s Dhamma. The effects of the conversion movement initiated by Ambedkar have been variedly evident. Its greatest impact was on Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh. Whilst certain scholars tend to suggest that conversion has not made any major difference in the social and occupational life of the converts to Buddhism, according to others, certain advantages have accrued to the Dalits who converted to Buddhism. It is argued that they appear to have improved significantly over the Hindu Dalits in terms of several parameters such as the sex ratio, literacy and work participation. Economic and educational considerations apart, most importantly conversion or Dharmantakaran has emerged as a rallying call for identity formation of the Dalits particularly in western and northern India and continues to be so long after the death of Ambedkar. Special occasions for celebration of events have been identified in terms of the Buddhist conversion tradition. The Diksha bhoomi has virtually emerged as a place of regular pilgrimage of Dalits and the Viharas have come up as gathering grounds for the community. It is not that all, or even a majority of Dalits chose to accept the Buddhist option. In fact, a sizeable portion of the Ambedekarites stayed outside the Buddhist fold. Nonetheless, the impact made on the Dalit political movement by those who chose to become Buddhists is noteworthy. It undoubtedly contributed to the rise of a new awareness and a new elite. In
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 84 the rise of the Dalit Panther Movement in Maharashtra in the 1970s, for example, the impact of Buddhism was clearly evident. Leaders like Namdeo Dhasal and Raja Dhale, belonging to different factions of the movement, recognized the liberating significance of Buddhism. In mainstream Dalit politics of the Bahujan Samaj Party , Kanshiram spoke of Buddhism and his proposed conversion. It is reported that his last rites were done along lines of Buddhist rituals. In 1996, in the meetings aimed at reviving the Republican Party of India in U.P. many spoke about Buddhism as the philosophy that should guide the party and quoted Ambedkar's Buddha and his Dhamma. Even today, Ambedkarite Buddhism continues to be a popular option for the dissatisfied Dalits. Time and again Dalits, in face of mounting atrocities, have converted, or threatened to convert to Buddhism en masse. BSP supremo Mayawati was seen to threaten to convert to Buddhism with her many followers if BJP members did not change what she considered , their disrespectful, casteist, and communal behavior towards the Dalits. In 2001 , Ram Raj, president of the All India Confederation of SC/ST Organisations and joint-commissioner in the Income-Tax Department, drove his "Chariot of Buddhism" across the country for six months , urging Dalits to leave Hinduism at a conversion rally planned for Delhi's Ram Lila grounds. In the wake of police withdrawal of permission for the meeting venue, Raj got tonsured at a new venue, changed his faith along with a few thousand of his followers, and adopted a new name, Udit Raj. 6.7 The Politics of Conversion and Re-Conversion It was since the late nineteenth century that efforts were made to draw back or retain in the Hindu fold the low caste Hindus who were seeking to cross the borders of their religion in search of equality. In this respect, the development of the Suddhi ritual by the Arya Samaj was important and came as a response to the Christian and Muslim conversion activities. By the 1890s the Arya leaders started turning their attention to groups such as the Bhangis [sweepers] and chamars [leather workers], many of whom practiced a syncretic mix of local and Islamic beliefs and practices and sought to induct them firmly into the Hindu fold by converting them to Hinduism through Suddhi. The first actual attempts at mass Suddhi among the 'Neo-Muslims' is said to have taken place in 1908 in Bharatpur in eastern Rajputana. In this endeavour, the Arya missionaries were reportedly supported by influential local Hindus . Despite the limited success of Suddhi campaigns undertaken then, and thereafter in different parts of the country, it stirred up sharp reactions from the Muslim leadership. Muslim leaders pledged to counter the Suddhi campaign unitedly, though there were significant differences of opinion amongst different groups regarding the methods to be adopted. In response to the suddhi movement,

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 85 in the early twentieth century, the tabligh made concerted efforts to spread Islam as well as reform neo-Muslims and bring their beliefs and practices in line with normative, spiritual understandings. Even as conversion or the threat of conversion has clearly been a political tool used by Dalits in their struggles for social justice since long, the mass conversion of Dalits to other religions continue to stir anxiety and anger among India's right-wing , political forces.The Suddhi programme intitiated by the Arya Samaj in yester years has today virtually merged with the Ghar Wapsi programme spearheaded by right wing organizations like the Viswa Hindu Parishad and the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP]. The ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which is a right-wing party with close ideological and organisational links to Hindu nationalist organisations like the Hindu nationalist Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), is actively working to halt Dalit conversions. For India's right-wing, it is morally and politically unacceptable for anyone to leave the Hindu religion. While the non-Hindu religious organisations organize mass conversions of Dalits to move them away from Hinduism and caste society in protest against their oppression, Hindu organizations turn to conversions or rather re-conversions of the converted Dalits, terming them as Ghar Wapsi [meaning return to the home] movements to bring the Dalits back into the Hindu fold. Today, in several states including Arunachal Pradesh, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, and Uttarakhan, there are controversial laws placing restrictions on mass conversions from Hinduism; yet, significantly, mass conversions to Hinduism are often seen as being promoted rather than restricted. In the 1980s, the target of anti-conversion legislation was largely Muslims seeking to convert non-Muslims, while Christianity has received more attention since the 1990s . Human rights organizations and institutions have expressed concerns over the years about the rights implications of, and lack of equitable treatment under, these state anti-conversion laws. Further, Dalit converts to non-Hindu religions and those involved in converting them have in different parts of the country , not infrequently become prey of orchestrated mob violence. The excuses for perpetrating the violence have ranged from allegations of forced conversion to the consumption of beef and other prohibited food by the non-Hindu. It is interesting to note that in March 2019, in the context of the forthcoming national elections, Dalit Christians and Muslims organized a joint protest in Delhi and urged the government not to ignore their interests. Four Catholic Bishops were present at the rally as were members of the National Council of Dalit Christians (NCDC), an umbrella organisation for various Dalit Christian group; the National Council of Churches in India (Protestants and Orthodox); and the Muslim All India Jamiat Ul- Hawareen (AIJH).

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 86 6.8 Conclusion Dalit struggles against caste oppression have a long and complex history that can be traced back to thousands of years. The struggles of the low castes waged at the religious, social, economic and political levels have time and again created intricate networks for assertions. Ambedkar's conversion movement was a landmark as thousands of his Dalit followers followed his footsteps in rejecting Hinduism and converted to Buddhism. Thus was born Navayana Buddhism. It was a movement that was simultaneously religious, social and political. Dalit struggles for social justice are not confined to the Hindu Dalit population. It spreads beyond, to embrace the non-Hindu Dalit populace who are no less the victims of caste exploitation. In that struggle, 'conversion' occupies an important place as it emerges as a contentious issue in Dalit politics. The resistance to conversion, pressures for re-conversion and the struggle for dignity upon conversion are the different dimensions of the struggle. 6.9 Summary Conversion of Dalit Hindus to non-Hindu religions has been one of the important tools of struggle of the low caste Hindus since centuries back, in their efforts to escape caste oppression and gain social justice. Prominent options of the religions to convert to have been Islam, Christianity and Buddhism. While conversion itself has often resulted from political assertion, the political struggle very often has to be carried ahead by the converted individual at a different plane after conversion. This becomes necessary as , feeling let down by the state and sections of their own communities, Dalits converted to the minority communities have to come forth and mobilize to demand their rights and dignity . In the overall prevailing context of marginalization, Dalit converts to Christianity and Islam are seen to be struggling for recognition as Scheduled Castes with the hope of gaining the state extended support that Scheduled Caste categories are entitled to. 6.10 Questions Broad Questions [18 marks each] 1. Discuss the problems faced by dalits of minority communities in India. 2. Write a note on the attempts of dalit Muslims to articulate their demands.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 87 3. Examine the nature of discrimination faced by dalit Christians. Questions where medium length answers are required [12 marks each] 1. How has conversion to Buddhism evolved as a political tool ? 2. Write briefly about the Dalit Panther Movement. 3. Write a brief note on Dalit theology. Short questions [6 marks each] 1. Who are the Navayana Buddhists ? 2. To what extent do you think has conversion helped the dalit communities in overcoming their hurdles? 3. What is the Ghar Wapsi movement ? 6.11 Suggested Readings 1. Ambedkar B. R., The Buddha and His Dhamma, Samyak Prakashan, Delhi, 2nd Edition, 2019 2. George Sobin, Dalit Christians in India: Discrimination, Development Deficit and the Question for Group- Specific Policies, Working Paper Series, Vol. VI, No. 02, 2012, Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, New Delhi, http://www.dalitstudies.org.in/uploads/ publication/1473146694.pdf. 3. John C. B. Webster, A History of the Dalit Christians in India, Edwin Mellen Press Ltd, 1992. 4. Khanam Azra, Muslim Backward Classes: A Sociological Perspective, SAGE Publications India, 2013. 5. Omvedt Gail, ,Buddhism in India : Challenging Brahmanism and Caste. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.2003. 6.

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Unit 7 Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Classes & Minorities Structure 7.1 Objectives 7.2 Introduction 7.3 The Scheduled Castes 7.4 Problems Faced by the Scheduled Castes 7.5 The Other Backward Classes or the OBCs: Socially and Educationally Backward Sections of the Population 7.6 The First Backward Classes Commission or the Kaka Kalelkar Commission 7.7 Second Backward Classes Commission: The Mandal Commission 7.8 Religious Minority Communities in India 7.9 The Constitutional Status of the Minorities 7.10 The Problems Faced by the Minorities 7.11 The Largest Religious Minority Community : The Muslims 7.12 The Sachar Committee Report 7.13 Conclusion 7.14 Summary 7.15 Questions 7.16 Suggested Readings 7.1 Objectives On going through this Unit we shall be able to understand— ? Who are the Scheduled Castes? ? What are the roots of the problems of the Scheduled Castes? ? Present status of the Scheduled Castes. ? Who are the Other Backward Castes? ? What are the safeguards for the OBCs? ? Present conditions of the OBCs.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 89 ? The nature of the minority situation in India. ? Problems faced by the minorities. ? Existing safeguards for the minorities. 7.2 Introduction India has a large and variegated population. There are differences of language, caste, religion and culture, to mention but a few. Drawing on religious traditions, complex societal norms govern the activities of the people, their interactive styles, their occupations, and in fact the entire spectrum of their day to day activities. A glance at this large, variegated population group reveals that sizeable segments of it are socially marginalized and remain excluded from the goods and services available to others. They also comprise a disproportionately large section of those who regularly suffer from a variety of atrocities and denial of rights. It becomes evident on careful scrutiny that the exclusion from goods and services and rights negations of these people is anything but accidental. There is, in fact, a distinct pattern about such marginality, exclusion and violations lending a unique character to the India social scenario. Their societal marginality is both a cause and effect of human rights violations. Moreover, it is, in itself a violation of human rights. 7.3 The Scheduled Castes Rigid , caste-based stratification marks Indian society. A birth- ascribed status in terms of the caste hierarchy imposes permanent disabilities on people at the lower ends of the schema. Inequalities and discrimination built into the system remain violative of the spirit of the Indian Constitution and universal principles of justice and equality. A sizeable section of the population located at the bottom of the social hierarchy are treated as untouchables and suffer worst forms of discrimination. It is this section of the population that has been designated as the Scheduled Castes.

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The expression Scheduled Caste was coined by the Simon Commission and subsequently embodied in the Government of India Act 1935.

Till then, these castes were variedly referred to as ‘untouchables’, ‘ Depressed Classes’, and ‘Exterior Castes’. Gandhi had attempted to get them recognized as ‘Harijans’, a term that was not universally accepted. The term Scheduled Castes came from the attempt to list the untouchable castes in a ‘Schedule’ or list for purposes of granting certain safeguards and facilities to the

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 90 members of those castes for their uplift. The groups whose members were considered as 'untouchables' were listed in a Schedule' in 1936 in order to give effect to the provisions of special electoral representation as per Government of India Act 1935. This was the Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order 1936. During the process of Constitution-making, Dr B.R.Ambedkar, as member of the Constituent Assembly and Chairman of the Drafting Committee, had repeatedly brought up the question of safeguards for the depressed sections of society. His efforts were fruitful to the extent that compensatory discriminatory measures were embodied in the Constitution to uplift amongst others, the untouchable castes. It was these castes, members of which were identified for the benefits, that continued to be referred to as the 'Scheduled Castes'. The complete list of castes for India was made available in the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950. Reservation for these sections of the population in educational institutions has been permitted under Article 15(4) of the Constitution, while reservation in posts and services has been provided for in Article 16(4), 16(4A) and 16(4B) of the Constitution. Article 17 of the Indian Constitution, which, along with the above mentioned articles, is a Fundamental Right, has abolished the practice of untouchability. Article 46, a Directive Principle of State Policy, speaks of

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the promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections.

Article 330 and 332 provides for reservation of seats in the Lok Sabha and the legislative assemblies. Article 338 has made provision for the special

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officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards for the

Scheduled Castes. Over the years, based on the framework of constitutional law, an elaborate legal network for providing assistance to members of the Scheduled Castes , also referred to as the SCs , have come into existence. These include reservation of seats in legislatures, employment and educational institutions, scholarship programmes and hostel and maintenance facilities. In addition, there is a whole package of provisions, providing financial assistance under various heads for their benefit. To effectively implement the safeguards built into the Constitution and other statutory laws, the Constitution provides for a statutory commission, namely, the National Commission for Scheduled Castes. 7.4 Problems Faced by the Scheduled Castes The Scheduled Castes comprising of the social category of untouchable castes also called Dalits, suffer various socially imposed disabilities. Traditionally, resting on the concept of purity and pollution, the untouchables were given a very low position in

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 91 the society. Socially stigmatized , they were denied access to temples, the right to use public utilities like wells, public transport as well as educational institutions. Marginalization affected all spheres of their life; there was gross violation of basic human rights such as civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights. They suffered extreme poverty , poor housing conditions as well as low access to resources and entitlements as a whole. Structural discrimination against these groups was entrenched in the form of physical, psychological, emotional and cultural abuse which received legitimacy from the social structure and the social system. Physical segregation of their settlements is common in the villages forcing them to live in the most unhygienic and inhabitable conditions. All these factors affect their health status, access to healthcare and quality of life. There are high rates of malnutrition reported among the marginalized groups resulting in mortality, morbidity and anemia. Access to and utilization of healthcare is adversely affected by their socio-economic status within the society. Constitutional and legal safeguards along with government interventions have brought forth a measure of improvement in the conditions of the Scheduled Caste population on the whole. As a consequence of government's reservation policy, a section of the Scheduled Castes has acquired higher education and thereafter achieved employment in government and non-government sectors. However, notwithstanding these advancements, their problems tend to persist as the pressures from the caste structure of society continue to weigh down on them. It is seen that the large section of child labourers, agricultural labourers, manual scavengers still come from these categories of the population. Members of these castes continue to be under-represented in the higher levels of employment, have marginal or no land holdings and still face discrimination and social stigma in violation of their human rights. They are frequently victims of various forms of atrocities perpetrated against them. In fact, such incidents are alarmingly on the rise. 7.5 The Other Backward Classes or the OBCs : Socially and Educationally Backward Sections of the Population The Objectives Resolution moved by Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly in December 1946 had stated that adequate safeguards would be provided for ' minorities, backward and tribal areas and depressed and backward classes'. In keeping with the spirit of this Resolution, the Constitution makers were not satisfied with simply providing safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. They had realized that there would be other sections of the population requiring support
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 92 for their uplift in view of their social and educational backwardness. As such, provisions were incorporated in the Constitution that recognized the possible existence of 'socially and educationally backward classes'. Article 15(4) of the Indian Constitution speaks of the socially and educationally backward class. Article 16 (4) uses the term 'backward class' and speaks of inadequate representation in services. Article 340 empowers the state to investigate the conditions of the backward classes for taking suitable measures for their uplift. Article 340 of the Indian Constitution provides for the appointment of a Backward Classes Commission to investigate the conditions of backward classes. The provisions are as follows: (1) The President may by order appoint a Commission consisting of such persons as he thinks fit to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India and the difficulties under which they labour

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and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the

Union or any state to remove such difficulties and to improve their condition and as to the grants that should be made for the purpose by the Union. (2) A Commission so appointed shall investigate the matters referred to them and present to the President

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a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper (3) The

President shall cause a copy of the report so presented together with a memorandum explaining the action taken thereon to be laid before each House of Parliament." 7.6 The First Backward Classes Commission or the Kaka Kalelkar Commission In pursuance of the Constitutional provisions, the First Backward Classes Commission was established by a presidential order in 1953. Kaka Kalelkar was its Chairman ; as such, the Commission is often referred to as the Kaka Kalelkar Commission. The Commission submitted its Report in 1955. As per its terms of reference, the Commission was 'to determine the criterion to be adopted in considering whether any section of the people of territory of India (in addition to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes specified by notifications issued under Art 341 and 342 of the Constitution) should be treated as socially and educationally backward classes; and in accordance with such criteria, prepare a list

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 93 of such classes' and also 'investigate the condition of all such socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labour.' On the basis of its findings, the Commission was

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to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the

Union or any state to remove such difficulties and the grants that should be made for the purpose by the Union or any state. In conducting its survey, the Commission adopted certain criteria for determining backwardness which included [i] low position in the traditional caste hierarchy of Hindu society [ii] lack of educational advancement among the major section of a caste or community [iii] inadequate or no representation in government service and [iv] inadequate representation in the field of trade, commerce and industry. Based on such criteria, the Commission identified 2399 castes or communities as backward. Of these, 837 were classified as 'most backward'. The Commission , inter alia, recommended the relating of social backwardness of a class to its low position in the traditional caste hierarchy of the Hindu society. A vast array of measures was suggested which included re-distribution of land, protection of tenants, help to small agriculturists in the form of credit, price support, irrigation facilities and reservations for backward classes in government services. The recommendations of the Commission however were not found acceptable by the Government of India. Years later, the Second Backward Classes Commission was set up at the national level. 7.7 Second Backward Classes Commission: The Mandal Commission The second Backward Classes Commission was set up in 1978; it submitted its Report in 1980. This Commission is known as the Mandal Commission following the name of its Chairman B.P.Mandal who was a former Member of Parliament and headed the five- member Commission. The Commission evolved eleven indicators or criteria for determining backwardness. These were applied to each of the castes and, following extensive investigations, the Commission decided to consider caste as the basic unit for determining backwardness. Based on its investigations, the Commission identified fifty two percent of the population of India as backward. For the uplift of the conditions of the backward population, the Mandal Commission recommended a whole package of programmes including educational concessions, reservation facilities and financial assistance. The NSOU ? CC-SO-04 94 recommended quantum of reservations for the other backward classes or the OBCs was 27%. This was done in view of the legal compulsions of the Balaji Vs state of Mysore [1963] ruling to keep the total quantum of reservations below 50 %. For ten years the Mandal Commission Report was not acted upon by the Government of India. This was the period when the Indian National Congress was in power at the centre. Ten years later, with a change in government at the centre and the National Front led by V.P.Singh coming to power , the Mandal Commission Report was resurrected. In August 1990 the government made an announcement to partially implement the Mandal Report. On the one hand, this evoked sharp reactions across the country and a wave of anti-reservation movements spread rapidly. On the other hand, it also led to a consolidation of forces in support of the Mandal Report. Needless to say, through the process, politicization of castes reached a very high level. 7.8 Religious Minority Communities in India India has a sizeable religious minority population. Of them, the Muslims are the largest minority. The basic criterion for a community to be designated as a religious minority is the numerical strength of the said community. Apart from the Muslims, are the Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and others. While the Hindus are an overwhelming majority comprising nearly eighty percent of the population, Muslims who are the largest minority community as per the 2011 Census comprise 14.23% of the total population. The minority communities in India tend to suffer from various problems in view of their minority status. While there is a measure of commonality about some of their problems, they are not identical. 7.9 The Constitutional Status of the Minorities The Indian Constitution uses the word "minority" and its plural forms in several of its articles, but does not proceed to define it. One can nevertheless infer from Articles 29 and 30 read together that the term primarily refers to religious and linguistic minorities. Article 29 of the Constitution provides for — Protection of interests

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of minorities (1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. (2)

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No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained

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by the state or receiving aid out of state funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. Article 30

of the Constitution speaks of – Right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions. (1) All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. (2) The state shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language. On the whole, it can be asserted that India's Constitution encompasses provisions that emphasize complete legal equality of its citizens regardless of their religion or creed, and prohibits any kind of religion-based discrimination. It also provides safeguards—albeit limited ones—to religious minority communities. The Constitution has several in-built legal safeguards for the minorities. Articles 15(1) and 15(2) prohibit discrimination on grounds of religion. Article 25 promises the right to profess, propagate and practise religion. It is clear that there is no legal bar on any religious community in India to make use of the opportunities [educational, economic, etc.] extended to the people. In 1992 the National Commission for Minorities (NCM) was established by the government to facilitate the safeguarding of the rights of the minorities. It was instituted under the National Commission for Minorities Act of the same year. Six religious communities have been designated as minorities by the union government. These six communities are – Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, and Jains. In August 2018 Parliament passed the Constitution (123rd Amendment) Bill, 2017 to grant the National Commission on Backward Classes (NCBC) constitutional status. 7.10 The Problems Faced by the Minorities A number of problems afflict the religious minorities. These problems range from discrimination faced by them to their forced conversions; other constraints faced by these communities include problems of poverty and the feeling of alienation that has developed among them. Some of the main problems faced by minorities in India can be categorized under the following heads: 1. Problem of identity 2. Problem of security 3. Problem Relating to equity. They increasingly feel alienated from the society at large, due to the deprivation faced by them as a direct result of discrimination. This has produced an acute impact on the social and economic life of the members of the minority communities.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 96 Deprivation of job opportunities, lack of representation in the civil service and politics, and limited access to quality education have led to the members of some of these communities to struggle for maintaining minimum standards of living. The issue of identity is important. The minority communities have felt disoriented and displaced due to their fear of being engulfed by the overwhelming majority. They feel threatened by the proposition of losing their own identity to the majority religious community. Moreover, in the recent times, we have witnessed an alarming rise in communal tensions , riots and hate crimes against the minority communities in India, including the desecration of places of worship. Further, programs like the Ghar Wapsi Movement, have led to the rise of forced conversions in different parts of the country. 7.11 The Largest Religious Minority Community : The Muslims Turning to the largest minority, the Muslims, who have been in focus for social , economic and numerical reasons, to mention a few, have suffered from a persistent sense of marginality. The community has widely suffered economic and educational backwardness and faced segregation of multiple sorts. At least 82 different social groups among Muslims were declared OBCs by the Mandal Commission. According to NSSO survey, 40.7% of Muslims are Muslim OBCs, which comprises 15.7% of the total OBC population of the country. The conditions of the general Muslim category are lower than the Hindu- OBCs who have the benefit of reservation. However, the conditions of Muslim-OBCs were considered to be worse than that of the general Muslim category. While discrimination in jobs and other spheres faced by the Muslim population is rampant, it does not indicate institutionalization of such discrimination. In fact, Indian constitutional law holds out the promise of equality, secularism and justice. It has been more at the level of policy making and implementation that the lacunae becomes apparent. Time and again the government has apparently acknowledged the gravity of the situation but has done little to redeem it. In fact, its actions may be characterized as 'too little', 'too late.'
7.12 The Sachar Committee Report In March 2005 the then Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh appointed a high level committee to prepare a report on the Social, Economic and Educational Status of Indian Muslims. The 7-member committee, headed by Justice Rajinder Sachar (retired) submitted its report to the Prime Minister in November 2006.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 97 The findings of the Sachar Committee revealed that the country's Muslim population are far behind other Socio-Religious Communities (SRCs) in the areas of education, employment, access to credit, access to social and physical infrastructure and political representation. The Report made numerous recommendations for urgent governmental action to redress the problem of Muslim backwardness. The Sachar Committee recommendations were at two levels: One, General Policy Initiatives that cut across different aspects of socio-economic and educational development; Two, Specific Policy Measures that deal with particular issues and/or dimensions (e.g. education, credit, etc). The main recommendations of the Sachar Committee to address the status of the Muslim community in India, included the following : 1. Need for Transparency, Monitoring and Data Availability - Create a National Data Bank (NDB) where all relevant data for various socio-religious categories are maintained. 2. Enhancing the Legal Basis for Providing Equal Opportunities Set up an Equal Opportunity Commission to look into grievances of deprived groups like minorities. 3. Shared Spaces: Need to Enhance Diversity: The idea of providing certain incentives to a 'diversity index' should be explored. 4. Education: a process of evaluating the content of the school text books needs to be initiated to purge them of explicit and implicit content that may impart inappropriate social values, especially religious intolerance. Need to ensure that all children in the age group 0-14 have access to free and high quality education. 5. High quality Government schools should be set up in all areas of Muslim concentration. Exclusive schools for girls should be set up, particularly for the 9-12 standards. This would facilitate higher participation of Muslim girls in school education. In co-education schools more women teachers need to be appointed. 6. Provide primary education in Urdu in areas where Urdu speaking population is concentrated. 7. Mechanisms to link madarsas with higher secondary school board. 8. Recognise degrees from madarsas for eligibility in Defence Services, Civil Services and Banking examinations. 9. Increase employment share of Muslims, particularly where there is great deal of public dealing.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 98 10. Enhancing Participation in Governance: appropriate state level laws can be enacted to ensure minority representation in local bodies 11. Create a nomination procedure to increase participation of minorities in public bodies. 12. Establish a delimitation procedure that does not reserve constituencies with high minority population for SCs. 13. Enhancing Access to Credit and Government Programmes: Provide financial and other support to initiatives built around occupations where Muslims are concentrated and that have growth potential. 14. Improve participation and share of minorities, particularly Muslims, in business of regular commercial banks. 15. Improving Employment Opportunities and Conditions The Committee suggested that policies should "sharply focus on inclusive development and 'mainstreaming' of the Community while respecting diversity." 7.13 Conclusion Marginal sections of the population in India continue to suffer gross human rights violations, notwithstanding legal and administrative safeguards. The dominant, hierarchical social structure legitimizing disparity stands in the way of leveling down of the inequalities between different strata of the society. While legal –administrative measures are important and have contributed significantly towards the uplift of the marginal sections, the deep-rooted social malaise needs to be understood and addressed. 7.14 Summary In this unit we focus on the Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Classes and the Minorities in India. They are amongst the most marginal sections of India's population. As such, they face diverse problems at multiple levels leading to gross violation of their human rights. There are constitutional safeguards for them both exclusive and in common with others. Commissions and committees have been appointed to investigate the conditions of the OBCs and the minorities. Important amongst them are the Kaka Kalelkar Commission, the Mandal Commission for the OBCs and the Sachar Committee for the Muslim minority. Elaborate recommendations have been made by these bodies for the betterment of these marginal population groups.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 99 Government action on the recommendations have however remained half-hearted, as only some recommendations have been implemented and others have not been accepted. 7.15 Questions Broad Questions [18 marks each] 1. What are the problems faced by the Scheduled Castes ? 2. Discuss the findings of the Second Backward Classes Commission and the recommendations made by it. 3. What were the main recommendations of the Sachar Committee ? Medium length answers required [12 marks each] 1. Discuss the constitutional provisions relating to the Scheduled Castes. 2. Give an overview of the minority situation in India. 3. Discuss the in-built legal safeguards for the minorities provided for in the Constitution of India. Short questions [6 marks each] 1. What was the mandate of the First Backward Classes Commission? 2. Who are the Scheduled Castes? 3. Who are the Other Backward Classes? 7.16 Suggested Readings 1. Chandhoke Neera, Beyond Secularism: The Rights of Religious Minorities, Oxford University Press, 1999 2. Deshpande Satish, Sectarian Violence in India: Hindu-Muslim Conflict, 1966- 2015, Orient BlackSwan, 2019. 3. Ghurye G.S., Caste and Race in India, Popular Prakashan, 1969. 4. Hasan Zoya, Politics of Inclusion: Castes, Minorities and Affirmative Action, OUP, 2011. 5. Jaffrelot Christophe,

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Unit 8 Mobility and Change Rural and Urban in India Structure 8.1 Objectives 8.2 Introduction 8.2.1 Definition by Different Scholars 8.2.2 Factors of Social Mobility 8.3 Social Mobility and Change in India: During British Era 8.3.1 The Indian Debate on Mobility Studies: Caste-Class framework 8.3.2 Change and Development in Rural India 8.3.3 Change and Development in Urban India 8.3.4 Meaning of Urban Society 8.3.5 City and Village : Continuity and Change in Social Mobility 8.4 Conclusion 8.5 Summary 8.6 Questions 8.7 Suggested Readings 8.8 Glossary 8.1 Objectives ? Describing the types of mobility. ? Depicting open and closed models- factors and constraints to social mobility. ? Understanding social change in modern India especially through the processes of industrialization, urbanization and modernization, 8.2 Introduction One of the most prominent features of the advanced societies of the present age is the high rate of mobility. Change is inevitable and no human society is immobile. But the rate of change varies from society to society and from time to time. Social

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 101 mobility is a process which involves socio-cultural change due to structural change in the established social, political, economic and cultural institutions of a system or a society. As a result, the attitudes, opinions, customs, ways of acting are changing and people are becoming rational, secular, modern in thought and external behavior and gradually they become individualistic. In this process individuals move from one social position to another within a social space often leading to progressive development of society with respect of time. 8.2.1 Definition by Different Scholars In the Encyclopedia of sociology “social mobility has been defined as movement through “social space” from one status category (the origin) to another status category (the destination)”. According to Sorokin (1927), social mobility in its broadest sense is the shifting of people in social space. In other words social mobility is the transition of people from one social position to another. Lipset and Zetterberg (1966) points that social mobility of an individual or group is determined by the shift and ranking of occupation, consumption, social power and social class. People’s beliefs, values, norms customs and some of their emotional expressions are different according to their occupational class. The rate of mobility may differ in different dimensions. There is a possibility of having a higher rate of mobility in one dimension and lower in another. Therefore to get a more qualified and accurate conclusions about social mobility they have suggested a conventional operational method of ascertaining mobility by comparing father’s and offspring’s occupational position. As defined by Barber (1965), social mobility refers to movement either upward or downward between higher or lower social classes; or more precisely, movement between one relatively full time, functionally significant social role and another that is evaluated as either higher or lower. Sethi (1976) states that social mobility brings structural changes in the attitudes and beliefs of the people. This leads to rationality, universality and secular ideology which means equality, freedom and independence for everyone. Kumar (1994) stated social mobilization implies the process in which major clusters of old, social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior. Sharma (1997) referred social mobility as the change in the status of individuals(s) or group(s) in relation to a given system of social stratification. This change manifests itself in two forms, either as a threat to the contiguous system and ultimately its displacement by the emergence of a new criterion of status evaluation (vertical mobility

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 102 or structural change) or through changes within the parameters of the system (horizontal mobility or positional change). The importance of social mobility as a concept in sociology is quite obvious. Any change of position in society experienced by an individual or a group has its impact not only on the individual or the group, but also on the society at large. Implicit in invoking the concept of social mobility is the recognition of gradation in a society. The gradation is normally done in terms of power, prestige and privileges. That is to say, a hierarchical structure then operates in such societies. This opens up the possibility of sociological investigation of whether or how an individual or a group gains or loses power, prestige and privileges in a society. In other words, along the line of hierarchy whether one moves up or falls down signifies change of social position that is social mobility. 8.2.2 Factors of Social Mobility There are multiple factors contributing to social mobility such as: (1) Status – Every society provides a different status or position to each individual or a group. Ralph Linton (1958) the eminent anthropologist says that status is the position occupied by an individual in the total social network with respect to every other individual with whom he shares a relationship in the network. Therefore, a person's total status is the sum of his total collection of rights and duties in that society. Factors such as family, the social groups, the norms and values existing in the society determine the status of an individual. These factors are objective and they are already there before the individual is born. The Anthropologists and Socio-Psychologists believe that in a modern society the objective factors are becoming less important and they believe that in achievement- oriented society, the process of socialization and the formation of attitudes in the individual determine the status. (2) Education - Education is very important for all round development of an individual. Dubey (1976), Goel (2004) state that education enables the members of a society to perform gainful social roles, develop basic skills, abilities, and performance. It also promotes mobility on the thought level in the society conducive to and in support of national development goals, both long-term and immediate; it determines the aspirations, and vertical and horizontal mobility. In this context, Cohn (1961), Oommen (1964) and Kurane (1999) have stated that education is one of the factors for initiating social change leading to social mobility. Patwardhan (1968) has mentioned that mobility in present day India is determined not only by ascription but also by the level of education one acquires and higher education is an effective means to upward mobility.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 103 (3) Occupation – Occupation is an important indicator to study social mobility. Occupational mobility acts not only as an indicator of social change but also as a transmitting agent of new attitudes and behavior. Lipset and Zetterberg (1956) have mentioned that factors such as the growth of service industries, white collar occupation, rise in the proportion of urban occupations with decline of agricultural work, and bureaucracy- all provide impetus for greater social mobility. Further they say that social mobility of an individual or group is determined by the shift and ranking of occupation. (4) Change in attitudes and beliefs – To bring a change in larger society, a change has to occur in the attitudinal level of the individuals of the society leading to behavioral changes and progressive action. This in turn may lead to further structural change and social mobility. Sharma (2007) opines that urbanization leads to breakdown of traditional beliefs and this in turn, influences people in changing their attitudes, beliefs and world view and leads to individualism and formalism. (5) Extent of social distance – Caste system which is deeply rooted in traditional Indian society is characterized by non-recognition of personal qualities, rigid caste hierarchy, caste endogamy and restrictions regarding eating, drinking and social interaction. Marriot (1959) mentioned that the relative ranking of different castes in a locality depends on the kinds of interactions they have with other castes, particularly in taking and giving of food and water and in their participation in ritual services. But in the present age due to the changing attitudes and liberal outlook the traditional caste hierarchy has weakened. Lipset and Bendix (1967) reported that in the process of social mobility people tend to change his/her friends and move to a new neighborhood. Malik (1979) points out that social mobility brings a change in interpersonal relations. (6) Utilization of mass media – Exposure to and utilization of media of mass communication is directly related to mobility process. Since the level of literacy is low in India, the various prevalent social problems are closely associated with traditional attitudes, beliefs and ignorance among people. Agrawal (2004) writes that media utilization in several ways reflects the end use. People who utilize more mass media are expected to be more mobile because these media of mass communications convey new ideas and beliefs and thus help in achieving mobility. In a study conducted by Agarwal in the year 1977 showed that the women who were viewed T.V. gained more knowledge than the men in areas like family planning, health and nutrition. Jha (1985) opines that a higher degree of exposure to channels of communication such as newspapers, T.V. programs, frequency of seeing films are the facts that serve as the indices of modernization. Sanjay (1994) states that people who are exposed to mass media develop a mobile personality that encourages rationality.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 104 According to M.N. Srinivas (1977) the factors responsible for social mobility are: (1) Sanskritization – Srinivas defines Sanskritization as the process by which a low caste or

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tribe or other group follow the customs, rituals, beliefs, ideology and style of life of a high and, in particular, a 'twice-born caste'. Thus, the

lower caste
people imitate the life ways of the upper castes with a view to improve their status within the framework of caste. However, it does not lead to a structural change. Although the change is only positional yet it has significant structural consequences, especially in relation to the orientation of the lower castes towards the traditional upper castes. (2) Westernization – Westernization refers to changes brought due to contact with western culture, particularly with the British. According to Srinivas various caste groups have adopted cultural styles of the British. Besides cultural imitation, many people have absorbed western science, technology, education, ideology and values. 8.3 Social Mobility and Change in India: During British Era In India, social mobility was almost less within a caste system before the British came to India. With the establishment of British rule several new avenues of mobility opened encompassing almost all aspects of Indian society. British rules had opened the new avenues by which land could be sold to anyone, even to low castes who had money. During that period role of missionaries were immense. Land ceiling resulting in new economic opportunities, building of railways, road, canals, and introduction of plantation crops like cotton, tea etc., providing employment to thousands were mentionable. The new opportunities – educational, economical and political were open to all irrespective of caste. Thus, the low castes tried to acquire symbols of high status through possession of political power, education and new economic opportunities. With the gradual transfer of power from British to Indians, the 20th century witnessed a great increase in quantum of mobility in caste system and Sanskritization also played an important role by enabling low castes to move for high castes. In their research works both Latheef and Ahmad (1964) indicated that cause and effect relationships between industrial, agricultural, occupational and communicational changes were now taking place in India owing to increased social mobility. Silverberg (1969) Srinivas (1987) observed that studies on social mobility in India had highlighted positional changes in the form of Sanskritization and Westernization.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 105 Omvedt (1981) stated that class rather than caste was basis of social mobility implying change from agriculture to entrepreneurship and the form of migration from rural to urban areas. The emergence of new business class was not only because of economic forces, but social, political and cultural processes, particularly the social and political history of the region and of the dominant land-owning castes also played an important role. Thus, the state in India brought about economic and political changes having consequences for social mobility eliminating some old persisting tensions and of the emergence of a new system of social stratification. 8.3.1 The Indian Debate on Mobility Studies : Caste-Class Framework It is only with the undertaking of planned development in the country, the creation of the National Planning Commission in 1950, establishment of University Grants Commission in 1956 and various public and private Industries, corporations, factories and other small and medium enterprises brought in sweeping changes in country's socio-economic and political structure. Following the footsteps of west in industrial development, the Indian society began to experience slow but seismic changes in its social structure profile. Traditional markers of identity such as caste, community, clan, language etc., slowly began to co-exist with class, urban, education and occupational identities. Further with world's economic order completely restructured, in post 1990 (popularly known as post-reform period) where the transformation and growth of Indian economy had been attributed to emergence and influence of entrepreneurial private and collective firms leading to the rise of powerful socio- economic and political category called middle class (Manimala, 2011). While the concept is typically ambiguous in popular opinion and common language use, three structural changes in India namely service-sector led economic growth, rapid expansion of urbanization and higher education are undoubtedly resulting in a massive expansion of the middle class. Hence class is a socio-economic category gained attention in sociological and social science literature. Most of the literature available on social mobility in India has predominantly focused on caste mobility in terms of diversification of occupations, Sanskritization and education. The trends it has shown is the similar to the process that Lipset and Bendix in 1959 have analyzed in the inter-generational occupational mobility rankings in post-industrial societies: (1) Most non-manual occupations have more prestige than the manual occupations including the skilled ones. (2) White collar occupations generally lead to have higher incomes than manual employment. (3) Non-manual occupations require more education than the manual occupations.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 106 (4) Holders of non-manual positions, even paid lower than that of some of the manual workers tend to think themselves as members of middle-class and act out middle class roles in their conception pattern. (5) Low-level non-manual workers are more likely to have political attitudes which resemble those of the upper middle class than those of the manual working class (Dubey, 1975). The economic forces released under British rule resulted in greater mobility within the caste system, and in post – independence period, universalization of education and wide range of technical employment slowly infused the element of class in the social structure. The post reform period introduced a cosmopolitan way of life that brought into existence of international economic organizations having wide range of specialized occupations with different ranking of status attached to it. Therefore, it is necessary for students of mobility studies to understand class element while analyzing social mobility in India but at the same time also recognize the fact that caste as the traditional stratification is not defunct. Over the years caste system has become more subtle in its manifestations in terms of opportunities in education, employment and accessibility of resources but still remains the de facto hierarchical division in terms of rituals, purity and social status rankings. Studies of social mobility in India have not only ignored the relationship between social mobility and politics but have also not come up with a class and caste schema to capture the mobility trends (Bhatt, 1971). 8.3.2 Change and Development in Rural India Indian society is primarily a rural society though urbanization is growing. The majority of India's people live in rural areas (67 per cent, according to the 2001 Census). They make their living from agriculture or related occupations. This means that agricultural land is the most important productive resource for a great many Indians. Land is also the most important form of property. But land is not just a 'means of production' nor just a form of property or agriculture just a form of livelihood. It is also a way of life. Many of our cultural practices and patterns can be traced to our agrarian backgrounds. There is a close connection between agriculture and culture. The nature and practice of agriculture varies greatly across the different regions of the country. These variations are reflected in different regional cultures. One can say that both the culture and social structure in rural India are closely bound up with agricultural and the agrarian way of life. Agriculture is the single most important source of livelihood for the majority of the rural population. But the rural is not just agriculture. Many activities that support agriculture and village life are also sources of livelihood for people in rural India. For example, a large number of artisans such as potters, carpenters, weavers, ironsmiths, and goldsmiths are found in rural areas. They were

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 107 once part and parcel of the village economy. Their numbers have been steadily lessening since the colonial period. Rural life is also supported by many other specialists and crafts persons as storytellers, astrologers, priests, water-distributors, and oil-pressers. The diversity of occupations in rural India has been reflected in the caste system, which in most regions included specialist and 'service' castes such as washer men, potters, and goldsmiths. Some of these traditional occupations have declined. But increasing interconnection of the rural and urban economies have led to many diverse occupations. Many people living in rural areas are employed in, or have livelihood based in, rural non-farm activities. For instance, there are rural residents employed in government services such as the postal and education departments, factory workers, or in the army, who earn their living through non-agricultural activities. Several profound transformations in the nature of social relations in rural areas took place in the post-independence period, especially in those regions that underwent the green revolution. These included an increase in the use of agricultural labor as cultivation became more intensive; shift from payment in kind (grain) to payment in cash; loosening of traditional bonds or hereditary relationships between farmers or landowners and agricultural workers (known as bonded labor) and the rise of a class of 'free' wage laborers'. 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 sociologist Jan Breman (1974) as a shift from 'patronage to exploitation'. Such changes took place in many areas where agriculture was becoming more commercialized, that meant, where crops were being grown primarily for sale in the market. The transformation in labor relations is regarded by some scholars as indicative of a transition to capitalist agriculture. Because 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. In general, it is true that farmers in the more developed regions are becoming more oriented to the market. As cultivation becomes more commercialized these rural areas are also becoming integrated into the wider economy. This process has increased the flow of money into villages and expanding opportunities for business and employment. But we should remember that this process of transformation in the rural economy in fact began during the colonial period. In many regions in the 19th century large tracts of land in Maharashtra were given over to cotton cultivation, and cotton farmers became directly linked to the world market. However, the pace and spread of change rapidly increased after independence, as the government promoted modern methods

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 108 of cultivation and attempted to modernize the rural economy through other strategies. The state invested in the development of rural infrastructure, such as irrigation facilities, roads, and electricity, and on the provision of agricultural inputs, including credit through banks and cooperatives. The overall outcome of these efforts at 'rural development' was not only to transform the rural economy and agriculture, but also the agrarian structure and rural society itself. Another significant change in rural society that is linked to the commercialization of agriculture has been the growth of migrant agricultural labor. The large-scale circulation of labor has had several significant effects on rural society, in both the receiving and the supplying regions. 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. Until recently, women are hardly visible in official statistics as earners and workers. While women toil on the land as landless laborers and as cultivators, the prevailing patrilineal kinship system, and other cultural practices that privilege male rights, largely exclude women from land ownership. The policy of liberalization that India has been following since the late 1980s have had a very significant impact on agriculture and rural society. The policy entails participation in the World Trade Organization (WTO), which aims to bring about a freer 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. Contract farming is very common now in the production of specialized items such as cut flowers, fruits such as grapes, figs and pomegranates, cotton, and oilseeds. 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 livelihood. Contract farming of export-oriented products such as flowers and gherkins also means that agricultural land is diverted away from food grain production. Contract farming has sociological significance in that it disengages many people from the production process and makes their own indigenous knowledge of agriculture irrelevant. 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, and more widespread aspect of the globalization of agriculture is the entry of multinational 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
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 109 agricultural development programs, and 'agricultural extension' agents have been replaced in the villages by agents of seed, fertilizer, and pesticide companies. These agents are often the sole source of information for farmers about new seeds or cultivation practices, and of course they have an interest in selling their products. This has led to the increased dependence of farmers on expensive fertilizers and pesticides, which has reduced their profits, put many farmers into debt, and also created an ecological crisis in rural areas. 8.3.3 Change and Development in Urban India The nature of urban society as represented in thoughts of urban theorists of modern city greatly have shown contrasting differences in their views. Every place has its distinctive urban characteristic determined by variables as mix of power, space, market and cultural practices. As a result of development in science and technology, there has been industrial development. Due to industrial development, there is urbanization as a result of which urban societies created. Every country has its own urban society. Every village possesses some elements of the city while every city carries some feature of the villages. Different criteria are used to decide a community as urban. Some of them are, for example, population, legal limits, types of occupations, social organizations. The city in the words of Louis Wirth refers to "a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals." 8.3.4 Meaning of Urban Society An urban area is characterized by higher population density and vast human feature in comparison to area surrounding it. Urban areas are created and further developed by the process of urbanization. Urban areas are places which have the following criteria: 1. A minimum population of 5,000. 2. At least 75% of the male main working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits 3. A density of population of a least 400 persons per sq. km. The growth of large cities that contain the bulk of a society's population is very recent development. Urbanization is a part of development process. The major features of urban society are given below: Social heterogeneity, secondary relations, anonymity, secondary control, large- scale division of labor and specialization, large-scale social mobility, individuation, voluntary association, social reference, unstable family, special segregation, lack of community feeling, lack of unity in family, moral laxity, unbalanced personality, high incidence of crime, social disorganization, peculiarities of marital life, dynamic life, voluntary

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 110 associations are formed quickly and an overall artificial life. Urban life differs with the rural. It refers to a process which envisages land settlement, agglomeration of diversities, complete transformation of economy from agricultural to industrial, commercial sectors and a wider politico-civic life dependent on institutions of modern living. The urban society is heterogeneous. It is known for its diversity and complexity. It is dominated by secondary relations. Urban society is far away from the nature and natural environment. Mass education is widespread in city. It is a "Complex Multi- Group Society". 8.3.5 City and Village : Continuity and Change in Social Mobility More striking than new opportunities for group mobility within the traditional status hierarchy has been the appearance in recent decades of new status hierarchies with new arenas for status competition. They have emerged from the impact of urbanization and westernization but are not independent of the traditional social organization in which they are based. Urbanism is nothing new in India but rapid urbanization is new. The emergency of industrial employment, of easy communication over long distances, of increasingly efficient distribution of goods and services and of more effective centralized administration has made urban living a more accessible alternative to more people in India than ever before. Urban life affords a measure of independence from the ties and constraints of membership in rural based social groups by granting a degree of individual anonymity and mobility quite unattainable in rural communities. Caste, religion, ritual, tradition and the social controls implicit therein are not as rigid or pervasive in the city. People are increasingly able to seek status and other rewards on an individual or small family basis largely independent of caste or the other larger social entities of which they are also a part. They do this primarily by going to the city although the values of the city also extend into the country-side and have loosened the hold of tradition even there. To a great extent urban Indians can achieve status as a result of behaviors and attributes rather than simply as a result of birth. According to Harold Gould industrialization brought about the transfer of specialized occupations of all kinds from the context of the kin groups to factories organized on bureaucratic principles. This meant that occupational role and role occupant would be in principle separated and that the preponderant criteria for determining occupations would be performance qualities and that economic rewards and social mobility would constitute the principal standards for evaluating the worth or the status of any given role. Traditional status -caste status did not disappear in the city. It remained important in the most private contexts; the family and neighborhood. Some neighborhoods essentially reproduced the village setting in personnel as well as social structure; others do not.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 111 A very large proportion of city dwellers are in close touch with their native villages. Tradition and ascription are important in the city in those relationships upon which the day-to-day functioning and future composition of the family depends of which the epitome is marriage. In the city primary relationships occupy a diminishing proportion of most people's time, attention and energies. Much of the individual's interaction takes place on the basis of particular or even fragmented roles. He can often behave in a way consistent with the requirements of the situation without reference to his group membership. He is even able to pass if that is his desire by learning the superficial symbols of the status such as that of white-collar worker, student, middle class householder or professional. In these statuses skill in handling the language, in pursuing the occupation or success in acquiring money or an appropriate life style may be socially recognized and rewarded irrespective of caste and family. 8.4 Conclusion Contemporary urban life has available more means to mobility and suggests to those who seek it a greater lifelihood of success that the highly structured closely controlled traditional village setting. Mobility occurs in all settings. Some low status groups have been victims of technological displacement with the result that their economic, political and social statuses have declined. They drift either into the status of rural landless laborers or into unskilled urban employment, both of which are overpopulated and underpaid. The result is underemployment, unemployment, poverty and lack of opportunity for improvement. For examples: water carriers comprise a caste whose members have been displaced in many parts of Northern India with the advent of hand pumps. In some instances, new occupations have been created and with them opportunities for enhancement of economic and social status thus allowing certain mobility. 8.5 Summary The importance of social mobility as a concept in sociology is quite obvious. Any change of position in society experienced by an individual or a group has its impact not only on the individual or the group, but also on the society at large. Studies of social mobility should also take note of the problems associated with such studies. Particular social position as determined by job-status is not immutable, because the social value attached to any occupation may change overtime. Also, while studying

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 112 inter-generational mobility it is to be carefully decided at what point of their careers should parents and children be compared. 8.6 Questions ? Discuss in detail the factors responsible for social mobility. ? Differentiate between the various types of social mobility in India. ? Assess the present day implications of mobility in India with suitable illustrations. ? What are the changes associated with mobility in rural as well as in urban areas? 8.7 Suggested Readings 1. Blau, P.M. and O.D. Duncan (1967) The American Occupational Structure, New York: Wiley 2. Breen, R. (2004). Social Mobility in Europe. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. 3. Erikson,R. and J.H.Goldthrope (1987). The Constant Flux: A study Of Class Mobility In Industrial Societies. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 4. Kerbo, H. 2008. Social stratification and inequality: Class conflict in historical, comparative, and global perspective. 7th ed. Boston: McGraw-Hill. 5. Scott, J. 1996. Stratification and power: Structures of class, status and command. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. 6. Turner, J. 1984. Societal stratification. New York: Columbia Univ. Press. 8.8 Glossary ? Contest Mobility : Refers to mobility which occurs through open competition. ?

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Horizontal Mobility : Refers to shifts in Position in a society which does not involve movement between strata. ? Intra-generational Mobility : This is mobility which occurs within different generations of people. ? Inter-generational Mobility : Refers to mobility within the time span of two or more generations.

Unit 9 Middle Class Phenomenon : Role and Significance Structure 9.1. Objectives 9.2 Introduction 9.2.1 Coining of the Term Middle Class 9.2.2 The Concepts of Class and Middle class 9.2.3 Rise of Middle Classes in India During the British Rule 9.2.4 Middle classes in India After Independence 9.2.5 Why is the Middle Class Important? 9.2.6 Economic Roles of the Middle Income Groups 9.2.7 Social and Political Implications: Middle Class Beyond Income and Consumption 9.3 Conclusion 9.4 Summary 9.5 Questions 9.6 Suggested Readings 9.7 Glossary 9.1 Objectives ? To understand the concept of middle class. ? To understand the role of middle classes in contemporary society. ? To evaluate the importance of middle classes in India. 9.2 Introduction Almost everybody seems to know, what is called “the middle class”, and even to belong to it. So, actually, our initial question turns to grow out into the following, more accurate, question: What do we know about the middle class? The idea and

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 114 category of middle class is not new to India. It was in the early decades of the 19th century, during the British colonial period, that the term began to be used for a newly emergent group of people in urban centres, mostly in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, three cities founded by the colonial masters. Over time, this middle class spread its presence to other urban centres of the subcontinent as well. After independence, with development and expansion of Indian economy, the size of the Indian middle class grew manifold. Beginning with the 1990s, the story of the Indian middle class witnessed a major shift. The pace and patterns of its growth changed with the introduction of economic reforms. By incentivizing private capital and encouraging foreign investments in India, the ‘neo-liberal’ turn helped India accelerate the pace of its growth substantially. The process of development or modernization being experienced in our country is not confined to the economy alone. It is leading to some fundamental changes in the social structure of the Indian society. As the process of change unfolds itself, new social groups and categories of people emerge on the scene. The institutionalization of the democratic system of governance based on adult franchise and the introduction of a secular Constitution has transformed the traditional structures of power relations at different levels of social organization. The last five decades of economic development and democratic governance have also transformed the structures of social stratification in India. The earlier system of domination and subordination based largely on the principles of caste hierarchy and ownership of agricultural land has given way to a different kind of power structure. Though the caste and the ownership of agricultural land continue to be significant, particularly in the rural areas, they are no more the exclusive determinants of social stratification , in India today. A new set of power elite has emerged in India during the last fifty years or so. Similarly, we can observe the emergence of new social categories and occupational groupings of people. Middle class has been an important historical and sociological category in modern India. The idea of India as a modern and democratic nation state was imagined and articulated by the emergent middle classes during the later phase of the British colonial rule over the subcontinent. The middle class leadership of the Indian nationalist movement also provided foundational values to the newly independent country after the colonial rule had ended. Over the last two decades, the Indian middle class has been celebrated for its economic achievements in the new global economy. It has also been expanding in size, providing critical market base to the process of economic growth and stability to democratic politics.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 115 9.2.1 Coining of the Term Middle Class The term “middle class” has had several, sometimes contradictory, meanings. Friedrich Engels saw the category as an intermediate social class between the nobility and the peasantry of Europe in late-feudalist society. While the nobility owned much of the countryside, and the peasantry worked it, a new bourgeoisie (literally “town-dwellers”) arose around mercantile functions in the city. In France, the middle classes helped drive the French Revolution. This “middle class” eventually overthrew the ruling monarchists of feudal society, thus becoming the new ruling class or bourgeoisie in the new capitalist-dominated societies. The modern usage of the term “middle class”, however, dates to the 1913 UK Registrar-General’s report, in which the statistician T.H.C. Stevenson identified the middle class as those falling between the upper-class and the working-class. The middle class includes: professionals, managers, and senior civil servants. The chief defining characteristic of membership in the middle class is controlled of significant human capital while still being under the dominion of the elite upper classes, who control much of the financial and legal capital in the world. Within capitalism, “middle class” initially referred to the bourgeoisie; later, with the further differentiation of classes as capitalist societies developed, the term came to be synonymous with the term petite bourgeoisie. The boom-and-bust cycles of capitalist economies resulted in the periodic (and more or less temporary) impoverisation and proletarianisation of much of the petite bourgeois world, resulting in their moving back and forth between working-class and petite-bourgeois status. The typical modern definitions of “middle class” often tried to ignore the fact that the classical petite- bourgeoisie was and had always been the owner of a small-to medium-sized business whose income was derived almost exclusively from the employment of workers; “middle class” came to refer to the combination of the labor aristocracy, professionals, and salaried, white-collar workers. The size of the middle class depends on how it is defined, whether by education, wealth, environment of upbringing, social network, manners or values, etc. These are all related, but are far from deterministically dependent. The following factors are considered important in connection with the concept “middle class”. (a) Achievement of tertiary education. (b) Holding professional qualifications, including academics, lawyers, chartered engineers, politicians, and doctors, regardless of leisure or wealth. (c) Belief in bourgeois values, such as high rates of house ownership, delayed gratification, and jobs that are perceived to be secure. (d) Lifestyle.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 116 9.2.2 The Concepts of Class and Middle class The concept of class has been one of the most important categories in the western sociology. There has been a long tradition of looking at the western society through the conceptual framework of class. The classical sociological thinkers, Karl Marx and Max Weber, have written a great deal on the concept of class. Class is the most important category for Marx in his analysis of the western society and in his theory of social change. Marx’s model of class is a dichotomous one. It is through the concept of class that he explains the exploitation of subordinate categories by the dominants. According to Marx, in every class society, there are two fundamental classes. Property relations constitute the axis of this dichotomous system - a minority of ‘non-producers’, who control the means of production, are able to use this position of control to extract from the majority of ‘producers’ the surplus product which is the source of their livelihood. ‘Classes’, in the Marxian framework, are thus defined in terms of the relationships of groupings of individuals to the ‘means of production’. Further, in Marx’s model, economic domination is tied to political domination. Control of means of production yields political control. The other theorists of class have assigned much more significance to the ‘middle classes’. Foremost of these have been sociologists like Max Weber, Dahrendorf and Lockwood. Max Weber, though agrees with Marx that classes are essentially defined in economic terms, his overall treatment of the concept is quite different from that of Marx. Unlike Marx, he argues that classes develop only in the market economies in which individuals compete for economic gains. He defines classes as groups of people who share similar position in a market economy and by virtue of this fact receive similar economic rewards. Thus, class status of a person, in Weber’s terminology, is his “market situation” or, in other words, his purchasing power. The class status of a person also determines his “life chances”. Their economic position or “class situation” determines many such things considered desirable in their society which they can buy. Middle Classes in India The middle classes emerged for the first time in western Europe with the development of industrial and urban economy. We have also seen that the term middle class was initially used to describe the newly emerging class of bourgeoisie, industrial class. And later on, the term was used for social groups placed in-between the industrialist bourgeoisie on the one side and the working class on the other i.e., the skilled professional. The historical context of the development of middle classes in India was quite different from that of the west. It was in the nineteenth century, under the

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 117 patronage of the British colonial rule that the middle classes began to emerge in India. Though they emerged under the patronage of the British rulers, the middle classes played an important role in India's struggle for independence from the colonial rule. During the post-independence period also, the middle classes had been instrumental in shaping the policies of economic development and social change being pursued by the Indian state. Hence there is the need to understand the middle classes, their history, their social composition and their politics. Even though being middle class in contemporary India has, in many ways, a matter of privilege, those located in the middle class tend to be also viewed themselves as among those with a fragile sense of security. Along with the poor, they often complain about the manipulative and "corrupt" economic and political system controlled by the rich and the powerful, the wily elite. Middle classes' engagements with politics have been of crucial and critical significance in modern India; from the colonial period to present times. It is the middle class that generally produces leaders who challenge the existing power structures and provide creative directions to social movements of all kinds. The McKinsey Global Institute (2007) refers to India's expanding consumer market as the country's "bird of gold", a phrase merchants used thousands of years ago to describe its vast economic potential. The growth of a middle class is expected to play a transformative role in modernizing the Indian economy, creates new pressure points on the government to tackle the vestiges of the License Raj, and enable a more propitious environment for private entrepreneurship and job creation (Fernandes 2006). And those who are frustrated with the corruption and cronyism that has characterized Indian politics for decades view the rise of the middle class as a force for positive change, a palliative to the twin vices of identity and patronage politics (Das 2012). Despite these tall claims, the research on the middle class globally is quite divided into its social and political impact. On the one hand, one strand of the literature argues that middle class can be a dynamic force for change (Lash and Urry 1987) while on the other hand, some scholars have argued that they can often a powerful votary of the status quo and traditional social and economic structures (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992). For instance, while the middle class might desire a reduced role of the state in the economy and a corresponding greater role for the private sector, it also wants better safety and environmental standards across a diverse array of sectors which, ironically, bring the state back in —this time in its regulatory capacity. 9.2.3 Rise of Middle classes in India during the British Rule The British colonial rule in India was fundamentally different from all the earlier political systems and empires that existed in the sub-continent. The British not only

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 118 established their rule over most parts of the sub-continent they also transformed the economy and polity of the region. Apart from changing the land revenue systems, they introduced modern industrial economy in the region. They reorganized the political and administrative structures arid introduced western ideas and cultural values to the Indian people. As middle class in Indian society pointed out by the well-known historian, B.B. Mishra, the peculiar feature that distinguished the Indian middle classes from their counter-part in the west is the context of their origin. 'In the west', the middle classes emerged basically as a result of economic and technological change; they were for the most part engaged in trade and industry. In India, on the contrary, they emerged more in consequence of changes in the system of law and public administration than in economic development, and they mainly belonged to the learned profession"(Mishra, 1961 :v). By the middle of the nineteenth century, the colonial rulers had been able to bring a large proportion of Indian territory under their rule. It was around this time that, after the success of the Industrial revolution, industrial products from Britain began to flow into India and the volume of trade between Britain and India expanded. They also introduced railways and other modern servicing sectors such as the press and postal departments. A large number of educated individuals were required to staff these administrative institutions. It was not possible to get all of them from Britain. So, in order to fulfill this need, the British opened schools and colleges in different parts of India, particularly in big cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Those educated in these new institutions of secular education were also required a medium through whom the British planned to spread western ideas and cultural values in the Indian society. They were to not only work for the British but they were to also think like them. This intention of creating a native middle class that would become the carrier of western culture in India was expressed quite openly by Lord Macaulay in 1935. In his Minute on Indian education, Macaulay said: 'We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect' (as in Varma, 1998:2). Apart from the English educated segment, there were also other sections of the Indian society who could be called the middle classes. The most prominent among them were the petty traders, 'shopkeepers and independent artisans; the social groups that were called the "old middle classes" in the western context. Merchants and artisans had always been separate social strata in the traditional structure of social stratification in India. We could easily identify separate castes of merchants and artisans who were an organic part of the village communities. As the economy began to change in

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 119 response to the new administrative policies of the colonial rulers, many of the merchants moved to newly emerging towns and cities and became independent traders. This process was further accelerated during the post- independence period. Though limited in its significance, the modem machine-based industry also began to develop during the colonial period. The establishment of railways, during the middle of the nineteenth century, created conditions for the growth of modern industry in India. The colonial rulers constructed railways primarily for the transportation of raw materials required for the British industry overseas. However, once the railways were established, the British also invested in the local industry such as plantations. The growing economic activity gave boost to trade and mercantile activity and some of the local traders accumulated enough savings and began to invest into the modern industry. The Swadeshi movement started by the nationalist leadership gave a boost to the native industry. Apart from giving employment to the labor force, this industry also employed white-collared skilled workers. Thus, along with those employed in administrative positions by the colonial rulers, the white-collared employees of the industrial sector were also a part of the newly emerging middle classes in India. 9.2.4 Middle Classes in India after Independence Though different sections of the Indian society had participated in the struggle for freedom from colonial rule, it was the middle classes that took over the institutions of governance from the colonial rulers. It had been argued that the end of the colonial rule did not mean a total break from the past. Much of the institutional structure that had developed during the colonial rule continued to work the Independence within the ideology of the new regime. Thus, members of the middle class who were working for the colonial rulers did not lose much in terms of their position in the institutions of governance. India's independence from the colonial rule marked the beginning of a new phase in its history. The independent Indian state was committed, in principle, to democratic institutions of secularism, freedom, justice and equality for all the citizens, irrespective of caste, creed or religion and at all levels - social, economic and political. To achieve these ends, India embarked upon the path of planned development. Plans were chalked out for the development of agricultural, industrial and the tertiary sectors of the economy. There was an overall attempt to expand the economy in all directions. The government of India introduced various programmes and schemes for different sectors of the economy. The execution of these programmes required the services of a large number of trained personnel. Apart from the increase in a number of those employed in the government sectors, urban industrial and tertiary sectors also experienced an expansion. Though compared to many other countries of the Third World, the growth rate of the Indian economy

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 120 was slower, in absolute terms the industrial sector grew many folds. Growth in the tertiary sector was more rapid. Increase in population, particularly the urban population, led to a growth in the servicing industry. Banks, insurance companies, hospitals, hotels, press, advertisement agencies all grew at an unprecedented rate, giving employment to a large number of trained professionals. The next stage of expansion was in the rural areas. Various development programmes introduced by the Indian state after independence led to significant agricultural growth in the regions that experienced Green Revolution. Success of the Green Revolution technology increased productivity of land and made the landowning sections of the Indian countryside substantially richer. Economic development also led to a change in the aspirations of the rural people. Those who could afford it started sending their children not only to English medium schools but also to colleges and universities for higher studies. Consumption patterns also began to change. 'Material goods hitherto considered unnecessary for the simple lifestyle of a farmer, began to be sought. And lifestyles as yet remote and shunned were emulated' (Varma, 1998:95). A new class has emerged in rural India that partly had its interests in urban occupations. The process of agrarian transformation added another segment to the already existing middle classes. In ideological terms, this "new" segment of the middle classes, was quite different from the traditional middle classes. Unlike the old urban middle classes, this new, "rural middle class" was local and regional in character. The members of the rural middle class tended to perceive their interests in regional rather than in the nationalist framework. Politically, this class was on forefront of the movements for regional autonomy. Another new segment of the middle class that emerged during the post-independence period came from the Dalit caste groups. Government policies of positive discrimination and reservations for members of the ex-untouchable Schedule Castes enabled some of them to get educated and employed in the urban occupations, mostly in the servicing and government sectors. Over the years, a new Dalit middle class had thus also emerged on the scene. 9.2.5 Why is the Middle Class Important? The middle class is important because it drives transformation and innovation. This role was first noted by Thomas Malthus, who suggested that intellectual improvement was most likely to occur from the "middle regions of society". Similarly, Karl Marx rooted 'civilization' to the process of creative destruction that resulted from the entrepreneurial action of the bourgeoisie (that is the middle class). In more recent times, Dierdre McCloskey convincingly argued how the rise of the middle class since

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 121 1600 (first in Holland, then in Britain) gave a reason for ordinary people to innovate. The upper class consists of those who are currently benefiting from the rents and profits of the "old" industries. They have little or no incentive to innovate because it would result in a disruption of their own rents. As for the lower class, while they may be willing to innovate, the opportunity to do so is limited. Think about the financial and human capital necessary to transform a scientific discovery into an economic innovation. Clearly, the middle class is our most likely innovator. They aspire to improve their socio-economic status and while they are willing to take risks by undertaking an entrepreneurial activity that disrupts existing ones, they are in a stronger position to do so. They have already acquired some assets and are in a position to make initial investments and obtain further credit if required. 9.2.6 Economic Roles of the Middle Income Groups The middle-income groups are located in all sectors of the economy – primary, secondary, tertiary, quaternary (intellectual activities) and the quinary (highest levels of decision making in a society or economy). Within these segments, they are overwhelmingly located in the private, unorganized sector, albeit significant proportions are also located in the formal public and private sector. The latest Economic Survey of the Union Government emphatically notes that the predominant source of economic growth in the last two decades has been primarily spearheaded by the service sector, followed by industry and agriculture. In terms of sectors of employment, middle- income groups are largely located in the service sector. Within the service sector, the middle-income groups are likely to find employment in the following : ? trade, ? tourism, including hotels and restaurants, ? shipping and port services, ? storage, ? telecommunications-related services, ? real estate, ? information technology (IT) and IT enabled services, ? accounting and auditing services, ? research and development, ? infrastructural services (roads, railways, civil aviation), ? financial services and ? social services (health and education).
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 122 These sectors are relatively well paying, have flexible employment contracts and work through the market logic of efficiency and productivity. The secondary sector draws its middle-income household largely from manufacturing, mining, electricity, basic goods, intermediate goods and consumer goods. The middle income households in the rural areas are thus constituted by large farmers and small entrepreneurs and salaried government employees. Influence of traditional social structure continues to be present in today's economy. Even the official documents of the Indian government accept this fact. The socio economically deprived groups such as Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes are generally employed in land based industries like agriculture, mining and construction. Muslims have been associated with trade apart from manufacturing and transport, storage and communication services. OBC's on the other hand are employed in all the industries with the least variation in their shares across different industry groups from the overall average. Those belonging to upper castes have a higher participation in lucrative service industries like banking, finance, real estate and business services. 9.2.7 Social and Political Implications: Middle Class Beyond Income and Consumption The present-day India is shaped by the contradictions emanating from an ideological commitment to market-led development on the one hand, which is inevitably biased against the asset-less and capability-less, and to the institutions of democracy, with the promise of equitable inclusion, on the other. In other words, the tension is between the economics of markets and the politics of democracy. The former indicates economic policies directed towards a market-friendly regime, supported by international and national capital, urban-based middle and upper middle classes and neo-liberal mandarins. The politics of democracy is represented by the ever-increasing assertion of the historically deprived social categories in the electoral and social domain due to their perceived as well as real marginalization from the development processes. The Indian middle class is placed quite centrally in this emerging contradictory scenario and it carries the burden of balancing them in the 'New India'. Putting it differently, the socio-economic articulation of the middle class has acquired vast legitimacy. Their attestation of the state policies as well as any protest against the same is taken quite seriously by both the state as well as the larger society. How do we then understand the middle class as a social group, beyond income and consumption? While an understanding of income groups is indeed crucial for making sense of patterns of economic growth in any country, the middle class is also a conceptual and historical category. It represents certain values and produces hegemonic discourses. As a sociological category, it is bound to reflect the vertical and horizontal

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 123 diversities of a given society. As India develops, the diversity of its middle classes also emerges, with sections from historically marginalized groups joining the ranks. However, their value frames and attitudes towards the state, political processes, and desirable modes of organizing the economy and social institutions vary significantly. The upper caste middle class talks about efficiency through market competition and privatization of public agencies, transparency and accountability of the governance apparatus. Interestingly enough, sections of the middle class from the historically deprived social group also invoke the frame of universality. However, instead of efficiency, merit, competition and the universal values they try to ensure justice, equality, representation and rights through affirmative action. The state is a critical agency for them that ought to protect and promote these universal values and confirm their presence in the political and economic processes of the country. Of course, these values are invoked to protect the interests of their communities, and hence they are often viewed with contempt by dominant sections of the Indian middle classes. To them, these appear particularistic, and hence, "un-modern" and "anti-progress". 9.3 Conclusion Though the middle classes have always been among the most influential segments of the modern Indian society, they were never as prominent and visible as they became during the decade of 1990s, after the liberalization process of the Indian economy began. Of the new economic policy and increasing globalization of the Indian economy have brought the Indian middle class into new prominence. The process of globalization has also generated a lot of debate about the actual size of middle classes in India, their consumption patterns, and the pace of their growth in the years to come. It has been claimed that the size of middle classes has grown to 20 percent of the total Indian population. Some others have put this figure at 30 percent. Though a large number of Indian people still live a life of poverty, it is the middle classes that have come to dominate the cultural and political life in India today. An important feature of the Indian middle class is its internal diversities of income, occupation, caste, community and region. Given that it emerges historically within a given social context it does not necessarily transform everything in the pre-existing social structures of social inequality. Even when the rise of middle class transforms the way people think, behave and relate to each other, the process does not do away with inequalities of caste and community. Those trying to move up in the new social and economic order use their available resources and networks, including those of caste and kinship to stabilize and improve their positions in the emerging social order, with a new framework of inequality.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 124 9.4 Summary This is also the reason why the middle class is not as homogenous as it may appear at the first instance. Diversities within the middle class are many, of income and wealth as also of status and privilege. Middle classes are often sub-classified into the "upper", the "lower" and "those in-between" segments, depending upon income, education, occupation, residence and life-style. As mentioned above, those who call themselves 'middle-class' or are classified as such, also do not abandon their other identities; particularly those that have been sources of privilege; of caste, community/ religion and region/ethnicity. Thus, we have notions such as the "Bengali middle- class" or the "Muslim middle-class" or the "Dalit middle-class". The rise and consolidation of a middle class within an "ethnic" or cultural group could work to sharpen those identities, rather than weakening or ending them. However, notwithstanding the diversity, Indian middle class also has a "dominant section", which represents dominant communities of India, i.e., the upper-caste, urban and invariably Hindu. While Indian middle classes are globally mobile, inhabit modern spaces and use the language of modernity, they also actively participate in articulations of identity politics of both the dominant "majorities" and of the "minorities". Unlike the western context, the Indian middle class lacks autonomy. It remains dependent on patronage and perpetuates the patronage culture. 9.5 Questions 1. Discuss in details the rise of middle class in India. 2. Critically analyze the role of middle class in Indian Economy. 3. What impact does the existence of middle class have in present day Indian scenario? 4. Discuss the sociological significance of Indian middle class. 5. Briefly point out the changes brought by the agency of middle class in Indian context. 9.6 Suggested Readings 1. Baizidi, Rahim (2019-07-17). "Paradoxical class: paradox of interest and political conservatism in middle class". Asian Journal of Political Science. 0: 1–14. doi:10.1080/02185377.2019.1642772. ISSN 0218-5377.

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NSOU ? CC-SO-04 126 ? New Middle class- The new concept of this class is characterized not by its participation in the production process but by its capacity to consume. ? Urban family- The terms city and town are sometimes used inconsistently. Families that are found in urban areas are termed as Urban Families. ? Professionals- A professional is a member of a profession or any person who earns a living from a specified professional activity. ? Middle class-The middle class is a description given to individuals and households who typically fall between the working class and the upper class within a socio- economic hierarchy.

Unit 10 Women's Movements Chipko and Gulab Gang Structure 10.1 Objectives 10.2 Introduction 10.2.1 Women's Movements and Feminism 10.2.2 Feminism in India 10.2.2.1First Phase 10.2.2.2Second Phase 10.2.2.3Third Phase 10.3 Chipko Andolan (1973) : An Ecological Movement in Rural India 10.3.1 Chipko and Its Effect on the Public: Its Symbolic Value 10.3.2 The Aftermath of the Chipko Movement 10.4 Self Assessment 10.5 Gulabi Gang : ‘Female Vigilantism in Rural India’ 10.5.1 Female Vigilantism at The time of State Impunity 10.5.2 Theorizing the Approach of Gulabi Gang 10.6 Conclusion 10.7 Summary 10.8 Questions 10.9 Suggested Readings 10.1 Objectives ? To understand the birth of women's movements in India and its association with 'feminism.' ? To understand the main reasons behind the Chipko movement. ? To understand why Chipko movement came to be known as a women's movement. ? To understand the reasons behind female vigilantism in India such as the Gulabi Gang. ? To compare two vastly different women's movements in India: Chipko and Gulabi Gang.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 128 10.2 Introduction 10.2.1 Women's Movements and Feminism Probably the best way to start a discussion around women's movements or women's participation in social movements is to find the thread that binds the two with the term feminism. It is correct to say that in India the term women's movement came prior to that of feminism - making it a modern concept (this is similar to the way feminism and feminist movements developed in the world). Feminism at its core strives to establish equal rights of women and aims to uplift the subordinate position of women and to end any discrimination that they face due to their sex. This ideology was mobilized through various movements that occurred around the world. The source of the term feminism lies in a 'French medical text' which was used to describe either the underdevelopment of female sexual organs or certain traits in men who were suffering from 'feminization' of their bodies. A modification of the term was given by French author and anti-feminist Alexander Duma who used the term to describe women who portrayed masculine behaviour. The term gained popularity in the middle of the 19th century when various movements spearheaded by women were gathering prominence in the United States of America. Historically Feminism as a term became popular long after women started to resist patriarchy and demand for justice. The writings of Mary Wollstonecraft (“Vindication of the Rights of Women”), a speech orated by Sojourner Truth (“Ain't I a Woman?”), the contributions of Elizabeth Cady Stanton (Organized the “Women's Rights Convention” in 1848) and Lucy Stone (The first woman to retain her surname post marriage)were notable contributions that followed. Though at the time the term 'feminist' was not popular and many expressed their discomfort in using the term, today most of the female authors, suffragists or activists have come to be known as feminists (Pande 2018). 10.2.2 Feminism in India Women's movements were associated with the first wave of feminism which began spreading in Europe in the 19th century. However, the idea of feminism was in its rudimentary stages when the first instances of female resistance were recorded in the subcontinent. In India, these movements were an immediate reaction to the deprivations and obstacles caused in the day to day lives of women. In a way, it can be said that the women who were involved in the movements had very little to do with the feminist wave that was taking over Europe and other parts of the world. Many were far from the education that modern society had to offer. What then was the impetus to these movements?

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 129 India has come a long way since the first instances of women's struggle to emancipate themselves. History of women's movements in India can be traced back to the colonial period when questions were raised against the age-old practice of Sati and widow remarriage. Yet female advocates for these demands were few, many of the movements during the colonial era were orchestrated and advocated by male reformers of the time, who were educated and exposed to the demands of a new society. These demands, articulated during the colonial period, were initiated and propagated by established male academics and stalwarts of the time, women, remained primarily recipients of the changes that were brought about. However, the most well known participation of women was in the Quit India movement. One may find the names of female activists such as Sarala Devi , Aruna Asaf Ali , Sarojini Naidu etc., who were intricately linked to India's struggle for freedom but a women's movement comprised and orchestrated by women was yet to take fruition. According to Pande (2018) women's participation in social reforms and women's movements in India can be broadly divided into three phases: 10.2.2.1 First Phase (1850-1915) Before independence, women's movements can be attributed to social reform movements of the 19th century. Western ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity had already cast an influence on the educated elite as an outcome of English education and cultural contact with the west. Western liberal thought had also addressed the critical question about the subordinate position of women in Indian society which became an impetus for social reform movements. These reform movements differed in their aims as well as in their nature. These movements were at times driven by very different ideas, but their common goal was to bring about social change by eradicating the evils. The problem however was the paradox that India posed. On one hand was the need to reform and establish a modern system and on the other was India's strict traditional base. These reform movements tried to combine the two – 'modern yet rooted in Indian tradition' and in the process faced the issues of casteism, practice of sati, child marriage and illiteracy which hindered the growth and development of women in Indian society. The aim of these reform movements was to be critical of the practices prevalent in Indian culture and to alleviate Indian society of these social evils. 10.2.2.2 Second Phase (1915-1947) In the second phase the following organizations were formed: 1. Women's India Association (WIA), 2.

71% **MATCHING BLOCK 75/133** W

National Council of Women in India (NCWI) and 3. All India Women's Conference (AIWC).

These organizations were formed in the post World War I era (between 1917 and 1927) by female founders. As the fight against imperial
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 130 rule increased within the country the foremost cause behind such agitations was nationalism. In this regard, Gandhiji played a crucial role in introducing women in the Civil Disobedience movement which was a non violent retaliation against the British Raj. This propelled women's participation in various agitations and movements in the following decades. The birth of many women's organisations in this phase continued to strive for women's equal rights and dignity. One such organization was established by Saraladevi called the Mahila Mahamandal which addressed concerns such as Purdah and to promote education among women. In 1910 the organisation held its first meeting in Allahabad. 10.2.2.3 Third Phase (1947-Present) The third phase witnessed, especially since 1975, a steady increase in the number of women's welfare organizations in India. Some issues that they addressed during this period are i) the consumption of liquor, ii) the problem of missing girl children India and iii) violence against women. In addition to this, other problems that were addressed during this period were – i) marginalized women's rights, ii) growing fundamentalism and iii) women's representation in the media had also been taken up by the Women's movement.

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From mid to late 1980s, women's groups concentrated on providing services to individual women to enable them to gain advantages already given in law.

Flavia Agnes (1992) pointed out that this

100% **MATCHING BLOCK 78/133** W

was significantly different from the welfare dispensed by earlier women's groups. The earlier groups sought amelioration; the new groups sought recognition and realization of rights.

Organisations such as SEWA, National Commission of Women (New Delhi), National Council of Women (Pune), Joint Women's Program (Delhi) and Kali for Women (Delhi) were noteworthy organisations of this period. Today, however, the nature of women's movements is strikingly different from that of its earlier form. In this regard, one of most important women's movements in post colonial India was the Chipko Movement of 1973. Did you know? We know that the father of the Indian Constitution was Dr. B.R.Ambedkar and that there were many male members of the Constituent Assembly who helped draft the Indian Constitution. However, little is said of the fifteen women who also helped draft the Indian Constitution. All these women were considered as pioneers in their own right. The list is as follows: Ammu Swaminathan, founder of Women's India Association. Dakshayani Velayudhan, who was elected to the Cochin Legislative council in 1945. Begum Aizaz Razul, a member of the Muslim League as well as elected to the Uttar Pradesh legislative Assembly NSOU ? CC-SO-04 131 in 1937. Durgabai Deshmukh, an active participant in the Non-Cooperation movement, founder of the Andhra Mahila Sabha , member of the Planning Commission, Chairperson of the National Council for Women's Education and received the Padma Vibhushan in 1975. Hansa Jivraj Mehta who served as the president of the All India Women's Council from 1945 to 1946, Vice-Chancellor of SNDT Women's University as well as the Vice-Chairman of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations in 1950. Kamala Chaudhary was an active participant in the Civil Disobedience Movement and Vice President of All India Congress Committee. Leela Ray, an activist in the Salt Satyagraha and was the editor of The Forward Bloc Weekly. Malati Choudhury was a member of the Indian National Congress and also a fierce critic of the Emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi. Purnima Banerjee served as the secretary of Indian National Congress. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was India's first Health Minister and the founder of All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), Renuka Ray was an Indian freedom fighter and a member of All India Women's Conference (AIWC). Sarojini Naidu (The Nightingale of India) was an Indian Poetess and the first woman president of the Indian National Congress and the first woman Governor of state. Sucheta Kriplani was the first woman Chief Minister of India (Uttar Pradesh) and an active participant in the Quit India Movement in 1942. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, who became the first woman as well as the first Asian president of the United Nations General Assembly and Annie Mascarene, the first woman member of Parliament from the state of Kerala (Srivastava 2018). Things to do: Why are these movements known as women's movements? Think of few reasons as to why women thought it was necessary for them to begin movements of their own? 10.3 Chipko Andolan (1973) : An Ecological Movement in Rural India Chipko, which means 'to stick to' or 'embrace', was a movement that is often said to have drawn its significance from an incident that occurred in 18th century in Kejri village in Rajasthan. A member of the Bishnoi community, Amrita Devi had objected to the Maharaja's decision to fell trees and protested by embracing trees. However,

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 132 the cutters, on being compelled to carry out the Maharaja of Jodhpur's orders, cut down the trees, killing Amrita Devi and others in the process. A century later in 1973 similar events related to the Chipko movement took place in the Garhwal Himalayas. It was a non-violent movement to stop the indiscriminate felling of trees in the region. During this time wood felling had become the target of many a company such that the locals were being deprived of the most important produce of the forest, its wood which was a source of livelihood for the villagers. In a rather one-sided policy of the government, the locals were banned from felling trees but a certain sports company was permitted to fell trees. This created an uproar and for the first time under the leadership of Chandi Prasad Bhatt, a Gandhian and the founder of Dasholi Gram Swarajya Sangh began the Chipko movement of 1973.The act of hugging trees came about when the government refused the appeals of Bahuguna and the women on many occasions. It was only when they displayed their protest by hugging trees that the government was compelled to withdraw the permit of the sports company to cut trees. In another instance in the village of Reni, where trees were being auctioned, Gaura Devi, the head of the Mahila Mangal Dal along with 27 other women embraced trees to protect them, even keeping a night vigil. In the face of abuse and threats by the loggers, these women carried out their non-violent protest till the loggers left. The most loyal followers of the movement were the women of the region as they were directly affected by the impact of logging which caused shortage of firewood and drinking water. Their contribution and due to their centrality to the movement, many social scientists termed Chipko as an 'eco-feminist movement'. Thus, sensitizing the rural folk, especially women, on the effects of cutting trees was an important requirement and the key to mobilising those who were most affected by the actions/ decisions of the government. In this regard it was important to note the role of educating the masses on the effects of deforestation which was exemplified by another Gandhian environmental activist, Sunderlal Bahuguna, popularly acknowledged as the leader of Chipko. His contribution in educating the masses was so effective that the then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi took the initiative to ban logging and felling of trees. Things to do: ? Identify popular slogans of the Chipko movement. ? Find out the prominent female figures of the Chipko Movement.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 133 10.3.1 Chipko and Its Effect on the Public: Its Symbolic Value Chipko was one of the first successful ecological movements recorded in the history of India. The movement itself became the precursor to many later movements concerning deforestation, global warming and other ecological issues both in India and the world. It also heralded and became symbolic of the success of non-violent methods of protest (Satyagraha), persistence and mobilising people in the grass roots. Vandana Shiva and D. Bandhyopadhyay had noted that Chipko could provide us with answers on the strategies of survival at the time of ecological disaster. Chipko became a tale of trust and shared suffering and was an example of how people from the most backward regions could be sensitized and mobilized to fight for causes that affected common people as well as became a source to change forest policies in the country. One example of how Chipko movement inspired later movements was that of the Appiko movement that took place in North Karnataka in 1983, headed by Panduranga Hegde. Northern Karnataka had experienced drops in its forest cover from 80% in 1950 to 25% in 1980. The alarming drop in forest cover started the Appiko movement in the Kalse forest of Karnataka which like Chipko adopted the non-violent method of hugging trees ('appiko' means 'to embrace' in Kannada). Their protests like Chipko were comprised of many women who were central to the movement as they physically averted felling of trees in the forests. Chipko and Appiko movements were therefore a witness to the increasing participation of women in social movements which later became a part of the 'development' discourse in India. Vandana Shiva, noted sociologist, has presented Chipko as the beginning of eco- feminism which tries to establish the 'intimate relationship'between women and nature. This is because, according to Shiva, women like nature have the capacity to nurture but have had to endure the oppression of patriarchy and commercial interests such that both situations lead to the lack of control over the self as well as natural resources- this makes both, ecological movements and women's movements, similar in nature. Did you know? Eco-feminism or Ecological feminism was a concept which sought to explain a certain link between ecological disasters and the oppression of women. Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies(2014) have explained eco-feminism as the process in which patriarchy has systematically devalued the contributions of women by making them unproductive and consciously excludes female work despite speaking of 'inclusiveness and 'development.' It seeks to understand ways in which patriarchal models of development driven by 'corporate globalization' has not only caused environmental disasters

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 134 but have deprived womens access to natural resources and hence limited their access to livelihoods. Ariel Salleh says, “its (eco feminism's) first premise is that the 'material resourcing' of women and of nature are structurally interconnected in the capitalist patriarchal system” (Mies and Shiva 2014). According to Salleh, eco-feminism accomplishes what previous feminist strains failed to do, That is, it was able to integrate issues concerning nature, humans, animals as well as that affect across cultures etc. Things to do: ? Identify the limitations of eco-feminism. 10.3.2 The Aftermath of the Chipko Movement Chipko had sought to not only alert rural folk on the effects of deforestation but it also became a way of holding the government accountable for years of neglect and dismissal of local demands and needs. Chipko (as well as appiko), though being spontaneous and immediate in nature, raised fundamental questions on: ? Agricultural practices that were gaining popularity in the country, but would cause long term damage to the land and its people. One such issue was the increased practice of mono-culture in the region which scientists viewed as detrimental to the region. For example the government continued to place importance on Chir Pine as opposed to more productive trees necessary for agro- forestry. ? Why trees were being auctioned to rich companies? ? Why employment in companies in the region favoured migrants than the locals? ? Why were small local production units charged higher for raw materials than big companies? ? The effects of deforestation had already been visible through the many floods that ravaged the region in 1970s (Mawdsley 1998). The results of the Chipko movement are as follows: ? The use of non-violent techniques such as hugging trees, Hindu techniques of tying raksha bandhan on trees by women, bandaging Chir Pine trees that were over tapped for resin. ? Prime Minister Indira Gandhi took decision to stop commercial felling for 15 years. ? Chipko gave an impetus to new movements such as 'Save Himalaya', Anti-Tehri Dam Movement of 1980, The Appiko Movement of 1983 etc (Ibid).

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 135 ? Haripriya Rangan(2000) observed that the Chipko movement became 'the conscience of the nation' such that the efforts were quickly recognized and lead to immediate action on behalf of the government to curtail ecological degradation and deforestation in the Himalayas. The movement fostered the ability to see various problems such as floods, poverty, out-migration, and women's sufferings- their daily struggle to collect fuel and fodder for their households-as being an outcome of indiscriminate timber extraction by forest contractors. When we move from one type of movement such as Chipko which was spearheaded by male advocates such as Chandi Prasad Bhatt or Sunderlal Bahuguna to one that is solely mobilized by women, one would have to speak of uprisings such as the Gulabi Gang of Uttar Pradesh. 10.4 Self Assessment I. Answer in detail a. What were the main objectives of the Chipko movement? b. Why was it important to mobilize women in the grassroots in the Chipko movement? c. Why do we say that Chipko movement has a symbolic value in the history of movements in India? II. Answer briefly. a. Write a short note on 'Feminism.' b. What were the strategies of protest in the Chipko movement? c. Explain what ecological feminism stands for. d. How did Chipko transform into a movement? e. Why do we categorize Chipko as a women's' movement? III. Answer very briefly a. Name 4 women who helped draft the Indian Constitution. b. Who is known as the leader of Chipko Movement? c. What is the full form of DGSS? d. Where did the Appiko Movement take place? e. How had deforestation affected the Garhwal region in 1970s?

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 136 10.5 Gulabi Gang: 'Female Vigilantism in Rural India' Bhanwari Devi, a 52 year old from Banda in Uttar Pradesh narrated the day she was raped by an upper caste man when she was in the field to relieve herself. The crops had been cut and had made the soil coarse, so she could not run as that would tear her feet. After the ordeal, the rapist spat on her and left her in the fields. When she tried to report the matter to the police, they said she had "asked for it." Slowly her husband left her and she, finding no other way for justice,joined the 'Gulabi Gang' or the 'Pink Sari Gang'(from Atrayee Sen's interview of Bhanwari Devi, member of Gulabi Gang). The Gang operated from its headquarters in Badausa in Uttar Pradesh and its 'commander-in-chief' was Sampat Pal. Pal also had a story of her own. She was married early in life and had faced stiff resistance from her family to get an education, which came to a halt when she was married. She started working as a government health worker in order to support her family which now consisted of five children. It was during her work as a health worker that she became more aware of the inequalities and problems of women in rural areas. On one occasion when she was unable to help a friend from her abusive husband, she took matters in her own hands by forming a gang of women and thrashing the husband in full public view. Thus was born Sampat Pal's Gulabi Gang. Atrayee Sen(2012) notes that the activities of the Gulabi Gang was an 'effective short term response strategy for localized forms of gender violence'(Ibid.). Did you know? Source:https://www.dcuniverse.com/ Female vigilantism is not a new concept and has been a source of violent justice for many in oppressive situations and state impunity. The concept has been a theme for works of fiction, popular culture such as cinema, television series as well as graphic novels.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 137 Things to do: Watch the documentary Gulabi Gang (2012); Director: Nishtha Jain and share your thoughts on the same. Comment on the ideas of 'morality', 'violence', notions of 'justice' etc., as portrayed in the documentary. Sen continues to provide data on how the group operates, such as the way they have trained themselves in the art of lathi or stick fighting.The lathi has become symbol of justice for the group such that Suman Sing, the deputy commander of the group in an interview to television channel, Al Jazeera says, "All our women can stand up to the men and if need will seek retribution through lathis"(Desai 2014). The office of the Gulabi Gang is a busy one where women travel for miles to find solutions to their problems. She notes the cases which are handled by the gang as: Even though a majority of the gang's cases concern marital violence, dowry demands, and (or) abusive in-laws, they also address land disputes, resolve neighborhood skirmishes, and help poor women procure socio-economic benefits, ranging from school admissions to acquiring food cards (Ibid.). Though the Gulabi Gang had operated away from politics for many years, in recent years the Gang, especially Sampat Pal ventured into politics. The membership in the gang currently stands at around 40,000 women from 11 districts of Uttar Pradesh. 10.5.1 Female Vigilantism at the Time of State Impunity Gulabi Gang is the answer to prolong state impunity and the state's inability to provide protection to victims. In many cases the victims themselves are counter charged and arrested by the police.Sometimes the activities of the gang are also against state officials such as the one narrated by Amana Fontanella Khan(2013) where Sampat Pal tries to understand a case involving a village girl charged with theft from the house of a Member of the Legislative Assembly (Fontanella-Khan 2013). Another example is of a 17 year old girl who was gang raped where one of the perpetrators was a member of the local legislature. Female Vigilantism and Gulabi Gang was thus an outcome of anger and mistrust in the 'government machinery.' 10.5.2 Theorizing the Approach of Gulabi Gang Social scientists believe that the activities of Gulabi Gang and its members are under 'Soft Feminism.' Though trained in the art of violence such as stick fighting, which the members state they use only as a last resort and have had to employ the means to solve cases; the Gang's activities do not necessarily have a 'liberatory' view of

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 138 emancipation. In an example, Sampat Pal and other members seek to reinstate a woman back to her husband's house despite the woman complaining that her husband had married her for money. Activities of the Gulab Gang fail to completely sever themselves from the patriarchal ideology and despite being spontaneous in their approach, their activities have remained localized. It has been earlier stated that the Gulabi Gang can be termed as a vigilante group. However, there is a lack of consensus over what exactly 'vigilantism' is and whether it can qualify as a social movement. Though 'vigilantism' can be undertaken by the government or practiced privately such as the Gulabi Gang, the term is used to denote a wide number of activities which are either 'genuine social movements or a mere social reaction.' But, whatever may be the case, Gulabi Gang is a female vigilante group that does exhibit the six characteristics of vigilante groups like: i) the group's activities are an outcome of a certain amount of planning, premeditation and organization; ii) it involves private voluntary agency which means the voluntary involvement of private persons in vigilante acts; iii) membership is autonomous or rather vigilante groups rely on autonomous citizenship such that any state involvement is not considered as vigilante activity; iv)it uses or threatens the use of force ;v) it is seen as a reaction to crime or social deviance and lastly; vi) it is usually undertaken for personal and collective security (Ibid.).
Things to do: ? Assess the characteristics of Gulabi Gang and outline how it qualifies as a social movement. 10.6 Conclusion While different in their cause and approach, Chipko Movement and the Gulabi Gang allow us to assess the nature of women's movements in India. Chipko follows to the Gandhian means of non-violence such as Satyagraha but the Gulabi Gang resorts to violence as a means of instilling fear in the minds of its perpetrators. As Sen observes, Gulabi Gang's means of justice can be termed as 'brutal justice among fringe communities.' The role of women in both instances cannot be ignored, while Chipko observes the mobilization of women of the Garhwal Himalayas, they also receive support from empathetic men and the student community. In the case of Gulabi Gang however, it is mostly women who take membership when the state system fails to support them repeatedly. In both cases however, the women have taken the leading role for changing the earlier social system.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 139 It is important to note that both the movements have taken place in extremely backward regions of India with its people having little access to the cultural capital required to mobilise the masses. Yet their effects have been long lasting such that almost decades later (especially in the case of Chipko Movement) it resonates with newer social problems concerning 'global warming, desertification and floods' and for Gulabi Gang, rights of women, equality and feminism. 10.7 Summary Both Chipko and Gulabi Gang did not become a movement overnight. Their protest strategies whether hugging trees or vigilantism were successful in bringing about policy changes and were mirrored by others in similar situations. Haripriya Rangan(2000), while discussing the Chipko Movement observed, 'it is in a sense the verb chipko came to be associated with social protests that emerged in Garhwal during the mid-1970s'(Ibid. 21). The main reason why Chipko became a movement rather than just a means of correcting an immediate problem of distribution of resources and access to raw materials at lowered rates was because it 'changed its objective'. It did not remain a localized protest but one that aimed to answer the fundamental truth concerning preservation of forests and those whose livelihoods depended on it. The process of it to become a movement obviously required , as Rangan observed that the contributions of the advocates of Chipko such as Sunderlal Bahuguna and Chandi Prasad Bhatt and also that of social activists and academics, Vandana Shiva and Ramachandra Guha who could be credited for starting a global discussion around Chipko. 10.8 Questions I. Answer in detail a. What is vigilantism? What were the reasons for the growth of Gulab gang? b. Identify the principles on which Gulab Gang operates. How is it different from other women's movements such as Chipko? c. Is Gulab Gang anti-establishment? Give reasons for your answer. d. Discuss the protest strategies of the Gulab Gang. How is it different from the Chipko Movement? II. Answer in brief a. Explain female vigilantism. b. Outline possible reasons for the rise of vigilantism in one of the most backward districts of India.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 140 c. Does Gulab Gang qualify as a movement? Justify. d. Identify another vigilante group that operates in the world and compare the same with Gulab Gang. II. Answer very briefly a. Identify two characteristics of Gulab gang. b. Why is Gulab Gang a localized uprising? c. Where is the headquarters of Gulab Gang located? d. In how many districts does Gulab Gang operate? 10.9 Suggested Readings 1. Desai, S (2014), Gulabi Gang: India's Women Warriors: An All-Women Vigilante Group Captures Popular Imagination by Wielding Sticks and Taking On Villains, Al Jazeera ,available at: https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/02/ gulabi-gang-indias-women-warrriors-20142261032061238 2.html. 2. Fontanella-Khan, A.(2013). Pink Sari Revolution: A Tale of Women and Power. W.W. Norton & Company: New York. 3. Johnston, L. (Spring 1996), What is Vigilantism?, Brit.J. Criminol, Volume 36(2). 4.

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Unit 11 Peasant Movements: Tebhaga and Naxalbari/Farmer's Movement Structure 11.1 Objectives 11.2 Introduction 11.2.1 Who Are the Peasants? 11.2.2 Peasant Uprisings in India: A Brief History 11.2.2.1 Indigo Rebellion or the Nil Bidraha 11.2.2.2 The Champaran Satyagraha 11.2.2.3 Moplah or the Malabar Rebellion 11.3 What Caused Peasant Uprisings in India? 11.4 The Tebhaga Movement: 1946 11.4.1 Stage-I-Mobilization of Peasants at the Grassroots. 11.4.2 Women's participation in Tebhaga Movement 11.4.3 Stage II-The West Bengal Land Reforms Act or Bargadar's Act of 1955 11.4.4 The Aftermath of the Movement: Operation Barga of 1978 11.5 Naxalbari Movement: Armed Revolution in Rural Bengal 11.5.1 What Caused Naxalbari Movement? 11.5.2 Growth of Naxalbari Movement 11.6 Conclusion 11.7 Summary 11.8 Questions 11.9 Suggested Readings 11.1 Objectives ? To identify peasant movements in India. ? To understand the main causes behind peasant uprisings in India. ? To analyse the circumstances that lead to the Tebhaga Movement in India. ? To analyse the growth of Naxalbari movement in India.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 142 11.2 Introduction The peasants are small producers who cultivate for subsistence. In the Indian economy they belong to the categories of sharecroppers, tenants, marginal farmers or agricultural labourers. In the Varna system they were known as the 'kisans' or cultivators. The other names are 'krishak', 'roytu', 'chashi'. They are also divided into 'adhiar', 'bhagchashi' and 'bargadars' and are also known as sharecroppers or tenants, 'majdoor', 'majur' or 'krishi shramik' or agricultural labourers. Social scientists believe that these terms connote the socially and economically deprived status of peasants in the country (Sinha Roy 2005). 11.2.1 Who Are the Peasants? There cannot be one universal definition of peasants and as such these perspectives can be roughly divided into three categories. The first are the historical definitions which involve 'estate like, caste like, corporate or subordinated social group' (Edelman in Rao 2016). Here, a peasant group is usually engaged in providing service to 'super- ordinate groups.' The second are the sociological or anthropological definitions that mostly identify economic groups in agrarian society found mostly in agrarian or peasant studies. The third, are the definitions put forward by activists or Human Rights Council such as the United Nations that are more interested in the marginal farmers than the rural landless ones and the term peasants is used to denote agricultural labour, those engaged in fishing, craft making, shifting cultivation, also nomads and hunters gatherers etc. (Ibid. 98-99). In India most of the peasants form the lowest socio-economic rung such that they have had to endure centuries of domination from the upper caste 'zamindars', 'jotedars' and 'jagirdars.' Sinha Roy has described peasants or 'kisans' in India as: '

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peasants are socially and economically marginalised, culturally subjugated and politically dis-empowered social groups who are attached to land to eke out subsistence living'(

Sinha Roy 2005). 11.2.2 Peasant Uprisings in India: A Brief History A number of identifiable peasant movements took place in India during the colonial period, many of which can further be traced in the eastern regions of India. In this regard it would be noteworthy to discuss the following peasant uprisings in India. 11.2.2.1 Indigo Rebellion or Nil Bidraha The Indigo Rebellion involved widespread peasant agitations in the Bengal region during the period from 1839 to 1860. The agitation was directed against the planters of the indigo crop and the instance was often referred to as an important period that eventually gave rise to the early nationalist movement in India. Textile industries grew at a rapid rate following

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 143 the Industrial revolution and equally important was the process of dyeing clothes which required the manufacture of dyes. This became an important branch in the apparel manufacturing industry. As an increasing number of British planters settled in India they took keen interest in the cultivation of indigo, a dye whose manufacture and supply weakened from other sources, but from India, manufacture of and export increased exponentially making India one of the key exporters of the dye. In order to carry out cultivation, large kuthis were established in different parts of Bengal, the largest being a kuthi in Nadia- Jessore-Khulna, established by the East India Company. The European planters made provisions for an advance or dadon which the peasants or ryots could borrow in order to reserve a part of their land for cultivation of indigo. The money could be repaid in small amounts which would be adjusted against the final payment at the time of delivery. The receipt of the advance by the ryot however caused them to become financially indebted to the planters. This happened in a number of districts such as Jessore, Nadia, and Pabna. The ryots were further faced with cheating and tampering of scales by the intermediaries or dealers responsible for carrying the produce to the planter's factory. The net profit earned by these ryots were almost negligible or none whatsoever. As the 'value of the produce was calculated at rates far below market price', after deductions in revenue stamps for agreement papers, transport charges and cost of seeds, there was little or no profit earned by the farmers. The tax burden further entrenched the famer in a 'debt bondage' with the planters which was often passed on to sons. Refusal to pay or cultivate would only invite the wrath of the planters who would send armed guards or 'lathiyals' to beat up the farmers and their family members. With no legal system in place to protect the rights of the farmers or ryots, escape from the system seemed bleak. The retaliation by the peasants took the form of repeated attacks on indigo factories and their British planters. The district of Pabna witnessed some of the worst forms of violence. In this region, peasants also refused to sow indigo seeds (Chattopadhyay and Mamun 2009). 11.2.2.2 The Champaran Satyagraha Champaran Satyagraha or farmers' agitation is also known as India's first instance of civil disobedience. Indigo plantations during the British raj had extended into the region of Bihar and a system of loans was available to the peasants. The growing textile industry had also generated the need to manufacture indigo in these regions. Most British planters who had acquired lease on land controlled large tracts of area that often encompassed entire villages. Not only were the peasants forced to grow indigo on the most fertile part of their land but there also existed the system 'tinkathia.' However, around the late 1880s with the discovery of the synthetic dye in Germany, a crisis grew in the export of indigo. Irfan Habib (2017) outlined the issues that rose with this new crisis, Decrease in indigo prices led to a sharp fall in the planters' profits from indigo manufacture, the planters in turn increased the 'rent- burden' on the peasants. The impositions took two major forms: Zamindars or thekadars

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 144 simply increased the rents paid by peasants and this increase in rent was called sharahbeshi, which was 50-60% of the previous rent. The second issue that arose was— since indigo prices fell, the peasants did not wish to produce indigo any longer under the tinkathia system. When planters refused to buy the produce, they allowed the peasant to shift to other crops only if he agreed to pay them a large amount as compensation also known as tawan. The amounts imposed were so large that the most peasants underwent tremendous difficulty not only to pay interest which was at the rate of 12% per annum but it became even harder to repay the principal amount. Forceful cultivation of land, illegal imposition of penalties and constant threat of withdrawal of tenancy, the entire 'burden of the crisis' had been shifted to the peasants which lead to the Champaran Satyagraha. On 10th April, 1917, Gandhi visited Champaran with a team of lawyers to lend his support. The team included eminent lawyers and statesmen such as Brajkishore Prasad, Rajendra Prasad, Anugrah Narayan Sinha, Ramnavami Prasad and J.B. Kripalani. Local agitators such as Sheikh Gulab, Harbans Sahay, Pir Mohammed Munsi, Sant Rawat and Lomrah Singh also played a major role in resisting the panchkatiya system. Did you know? Following are some of the terms used extensively in the indigo plantation system in the Champaran region: Thekadars: Individuals leasing out land whose powers were equal to that of Zamindars. Thekas: Leased land often as large as an entire village. Tinkathia: This included the forceful cultivation of indigo on teen (three) katas of land out of every twenty katas of land in the region of Champaran in Bihar. Sarahbeshi: The increase in rent imposed on the peasants after the crisis in indigo production and export following the development of synthetic dye in Germany. However, despite the export of the dye being restored after World War I, the practice or rather the burden of Sarahbeshi did not cease for the peasants who continued to be exploited by the planters. Tawan: A compensation paid by peasants who were willing to cultivate crops other than indigo. Zira'at: Land on which indigo was cultivated by the factories themselves. Peasants were often transferred to cultivating these factory held lands once they agreed to pay a huge sum towards rent. Awab: Illegal dues

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 145 11.2.2.3 The Moplah/Malabar Rebellion In 1792 Malabar was under the British. This had caused drastic changes in the economy and especially for one particular community, the Moplahs. The Moplahs or Mappila Muslims,

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once a prosperous trading community, had been reduced to poverty as the control of maritime commerce

had been brought under the English and the Portuguese. Further, Malabar's landlords under the British being mostly Hindu would often face revolt from the Moplahs in the 19th century. It was recorded that between 1836 and 1919, 29 such outrages or offensives had occurred. There was a considerable disagreement in the way the causes behind these 'outrages' were understood. While some believed it to be an uprising against the oppressive land tenure system, others believed it to be characterised by religious fanaticism. Some scholars such as Stephen Dale believed instead of one exclusive reason, there was a possibility of overlapping 'elements' which lead to these revolts. The Congress played a crucial role in mobilizing the Moplahs. Congress had launched its first mass civil disobedience movement under M.K.Gandhi in 1920. A transformation within the Congress party was brought about by MK Gandhi who had altered the very nature of the party from being an English speaking, elite group to one that could mobilize a huge number of people in British India. Before the Non-Cooperation movement began, Gandhi sought the alliance of the Khilafat Movement which had already mobilized a large number of Muslims. Gandhi and the Khilafat Leader, Shaukat Ali visited Malabar on 18th August, 1920 where a gathering of twenty thousand were urged to jointly resist the British who had deliberately '...flouted religious sentiments dearly cherished by the 70 million Mussalmans'. In the 19th century, the uprisings did not sustain for long as they were 'low in intensity' and were therefore put down by the British easily. It was only in 1921, that their movement was able to take character and became a means for asserting both their cultural identity as well as take on the nature of a nationalist movement (Daniyal 2018). Things to do: Discuss the book 'Nil Darpan' by Dinabandhu Mitra and give an account of its historical and social context, the implications of indigo farming on the peasants as well as the economy of Bengal. Or Visit Mangalgunj, Sonamukhi etc., and examine the backgrounds of Nil Kuthis. 11.3 What Caused Peasant Uprisings in India? The agrarian structure during the colonial period was highly fragmented. The British had NSOU ? CC-SO-04 146 also introduced intermediaries to collect tax on behalf of the government. This land tenure system based on strict division of agrarian classes led to widespread economic insecurity among the peasants, the primary producers of food grain in the country. At the time of independence however, rising demands of the peasant community to abolish the intermediary system of land tenure system and providing tenurial security to tenants was gaining momentum. Initiatives were also taken to bring about changes in the agrarian structure, but the process of implementation was not adequate. The result of this was an unequal outcome of the implementation of new reform laws. In this context it is important to discuss two famous peasant uprisings which are often termed as radical in nature to have occurred in Bengal- The Tebhaga Movement of 1946 and The Naxalbari Movement of 1967. 11.4 The Tebhaga Movement: 1946 The Tebhaga movement was a result of the oppressive share cropping system prevalent in Bengal at the time. Large intermediary landlords known as 'jotedars' would rent out land to sharecroppers in return of ½ of the produce. In addition to this the Bengal Famine of 1943 had caused widespread shortage of food rendering the sharecroppers unable to give half of their produce to the landlords. The sharecroppers demanded that they would be allowed to keep 2/3 of the produce, the literal meaning of 'tebhaga,' to themselves instead of ½. 11.4.1 Stage-I- Mobilization of Peasants at the Grassroots. The Kisan Sabha, the peasant wing of the Communist Party of India (henceforth CPI), mobilised the peasants in order to introduce the provision of keeping 2/3 of the produce and at the same time discontinue the payment of illegal cesses. The CPI had for sometime wanted to introduce the new tenurial method of keeping 2/3 of the produce and the time seemed ideal for this demand to be placed. It also received an impetus from the submission of the report of the Floud Commission which expressed the need for agricultural reforms in Bengal. The demands were faced with stiff resistance from the state such that the movement felt the need to mobilize the rural masses in order to free themselves from years of exploitation. As a result, the movement witnessed the participation of about 6,00,000 peasant shailing from mainly the northern regions of Bengal. The protests included demonstration with sticks and flags and stacking of paddy in farmer's houses during the harvest of the 'aman' crop in the month of November (Custers 1986).

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 147 Did you know: The Floud Commission under the chairmanship of Sir F.C. Floud was set up in 1938 to probe into the land tenure practices prevalent in Bengal at the time. The enquiry into the existing system had exposed a number of loopholes and The Commission had successfully raised pertinent questions such as –'Is the barga system economically sound?','What is a fair proportion of produce payable by bargadars?'As well as 'Do you consider that the right of occupancy and other rights should be extended to bargadars ? If not, how would you protect them and to what extent?' 11.4.2 Women's Participation in Tebhaga Movement Like Chipko movement, women had an important role to play in Tebhaga Movement's success. As Peter Custers observed, women of Bengal had provided the much needed 'spontaneity' that the movement required. Even in remote villages, where women remained confined to the processing phase of the harvested paddy, they rose to the cause as they had already borne the brunt of providing for their families at the time of the Bengal Famine of 1943. Custers futher noted that, "For these women, the storing of paddy in their own houses, for the first time in their lives, was a revolutionary event. It evoked a tremendous emotional response"(Ibid: 28). The participation of rural women allowed the formation of the nari bahini or 'women's wing' of the movement where women were ready to confront police brutality with brooms, sticks and spices. While battling family problems, as women were equally oppressed in the family, women such as Bimala Maji, the Chief organiser of the Nandigram area of Midnapore, fought the odds to become a part of the short lived but successful peasant movement. Women of the region set up centres to produce goods such as mat making which would yield some income and also took the initiative to give alms and food to the poor and destitute. A noteworthy initiative by the nari bahini was to set up dheki programmes for the destitute. Women would borrow paddy and process it in order to sell them in the markets. A certain portion was paid back to the land lord or supplier. This made destitute women both employed and capable of feeding their families (Ibid.). Things to do : Identify a rural area and enumerate the proportion of share croppers or bargadars in the village. Find out the various problems faced by them. 11.4.3 Stage II-The West Bengal Land Reforms Act or Bargadar's Act of 1955 Following the Tebhaga Movement in West Bengal, The Bargadar Act or Land Reforms Act of 1955 was introduced.The Act sought to give the following things:
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 148 a) Definition of a 'bargadar': 'Bargadar' means a person who under the system generally known as adhi, barga or bhag, cultivates the land of another person on condition of delivering a share of the produce of such land to that person and includes a person who under the system generally known as kisan (or by any other description) cultivates the land of another person on condition of receiving a share of the product of such land from that person' (West Bengal Land Reforms Act, 1955; Chapter 1: Definitions.). b) Provision for inheritance: Provisions were made in the Act of 1955 for the inheritance of cultivation of land which the bargadar cultivates. This however, was not applicable to the transfer of land/property. It was stated that the lawful heir of the bargadar would become the rightful cultivator of the land. In case of an absence of an heir or inability to select an heir, it would be a competent authority who would decide the rightful heir. c) Limiting termination rights: While the renting of land is to be based on a contract(usually one year) between the owner and the bargadar, the rights of termination of the contract would no longer vest on the land lord as long as the bargadar paid his rent regularly except in the cases listed below i) If land is left uncultivated; ii) Or unless the landlord wished to take back the land for personal cultivation.' d. The aftermath of the movement: Operation Barga of 1978 : When the Land Reforms Act of 1955 came into force, it was noticed that the second clause for termination of cultivation rights of tenants/bargadars i.e., 'or unless the landlord wished to take back the land for personal cultivation' had been exploited, leaving the bargadars prone to eviction by the landowners. Further, the procedure of registration of tenants had caused relations between bargadars and land owners to become strained in many occasions which deprived the tenants of any future assistance from the land owners in the form of loan as well as the possibility of pursuing legal cases. When the Left Front ascended to power in West Bengal in 1977, they focused to give more attention to the problem that plagued the previous land reform legislation. The primary step was to do away with the clause that stated the landlord's claim to the rented land for personal cultivation. The second was to enable tenants to register themselves under the government for legal protection and benefits. The process of registration and enumeration of tenants was termed as Operation Barga and became a defining attempt to bring about agricultural reform in West Bengal by the Left Government (Bose 2013). The process of registration was elaborate where government officials undertook tasks of publicizing the procedure of Operation Barga in villages and organizing re-orientation
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 149 camps of 3-4 days where they explained the rights of bargadars and the benefits of registration under the government. Along with this, Special Revenue Officers or Sub divisional Land Reform Officers carried out Barga recording in special areas. Did you know? The idea of Operation Barga was proposed by Benoy Choudhury, who played a major role in Peasant Mobilization. He was also one of the top leaders of the Krishak Sabha. 11.5 Naxalbari Movement: Armed Revolution in Rural Bengal Following the Tebhaga Movement, many Zamindars started to own land under fictitious names or as was known, benami. It was precisely this struggle to grab land that belonged to the tillers which started the Naxalbari Movement in North Bengal. In 1967, under the leadership of the members of the Communist Party of Bengal, notably, Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal and Jangal Santhal peasants decided to undertake armed struggles against big landowners where the main

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objective was to reclaim land from big Zamindars and re- distribute the same among the tilling farmers and landless labourers.

In the incident that took place in 1967, seven women peasants among the 11 were killed. It was these deaths which made the movement prominent (Ray 2014). The first instances of violence took place when

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the president of the Siliguri Kisan Sabha , Jangal Santhal had begun organising people for the

struggle. In May, 1967 the struggle witnessed the killing of a sharecropper, shortly after Jangal Santhal had called for an armed struggle. The attack was carried out by a local Zamindar and his 'armed band.' As retaliation, Jangal Santhal along with few tribals attacked the police team that had come to investigate the death of the farmer. The violence culminated in the death of a sub-inspector in Naxalbari, from which the movement derived its name as it remained the site of the incident. 11.5.1 What Caused Naxalbari Movement? Speculation had surrounded around why such an armed uprising had taken place. It has been contended that one reason could be incomplete agrarian reforms, followed by extreme poverty and exploitation of landless tillers who hailed from lower castes or tribal communities by Zamindars. As the administration failed to address these problems and to provide social justice, extreme discontent developed among the masses and left-wing leaders. Other reasons include that despite Zamindari system being abolished post-independence in order to promote agrarian reforms, redistribution of land was never a priority of the government. The abolition of Zaminadri further saw the rise of new classes such as the 'neo-rich farmers' who remained profit oriented with little interest in dividing the profit among the tillers and
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 150 labourers. This widened the gap between the landowners who made rapid economic gains, and the landless were pushed to abject poverty (Dutta 2017). 11.5.2 Growth of Naxalbari Movement The Naxalbari movement instead of becoming obsolete metamorphosed into the Naxalite Movement, 2004 saw the merging of two large armed Naxalite groups, the Maoist Communist Centre and the Communist Party of India to form the Communist Party of India (Maoist) which often referred to as the Maoists. Their objective included an escalated offensive against the Indian state. The movement also expanded its operations away from the 'exposed agricultural plains' to the hill and forested regions of Bengal, Orissa, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. This was mostly because the new terrain allowed for guerrilla warfare and these regions were also the home of India's tribal population, which remained neglected and unaffected by any developmental processes of the Indian state. Later the issue which became a social concern was the mineral resource that the region harboured, mainly iron ore, coal, bauxite etc. The region occupied by the Naxalites became a matter of interest to big businesses especially foreign after the trade liberalization of 1990. Consequently, both the Adivasis and the Naxalites who engaged in guerrilla had been increasingly perceived of as an obstruction due to this very reason. Did you know? Guerrilla warfare, is a

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type of warfare fought by rebels in fast-moving, small-scale actions against orthodox military and police forces and, on occasion, against rival insurgent forces, either independently or in conjunction with a larger political- military strategy. The word guerrilla

is derived from the Spanish Guerra which means “war.”

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Over the centuries the practitioners of guerrilla warfare have been called rebels, irregulars, insurgents, partisans, and mercenaries. Frustrated military commanders have consistently

labelled the them as barbarians, savages, terrorists, brigands, outlaws, and bandits (Encyclopaedia Britannica). Following the formation of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), India's then Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, declared the Naxalites to be the single greatest internal security threat in the country and soon launched counter-insurgency measures—dubbed Operation Green Hunt—against the Naxals/Maoists and anyone seen to sympathise with their cause. In 2017, an estimated 10,000 to 25,000 armed cadres with an additional 100,000 militia members were part of the Naxalites and were present in 190 out of India's 626 districts. They had the capacity to attack in 90 districts. To curtail their operations, tens of thousands of members of the armed forces, police officers, and special police officers from across the country were mobilized. It was also during this time that Salwa Judum, a counter insurgency operation became active in Chattisgarh.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 151 Did you know? Salwa Judum or the purification hunt was a counter insurgency operation active mostly in the Bastar and Dantewada regions of Chattisgarh. Nandini Sundar (2019) elaborates on Salwa Judum as "a people's movement against the Maoists of the Bastar region. Vigilantes accompanied by security forces went through villages burning, looting, killing, forcibly removing villagers to government controlled camps. By 2009, Salwa Judum had converted into a full-fledged police and paramilitary operation known as Operation Green Hunt. In the years since the number of deaths, rapes and arrests of civilians has only grown, quite apart from the deaths of security forces and Maoist Cadres" (Sundar 2019: xii) . Shah and Jain (2017) talked of counter-insurgency tactic against the Naxalites as "vigilante groups created. The most notorious of these was the Salwa Judum (literally 'Purification Hunt') in Chhattisgarh. There were gross abuses of human rights. Adivasis were pitched against each other. Villages were razed to the ground, many were raped and killed, with an overall result of more than 40,000 people being displaced. With the escalation of the military war against the Naxalites, the guerrillas claimed that their armies had grown. Hundreds of people were killed in the course of the conflict and the prisons of central and eastern India were now full of Adivasis arrested as Naxalites or for allegedly supporting the Naxalite cause" (p. 3) On 5th July, 2011, Sudershan Reddy and Justice SS Nijjar declared Salwa Judum as illegal and unconstitutional. The court order led to immediate disarmament of tribal youths who were engaged as Special Police Officers (SPOs)- either as 'Koya Commandos' or in any other capacity- in the fight against the Maoist insurgency. The court ruling was a response to a writ petition filed by social anthropologist, Nandini Sundar and others in 2007. The ruling authority observed that Chhattisgarh state had violated Constitutional principles by arming youths who had barely passed middle school and 'conferring on them the powers of police.' The bench also observed that Chattisgarh state had violated the rights of equality and the right to life under Articles 14 and 21 of those employed as SPOs and the citizens of the area and ordered that all firearms provided such as guns, rifles and launchers be withdrawn. Things to do: Identify peasant movements in colonial India.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 152 11.6 Conclusion Peasant struggle in India had been an outcome of prolonged exploitation of peasants at the hands of the colonizers augmented by inadequate laws. It was both, the colonial administrators 'need for security' and the occasional need for 'law and order' which gave the peasant uprisings in the country, across centuries, such a violent character. The importance of and interest in the subject of peasant movements did not gain momentum at the beginning but gradually economists began considering peasant economy as a dynamic field of study. 11.7 Summary Peasant movements are linked to aspects of revenue, production of goods as well as a growing 'political force' in the country. One has to keep in mind that while other social movements are directed towards civil society, peasant movements have primarily been directed towards the state. It is the very nature of the state, such as the welfare model, which makes it accountable for addressing the needs of its peasantry. As a result, these peasant movements are a testimony to the changing relationship between the state and its people, especially those who inhabit the bottom rung of social strata. 11.8 Questions Answer in detail 1. Identify the major causes behind the indigo revolts. 2. Discuss the precursors to the Tebhaga Movement. 3. Identify the nature of the Tebhaga Movement. 4. Analyze the objectives and drawbacks of the West Bengal Land Reforms Act of 1955. 5. What is Operation Barga? 6. Discuss why the Naxalbari movement developed in the rural areas of Eastern India? 7. How did the Movement grow in later years? 8. Discuss Guerilla Warfare as a means of protest. 9. What are the similarities and dissimilarities between Tebhaga and Naxalbari movements?

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 153 Answer briefly 1. Who is a peasant? 2. Define 'Bargadar'? 3. Discuss the functions of the nari bahini in Tebhaga Movement. 4. Explain the role of Floud Commission. 5. Why did the Naxalites move to the forest regions? 6. Discuss the atrocities committed by Salwa Judum. 7. What is the source of the term 'Guerilla'? 8. In which year was Communist Party of India(Maoist) formed? Answer very briefly 1. Who is a 'jotedar'? 2. Name the peasant wing of the Communist Party in India. 3. What is the literal meaning of tebhaga? 4. Who was Benoy Choudhury? 5. What is benami? 6. Who were the leaders of the Naxalbari movement of 1967? 7. In which regions was Salwa Judum active? 8. When was Salwa Jumdum termed unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of India? 11.9 Suggested Readings 1. Bose, S. (2013), Transforming India: Challenges to the World's Largest Economy, Harvard University Press: Cambridge. 2. Chattopadhyay, K &Mamun, M (2009), Indigo Rebellion:The International Encyclopedia of revolution and Protest.: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/9781405198073.wbierp0750 3. Custers,P. (1986),Women's Role in the Tebhaga Movement: An Interview with Bimala Maji, January- February(32), Manushi.pp.28-33. 4. Daniyal, S (2018).

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Unit 12 Ethnic Movements : Pre and Post Structure 12.1 Objectives 12.2 Introduction 12.2.1 What is An Ethnic Group? 12.3 The Relationship Between Ethnicity and Nationalism. 12.4 Ethnic Unrest in India 12.4.1 Causes of Ethnic Conflict 12.4.2 Check Your Progress. 12.4.2 Assertions for Ethnic Identity. 12.4.2.1 Ethnicity Based on Language or Linguistic Ethnicity a) The Dravida Kazhagam Movement b) Linguistic Movement in Maharashtra 12.4.2.2 Ethnicity Based on Religion (Communalism) a) Hindu-Muslim Riots (Communalism) b) Khalistan Movement 12.4.2.3 Assertion of Tribal Rights (Tribal Movements) a) Birsa Munda Rebellion 12.4.2.4 Regionalism or Nativist Movements a) Bhumiputra Movement -The Rise of Shiv Sena b) Naga Insurgency 12.5 Approaches to the Issues of Ethnicity 12.6 Conclusion 12.7 Summary 12.8 Questions 12.9 Suggested Readings 12.10 Endnotes
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 156 12.1 Objectives ? To build an understanding of how ethnicity and nationalism are interlinked. ? To be able to outline key reasons that lead to ethnic movements. ? To be able to understand various ethnic movements that have occurred in India's history. ? To understand the various approaches to understanding ethnic movements and identify. ? How ethnic movements differ from other social movements. 12.2 Introduction 12.2.1 What is an Ethnic Group? In order to understand an ethnic group, one must first look into how these groups of people are united. A group may be united on the basis of race, language, religion, shared experiences, heritage, physical traits or even region and locality. This is known as an ethnic group. Ethnic groups are often perceived as different from larger society as a result of their distinct characteristics. Those who belong to ethnic groups further organise themselves on activities 'built around their (real or mythical) common origin and culture.' Ethnic groups are defined by Weber (1997) as being based more on the subjective belief in their common descent established through similarities in either physical types or customs or even both. This subjective belief ensures

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for the propagation of group formation. Additionally, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relation exists

because ethnicity relies more on the existence of the belief of shared characteristics. This belief is further utilized to 'mobilize

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people along some common point of reference for presenting a united front to articulate their socio-economic or political interests.' 1 Ethnicity

is well observed during the process of interaction between two or more groups. In such a situation what is observed is the maintenance of social boundaries and ethnic identities. Social boundaries are intrinsic to the formation of ethnic identities and these boundaries are not only identified by its members but are also strictly maintained such that ethnic groups identify their own members and differentiate themselves from others.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 157 Did you know? The idea of ethno-nationalism conceives of the 'nation as a community of genealogical descent, vernacular culture and native history and popular mobilisation' (Gellner 1995). Most known ideas or territorial and administrative definitions of the nation regard it as a "community of shared culture, common laws and territorial citizenship." The ethnic concepts of the nation places utmost importance on the genealogy of its members. This genealogy is often fictive and relies on the popular mobilization of the folk. The ethnic concepts of the nation are based on, as mentioned earlier, ' on native history and customs; and on the vernacular

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culture.' Ethno-nationalism involves the transformation of ethnic groups into nationalities and their demand for autonomous governance or even secession as sovereign nation states.

Things to do: Identify two local groups/communities and trace their ancestry, religion, cultural practices, language etc. Discuss how these two groups identify themselves as being different from one another. 12.3 The Relationship Between Ethnicity and Nationalism Earlier it was believed that 'nationalism' was most closely linked to the idea of the nation. However, as Christophe Jafferlot (2003) states, a theory of nation sees it from the angle of an institution or the nation state, but nationalism falls within the ambit of 'isms' and deals with identity , something that shares greater proximity to that of ethnicity. Following Karl Deutsh's work which for the first time has showed how minority cultures are slowly subsumed into national identities, later research shows how 'modernization' and technological development have allowed isolated groups such as tribes to gather information of wider society and become aware of their differences from the rest. This generates a fear of losing one's ethnic identity making the breakout of ethnic movements become inevitable in the process of nation building. Did you know? Cultural homogenization: Sociologist George Ritzer in 1993 has told how McDonalds, a fast food chain has changed the way that the world eats. He termed this new set of business principles that have an enormous global impact as McDonaldization. What is interesting is the way people from different cultures have made this new American culinary habit of their own.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 158 In a similar way the concept of cultural homogenization means the 'diffusion of a way of being.' Cultural homogenization may break down cultural barriers but at the same time it may result in smaller cultures to be assimilated into one single culture (Jennings 2011). Things to do: Watch the film Kakamuttai ,a Tamil –Hindi (watch preferably with subtitles) movie . Discuss the aspects of Urban Indian culture, the 'Pizza' dream and class dimensions as shown in the movie. 12.4 Ethnic Unrest in India One of the main problems that obstruct the process of nation building in India is the increasing incidence of ethnic unrest in the country. According to Kothari (1998), there are two main reasons behind these "assertions of cultures" in India- firstly, these violent ethnic agitations are an outcome of the excesses of modernization (which has been discussed in this unit) and secondly, due to the homogenizing trend of modern states as well as the nation's overall educational, technological and cultural goals. Ethnicity should therefore be understood as a response-including reaction – to the excess of the modernising project which undertook to shape entire humanity which also includes its natural resource base. It is often believed that traditional India was free from such dominant or singular identities. However, Gail Omveldt (1990) has criticized such a romanticized perception of traditional India. She instead states that traditional India was far from being a society tolerant of multiculturalism. On the contrary, traditional Indian society was characterised by social hierarchy which pervaded every sphere of an individual's social life. Keeping these points in mind, some of the main causes of ethnic conflict have been outlined below. 12.4.1 Causes of Ethnic Conflict

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India being a plural society is characterized by a large diversity in its population with multitudes of castes and several religious, linguistic, cultural and racial groups living here: 1.

As these groups compete for scarce economic resources along with an increased need to preserve their age-old cultures, assertions of ethnic identities have been frequent in India. 2. Skewed economic development of the country has generated among certain groups a feeling of being marginalised or completely left behind in the development process. This has increased the propensity of a politics of ethnicity.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 159 In India, the tribals have been alienated due to

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faulty development policies, leading to forced displacement from their age-old inhabited land and

forests causing homelessness and poverty. 3. In India, where Representative parliamentary democracy enables the formation of different ethnic groups based on castes, religious groups, linguistic groups etc., there exists a competition for political power. In this regard what we see is groups being formed on a basis of 'horizontal solidarity' and a 'consolidation of shared interests.' Issues pertaining to caste and religious identities frequently utilized by political leaders to bolster their vested interests. 4. The fear of 'assimilation' also operates among linguistic and religious minorities. The fear is of being assimilated into the dominant culture which may result in the loss of their distinct cultural heritage. This 'fear' causes a mounting pressure to safeguard their heritage and eventually leads to ethnic groups 'forging horizontal solidarity. Further, the processes of globalization and cultural homogenization have aided this process of horizontal solidarity to extend beyond transnational boundaries. Did you know? Ethnic movements (also political movements) can be broadly categorized into two groups based on their demands- Separatist movements and Secessionist movements. Separatism aims only at reducing the central authority's grasp over the specific or targeted territory and its population. Mathew Webb (2017) defines separatism as 'the advocacy of a state of cultural, ethnic, tribal, religious, racial or political separation from the parent state and its majority population.' Secessionism is defined by J. R. Wood (1981) as being, a political program based on the demand for a formal withdrawal of a bounded territory from an internationally recognized state with the aim of creating a new state on that territory, which is expected to gain formal recognition by other states (and the UN).' 12.4.2 Check Your Progress Answer in detail. 1. What do you understand by the term "ethnicity"? Explain with examples. 2. Is ethnic unrest in India a new phenomenon? Justify your answer. 3. Explore the various causes of ethnic unrest in India. 4. Discuss the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism. How is ethic identity different from national identity?

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 160 Answer in brief 1. What is ethno-nationalism? 2. Differentiate between separatist and secessionist movements. 3. What is horizontal solidarity? 4. What is cultural homogenization? Answer very briefly 1. What is the nature of membership in an ethnic group? 2. How does ethnicity affect nation building? 3. Why are minorities fearful of dominant cultures? 12.4.2 Assertions of Ethnic Identity 12.4.2.1. Ethnicity based on Language or Linguistic Ethnicity Language has always formed the basis for asserting ethnic identity in India. The following are post colonial movements based on linguistic ethnicity: a) The Dravida Kazhagam

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Movement in the state of Tamil Nadu in South India in 1940s and 1950s

when violent protest broke out
against

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the adoption of Hindi as the national language by the government of India. The movement gave the call for the secession of Tamil Nadu from the union of India on the basis of identity centred on Tamil language.

However according to T.K. Oommen, language had more legitimacy than religion for administrative restructuring and in 1960s, the Dravida Kazhagam gave rise to two large and powerful regional political parties in Tamil Nadu- the DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) and the AIADMK (All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam). b) linguistic identity was again on display in the state of Maharashtra in Central India, where in the name of Marathi pride, there were concerted attacks on the helpless and poor Hindi-speaking North Indian immigrants from the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Continued assertions for linguistic ethnicity led to

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many states being carved out based on languages by the State Reorganization Act of 1956.

Things to do: Identify various states in India that were formed due to assertions based on linguistic ethnicity.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 161 12.4.2.2 Ethnicity Based on Religion (Communalism) Religion has been an important socio-political issue that has continued to be an obstacle in the nation building process. The following are key examples: a) Hindu-Muslim Riots (Communalism)- Communalism, as many social scientists believe, has its roots in British imperialism and further intensified as a result

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of modern politics based on mass mobilization and imaginary communal interests. The British

had effectively applied

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the policy of “divide and rule” which sowed the seeds of hatred and mistrust between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Communalism is basically an ideology that generates hatred based on religious constructions. In recent times, Indians have become highly susceptible to being swayed by communal ideologies and tendencies. As India's massive population battle for acute resource imbalance, uneven development leading to poverty, inequality and unemployment as they see other communities are responsible for their deprivations and abject conditions. Religious sentiments are whipped up by religious leaders and politicians with vested interests. b) Khalistan Movement- Khalistan was a 'religio-political vision' which sought to establish the "Land of Khalsa" (the literal meaning of Khalistan). This idea encouraged the Sikh imagination to believe that it was their divine right to rule Punjab. In 1710, the movement, under the leadership of Banda Singh Bahadur, successfully captured Sirhind, which served as one of the most powerful administrative centres between the cities of Delhi and Lahore during the Mughal reign. After the capture of Sirhind, the Khalistan leader established a capital in the nearby area of Mukhlispur. He repaired the Lohgarh fort and named the region the "City of the Purified". It was believed that Kalistan would be independent and self sufficient, boasting of its 'own currency, official seal, and issued letters of command invoking the authority of God and of the Gurus.' The belief that "the Khalsa shall rule" was even made a part of the Sikh liturgical prayer and it has continued to remain an important part of it. The Khalsa Raj under Banda Singh was brief and the idea of the Kingdom of Khalsa was realized only in the early 19th century in the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh . The Khalsa Raj rapidly declined and finally lost to the British in 1849. Despite the bitter experience, the hopes of the Khalsa coming to power once again has continued to thrive among the Sikhs. Before the partition of Punjab in 1947 and through lengthy periods of negotiations, it became clear that the idea as well as the demand for an independent Sikh state was a reality and had started to gain momentum. The only problem being that the Sikh population lacked numerical strength in relation to other residents of
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 162 Punjab, thus making the proposition for a separate state impracticable. Violent secessionist movements followed in Punjab in the 1970s and 1980s in order to create Khalistan Punjab remained very volatile for almost a decade. The secessionist movement was supported by the All India Sikh Students' Federation and was led effectively by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale but, the Khalistan movement eventually failed. While discussing ethno-nationalism in Punjab, Gupta (1990) contends that ethnic identity or consciousness of some shared characteristics is not a sufficient condition for the rise of ethnic conflict. Political leadership which brings about the mobilization and manipulation of group identity is the reason that leads to ethnicity. He has used the term "conspiracy" to denote the deliberate and calculated manipulation on which such ethnic politics is based. Gupta observes that the agitation in

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Punjab began with very secular demands like demands for the city of Chandigarh, water distribution and territorial demarcation, but it soon

took an ethnic character propagated by the political leaders and developed a communal colour , giving the impression that

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they were fighting to safeguard the religious and regional identity of Sikhs in Punjab.

c) The Politics of Identity in Kashmir Jammu and Kashmir remain one of the most politically contested regions in India. It is a former Princely state and despite being ruled by the Hindu Maharaja, Hari Singh,the region had a majority Muslim population. Even after the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947, the Maharaja was not keen on joining both countries and had signed an agreement that would enable Jammu and Kashmir to continue trade and travel relations with Pakistan. Such an agreement, however, was not signed with India. In time as Pakistan began to exert pressure to join, Hari Sing approached India for military assistance which he would receive only if he agreed to become a part of India. In October of 1947, Jammu and Kashmir was formally added to the Indian state. Jammu and Kashmir were also given special status of independence by the Constitution of India which was revoked in 2019.The decision of the Maharaja to join India caused dissatisfaction and conflict among its population and for long this area witnessed militant anti-state activities, communal violence that led to mass exodus of Kashmiri Pandits and the cry for 'azadi' (Blakemore 2019).
Things to do: Watch the movies Shikara (2020) and Widow of Silence (2019) and reflect on the narratives of victimhood, the outcomes of violence and the role of the state in both films.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 163 12.4.2.3 Assertion of Tribal Rights (Tribal Movements) Both pre and post-colonial India witnessed the occurrence of tribal movements. The British period was full of incidents when tribes rose in revolt against the officials, the landlords and the money-lenders when they were forcibly evicted from their traditional land. a) Birsa Munda Rebellion- One of most prominent rebellions of the late 19 th century was the Birsa Munda Rebellion waged by the 'Adivasis' of Chota Nagpur region in Eastern India. In 19 th century colonial India, a number of indigenous rebellions had occurred which were carried out by the 'Adivasis,' but the Munda rebellion spearheaded by a young Adivasi freedom fighter, Birsa Munda was the most well-known. The primary reasons that caused such an uprising were 'a history of exploitation and land alienation' and it must be noted that these rebellions existed even prior to British rule. With the advent of the British colonizers, these already existing problems were augmented. The British with their "feudal-landlordism which rested on derision and apathy towards for the 'original settlers'" rendered traditional political, economic and social relations to break down and lose its significance. Most changes introduced by the colonizers in the land governance system not only did little to alleviate problems but rather 'disrupted the harmony that had been sustained for generations', as well as traditional patterns of 'collective ownership' were affected adversely. The new legal framework based on 'individual and private ownership' was opposed to traditional patterns of land use. Birsa Munda's rebellion was not just directed towards the British but was against the missionaries as well as the Zamindars, who played a key role in propagating systemic violence against the Munda Adivasi community. In the Munda apprising, Birsa Munda took up the role of a prophet who had been entrusted by the gods to bring back 'Munda Raj'. 2 Birsa Munda was a visionary who, guided by his experiences, was able to understand as to what caused the people from his community to suffer. His goal was not merely to start protests or oppose the British, but his greater aim was to create a radical break in the 'historical continuity of oppression, dominance and exploitation.' His rebellion was a representation of lived experiences of a Munda as a converted Christian, who grew up under a colonial state that propagated a belief system that taught to undervalue his own. The exploitation was to such degree that tribal people faced a huge crisis that affected their culture and history. Birsa Munda's rebellion left such an impression on the colonial state that officials were forced to introduce new legislation – the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 – that ensured the protection of land rights of tribals in India.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 164 Did you know? The Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act which is applicable to the areas of North and South Chota Nagpur and Palamu Districts was enforced in 1908 in order to prohibit the transfer of land belonging to tribals to non tribals. In 1965 Economically Backward Scheduled Castes and OBCs were also brought within the purview of the act. The act, though amended numerous times, is exempted from judicial review. 12.4.2.4. Regionalism or Nativistic Movements Regionalism manifests itself in the following ways- first, as a group of peoples'

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fear of being assimilated into the dominant culture and, hence, to preserve one's language and culture by demanding an autonomous state

or through nativistic tendencies – such as the '

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sons of the soil' concept in which regional identity becomes the source of ethnic struggle. Examples include the Jharkhand movement in the

erstwhile

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state of Bihar and Telangana movement in the state of Andhra Pradesh, the attack on South Indians in Mumbai in 1960s

and the movement in Assam in the north-east to expel immigrants especially from the states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Bengal which act as a form of a violent collision between the natives and the immigrants. The 'Bhumi Putra Movement' or 'Son of the Soil Movement' in post-independence India is discussed in detail below. a) Bhumiputra movement- To understand the concept of "Bhumiputra" or "Sons of the Soil," one would have to delve into the deepest recesses of human psyche. The concept ties people to their place of birth and bestows on them certain exclusive benefits, rights, roles and responsibilities.

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The ‘Sons of the Soil’ doctrine underlies the view that a state specifically belongs to the main linguistic group inhabiting it or that the state is the exclusive ‘homeland’ of its main language speakers who are the ‘sons of the soil’ or the ‘local residents’. All others

acquire the status of a ‘settler’ or ‘outsider’ especially because their mother tongue is not the same as the state`s main language. Irrespective of the time that these ‘settlers’ have spent in the state which may be both- being a resident

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in the state for a long time or newly migrated, they are not regarded as ‘sons of the soil’

or ‘Bhumiputra.’ The concept of ‘son of the soil’ is not exclusive to India. In fact, countries around the world have witnessed such nativistic sentiments. The problem with this concept of ‘Son of the Soil’ is that it occupies a space between two key ideas-that of equality versus the concept of fairness. The main characteristics of the sons of the soil includes conflict between members of a minority ethnic
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 165 group which is concentrated in a certain region of a country and migrants from other parts of the country who are ethnically distinct and have begun populating the same area. Second, the members of the minority group think that their group is the original inhabitants of the area. They trace their group’s roots to the very region which is sometimes established due to the prolonged inter-generational residence in the region. Thirdly, these tensions are usually heightened when the migrant community has better access to education or are economically affluent than the minority ethnic group. The migrant communities usually have middle or upper middle class status and are involved in lucrative businesses, government services, shop keeping etc. In India, migration to urban areas, especially to cities had increased in the 1950s, but even in 1960s and 1970s, employment opportunities had hardly increased at the same rate. The only employment that was generated was the ones in the public sector or government services. Consequently, this led to intense competition for available jobs. In addition to this, those who spoke the state language had either been reduced to a numeric minority or a ‘bare majority.’ For example, in 1961, the percentage of Marathi speakers in Bombay was 42.8% of the population. The trends were similar in Karnataka and Assam where Kannada speakers were less than 25% and the Assamese were barely 33% of the population. All these factors led to the rise of nativistic sentiments among minority groups who utilized the democratic machinery to assert their demands. One such party was The Shiv Sena. The Shiv Sena, a Hindu nationalist party was at the forefront of the nativistic movement in Maharashtra. Their main area of contention was the increasing number of people who migrated into Bombay belonged to three distinct ethnic groups- the wealthy Gujarati’s, the professional South Indian groups which included the Kannada, Tamil and Malayalis and finally the labourer class of Northern India. The Siva Sena’s demand was that preference in the fields of educational opportunities, funding opportunities, job opportunities, etc., be given to the natives of the state rather than outsiders. 3 b) The Naga Insurgency- The Nagaland secessionist movement had its inception before Indian independence. The British had brought Assam within its control in 1826 and subsequently the Naga Hills also became a part of British India in 1881. The Nagas who were culturally different had come in contact with the Baptist missionaries but by the time India was on the road to attain freedom, they feared that they would soon be assimilated into the dominant Hindu culture. On August 14 th of 1947 the Naga National Council (NNC) headed by Angami Zapu Phizo, the Naga nationalist leader declared Nagaland as a separate state. 17 major tribes and 20 sub-tribes united under the banner of Naga National

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 166 Council (NNC) and undertook severe resistance against India. The major tribes of Nagaland who were linguistically distinct were the Ao, Angami, Sema, Lotha, Tangkhul, Konyak, Rengma and Mao tribes who came together to demand for an independent Nagaland. In a referendum passed in 1951, almost 99% demanded an independent Nagaland. In the years that followed a number of actions were undertaken by the Government of India to restrain the growing demand for an 'independent Nagaland.' These included the deployment of Armed forces in the Nagaland Hill district of Assam and the enactment of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958. The division of Assam took place on 1 st of December, 1963 and Nagaland became an independent state. In 1964, a political settlement in the form of Agreement for Suspension of Operation (AGSOP) was signed with Naga insurgents to restore peace in the region. 4 The death of the leaders of two protracted linguistic and nativist movements in India, Karunanidhi (left) and Bal Thackeray (right), being mourned by the masses. The pictures reestablish the role of politics in the assertion for ethnic identity in the country [Source of photographs : (left) Outlook India, (right) Livemint]. 12.5 Approaches to the Issues of Ethnicity As ethnic discord and assertions become more frequent, the approach to understand the idea of ethnicity has also undergone a huge transformation. Social scientists have been divided on how to perceive of the significance of ethnicity to human life and its tendency to cause violence. The primordialists "views ethnic identity as innate, fixed and permanent" and that – that the fundamental cultural differences and divergent values between ethnic groups inevitably results in a 'clash of cultures' and the emergence of ethnic violence. The instrumentalist approach has challenged the classic primordialists by arguing that ethnic groups are not 'distinct bounded units with innate cultural characteristics' NSOU ? CC-SO-04 167 (Adalparvar & Tadros 2016). Instead, they have focussed on the cultural 'content' of ethnic groups. Frederik Barth's (1969) approach to understanding ethnicity is known as the 'subjectivist standpoint', which suggests that instead of looking at ethnic identity as something innate to its members, it must be seen as selectively emphasized cultural traits whose boundaries are not fixed. Which cultural trait will receive recognition is decided upon and boundary maintenance develops at the time of interaction between 'us and them.' In this way, Barth has emphasised the relational, interactional and situational nature of ethnicity. The primordial approach was further questioned by the 'Manchester School' where the anthropologists analysed the relationship between black tribes and white colonialists in the African Copperbelt from the 1950s to the late 1970s. A key study from the Manchester School was Abner Cohen's (1969) thesis on the instrumentality of ethnic affiliation. Cohen's research on the Hausa and Yoruba tribes in Nigeria suggested that the principal function of ethnicity was informal political organisation. He argued that political elites in some cases created but also used and exploited 'primordial' symbols to gain the allegiance of potential followers. The third school of thought were the materialists who base their arguments on Maxist theories. Michael Hechter in 1978 termed ethnicity as an epiphenomenon i.e., ethnicity is a result of class relations. These crude Marxist theories also suggest that violence between ethnically aligned groups is the result of economic inequalities and elite exploitation. The constructionist approach further developed the idea of ethnicity as being "constructed." They speak of the agents that aid in the construction of ethnicity- the individual, cultural systems as well as the role of broad social, political and economic forces in the process of construction of ethnicity. In the 1980s, post modernist thought called for the concept of ethnicity to be re-thought and redefined such that there was enough clarity as to what ethnicity stood for. Some of the post modernist scholars however completely abandoned the concept, identifying the "tendency to use ethnicity as a catch-all concept for many varieties of group identity results in a loss of analytical depth. Ethnicity, it is argued, is therefore everything and nothing." The critique was directed at the over-ethnicized view of social reality. 12.6 Conclusion The causes and nature of ethinc movements in India have been outlined in this unit. However, the occurrence and persistence of ethnic movements in India can further have two possible explanations. The first being that despite Nehruvian ideas around modernisation, which he believed would ultimately 'obliterate people's attachments to religious, ethnic or caste groups,' in reality caused a shift in demands for 'honour'

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 168 to that of 'dignity.' Vibha Pingle and Ashutosh Varshney (2006) states that 'honour' is reserved for few while that of 'dignity' can be demanded by all. 'Dignity,' they say, is intrinsic to an individual and with modernisation placing greater importance on achievements; traditional 'birth-based' or ascribed hierarchies became weak. Ethnic movements derive its nature from this 'politics of identity' in conjunction with the 'politics of difference' which was enabled with a new found definition of group identities separate from traditional patterns and aware of the 'inherited structure' of group formation and identities. 12.7 Summary In addition, modernity has also brought in 'claims for recognition,' which to Pingle and Varshney is achieved through dialogue especially when faced with questions such as "where we are coming from" and "who we are". These questions may often lead to misrecognition and cause "injury" while "withholding recognition is seen as a form of oppression" (Pingale and Varshney 2006: 357-358). These reasons became important points for the inception of various ethnic movements in the country. 12.8 Questions Answer in Detail 1. Discuss the circumstances under which the Khalistan Movement grew. 2. Write a note on the Nagaland Secessionist Movement. 3. Discuss the main features of the 'Son of the Soil' movement. 4. Discuss the incidence of communal riots in India. Answer briefly 1. Discuss how the Shiv Sena rose in Maharashtra and their main objective. 2. Why did Birsa Munda revolt against the Bristish, the Zamindars and money lenders? 3. Identify the dissimilarities between the 'primordialist' and 'instrumentalist' approach to understanding 'ethnicity'. 4. Discuss the 'Dravida Kazhagam Movement.' Answer very briefly 1. What is the full form of NNC? 2. What is the meaning of the term Khalistan?
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 169 3. What does "Bhumiputra" mean? 4. Which legislature provides protection to the Munda community's right to land? 5. What strategy did Birsa Munda employ to mobilize the tribal population? 12.9 Suggested Readings 1. Adalparvar, N & Tadros, M (2016), The Evolution of Ethnicity Theory: Intersectionality, Geopolitics and Development; IDS Bulletin, Vol.47(2). 2. Barth, F. (1969). Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, Boston, Little Brown. 3. Blakemore, E(2019), The Kashmir Conflict: How did it start? Available at: https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/2019/03/kashmir-conflict-how-did-it- start/ 4. Chandra, B (1999). Essays on Contemporary India (2nd ed.). New Delhi: Har- Anand Punlications. 5. Cohen, A (1969). Custom and Politics in Urban Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press. 6. Dave, A. (2018), "Remembering Birsa Munda: Tribal Leader and Social Reformer who stood up against the British" pib;lished in Youth Ki Awaaz available at: https://www.youthkiawaaz.com/2018/11/pa-ranjith-to-direct-a-biopic-on-the- revolutionary-tribal-leader-birsa-munda/ 7. Gellner, E (1995), Gellner on Nationalism: https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/gellneronnationalism 8.

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Unit 13 The Tsunami and its Human Impact and The Bhopal Gas Tragedy Structure 13.1 Objectives 13.2 Understanding A Tsunami 13.2.1 What is a Tsunami? 13.2.2 Why and How do Tsunamis Happen? 13.2.3 What are the Effects of a Tsunami? 13.3 The Indian Ocean Tsunami on 26th December 2004 13.3.1 Causes 13.3.2 Impact, Damage and Loss a. Social b. Economic c. Environmental 13.3.3 Responses to the Tsunami- a. Disaster Management Response b. Preventive Measures 13.4 Post Tsunami: Lessons Learnt 13.5 Man-Made Disaster: Bhopal Gas Tragedy 13.5.1 Introduction 13.5.2 How MIC Leakage Took Place in the Union Carbide Factory and What Followed. 13.5.3 The After math of the Incident 13.5.4 Litigation and the Principle of Absolute Liability a. Principle of Absolute Liability or the "No-Fault Liability" 13.6 Conclusion 13.7 Summary 13.8 Questions 13.9 Suggested Readings 13.10Glossary 13.11Endnotes

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 172 NATURAL DISASTER: THE TSUNAMI 13.1 Objectives ? To understand what causes a Tsunami and its aftermath ? To analyze disaster risk management after a natural disaster ? To understand the magnitude of man-made disasters such as the Bhopal Gas leak ? To identify the legal provisions available 13.2 Understanding Tsunami 13.2.1. What is a Tsunami? In Japanese the term 'tsunami' means 'a large harbor wave.' A Tsunami is a series of large water waves which is caused due to the sudden vertical displacement of water. Tsunamis are different from ocean waves which are caused by wind, tides and by the gravitational pull of the Moon and the Sun. Earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, meteorites and other underwater explosions above or below water all have the potential to result in a tsunami. The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) (2021) identifies the following as key characteristics of a tsunami. Tsunami waves are different from normal sea waves as the latter has longer wavelength. In the initial stages, a tsunami resembles a 'rising tide' rather than 'breaking waves.' Tsunamis are usually caused due to submarine earthquakes and volcanic eruptions though they do not increase in height rapidly in the depths of the ocean. They gain height as they travel inland due to the decrease in ocean depth in increase in coastal friction. The speed of tsunami waves is determined by the depth of the ocean and not by its distance from the 'source of the wave'. Tsunamis can decrease in velocity and can slow down considerably when the depth of the ocean decreases. The series of waves in a tsunami is called a 'wave train.' Tsunamis are different from ocean tides and therefore experts discourage the use of the term 'tidal waves' to refer to a tsunami . The ancient Greek historian, Thucydides had mentioned tsunamis as being 'submarine earthquakes' in History of the Peloponnesian War, but greater knowledge of the phenomenon was developed only in the 20 th century. However, despite the more recent findings and research on the phenomenon, much of it still remains unknown.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 173 Did You Know? On July 21 st of 365 CE, one of the oldest and

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most destructive tsunamis in history took place in the eastern Mediterranean Sea.

The island of Crete was affected by an earthquake with an estimated magnitude of 8.0–8.5 on the richter scale due to a fault slip. The magnitude of the earthquake was so powerful that

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parts of the western third of the island were raised up to 33 feet. The earthquake followed by a tsunami claimed thousands of lives and caused widespread damage spanning from the 'islands in the Aegean Sea westward to the coast of present-day Spain. Tsunami waves pushed ships over harbour walls and onto the roofs of houses in Alexandria, Egypt, while also ruining nearby croplands by inundating them with salt water.' (

Encyclopedia Britannica). 13.2.2 Why and How Do Tsunamis Happen? The origin of the tsunami can be linked to aquatic earthquakes, which is the most common cause, along with 'volcanic activities, landslides and impacts of meteorites.' When vertical movement of tectonic plates, in the deep sea, continental shelf or coastal, occur, the overlying water is displaced. As waves created by these disturbances are pushed outward, away from the source, they gain height and reduce in speed when the ocean depth decreases. In deep waters these disturbances are not noticeable and resemble a 'gentle wave'. Towards the coast, along with rise in friction, the wavelength is shortened and 'the wave amplitude (height) increases'. The following facts hold true for tsunamis:

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Coastal waters may rise as high as 30 metres (about 100 feet) above normal sea level in 10 to 15 minutes. The continental shelf waters begin to oscillate after the rise in sea level. Three

to

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five major oscillations generate most of the damage, frequently appearing as powerful "run-ups" of rushing water that uproot trees, pull buildings off their foundations, carry boats far inshore, and wash away entire beaches, peninsulas, and other low-lying coastal formations. Frequently the succeeding outflow of water is just as destructive as the run-up or even more so. In any case, oscillations may continue for several days until the ocean surface reaches equilibrium (

The Editors, Encylopaedia Britannica). Tsunamis are diverse in their nature and to predict one is difficult. However, the most obvious sign is the receding of water which 'exposes the shallow seafloor.' This is usually followed by a wave crest. Additionally, 'Topography', 'configuration of coastline' also determines the intensity of a tsunami (Ibid.).
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 174 Did You Know? Tsunamis have often gathered curious spectators, but the outcome of this behavior has been dangerous. In the bay of Lisbon in Portugal, a large earthquake had occurred on 1 st of November, 1755, causing the coastal waters to recede. In order to watch the phenomenon that exposed the ocean floor, many spectators had gathered. What followed few minutes later was a wave crest which caused many of these spectators to drown. Further, the day the earthquake occurred was also 'All Saints Day ' and many worshippers attending church that day died as buildings collapsed due to the seismic shocks (Ibid.). 13.2.3 What are the effects of a Tsunami? The aftermath of a tsunami includes flooding and though it affects coastal areas initially, the destruction can spread inland. Damage to ocean basins and eroding the 'foundations of coastal structures' are some of the after effects of a tsunami. As mentioned before, the degree of destruction is determined by the topography of the coast. High impact tsunamis such as the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami affected fourteen nations and resulted in more than 230,000 deaths. Similarly the Japan Tsunami of 2011 lead to 28,000 deaths. The effects of a tsunami, therefore, are human, social and economic. Given these recent tsunami disasters, a broader understanding of the characteristic effects of tsunamis on human populations could inform preparedness and response efforts (Doocy et al. 2013). The presence of a 'tectonic interactive plate' makes the islands of the Indian Ocean more prone to tsunamis. The priority of disaster management in this area is the transnational collective development of an early tsunami warning system in order to effectively and timely communicate with all the people in this tsunami-prone region (Ramalanjaoana 2011). 13.3 The Indian Ocean Tsunami on 26th December 2004 13.3.1 Causes On December 26th of 2004, an earthquake of magnitude 9.1 on the Richter scale led to one of the most destructive tsunamis. The earthquake displaced the ocean floor off the island of Sumatra in Indonesia. This caused the Indo-Australian Plate to subduct below the Eurasian Plate. The cause for such a movement attributed to convection currents that made the two plates to move towards each other. This was followed by
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 175 aftershocks, some of which were of 7.1 magnitude on the Richter scale which led to earthquakes in neighbouring countries in Asia, east coasts of Africa as well as easter coast of India and Sri Lanka which were hit by massive waves despite being almost 1,200km away. The impact was felt even further away, 3000 km on the Horn of Africa (Srinivas 2015). 13.3.2 Impact, Damage and Loss

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More than 230,000 people were killed, most of them on Sumatra but thousands of others in India, Thailand, Sri Lanka, and more in Malaysia, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Maldives, Somalia, and other locations.

Millions more have been displaced or rendered homeless. The damage from the tsunami was particularly severe as an increasingly percentage of the population, and many key cities and towns, were within 50 kms of the ocean's edge. The impact of the tsunami in terms of damage and loss can be very broadly divided into three separate but not mutually exclusive aspects— a. Social b. Economic and c. Environmental. a. Social Impacts of the Tsunami i. Loss of human life: The tsunami had resulted in the death of more than 2,30,000 people. ii. The destruction had left 1.7 million people in 14 nations homeless, some were geographically displaced, and many others became refugees, leading to 'loss of nationality and political status.' iii. The problem of forced migration: The tsunami pushed people to migrate, especially those who had lost their homes. In some cases, the rise in sea levels due to tectonic shifts had caused islands and low-lying areas to become submerged. This resulted in not only the loss of habitat but also entire 'homelands.' This caused the homeless population to spill over into neighboring countries or areas which lead to a tremendous pressure to 'accommodate' as well as to rehabilitate them. iv. Emergency relief including food, water and medical supplies was required for five to six million people. v. A disaster of such magnitude had damaged the infrastructure especially waste management resources. This invariably led to the risk of disease and epidemics as fresh water reserves pipelines had become contaminated with sewage water.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 176 vi. Loss of livelihood: 'Livelihoods depend on human, social, natural, physical and financial assets' and the 2004 Tsunami had affected every single of these adversely. For example, the tsunami had destroyed 1,500 fishing villages in Sumatra, Indonesia. The loss of lives and natural resources had stripped the fishing community of its livelihood. In addition, such destructions also limit people's access to 'credit, capital and insurance' (Wachtendorf, Kendra, Rodriguez and Trainor 2006, Srinivas 2005). 1 b. Economic Impacts of the Tsunami The tsunami destroyed livelihoods and damaged entire economies, especially in those primarily maritime countries, like Indonesia, Thailand, Maldives, and parts of India, especially the port-towns, like Vishakhapatnam, Paradwip, Port Blair, the entire Andaman and Nicobar Islands being the worst affected in India. Srinivas (2015) has outlined the extent of the immitigable loss can be briefly and objectively stated as hereunder— i. The tsunami left major harbours and ports ruined, resulting in massive loss of trade. It further resulted in severe damage to infrastructure, and burgeoning costs of reconstruction of those affected port-areas, in the aftermath of the disaster. ii. It left the fishing industry devastated - boats, nets and equipment were massively destroyed. An estimated 60% of Sri Lanka's fishing fleet stood destroyed. Banda Aceh of Indonesia, which was the worst affected, was submerged, losing out on its prime source of income through fishing. In Sri Lanka itself over 7500 fishermen had died and as many as 5600 went missing. iii. The process of reconstruction cost was billions of dollars, and most of the affected counties being LEDC's (Less Economically Developed Countries), the expenditure came at far greater cost. iv. The tsunami ravaged areas were like Bali, Indonesia, Phuket, Thailand, Maldives, Sri Lankan beach towns, The Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and all popular beach destinations across the world. The loss of national income accruing from tourism was irreparable as these areas, depended heavily on tourism as their sole source of income. v. Further, salination of the soil left agriculture crippled, and crops were damaged, creating food scarcities, and loss of agricultural income, and higher prices due to shortages of supplies, which created greater economic hardships for the already suffering people. vi. Communications including roads, bridges, aerodromes, airports and rail networks, were severely damaged, making even rescue and relief work difficult and delayed. 2

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 177 c. Environmental Impacts of the Tsunami The worst impact, in terms of long-term damage, that the tsunami had, was on the environment. It resulted in destruction of coastal ecosystems, loss of marine ecosystems and habitats, including destruction of mangroves and coral reefs. Further the problem of debris and sustainable waste-management had arisen. To objectively outline the major environmental concerns— the biggest environmental problem was with 'solid waste and disaster debris' as areas affected were left with enormous amounts of debris, far beyond the manageable capacity of cities and towns. Waste disposal and recycling became important aspect of handling the matter. Secondly, 'rapid cleanup' had resulted in the mixing up of hazardous waste with ordinary waste. Inappropriate disposal including 'air burning and open dumping' had an impact on the environment. Thirdly, as tsunamis pushed salt water inland, it affected freshwater bodies such as 'rivers, wells, inland lakes and ground water aquifers.' This adversely affected the fertility of soil and 'debris contamination' brought a decline in productivity of soil. Furthermore, waste from damaged toilets and sewage contamination of drinking water supply was also a problem. Fourthly, the damage to infrastructure such as buildings and industrial sites including water and sanitation systems and solid waste disposal sites and waste treatment centres and oil storage facilities caused a wide range of contamination and pollution of the environment was aggravated due to improper handling. Fifthly, the tsunami had destroyed both the mangroves and damaged the coral reefs leading to a long lasting impact on the 'floral and faunal species' of the region and the process of rebuilding mangroves and coral beds was tedious and time taking. It was established after a thorough review of the aftereffects of the tsunami in Sri Lanka, The Stockholm Environment Institute concluded that natural barriers or 'bio shields' such as coral reefs, mangroves, coastal dunes, peat swamps etc., could lessen the damage caused by tsunamis. Areas where environmental degradation had been considerably less experience lesser damage despite being in the 'direct path' of the tsunami such as Maldives , Srilanka's Yala and Bundala National Parks etc. (Ibid.).

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 178 13.3.3 Responses to the Tsunami a. Disaster Management Responses Post Tsunami rescue and relief to affected communities was tremendous along with United Nations , national institutions , community groups, Non-governmental organizations and others workin in collaboration to provide rehabilitation and any kind of aid to those affected The response to high magnitude disasters such as Tsunamis are broadly divided into four categories immediate and secondary responses and short term and long term: Immediate Responses Secondary Responses ? Search and rescue operations. ? Emergency food and water. ? Providing medical care to those injured. ? Temporary shelter to rendered homeless. ? Damage to transport and communications require re- establishing of infrastructure. Short term responses Long term responses ? Collaborative efforts of the communities to help themselves when external help was difficult to get. ? Burial or burning of the dead to avoid the spread of disease and epidemic. ? Providing food aid to affected people ? Financial aid from foreign governments and transparency in its utilization. Charities from the general public, NGOs and philanthropic organizations. (Tsunamis; Case study: Tsunamis at https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/zbfrd2p/revision/2) ? Restoring infrastructure and improving housing. ? Employment generation and providing support to small businesses. ? Giving advice and technical assistance. ? Continued efforts to reconstruct infrastructure. ? Setting up of tsunami warning systems internationally to alert high risk areas. ? Recovery and rebuilding damaged natural ecosystems that can operate as 'bio shields' such as mangroves and the coral reef. The restoration of natural assets. ? Support to small business and 'small scale sustainable development projects at the local level to help people regain their livelihoods.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 179 b. Preventive Measures Hussey (2014) states that despite the difficulty in precise prediction of a tsunami, the UNESCO set up a 'tsunami- forewarning' system for the Indian Ocean after the tsunami of December, 2004. Later, the project was expanded to the entire world. Experts such as geologists, oceanographers and seismologists analyze each earthquake and decide whether or not to send out a warning. The development of automated systems such as 'bottom pressure sensors, attached to buoys are effective in monitoring 'the pressure of the overlying water column' and also in sending warning immediately after an earthquake and thereby curtail damage and loss of life. High risk and subduction prone regions use tsunami warning systems to monitor 'seismic activity in the Pacific Ocean.' One key activity of these systems is to analyze the possible extent of risk that an earthquake poses in the area. From understanding the structure of the ocean floor and coastal topography, heights of tsunami waves are also calculated. Usually, the geological society would send a warning regarding an earthquake after which meteorogical agencies report sea level changes. Once the magnitude of the tsunami is estimated, governments are notified about the imminent danger and evacuation of coastal areas can be carried out at the right time. Disaster management is a collaborative effort on the part of the national, regional, and international organizations to develop tsunami programmes, fund tsunami projects, and continue research programmes. Did You Know? In 1949, The Pacific Tsunami Warning Centre was established near Honolulu, Hawaii after a submarine earthquake that occurred near the Aleutian Islands impacted the island of Hawaii causing the death of 170 people. The Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) was established in 1965 and is coordinated by UNESCO's

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Intergovernmental Coordination Group for the Pacific Tsunami Warning and Mitigation System or the ICG/ PTWS.

The PTWS has 46 member states which comprises of 27 Pacific Rim member states and 19 Pacific Island member states (Encyclopedia Britannica, International Tsunami Information Centre). 13.4 Post Tsunami : Lessons learnt, and the way forward Rehabilitation after a tsunami firstly involves rebuilding damaged coastal regions including reforestation of coasts with mangroves and coral reefs and decrease coastal erosion. Ecologists have discovered that despite severe damage, mangroves and coral reefs have the capacity to recover and continue to provide protection from tsunamis.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 180 However, the coasts must be protected and “buffer zones and 'no build areas'” with more strict land use policies and urban planning must be undertaken. Such projects are underway in countries such as Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Thailand. Coastal development can put unnecessary pressure on the coastal ecosystem and therefore this must be curtailed at any cost. Coastal development can greatly hinder the recovery process of the ecosystem. Secondly, rebuilding the ecosystem must be accompanied by employment generation and other income generation possibilities. This will enable the community to recover faster. As the coastal economy relies greatly on tourism, steps to restore the industry are necessary. This must however continue alongside the enforcement of land use policies and careful coastal planning. Finally, disaster preparedness is yet another aspect to be mentioned. Laws and plans that would take environmental factors into consideration and treat it both as a 'contributing factor' as well as 'affected by disaster' must be put into place. Maldives, for instance, has established 'safe islands' to protect vulnerable communities 'by measures such as specially constructed areas of high ground, taller buildings, and buffer stocks of provisions.' A combination of preparedness, conservation and awareness has been effective in disaster management and as such tsunamis have had considerably reduced impact when ecosystems were adequately protected and communities were aware of the risks. Constructions in high risk areas and close to the coastline can have dangerous outcomes at the time of a disaster. For this, awareness campaigns at multiple levels- families, communities, provinces and at the national level is essential along with a legal framework for disaster management (Srinivas 2015). Did you know? The United Nations had declared 1990s as The International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction (IDNDR) which tried to promote disaster management as being an integral part of the 'socio-economic strategy' of any country. Despite India being a participant in the UN's mission, two massive natural disasters struck India at the start of the Millennium, The Gujarat Earthquake of 2001 and the Indian Ocean Tsunami of 2004. In 2005, The National Disaster Management Act was enacted by the Parliament. Two apex bodies were also established-the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) and the National Executive Committee (NEC) for the implementation and execution of disaster management policies and plans (Pandey 2016). Things to do: Identify the main provisions of the National Disaster Management Act of 2005.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 181 13.5 Man-Made Disaster: Bhopal Gas Tragedy 13.5.1 Introduction Bhopal Gas Tragedy or the Bhopal Disaster, considered to be one of world's worst and tragic industrial disasters, took place after a gas leak in the pesticide plant of Union Carbide India Limited (UCIL). The disaster occurred in the intervening night of 2nd and 3rd of December of 1984. The incident was the cause of thousands of deaths in Madhya Pradesh. On the particular day when the chemical reaction started in the Union Carbide (India) Limited factory a leakage of Methyl Isocyanate (MIC) gas occurred from one of the tanks of the factory. The poisonous gas contaminated the air, water bodies, turning them into literal gas chambers. The disaster caused the environment to become polluted and adversely affected the ecology of the area. Approximately five lakh people were exposed to the deadly MIC gas and close to 15,000 people had died within few days of the leakage. Close to '20,000 premature deaths' took place in the following two decades. Children were born with grave medical disorders and numerous still births were also recorded. As epidemiology showed an increased mortality as well as morbidity rates , ' Bhopal became synonymous with industrial catastrophe' (Broughton 2005). Did you know?

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Methyl Isocyanate (MIC), a chemical used in the manufacture of polyurethane foam, pesticides, and plastics, is usually handled

in its liquid form and is combustible. It is also an explosive. It has a strong odour and being a highly volatile chemical, it mixes with air quickly. However, on exposure, a person can be affected by the chemical even before the chemical is identified by its is smell. The molecular formula of the chemical is CH3NCO or C2H3NO. In the Bhopal chemical disaster about 40 tonnes of Methyl Isocyanate (MIC) gas had leaked in addition to other toxic chemicals from the Union Carbide Factory. The toxicity levels were multiple times higher than the level required to cause death i.e. 21 ppm (parts per million). (IDPH: http://www.idph.state.il.us/Bioterrorism/factsheets/methyl_isocyanate.htm) 13.5.2 How MIC Leakage Took Place in the Union Carbide Factory and What Followed: Methyl Isocyanate was used to cool the plant at the Union Carbide factory. MIC was mixed with water in Plant 'C' of the factory. As volumes of gas were generated, it put tremendous pressure on tank number 610. Due to this enormous pressure, gas from

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 182 the tank leaked and diffused over a large number of areas. The situation worsened as the alarm system of the Union Carbide factory did not work even after several hours of the leakage. The leakage is captured through an eye witness and worker of the plant: Suman Dey, a worker at the plant, noticed that the temperature gauge on tank 610 had reached 25°C, the top of its scale, and pressure was rapidly moving towards 40 psi, the point at which the emergency relief valve opens. He rushed to the storage tanks to investigate and was horrified. As he stood on a concrete slab above the storage tanks, the slab suddenly began to shake. "There was a tremendous sound, a messy boiling sound, underneath the slab, like a cauldron." He ran, only to hear a loud noise behind him. The slab, made of 60 feet of concrete at least six inches thick, was cracking. The heat was like a blast furnace. He couldn't get within six feet of it. He then heard a loud hissing sound and saw gas shoot out of a tall stack connected to the tank and form a white cloud drifting over the plant and towards the sleeping neighbourhood. In the plant, he found that the pressure indicator had gone above 55 psi, the top of the scale, and the safety valve had opened releasing MIC from the storage tank (Centre for Science and Environment p. 207). 3 The population of Bhopal in 1984 was approximately 8.5 lakhs. The morning after the leakage, more than half of the population started to show symptoms that included 'coughing, complaining about itchiness in eyes, skin and...breathing problems.' In addition to this, people also developed pneumonia, internal hemorrhage, and in many cases even death. The people living in villages and slums in the neighbouring areas were affected the most. 4 Bhopal at the time also had limited health care facilities especially hospitals were lesser in number which made it difficult to accommodate half of the city's population. The situation was such that initially patients and doctors were confused as to what had happened suddenly and why. The doctors in Bhopal had not faced a situation like this before. Reports had shown that people complained of dizziness, breathlessness, skin irritation, rashes, and even sudden blindness. They were also not experienced in dealing with medical ailments arising from industrial disasters and hence were not aware of the symptoms of MIC exposure. Reports revealed that two government hospitals of Bhopal had treated approximately 50,000 patients in two days after the MIC leakage. Those who survived were severely affected. Their lungs, brain, eyes, muscles, gastrointestinal, neurological, and reproductive and immune systems were severely NSOU ? CC-SO-04 183 damaged. It also affected fertility in men and women. Long after the disaster, traces of toxins were found in the breast milk of mothers which was transmitted to the babies. The economy had also suffered with people unable to work and thereby unable to meet their basic needs. 13.5.3 The After math of the Incident The damage caused by the Bhopal disaster extended far beyond one particular day. For instance the Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathan (BGPMUS) had alleged that toxic waste from the plant which was generated between the periods of 1969-1984 had been disposed without precaution and had contaminated the soil and water in and around the plant. The factory, therefore, despite being closed continues to pose health risks. Also, the groundwater on being tested 16 times by government and non- government agencies since 1990, had shown 'pesticides, heavy metals and poisonous chemicals, including six persistent organic pollutants, at depths greater than 30 metres and distances of several kilometers from the factory.'" 56 Photograph by: Raghu Rai, who was present in Bhopal after the disaster, took this photograph as someone was burying their loved one (December 4, 1984). 7 13.5.4 Litigation and the Principle of Absolute Liability Since the disaster, many cases were filed against Union Carbide, both in Bhopal, India as well as in the USA. For those who could not sustain the legal battle for long, especially the financially weaker section, the cases were filed on behalf of these victims. In 1985, the Indian Parliament passed The Bhopal Gas Leak Disaster (Processing of Claims) Act. Section 3 of the Act statded that the Government of India could file cases on behalf of any citizen who had claim for compensation. This provision was included in Section 9 of the Act which introduced "The Bhopal Gas Leak Disaster (Registration and Processing of Claims) Scheme, 1985".

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 184 The Indian Government had also filed a lawsuit in the United States District Court of NewYork against Union Carbide Corporation. However, on grounds of inconvenience cited by UCC, as the disaster had taken place in Bhopal and hence all evidence would be there, a new case was filed against UCC in the District Court of Bhopal. Shortly thereafter, the District Court ordered UCC to Rs 350 crores to the victims as compensation. To this, UCC filed an appeal in the Madhya Pradesh High Court against the judgment of Bhopal District Court. This led to the decrease in the "interim compensation" from Rs 350 crores to Rs 250 crores. Further, UCC tried to settle the matter directly with the victims outside of court. To this, M.W. Deo J. of Bhopal District Court ordered UCC not to engage in any settlement with victims until further orders of the Court. It was only after the propagation of the rule of Absolute liability, that Union Carbide Corporation was held liable for the Bhopal tragedy. a. Principle of Absolute Liability or the "No-Fault Liability" In the case of 'absolute liability,' the accused is held liable without any exception of being excused from the liability. In 'absolute liability', on the other hand, a person can be held liable even if he had no intention of committing the crime. The principle of absolute liability also bars a person who has committed the crime from escaping the liability. In 1989, based on the principle of 'absolute liability,' The Supreme Court of India ordered Union Carbide Corporation (UCC) to pay a sum of 470 Dollars or Rs. 750 crores to the victims of the Bhopal Disaster (Union Carbide Corporation (Appellant) vs. Union of India and Others 1989). Did you know? The following major Acts were passed in India after the Bhopal disaster to ensure safety and to control disasters: 1. Bhopal Gas Leak Disaster Act (1985) 2. The Environment (Protection) Act (1986), 3. Criminal liability provisions of the Environment Protection Act, (1986) 4. Factories Act (1987) 5. The National Environment Appellate Authority Act (1987) 6. Hazardous Wastes rules (1989) 7. Manufacture, Storage and Import of Hazardous Chemicals (MSIHC) rules (1989) 8. The Public Liability Insurance Act (1991) 9. The National Environment Tribunal Act (1995), 10. Chemical Accidents rules (1996), 11. Provision in Chemical Accidents Rules (1996) 12. National Green Tribunal Act (2010).

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 185 13.6 Conclusion The Bhopal Gas Disaster triggered a debate around industrial safety and risk reduction. The following were some of the key lessons learnt from the disaster and what is to be followed strictly to avoid disasters of such magnitude in the future: 1. No hazardous industry can be located close to settlements that are thickly populated. In the case of the Bhopal Gas Disaster, the Union Carbide Plant was located in the heart of a thickly populated settlement. The Central Board for the Prevention and Control of Water and Air Pollution recommends that every hazardous industry be surrounded by a 2km green belt and far away from human settlements. 2. Industries must invest in risk reduction and the cost of accidents should be high. 3. It is important to spread awareness about industrial risks, set up regulatory bodies and risk documentation should be made available to the public. Things to do: ? Find out industrial disasters that have taken place in other parts of the world. Assess their nature and also the aftermath of these disasters ? Watch the documentary and share your thoughts: Bhopal: A Prayer for Rain (2014); directed by Ravi Kumar 13.7 Summary Natural Disasters are by itself the most devastating and the debilitating types of crisis that shake the human civilization immensely prevention measures must be taken to avert such crisis as far as possible. 13.8 Questions Answer in Detail 1. What were the impacts of the Indian Ocean tsunami that occurred on December 26 th , 2004? 2. What was the response and reaction to the tsunami of 2004? 3. If a tsunami of similar magnitude were to happen again, what lessons from the 2004 tsunami would you apply, while considering tsunami predictions and disaster management?

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 186 4. Discuss what lead to the Bhopal Gas Tragedy. 5. Explain how MIC affects a person's health. 6. Was Bhopal ready to handle an industrial disaster? Justify your answer. 7. Discuss the legal battle that followed after the disaster. Answer in brief 1. What causes a tsunami? 2. What operated as bio-shields in arresting the devastation caused by the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami? 3. What were the hardships faced by people socially as a direct result of the 2004 tsunami? 4. What have been the foremost environmental concerns after the tsunami of 2004 happened? 5. Write a short note on The Pacific Tsunami Warning Center. 6. What is Methyl Isocyanate? 7. How did Union Carbide Corporation try to evade liability? 8. What is The Principle of Absolute Liability? 9. What precautionary measures must be taken to reduce industrial disasters? Answer very briefly 1. What does 'tsunami' mean in Japanese? 2. What is meant when the water retreats from the shore? What is it a sign of? 3. What was the magnitude of the earthquake that caused the tsunami? Where did it take place? 4. How did the tsunami impact agriculture in affected areas? 5. What should be the coastal zone management strategies with regard to tsunamis? 6. What caused soil and water contamination after the Bhopal Disaster? 7. What is the meaning of 'mens rea'? 8. What is the other name for 'The Principle of Absolute Liability'? 9. Name four rules that were passed to curb industrial disasters in India after the Bhopal Gas Tragedy. 13.9 Suggested Readings 1. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia (2021, May 5). Tsunami. Encyclopedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/science/tsunami

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Intergovernmental Coordination Group for the Pacific Tsunami Warning and Mitigation System (ICG/PTWS)

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NSOU ? CC-SO-04 188 13.10 Glossary 1. Mortality rate- Also known as death rate, it is defined as the number of deaths in a population per unit time. 2. Morbidity- The state of being ill or diseased. It is also defined as the rate of sickness in a population. 13.11 Endnotes 1 WHO report on South Asia Earthquakes and tsunamis. Available at: https:// www.who.int/hac/crises/international/asia_tsunami/background/en/ 2 Tsunamis: Case study, https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/zbfrd2p/revision/2 3 The Bhopal Disaster, Centre for Science and Environment : https://cdn.cseindia.org/ userfiles/THE%20BHOPAL%20DISASTER.pdf 4 Dutta, P.K. (2017)

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Bhopal Gas Tragedy: What had Happened 33 years ago that killed thousands?

India Today available at: https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/

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bhopal- gas-tragedy-what-had-happened-this-day-33-years-ago-that-killed-thousands- 1099247-2017-12-03 5

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Unit 14 Communalism : Factors Structure 14.1 Objectives 14.2 Introduction 14.3 Meaning of Communalism 14.4 Meaning of Communal Violence 14.5 Communalism: Perspective from Sociological Studies 14.6 Conclusion 14.7 Summary 14.8 Questions 14.9 Suggested Readings 14.1 Objectives To understand : ? The meaning of Communalism. ? The concept of communalism violence. ? The sociological perspective of violence. 14.2 Introduction Social life is not static but it is always in an incessant process of change. Change is normal and natural condition of society. This is well rendered by the metaphor of "social life". Like life itself, social life consists of incessant changes, when changes stop, life ends. Change is ubiquitous but the speed, scope, depth and tempo of changes vary from society to society. Not all changes are progress. A plethora of changes has happened in the last few decades. However, what is the direction of change? Who is being benefited by this change? The answers of these questions are very relevant to understand the nature of society. Communalism is a serious threat to maintain integrity and make economic development of the countries which have diverse religions, communities, and linguistic groups. Communalism is a permanent wound of a society. If a part of a NSOU ? CC-SO-04 190 community is infected by communalism, then it affects and creates its impact on rest of the community. Such type of infections is largely seen in different regions consisting of various groups like religion, caste, class etc., and at the end of the result mistrust is seen among them. One of the major priorities of any developing country is to maintain a unity of its people. In the history of modem India, such a unity is put to a very severe test by the growing communalization of the Indian people, politics and society. In India, communalism and communal violence have created huge problems since decades. 14.3 Meaning of Communalism The word 'communalism' is derived from the word 'communal', which in itself has been derived from the word 'commune', and 'community', meaning a feeling of oneness or friendliness. To be more specific, 'community' has been defined as "a concept used in sectarian, territorial and functional context about the persons who are in social interaction within a geographical area. In the Indian context, Robert Hardgrave defines the term 'community' as "in India, community usually refers to a racial, caste, linguistic or religious group rather than a locality as in the United States." But in Indian context the word "communal" has been used in worst disparaging sense. The word 'commune' also means mistrust, hatred, rivalry etc. among the people of different religions. It is characteried by tension or conflict between culturally distinct but geographically mixed communities (Ahuja, 1992). Communalism is a negative term, taken as something harmful to the healthy growth of people and the nation. It creates enmity, hatred, violence and revenge, which hamper the growth and development of the society. It affects adversely the property of the community at the cost of human values. It divides India into two parts leaving behind memories and incalculable wounds and loss of property. There are many definitions of communalism. Every thinker defines the concept from his or her political and ideological perspectives. The scholars have amplified the concept from socio economic, cultural, political and historical outlook. Communalism is a multi-faced phenomenon. Each factor has close relations with each other. Bipan Chandra (1984) explores several possible meanings of communalism. The main religious community becomes the root cause of it. According to Chandra, (1984) the communalist assumes that most meaningful distinction among the Indian people, on social, cultural, economic and political issues, is to be made, on the basis of such units, of 'religious communities'. The Indian people can exist and act socially and protect their collective or corporate or non-individual interests, only as members of religion-based communities. They never think, want, feel or act in any other

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 191 manner or category, except as members of such homogeneous communities, whose interest, outlook, way of life etc., are the same. Bipan Chandra (1984) has also mentioned three elements of communalism. First, communalism is strong among the people, who follow the same religion, having common secular interests. Second, the secular interests of different religions are dissimilar or divergent from the followers of other religion. Third, these interests of different communities are not only different, but are also hostile to each other. In the opinion of T.K. Oommen, a famous sociologist, there are many dimensions of communalism and he suggests mainly six dimensions of communalism. These are: Assimilationist (or) Communist Communalism Under this type of communalism, small religious groups are assimilated into big religious group. For instance, Scheduled Tribes, Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists are Hindus and they should be covered by Hindu Marriage Act, 1955. In addition, all of them should be covered with the same personal law. Hence, a Sikh, or a Buddhist or a Jain does not identify himself/ herself too much different from a Hindu and Hindu religious beliefs and sentiments. Welfarist Communalism In this type of communalism, emphasis is placed on the welfare for the particular community. Providing education, scholarship, financial assistance in higher studies, matrimonial assistance, skill development, residential accommodation are examples of different services provided under this type of communalism. These welfarist organizations are involved in different kind of charitable and other social upliftment activities related to their particular community alone. Retreatist Communalism Retreatist communalism is one in which a small religious community keeps itself away from politics; for example, Bahai community, which proscribes its members from participating in political activities Retaliatory Communalism This type of communalism attempts to harm, hurt, injure the members of other religious communities. Separatist Communalism It is one in which one re-ligious or a cultural group wants to maintain its cultural specificity and demands a separate territorial state within the country, for example, the demand of some Mizos and Nagas in Northeast India or Bodos in Assam, or of Jharkhand tribals in Bihar, or of Gorkhas for Gorkhaland in West Bengal, or of hill people for Uttarakhand in Uttar Pradesh, or of Vidarbha in Maharashtra.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 192 Secessionist Communalism It is one in which a religious community wants a separate political identity, and demands an independent state. A very small militant section of Sikh population demanding Khalistan or some Muslim militants demanding independent Kashmir have been engaged in practicing this type of communalism. Of these six types of communalism, the last three types create problems engendering agitations, communal riots, terrorism, and insurgency. The most extreme forms of these are the retaliatory, separatist and secessionist. The practice of each of this type of communalism leads to virulent methods such as terrorism, communal riots and insurgency. According to Zenab Banu (1989) “Communalism in India is neither the reaction to anti communalism nor an outgrowth of religious and cultural differences but it is a triangular power struggle of the elite.” Louis Dumont (1964) considers, communalism, as a product of interaction between tradition and modernity. Pradeep Nayak (1993) believes communalism should be perceived as a state of consciousness and a strategy of mobilization of a community for a political purpose, to form a political community out of religious issues. K.N. Panikkar (2000) regards communalism both “as a state of consciousness in society and as an instrument of power, not purely for capturing state power, but for operating in political, social and economic domains and at almost all levels of social organization.” Thus, Panikkar highlights the multi-dimensional perspective of communalism and its far reaching impact on the institutional society. Moreover, he illustrates the element of false consciousness for the genesis of communalism. Panikkar was more historical in highlighting the material gains, gathered by different religious groups, behind the inflammable communal pressure strategies. Sociologically, Sabrewal (1996) argues communalism as a concept with the above said connotations emerges due to the fact that the members of a multi-religious society work with different manuals listing divergent codes for life. Where people live by different manuals, one way to anticipate the other’s behaviour, attitude and intentions is to reckon with the other’s manual and other’s religion. Social unease is also obviated by signaling one’s own manual through various diacritical marks: clothing, life style, facial marks, one’s language and manners. During this process religiously rooted social identities gradually get established and are mutually acknowledged. Awareness of socio-religious identities slowly get established and are mutually acknowledged. This awareness helps one constitute useful social maps in one’s mind demarcating the social territory into sacred, friendly neutral and hostile.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 193 Generally, this may be added that due to the propaganda and other factors such as prejudices, hostilities and negative feelings against one another may be emerged. It is therefore argued that all such type of attitudes depends upon the nature and type of interactive patterns between people of different religion and culture. In case if they do not hurt the religious sentiments and challenge religious identities, then there is no problem. But if they, by chance or choice, develop hostility against other, this leads to outbreak of communal outbursts and communal conflicts. Communalism is a collective ideological and ideology-centric expression of one's community identity in relation to the other in the process of acquisition of power. Since the expression is in relation to others, it often encourages separatism, hatred, and violence. The political perspective based communalism is created and nurtured by political elites to attain political power. Also, Marx argued that "ideas of ruling classes are in every age the ruling ideas". The ruling classes in the multi-religious country support either one or the other community and spread their cunning ideas of polarizing the religious communities and derive political benefits. The ruling classes as a whole are responsible for encouraging communal identities for political ends thereby aggravating the communal conflict. Communalism as Discrimination on Religious Basis Communalism is also defined as the discrimination or protection of interests on a religious basis and is the outcome of conflicting religious practices. This understanding has the following implications. It implies that religious groups are homogenous in nature and their members have common social, economic and political interests that bind them together. This assumes that there exist separate socio-cultural, economic and political interests of Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and these are dissimilar and divergent. To accept this implication is to analyze the question of communalism within the communal framework. In fact, it is this assumption, which is the basis of communal propaganda. The repeated assertion regarding the existence of such interests by communalists has even distorted the perception of some of the analyst and policy makers. It is very difficult to accept such an assumption when members of a religious group pursue different occupations and have dissimilar socio-economic background and cultural heritage. These elements of communal propaganda distort real issues and misrepresent real interests. According to Bipan Chandra, communalism is the result of the ideological conditioning of the last 100 years, when the middle classes and the intelligentsia were perceptually surrounded by a communal outlook in politics, in the press, in literature and particularly often has been viewed in the social sciences, as in real life, through conscious or unconscious communal assumptions. For example, NSOU ? CC-SO-04 194 if one's analysis starts by accepting the communal leaders as leaders and representatives of their 'communities' – and if one refers to the Hindu, Muslim or Sikh communalists as Hindu leaders, Muslim leaders, or Sikh leaders – or if one accepts communal political activity is the political activity of their 'communities', one is already accepting the basic communal framework of thought and analysis. On the other hand, if no communal, economic, political and social interests exist, the communalists cannot be representing such interests and are not, therefore, representative of their 'communities'. The use of communal categories to understand and unfold social reality leads to mistaking the symptoms for causes. Remedies are prescribing to eradicate the symptoms. The result is that the problem persists while the symptoms may disappear. To understand and counter communalism it is no doubt necessary to recognize the religious factor as an important component, but will be hazardous to accept the notion of Hindu interest, Muslim interest or Sikh interest and so on. Once if this notion is rejected, there shall be no question about secular needs, aspirations and expectations of different religious groups being divergent and dissimilar. The second implication is that communalism seeks the protection of the interests of one religious group at the cost of another. To accept this is to again reinforce the communal propaganda. Communalism does not and cannot protect the interests of one religious group at the cost of another. Communalists do not benefit the 'community' in whose name they seek concessions. It is only a few individuals who benefit from this and such examples become a tool in the hands of communalists to mobilize support. It arouses expectations for the fulfillment of the secular needs and reinforces the belief that a particular religious group is being discriminated against. The present system is not geared to benefit one or the other 'community'. Hence, demands raised along communal lines which cannot benefit 'communities' as a whole, but may only benefit individuals within them. The third implication is the historical inevitability of the phenomenon of communalism in a society having plurality of religions and castes. The assumption that the very existence of religions would make communalism inevitable is false. Communalism, unlike class- consciousness and the fight against imperialism, has not been caused by contradictions in society. Rather it is based on the perception of common non-religious interests of a particular religious, caste or other group. Present day communalism, which is a modern ideology, uses religion to fulfill their secular interests and will persist even if religious group identities are abolished. Only its form may change and some other retrogressive category may replace religion. Duality in Communalism: Integration and Differentiation The inherent notion of communalism is the inter-group differences and intra-group commonalty of secular interests having their basis in religious, caste or other ascriptive group aggregations. In other words, communalism underplays the homogenous and

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 195 common aspects shared by members of different religious, caste, or ascriptive groups and highlights their differences. For instance, communalists use religion as an instrument to cement communal monoliths. It creates an illusion of the universal content of the secular interest of unequal individual members of a religious group. Further it will be hazardous to accept only the notion of Hindu interests or Muslim interests and so on. Once this notion is rejected there can be no question about secular needs, aspirations and expectations of different religious groups being divergent and dissimilar. Therefore, it will be wrong to categorize communalism as Hindu or Sikh or Muslim. The danger is that such a categorization would further sharpen communal polarization. The right approach is to identify the basis of a particular communal mobilization. It should not be forgotten that communalism uses religious or caste group differences, but is not caused by them. 14.4 Communal Violence In India, communal violence has a long history. In fact, communal violence had started before the arrival of the British rulers in India. The British rulers exploited the feelings of Hindus and Muslims by their policy of 'divide and rule'. The British obviously did not create the Hindu-Muslim communal problem, but they did exploit it for their own purposes from time to time. It will be wrong to believe that the British rulers were responsible for religious or communal feuds. However, the British rulers did play an important role in the promotion, spread and growth of communal problem in India. The medieval rulers did not encourage communal violence but that is what the colonial masters had done. In India, the problem of communal violence did not grow up suddenly. It is rooted in the past. It is not the product of religion but of the politics of elites of a religious community. It is not only confined to Hindus and Muslims but recently violence against the Christian community has also increased. The communal violence has continued even after India became independent. The British sowed such seeds of hatred that today Indians are facing its consequences even after 72 years of independence. The British rulers made religion as a tool of hatred instead of love. It is, therefore, necessary to look into the problem of communalism and communal violence, which can be divided into three periods. 1. Muslim Period. 2. British Period. 3. Post independence Period. The purpose of periodization is only to see the steady growth of communalism and communal violence in different phases of Indian history.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 196 What is communal violence ? After having dealt with the concept of communalism, the other concept needing discussion is "Communal Violence", a collective manifestation of religious feelings and sentiments against the others. A communal violence, in general refers to a collective violent manifestation of one's identity, ideas and beliefs, etc., in relation to other religious community for the realization of certain interests, openly manifested on sometimes hidden but presented in a mystified way. It is, most often, a consequence of the spread of communal ideology.The problems and characteristics of communal violence are different from student agitation, workers' strikes and peasants' movements. At the national level, we have to differentiate between communal violence and agitation and terrorism and insurgency, through mass mobilization and degree of violence, degree of cohesion , target of attack, flare-ups, leadership and victims, and aftermath experiences (Singh V. V., 1994). 14.5 Communalism: Perspective from Sociological Studies When we look at and review the sociological literature on communalism and social tension, we find three stages of the analysis by sociologists on communal problems. At one stage, which might be called the classical stage of Indian sociology, the debate on communalism, bears the imprint of the national movement, its ideology and values. We find it in the writings of historians, political scientists and other scholars. At the second stage, sociologists, who constitute the pioneering generation, have dealt with this problem and it would be useful briefly to look at their contributions. One of them is D.P. Mukherjee. He wrote a very interesting book in 1942, which was reprinted in 1946, called Modern Indian Culture. In this work he dealt with the problem of Hindu-Muslim relationship and the problems of partition, which in 1942 was looming large on the political horizon of India. He offered some very interesting insights on the problems of communalism in our country. Between Ghurye and Mukherjee, as a matter of fact, we encounter two opposite ideological perspectives on communalism. Mukherjee represents the mainstream thesis of cohesion on communal issue in India through cultural synthesis and integration in the process of nation building, whereas Ghurye takes more or less what one may call the 'communal line', a kind of partisan Hinduistic viewpoint on problems of communalism in India. Mukherjee first emphasizes the role of tradition; that is, to him the issue of communalism cannot be abstracted from the issue of tradition. One has to understand tradition and the structure of tradition in a society in order to understand what is

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 197 called the problem of communalism. Secondly, he points out that even during the Muslim period there was autonomy and religious autonomy between urban areas and rural areas. Even what is known as the Muslim rule in India was largely an urban phenomenon and the rural social structure in India had its own autonomous existence; it had its own internal equilibrium. Thirdly, Mukherjee also mentions that when we look into Hindu-Muslim relationship, there are three levels of interaction at which it should be examined. He calls them the primary level, the secondary level and the tertiary level. He says that one cannot talk of Hindu-Muslim relationship in an undifferentiated fashion, because then the very basic social phenomenon will be lost sight of. I think, here he was a precursor or a forerunner of latter-day sociologists. It is an important insight that he contributed. The primary level is the level of economic interaction. It comprises of the roles of merchants, labourers, farmers and the concomitant economic relationships. It also includes the family structure, the institution of authority and its distribution in the family and kinship relations. It also implies economically related ritual structure, not its ideology but basic rituals. At the primary level of interaction between Islam and Hinduism, according to him there has always existed a measure of partnership and a measure of harmony, so that the Muslim-Hindu relationships in the structure of their consciousness do not involve much disjuncture. The relationship is functioned in a very harmonious manner. It is a very important structural perspective. The secondary level is the level of polity – political ideology and leadership. At this level, there exists a differentiation; there is a dual role; one may even come across some degree of contradiction between the outlook of the representatives of the two traditions-the Hindu tradition and the Muslim tradition. Finally, at the tertiary level, which is the level of ideology, there exists between the two traditions a sharper contradiction in the perception of social reality and in the nature of their interaction. One point he makes is about the extent to which these different levels, as enunciated, could be taken as truly representing the nature of the cultural and social division between the two traditions. Here the insight that we get from his observations is that the relationship should not be dichotomized as a Hindu- Muslim question, because then we would round-off a number of very important similarities in the relationship in the process of the abstract treatment of divide between the two ideologies. In Dumont's view (1964) the relationship between religion and communalism, or the notion of communalism cannot be explained from a purely economic perspective. Dumont would like to make a distinction between the concepts 'communal' and 'communalism'. He says one cannot understand communalism unless one has understood the notion of the communal and its meaning. It signifies a sacred and hierarchical principle. The communal principle is a basic characteristic of the Indian tradition and its social structure. The Indian social structure is communal in the sense NSOU ? CC-SO-04 198 that it is community conducted; in other words, it is hierarchical. The notion of hierarchy is basic to its understanding. What is hierarchy? As Dumont defines it, hierarchy is the encompassing of the utilitarian and individualistic principles of society by one that is sacred and communitarian. It has the supremacy of the transcendental principles in the value system and role definition in society. In a hierarchical society the transcendental principle defines the utilitarian. In an equalitarian society, it is the other way round. In India, according to Dumont, it is the transcendental principle, such as God, religion or whatever one might call it, which defines the utilitarian principle; that is, economy, polity, etc. Functional perspective views that communal riots persist because they are functionally useful to the individual, group, parties and the state authorities. The analysis of communal riots reveals that the functional utility of riots is in the form of political benefits they derive from such incidents. The Marxist approach demands, from everyone endeavoring to understand social reality, a clear understanding of the nature of

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means of production, the techno- economic division of labour involved in operating the instruments of production and social relations of production, or what are more precisely characterized as property relations.

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the spelling relations as crucial because they shape the purpose, nature, control, direction and objectives underlying the production.

And further property relations determine the norms governing who shall get how much and on what grounds. Viewed thus, from a Marxist perspective, different parts or problems of Indian society with all their conflicts and contradictions relating to religion or politics, caste, language or region, ethnicity or nationality, ideology or culture, women's oppression or national integration, etc., do not exist totally apart from each other or from society- the social whole. These often do have a historically specific autonomous reality of their own; their dynamics is decisively conditioned by the economically structural logic of the continental social formation that is India today. And this is the logic of a development, which is essentially capitalist in nature, though it has a historically specific character of its own which scholars variously refer to when they speak of a state or government- supported capitalism, weak or retarded or backward capitalism, underdeveloped capitalism or capitalist underdevelopment or even 'peripheral' capitalism, etc. It is in this sense alone that the problems or conflicts mentioned above, including those relating to religion or communalism, are economy or class dependent. A class perspective today has to accommodate the rich diversity of contemporary Indian social reality even as it lays emphasis on the crucial importance of the economic base and its structural logic that conditions the dynamics of this diversity. Needless to add, without such emphasis Marxism would be theoretically indistinguishable from any other 'sociology'. And it is not without reason that today, especially in the absence of class-based people's politics, all the identities, all the divides and fissures of Indian society are simultaneously becoming significant and explosive. This is equally true of the explosive emergence of communalism in recent years.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 199 The structural-functional approach is a perspective in sociology that sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. It asserts that our lives are guided by social structures, which are relatively stable patterns of social behavior. Social structures give shape to our lives - for example, in families, the community, and through religious organizations. Structural Functionalism explains why society functions the way it does by emphasizing on the relationships between the various social institutions that make up society (e.g., government, law, education, religion, etc.). R.K. Merton (1949) argues that the units of society not only perform functions but dysfunctions as well. When it performs functions, it organizes and when it performs dysfunctions it disorganizes the structure as well. Looking otherwise, the structure of a multi-religious society is composed of different religious groups. If these groups live with harmony, there is no problem but if at times there is conflict between them, it leads to communal conflict and poses a threat to the social fabric and social structure of the society and a state of anomie occurs in a society. 14.6 Conclusion The way fundamentalism (Hindu, Sikh and Muslim) has raised its head in India, threatening the unity and integrity of the nation puts a question mark regarding the continuation of our secular polity. Our political leaders, in their own interest, during elections deliver hate communal speeches which have the tremendous impact on the masses, recurring communal violence in various parts of the country taking hundreds of rupees demonstrate the strength of communal forces and relative weakness of secularism. 14.7 Summary The recent controversy on Ram Jonmobhumi and Babri Masjid dispute has shown clearly how in spite of a secular Constitution the communal elements in majority and minority communities can set the whole country ablaze on smallest excuse. This shows that the something has gone wrong with the secularism that we are supposed to practice in India. 14.8 Questions 1. Write a note on Communalism. 2. What is Communal Violence? 3. According to Oommen, what are the dimensions of communalism? 4. Explain the problem of communalism from the sociological perspective.
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Unit 15 Communalism : Control Measures Structure 15.1 Objectives 15.2 Introduction 15.3 Discuss Communalism 15.4 Describe Communal Violence 15.5 Communal Politics 15.6 Measures to Control Communalism 15.6.1 Short Term Remedial Measures 15.6.2 Long Term Remedial Measures 15.7 Summary 15.8 Questions 15.9 Suggested Readings 15.1 Objectives ? To know communalism. ? To understand communal violence. ? To know communal politics. ? To adopt various measures to tackle communalism. This unit explains the concept of communalism, nature of communal violence and communal politics in brief. Then it tries to discuss elaborately the measures to tackle communalism. 15.2 Introduction Communalism threatens Constitutional values which actively promotes secularism and religious tolerance. Communalism dividing the society on communal lines is a threat to maintain the unity and integrity of the country. Communal feeling engages the state authorities like the police, the army and the intelligence agencies to view minorities with distrust and unpleasant way. This leads to the harassment of members belonging
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 202 to the minority communities. Communal violence makes the country open to the outside world. It becomes a real barrier to the all-round development of the country. 15.3 Discuss Communalism The trauma of growing communalism haunts India today. The myth of 'secularism' is crumbling. In 1947, India accepted democracy and secularism as a value enshrined in the Constitution despite the fact that the communalization of both the Hindus and Muslims in the colonial period resulted into the division of the subcontinent (Chandra, 2007; Sarkar & Butalia, 1995). Three salient features articulated in the Indian Constitution are—religious freedom, celebratory neutrality and reformative justice. As European antecedents influence the Constitution, the conceptualization of secularism focuses on the relationship between state and religion (Panikkar, 1991). Mahatma Gandhi looked at the Indian nation as, ideally, a consistent collection of all religious communities placed on an equal footing. Communalism in a religiously plural society (like India) is a highly complex phenomenon, which is dangerous to try to restrict within a single definition. But it is among other things, a process of involving competitive de-secularization which along with non-religious factors helps to harden divisions and create or increase tensions between different religious communities. Here greater importance is granted to religious forces, religious identity, religious competition and religious ideologies; as the development of a strong collective religious identity among the Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians is a necessary but insufficient condition for the growth of communalism. Non-religious factors are not excluded as important causal factors, but are often misperceived in religious terms. If we are to comprehend communalism properly, we must undertake a comprehensive examination of both the religious and secular practices in Indian society. The idea of secularism was emerged in early modern Europe as an ethics of behavior and a prescription for political organization. It promised to replace the violence and irrationality that seemed inherent in the collective forms of religious utterance. It prescribed a separation between the institution of church and the state and between religion and politics and signified 'toleration' for societies that had been torn by religious conflict. Secularism in India was a complex part of the nationalist self conception at independence and had been persisting for a long time following the debates about citizenship belonging in the post-colonial state. The Indian Constitution enshrined freedom of religion as one of its central principles. The definition of communalism is secularism and is seen as the antithesis of Indian nationhood.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 203 Communalism is not all that appears to be, a 'minor scuffle between two neighbors belonging to different communities.' Historians, sociologist and political leaders are arguing that beneath such event lies a power game. In its widest sense, Zenab Banu (1980) defines, "Communalism in which a minority receives unequal treatment from the majority, on the basis of religion, culture and ethnic characteristics." 15.4 Describe Communal Violence In India, communal violence has a long history. In fact, communal violence had started before the arrival of the British rulers in India. The British rulers exploited the feelings of the Hindus and Muslims by their policy of `divide and rule'. The British obviously did not create the Hindu-Muslim communal problem, but they did exploit it for their own purposes from time to time. It will be wrong to believe that the British rulers were responsible for religious or communal feuds. However, the British rulers did play an important role in the promotion, spread and growth of communal problem in India. The medieval rulers did not encourage communal violence what the colonial masters had done. In India, the problem of communal violence did not grow up suddenly. It is rooted in the past. It is not the product of religion but of the politics of elites of a religious community. It is not only confined to the Hindus and Muslims but recently violence against the Christian community has also increased. The communal violence has continued even after India became independent. The British has sowed such seeds of hatred that today Indians are facing its consequences even after 72 years of independence. The British rulers have made religion a tool of hatred instead of love. It is, therefore, necessary to look into the problem of communalism and communal violence, which can be divided into three periods. 1. Muslim Period. 2. British Period. 3. Post-Independence Period. The purpose of periodization is only to see the steady growth of communalism and communal violence in different phases of Indian history. What is communal violence? After having dealt with the concept of communalism, the other concept needing discussion is "Communal Violence", a collective manifestation of religious feelings and sentiments against the others. A communal violence, in general refers to a collective violent manifestation of one's identity, ideas and beliefs,

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 204 etc., in relation to other religious community for the realization of certain interests, openly manifested of sometimes hidden but presented in a mystified way. It is, most often, a consequence of the spread of communal ideology. The problems and characteristics of communal violence are different from student agitation, workers' strikes and peasants' movements. At the notional level, we have to differentiate between communal violence and agitation and terrorism and insurgency, through mass mobilization and degree of violence, degree of cohesion, target of attack, flare-ups, leadership and victims,and aftermath experiences (Singh, 1990) The history of communal conflicts in India is generally the history of Hindu-Muslim rivalry. A lot of factors constitute the existence of communal conflict. If the problem is to be solved and communal harmony is to be ensured, the causes of communal problems should be dealt in depth. Although it appears that the reason behind a communal trouble is religious in nature, the detailed analyzing of incidents uncovers other reasons and causes. Apart from religious factors, there exist numerous other causes for the occurrence of a communal problem. Historical distortions and false interpretation of history, the majority-minority problem, economic disparities, and imbalanced economic growth, role of political parties to gain political ends, lack of communication and misconceptions, efforts for conversion, social factors widening the gap are all the major causes which trigger a communal conflict. The term 'communal' was first used by British colonialists simply to describe 'communities of interest', including religious groups. It was in the context of the 1906–09 debates around Constitutional reform in India and the issue of separate electorates for Muslims that the term 'communal' was given a negative connotation of bigotry, divisiveness and parochialism as such separate representation was deemed antinational and anti-modern. 14.5 Communal Politics Focusing on the specific problem of communal politics, we are immediately confronted with an important question. What lies behind the appeal of communalism? Though the identity crisis of an urban middle class undergoing modernization and partial westernization has made it receptive to such appeals, their origin has usually been elitist, and disseminated for achieving and promoting secular purposes and goals. There is considerable authority in the instrumentalist argument that religion, whether in the form of faith or ideology, has little to do with the formation of such an appeal – beyond the obvious point that some of its symbols, myths and devotional themes are selectively misappropriated.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 205 Here a 'materialist' analysis of the sources of communalism would reveal the role of the colonial state in deliberately exacerbating the communal divide. Competition for jobs created tensions between the Hindu and Muslim urban middle classes and elites. In post-independence India, attention would no doubt be focused on the socio-economic changes that have taken place in many Indian towns possessing a sizeable Muslim population, as a result of Gulf remittances, the growing export demand for handicrafts and artisanal products, and other expressions of uneven development that have clearly disturbed traditional patterns of dependence between Hindu traders and Muslim artisans. Similarly, the effects of the Green Revolution in Punjab are not without communal resonance for the Sikh Land Lords and Hindu trader. Major Incidents of Communal Violence in India ? Communal violence is a phenomenon where people belonging to two different religious communities attacks each other with feelings of hatred and enmity. ? The partition of India witnessed mass bloodshed and violence that continued up to 1949. ? No major communal disturbances took place until 1961 when the Jabalpur riots shook the country due to economic competition between a Hindu and a Muslim bidi manufacturer than any electoral competition. ? In 1960s – A series of riots broke out particularly in the eastern part of India - Rourkela, Jamshedpur and Ranchi - in 1964, 1965 and 1967, in places where Hindu refugees from the then East Pakistan were being settled. ? In September, 1969, riots in Ahmedabad shook the conscience of the nation. The apparent cause was the Jan Sangh passing a resolution on Indianisation of Muslims to show its intense opposition to Indira Gandhi’s leftward thrust. ? In April, 1974, violence occurred in the chawl or tenement, in the Worli neighborhood of Mumbai after the police attempted to disperse a rally of the Dalit Panthers that had turned violent, angered by clashes with the Shiv Sena. ? In February, 1983, the violence took place in Nellie as fallout of the decision to hold the controversial state elections in 1983 in the midst of the Assam Agitation, after Indira Gandhi’s decision to give 4 million immigrants from Bangladesh the right to vote. It has been described as one of the worst pogroms since World War II.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 206 ? In October, 1984, the anti-Sikh riots broke out after the assassination of Indira Gandhi, where more than 4000 Sikhs were killed in Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and other parts of India. ? Meanwhile, the Bombay-Bhiwandi riots were instigated by the Shiv Sena when it jumped on the Hindutva bandwagon to revive the political fortunes of the Shiv Sena which had lost its appeal. ? The Shah Bano controversy in 1985 and the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi controversy became powerful tools for intensifying communalism in the eighties. ? The communal violence touched its apogee in December 1992 when the Babri Masjid was demolished by right wing parties. ? This was followed by the worst riots of post-independence India - in Mumbai, Surat, Ahmadabad, Kanpur, Delhi and other places. ? In 2002, Gujarat witnessed communal riots when violence was triggered by burning of a train in Godhra. ? In May, 2006 riots occurred in Vadodara due to the municipal council's decision to remove the dargah (shrine) of Syed Chishti Rashiduddin, a medieval Sufi saint. ? In September, 2013, Uttar Pradesh witnessed the worst violence in recent history with clashes between the Hindu and Muslim communities in Muzaffarnagar district. ? The 2014 Saharanpur Riots occurred on 25 July of that year in the city of Saharanpur in the state of Uttar Pradesh in India. The root of clashes is a land dispute between former MLA Moharram Ali aka Pappu Ali and Gurudwara Singh Sabha in Kutubsher area. ? Since 2015, mob lynching is quite prevalent in India as near 90 people have been killed. ? Nadia riots was a large scale communal riot that occurred in Kaliganj block, Nadia district of West Bengal during 5 May 2015. 4 people were killed and 8 injured. Mainstream media and local politicians didn't condemn the incidents as the victims were from Scheduled Caste Hindus and accused are Muslims. Nadia had seen communal tensions in the past. ? Riots broke out in Kaliachak, Malda district in West Bengal, India on 3 January 2016.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 207 ? In Dhulagarh, a town 25 kilometres west of Kolkata, the tension erupted on 12 December, when two groups clashed as a procession was brought out in the area. ? Saharanpur, Uttar Pradesh, May 5, 2017. ? Baduria, West Bengal, July 4, 2017. ? Muzaffarnagar, Uttar Pradesh, September 7, 2017. ? Bhima Koregaon, Pune, Maharashtra, January 1, 2018. ? Kasganj, Uttar Pradesh, January 26, 2018. 15.6 Measures to Control Communalism All the causes of communal tensions provide us with the means of their solution. Hence the following suggestions may be given for the eradication of communalism. For academic purpose, the steps to be taken to tackle communalism can be divided into two categories like short term measure and long-term measure. Do you know? Communal Violence (Prevention, Control and Rehabilitation of Victims) Bill, 2005: Till 2002, the successive governments did not take any notable legislative actions but to check the sporadic events of communal violence, the UPA government had in 2005 brought forward the "Communal Violence (Prevention, Control and Rehabilitation of Victims) Bill, 2005". This bill provided measures for prevention and control of communal violence and speedy investigation and trials as well as rehabilitation of victims. This bill could never see the light of the day and the parliamentary standing committee tagged this bill as something, which violates the basic federal principle of the Indian Constitution. After that, the National Advisory committee drafted and brought forward the Prevention of Communal and Targeted Violence (Access to Justice and Reparations) Bill. In February 2014, the UPA-II government faced a major embarrassment on the first day of extended winter session of parliament as united opposition forced the government to defer the communal violence bill in the Rajya Sabha. As the opposition parties , including BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party),Samajwadi Party, CPI(M), AIADMK(All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) and DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam), stepped up their attack on the

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 208 government, accusing it of going against the spirit of federalism and encroaching upon states' rights, Deputy Chairman P.J.Kurien deferred the Prevention of Communal Violence (Access to Justice and Reparations) Bill, 2014 in view of the "mood of the House." The Bill was to replace the Communal Violence (control and Rehabilitation of Victims)Bill, 2005,withdrawn by Home Minister. 15.6.1. Short Term Remedial Measures a. Established Peace Committees and Their Role Communal violence has been a major peace-breaking aspect in India. India is a country with a lot of diversity in terms of religion, language and culture. Very good co-ordination is needed to maintain the unity in the diversity and to keep the peace in the society. But this has not been the case. Often, we hear the communal violence in the society. Actually, it starts for insignificant reasons, but when it takes the color of communities, the people blindly divide themselves into the parties and they quarrel with each other. The government should immediately constitute a peace committee in the riot – hit areas comprising of the respected people belonging to different communities. These leaders can help in persuading the leaders of the fighting communities and help in restoring peace. In communally sensitive towns and areas, Peace Committees comprising of prominent citizens, community leaders and representatives of political parties, respectable organizations, etc., should be set up, and periodic contacts with them should be maintained by the concerned officers at the police station, sub- divisional and district levels. Prominent persons/ members of Peace/National Integration Committees, and voluntary organizations in the area, could make a significant contribution towards the maintenance of communal harmony, and prevention of communal discord, if they are involved in overseeing the situation in areas over which they are influenced. Women, who constitute a very vulnerable group in the context of communal tensions /riots, play an effective role in helping to defuse communal tensions and to prevent riots. Their fair representation in Peace Committees could help in containing riot situation b. Media's Role In democratic societies, when there is a wide heterogeneity among the citizens, this often results in conflicts and violence, sometimes leading to largescale communal violence and loss of life and properties. India also had a long history of communal violence among the various communities. In this situation, media

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 209 occasionally play harmful roles in fomenting communal violence. We find many biases in media reporting. Since communalism is rapidly increasing, threatening our pluralist society, media is also affected by this virus. People are influenced by what they read and what they see on screen. In the context of communal violence, media play a strong pull on mass awareness. Instruments of media play very important roles for communal propaganda and persuasion-messages. Newspapers in India are most directly and repeatedly implicated in the entire process of aggravating communal violence If any communal incident occurs, channels of contact with media persons should be established at a responsible level. The objective is to provide the media with the facts to avoid speculative reporting leading, inter alia, to fueling rumours and community sentiments. Frequently, the electronic media continuously show images of specific incidents, which could lead to exaggerated perceptions about the incidents and lead to provoking sentiments and passions. Regular monitoring and briefing of the media in this context should be ensured. Similarly, the government should also keep a vigil over the social media platforms like Facebook, WhatsApp etc., which tend to spread rumors and trouble people. c. Law Enforcement The role of the police in communal riots has always been a highly controversial issue. Riot victims generally complained that: (1) the police did not come to their rescue; (2) police forces were themselves instrumental in the killing; (3) they led the mob in looting and burning; (4) they arrested innocent persons and tortured them inside the lock-up and put false charges against the arrested persons, and (5) encouraged the culprits to fact according to their will, preventing the members of one community to come out during the curfew and allowing members of another community to do so with impunity. These and some other grave charges are made against the police after every communal riot. The role of law enforcement agencies remains sensitive on the spot in preventing the communal violence. For our purposes, the enforcement agencies include all those who are involved in restoring peace while dealing in communal violence. All organs of law enforcement agencies play different role either at the same time or in different phases while dealing with communal situations. Peace can be established by the law enforcement agencies through expertise activities. Expertise activities insist on good behavior, kindness and a tendency to help the people. In democracy, people of India are the supreme. In this regard Supreme Court (SC) of India says that "the highest office in our democracy is the office of citizens; this is not only a platitude, it must translate into reality."

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 210 In communally sensitive areas, secular minded law enforcement officers must be appointed. Similarly, Special Courts may be set up, whenever the situation demands, for the expeditious trial and disposal of communal riot cases. When a communal riot takes place and an Enquiry Committee/Commission is set up, it should be given a time specific mandate for completion of its inquiry. The state governments should give priority to providing all manner of logistic support required by the Committee/Commission to enable it to submit its report on time. Its recommendations should be expeditiously implemented, say within 3 months and the central government should be informed. Also, immediate legal action should be taken against those who instigate communal violence. 15.6.2 Long Term Remedial Measures a. Encouraging Pluralistic Settlements Pluralism refers to a basic quality of modern societies, where a wide (but not all encompassing) range of religious and political beliefs with diversity is accepted and where the ideal societies envisaged by different political parties may be incompatible with each other. Every generation must understand this complex set of challenges in pluralist societies and how they may be met in a democratic community. Human Rights Education can support students to develop the understanding, attitudes and skills that they need in order to participate as citizens. Through experience of the processes of democratic discussion, students will also learn the open and fair debates demanding certain basic procedures be followed, including: ? all participants with something to contribute should be enabled to do so; ? everyone's contributions should be listened to with respect; ? participants should attack arguments not people; ? participants should enter a debate accepting the possibility that their own views could be modified; ? adversarial debates, where participants argue from closed positions, are often less helpful than exploratory debates, where the aim is not to “win the argument” but to “understand the problem better”. ? Communal riots are only an indicator of a 'boiling point' being reached and a multi-pronged strategy is needed to address the factors that contribute to communalization. Ghettoisation is one of them as religious segregation strengthens communal identities and reinforces negative stereotypes of the 'other'. Ghettos form because of the prejudices inherent in society and therefore governmental action is required to correct this.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 211 ? The government should have a policy that encourages pluralistic settlements where members of different communities live together. This can be done in two ways. First, existing barriers should be removed. There are regular instances of intolerance where Muslims, Christians, Dalits, non-Brahmins, North-Eastern citizens, meat-eaters etc. are denied housing owing to their identities. This should be cracked down upon and landlords should be penalised. The Sachar Committee Report on the status of Indian Muslims recommended the creation of an Equal Opportunities Commission that would deal with such complaints. Second, pluralistic settlements should be incentivised. The Government can provide rewards to settlements that are diverse whether they are public housing projects, private settlements, colonies, etc. These can take the form of tax breaks, rebates, cheaper loans for future projects, cash prizes, etc. b. De-communalising History Education Ultimately communalism is an ideology and can be neutralized through education. Two main areas that need attention in this regard are i) the way history is taught ii) equipping children to deal with diversity. The current controversy over the nature of history textbooks to be prescribed in schools reflect two completely divergent views of the Indian nation. One of the most important achievements of the Indian national movement, perhaps the greatest mass movement in world history, was the creation of the vision of an open, democratic, secular and civil libertarian state which was to promote a modern scientific outlook in civil society in independent India. They have, for example, in books published by Saraswati Shishu Mandir Prakashan for classes four and five, portrayed all communities other than the Hindus as foreigners in India, wrongly described the medieval period as the Muslim period and, following the footsteps of the British, portrayed the period as one of great oppression and decline. These books, in the name of instilling patriotism and valour among Indians, spread falsehoods, treat mythological religious figures like actual historical figures and make absurd claims such as that the Qutab Minar was built by Samudragupta. They claim that Ashoka's advocating of Ahimsa (non-violence) spread "cowardice" and that the struggle for India's freedom became a "religious war" against Muslims, and so on. The present categorisation of Indian history into Ancient, Medieval and Modern has significantly contributed to communal thinking in the country. It has effectively divided history into the Hindu period, Muslim period and Christian period.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 212 Medieval India begins in about 1000 CE/AD with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate which is widely seen as the 'Muslim invasion'. Modern India begins in about 1757 CE with the establishment of the British Raj after their victory in the Battle of Plassey. This categorisation was tremendously flawed and was a real source of danger. The notion that Hindus in the medieval period were suffering under Muslim tyranny was also a colonial construct, as the British rule could then be projected as having freed the Hindus from this tyranny. Further, depicting the Hindus and Muslims as warring communities created the justification for the British presence in India, and also prevented them from uniting against the British. Therefore, it is abundantly clear that the way history is taught needs to be drastically changed. A much better framework is one based on class. The great historian Romila Thapar in her masterly work 'The Penguin History of Early India' (p 31) which periodises history based on major changes in society such as changes in the economic structure (e.g., from hunter-gatherer to agrarian), in the political system (e.g., from tribal oligarchies to monarchies), in technology (e.g., from stone to iron tools), and so on, offers a far more realistic view of the development of history. The re-categorisation of history is a highly complex topic and needs to be explored in more detail. c. Rethinking and Use of New Strategies It is necessary for the government to rethink its strategies to counter communalism. It is generally perceived that economic development brings down instances of communalism. But this is not true. It is found that economic development alone cannot suppress communalism. In fact, communal riots have registered in more numbers from developed states like Maharashtra and Gujarat, and developed cities like Mumbai, Amhedabad, Jamshedpur and Kanpur. So, there is a need for the use of new strategies and well-planned efforts to suppress communalism. d. Teaching Our Children to Deal with Diversity Living with diversity is one of the greatest challenges facing the societies in which our children are growing up. In a world where cultures increasingly touch and intermingle with teaching the values and skills of 'learning to live together' have become a priority issue for education. We all want children to grow up in a world free from bias and discrimination, to reach for their dreams and feel that whatever they want to accomplish in life is possible. We want from them never to experience the pain of rejection or exclusion. But the reality is that we do live in a world in which racism and other forms of bias continue to affect us.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 213 This must be in the form of practical exercises that instill the habits and skills required to do so such that these remain with them throughout their lives. Some examples include role-playing (promotes empathy for different groups), exercising in critical thinking (to guard against prejudice), exposure visits, conflict resolution through dialogue and so on. A peaceful future depends on our everyday acts and gestures. Let us educate for tolerance in our schools and communities, in our homes and workplaces and, most of all, in our hearts and minds. These were some steps that can be taken by the government in neutralizing communalism. However, in the long run social reform is essential. Therefore, the main thrust of the effort towards neutralizing communalism is in the sphere of social and political reform and in bringing about a change in the values and mindsets of the people at large. 15.7 Summary Communalism is a pervasive phenomenon in Indian public life and communal violence is a particularly ugly expression of it. Secularism in the subcontinent is an inextricable part of the nationalist self-conception since independence, and has remained central to subsequent debates about citizenship belonging in the post colonial state. It signifies all that have been enlightened and integrative within a modern society. The Indian Constitution enshrined freedom of religion as one of its core principles but the practice of religion was to be personal and private. The public presence of religion, 'communalism' it was adamantly stated, would not be entertained any further. This force had its devastating consequences for the nation in the past, and had gravely retarded the process of integration in the post-independence period. 15.8 Questions a. Discuss communalism. b. What is communal violence? c. What lies behind the appeal of communalism? d. What can we do to end communalism?

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 214 15.9 Suggested Readings 1. Banu, Z. (1980). REALITY OF COMMUNAL RIOT: Class Conflict Between the Haves of Hindus and Muslims. The Indian Journal of Political Science , 41 (1), 100-114. 2. Chandra, B. (2007). Essays on Contemporary India (Revised edition ed.). Haranand Publications Pvt Ltd. 3. Panikkar, K. N. (1991). Communalism in India: A Perspective for Intervention (2nd reprint ed.). New Delhi: People's Publishing House. 4. Sarkar, T., & Butalia, U. (1995). Women and the Hindu right: A collection of essays. Kali for Women. 5. Singh, V. V. (1990). Communal Violence. Jaipur: Rawat Publisher. 6. Zakaria, R. (2003). Communal Rage in Secular India. Mumbai: Popular Prakashan.

Unit 16 Secularism : Concepts / Definition Structure 16.1 Objectives 16.2 Introduction 16.2.1 Meaning of Secularism 16.3 Secular, Secularization and Secularism 16.4 Secularism in India 16.4.1 Jawaharlal Nehru on Secularism 16.4.2 Mahatma Gandhi on Secularism 16.4.3 Ambedkar's Views on Secularism 16.5 Growth of Indian Secularism 16.6 Conclusion 16.7 Summary 16.8 Questions 16.9 Suggested Readings 16.10 Endnotes 16.11 Glossary 16.1 Objectives ? To learn about the concept and meaning of secularism in modern society. ? To understand the meaning of a secular state especially in the context of India. ? To differentiate between the concepts 'secular', 'secularization' and 'secularism' and understand their implications. ? To learn about the meaning and growth of Indian secularism. 16.2 Introduction Secularism is one of the most contested ideas in today's society. It is a complex term which needs to be perceived under different situations and politics. What is secularism is not easy to answer and neither easily comprehended. This is because there are various nuances to the idea of secularism. Secularism is a modern concept indicating
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 216 the separation of religion from politics in modern society. While religion is viewed in terms of the traditional or the supernatural, secularism is the opposite of it. Secularism is more attuned to science, reason and rationality, the eminent features of modern society. Secularism means condemning any kind of religious regression and standing against any kind of religious intolerance. Secularism is a progressive thought compared to the outmoded ideas of religion. Religion is best kept within the private domain while secularism will be the face of the public world. Scholars across the world have tried to seek answers to the questions on religion and secularism that intrigued them the most. Their quest has been to search for the significance of secularism in modern society and its impact on religion. How religion and secularism are different in their sensibilities and how successful secularism functions to replace religious sentiments by secular practices. But the idea is not as simple as it sounds. Many countries across the world have used secularism differently. For the western countries like United Kingdom and U.S.A. secularism holds a different meaning compared to the Indian concept of secularism. India had adopted and adapted secularism and made it its own. Indian secularism is contextualized in the larger gamut of diversity and social differences that lie at its core. Similarly, the Indian problems with secularism have not dissipated either even after seventy years of independence. In this unit we will try to decode the meaning of secularism and address the issue of a secular state with special reference to India. 16.2.1 Meaning of Secularism Secularism is a term which dissociates itself from religion. It means everything that is 'this- worldly' and is opposed to the sacred or 'other-worldly', supernatural beliefs and practices. Secularism is a political term which maintains to keep religion away from state matters. It also questions or rejects anything that is based upon faith and belief. Donald Eugene Smith in his book 'India as a Secular State' defines "Secular State is a state that guarantees individual or corporate freedom of religion, deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of his religion, is not constitutionally connected to a particular religion nor does it seek either to promote or interfere with religion" 1 . This famous definition of religion indicates three things-one is the relationship between the religion and the individual, the second is the relationship between the state and the individual and the third is the relationship between the state and religion. Secularism is known as a western concept simply because it was evolved in western society. This happened at a time when societies were undergoing a transformation from traditional societies based upon faith and belief in God or the supernatural to modern societies based upon reason and rationality. This was also a time when societies were changing their authoritarian political structure to a democratic structure. Modern nation-states were also coming up. Societies were freed from the clutches of

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 217 the Church and also freed from religious connections or interventions. While earlier forms of traditional societies were run by religious institutions like the Church and adhered to all kinds of religious doctrines, modern western societies followed and practised secularism where religion had no control over state matters. Religion becomes a private affair and state and politics become free of religion. This also means that all the different parts of society like economy, politics, culture, education all function independently of religion. This also implies that modern men act on the basis of rationality and not on religious beliefs. In some western society secularism ensures complete separation of the state from the Church. The state is free to function from any kinds of religious impositions or influences. The state will not interfere in the affairs of religion while religion will not interfere in the affairs of the state. Religion is strictly pushed to the private realm and will not be considered as a matter of state policy. Such a state which distances itself from religion is a secular state. A secular state is opposed to a theocratic state ruled by religion. Thus, the distinguishing features of a secular democracy as contemplated by the Constitution of India are: 1) That the state will not identify itself with or be controlled by any religion; 2) That while the state guarantees to everyone the right to profess whatever religion one chooses to follow (which includes also the right to be an agnostic or an atheist), it will not accord any preferential treatment to any of them; 3) That no discrimination will be shown by the state against any person on account of his religion or faith, and 4) That the right of every citizen, subject to any general condition, to enter any office under the state will be equal to that of his fellow-citizens 2 . But a secular state is different from a secular society. While secularism is strictly related to politics, it is different from being secular in everyday life or following the practice of secularization. 16.3 Secular, Secularization and Secularism Understanding the 'secular', 'secularism' and 'secularization' can be very confusing and overlapping. Yet there are different meanings to the word secular, secularism and secularization. Secularism is more of a political doctrine. Secular is more cultural. While secularization is a process of being secular, i.e., being outside the reach of religion and religious institutions. Being secular can also mean being 'this-worldly' in one's orientation. Secularization as a trend emerged in the period of early modernity which also indicated a decline in religious practices and its believers. It also indicated the rise of non-religious or secular institutions worldwide. The word 'secularization'
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 218 was first used in 1648 at the end of the thirty years war in Europe, to refer to the transfer of Church properties to the exclusive control of the princes. George Jacob Holyoake coined the term secularism in 1851 and led a rationalist movement of protest in England. Secularization was built into the ideology of progress. Peter Berger had mentioned that secularization was the process by which religious domination removed from sectors of society and culture. T.N Madan has noted that there is a confusion caused by the use of words such as 'secular', 'secularization' and 'secularism'. For Srinivas, the term secularization implies what was previously regarded as religious is now ceasing

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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 3 .

Secularism on the other hand requires that all religions should have the privilege of free exercise and be even handily treated except when a religion's practices are inconsistent with the ideals that a polity seeks to achieve. Secularism is a doctrine that may be relevant even in societies where there is no religious plurality. Secularization leads to changes in- a) The beliefs and practices of individuals; b) The nature of institutions and their mutual relations. It doesn't imply elimination of religion but to a state of affairs in which some ideas, practices and institutions cease to be regulated by religion. The range and depth of secularization vary from one country to another within the same country from one segment of the population to another. One can also see that nowhere has secularism led to the disappearance of religious beliefs and practices and institutions. Beteille states that 'it is a sociological truism that no modern society can as a whole afford to dispense with either secular ideas and institutions or religious beliefs and practices'. Srinivas said that 'Hindus were more affected by the secularization process than any other religious groups. Further different sections among the Hindus are affected in different degree by it...'. He suggests that there are certain institutional features of Hinduism that make the progress of secularization easier among the Hindus than among other religious groups. Indians irrespective of their religious faith, practice secularization due to the changes in the external and material conditions of existence. Such changes can also provide a new lease of life to certain religious practices. The prospects for the co-existence of religious and secular ways of life will depend in part on how we think of religion. Srinivas for instance traced the course of secularization through the changes in the rites and ceremonies of the Hindus. For example, the most significant ritual among the caste Hindus is that of purity and pollution. However, the notion of purity and pollution have undergone changes in recent years. As he said, "the notion of purity and pollution have become less

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 219 pervasive...". Many ceremonies related to birth, death and marriage are acquiring a different focus which indicates the presence of 'secularization' but it does not mean that it is at odds with religion. Needless to say, that there are new rituals and ceremonies that are incorporated in the Hindu calendar and other religions. Much of these are 'secular' by definition. Religious occasions are redefined as 'social occasions. There is also elimination of magical elements from traditional religious observances. Both are conventionally regarded as aspects of secularization 4 . Beteille also brought a relationship between religion, magic and secularization through several examples. Many elements of Hinduism and Catholicism were more magical than religious. Among the various social rituals of the Hindus, Brahmin women were not allowed to enter the kitchen during their menstrual time just as the untouchables were not allowed to enter major Hindu temples. The weakening of these restrictions and reduction of their magical and superstitious beliefs were linked to the process of secularization. The modern society finds the growth of new institutions and structures. These institutions are universities, laboratories, hospitals, banks etc. The Indian universities of today were designed by and large to be secular institutions from the beginning. The Indian university is a secular institution in the further sense that individuals have equal opportunity to find a place in the faculty irrespective of religion, caste or creed. Institutions like laboratory hospitals and banks are governed by rules of its own specialized practice, scientific practice or financial practice. They are not intrinsic to any particular kind of religion. Although secular ideas and institutions tend to have a bias for modernisation, secularism can be turned into a doctrine as well as an ideology too, it has had its partisans and militants 5 . Therefore, secularization process can be followed in everyday lives of the people even though the state is non-secular. On the other hand, a secular state doesn't mean all its citizens will be secular. 16.4 Secularism in India Secularism although appeared in western societies, it was later adapted by many countries around the world. India as an independent nation-state also chose to adopt the model of a secular state. Although the idea of secularism was gathered from the west, Indian secularism has its own distinctive character which differs from its western counterpart. India is religiously diverse. The Indian subcontinent has been home to different religious groups over the years. While the majority of its population are Hindus, other minority religious communities like Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Sikhs, Parsis and others co habit or co-exist. Being a culturally diverse country, India also exhibited fair amount of tolerance across the subcontinent. This also meant that India's approach to secularism will be idiosyncratic.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 220 In India the word 'secularism' is highly ambiguous. The common man finds the term not only difficult to comprehend but also make different meanings out of the same. Due to various historical, political and cultural factors Indian secularism has always been a matter of confusion as far as state policies are concerned and as far as citizens and their rights and obligations are concerned. That is probably the reason why Indian secularism despite being a constitutional term failed to find its place in the heart of Indians at large. Secularism was the chosen word included in the Indian Constitution in its 42 nd Amendment. It was believed that the problems and turmoil that India was going through after the Partition of the country along communal lines in 1947 could be cured by the inclusion of this magical word 'secularism'. Some people believe in secularism and are in support of it while others find it a farce. The concept however helps to shape one's own understanding of religion. As Andre Beteille says, secularism is not only opposed to religious predominance but also indicates freedom to pursue any religion. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India wanted India to be a secular state. This one will be the one that protects all religions but favours none at the expense of others. Neither there will be anything called a state religion. The state will ensure equal protection to all religions that lie at the heart of the Indian sub-continent. Nehru was the philosopher, the harbinger of Indian secularism. Secularism for him meant complete opposition to communalism of all kinds. Secularism was a means to achieve national unity and integrity for India. 16.4.1 Jawaharlal Nehru on Secularism Jawaharlal Nehru was the pioneer to develop the notion of Indian secularism. It was he who believed that secularism would help develop an attitude of tolerance and peaceful co-existence of all religious groups within the country. Jawaharlal Nehru's secularism rested on the notion that religion is an erroneous view of the cosmos that will yield to more rational understanding as scientific thinking and economic growth advance 6 . Nehru wanted to develop the ideology of secularism to suppress communal woes in the country. He was a liberal and believed in liberal secularism. He envisioned that by following secularism, India would not only be tolerant towards the religious minority groups but also ensured liberty and equality for all. Nehru's secularism aimed at social welfare. Nehru always projected a modern and liberal India which would grow along the lines of industry and scientific growth. The secularist ideology fitted well into this philosophy which would help to attain justice for all and avoid any forms of discrimination on the part of the minorities. Nehru wanted to curve out the mottoes of secularism, socialism, liberty and equal justice for Independent India. He was the main architect behind secularism. He was aware of India's deep religious

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 221 diversity and the fissures it created within Indian society. He thought secularism would help unite the country shattered by communal forces. Nehru believed that communal problem which was at the root of the history of Indian independence was not a religious problem. Rather it was more about exploitation of religious differences existing in Indian society by a group of calculating politicians. The quest for achieving secular ends had produced communal divide. For Nehru secularism was about separation of religion from political, economic, social and cultural lives. Secularism was also about separation of the state from religion. Secularism also would not allow discrimination of any kinds on religious grounds and develop more religious tolerance. Religion was simply a private matter that would bring about inner development of one's personality. Nehru was aware of the enormous impact of religion on the lives of the people especially in an old civilization like India which had been the home to large number of religions. But for Nehru, the new India would be built on the premise of secularism, socialism and democracy. New India was a modern India that was scientific and industrialized. He believed that modern scientific education would help people realize the spirit of secularism. He preached about liberty and equal rights of all the citizens of the country. 16.4.2 Mahatma Gandhi on Secularism Gandhi was a religious devout man. Even though he supported the policy of secularism for India. He always believed religion to be the spirit of India and it was not possible to separate the religion from the secular. Gandhi's secularism rested on the notion that all religions were true, getting the meaning to the moral life and that Indian society could be built on a community based on religious communities. Religion could not be separated from politics either. Gandhi perceived that one could not keep religion away from the parameters of life but one could practice what he called good religion compared to bad religion. Gandhi was against sectarianism, communalism and religious fanaticism. Gandhi believed in spiritual politics. He had always supported Hindu revivalist cult and was a follower of Vivekananda and Aurobindo. The Mahatma Gandhi always believed that every religion should be revered and respected because the ultimate truth can be perceived through different religions. However, he also said that communalism was not a religious problem but a political one. This view showed the secular side of his. He never supported state religion even if a country possessed one religion. After independence he always envisioned a free India and not a Hindu state to come into being. Gandhiji claimed that in independent India issues of religious majority and minority should no longer prevail. He never saw Hinduism as an organized religion and neither were the Hindus a homogeneous group. Gandhi was aware of the growing

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 222 communal forces in the country among the Hindus and Muslims since the nationalist movement. But he had no intentions of fighting for religious nationalism. Gandhi emphasized on the inseparability of religion and politics and the superiority of the former over the latter. For Gandhi religion was the source of absolute value and hence constitutive of social life, politics were the arena of public interest. The inseparability of religion and politics in the Indian context was for Gandhi fundamentally a different issue from the separation of the state from the Church in Christendom. 16.4.3 Ambedkar's Views on Secularism B.R Ambedkar was the architect of the Indian Constitution. He was also known as the Father of Indian Constitution. Ambedkar was a vehement protester of the Indian caste system and the Hindu religion which he condemned this altogether due to its divisive nature. His aim in life was to bring about social equality of the Dalits or the untouchables and stop any forms of social discrimination within Hindu society. Ambedkar was against Hinduism due to its exploitative and discriminatory character. Through the various laws within the Constitution, Ambedkar wanted to achieve equal protection of rights of all individuals under law. Ambedkar had full faith in the principles of secularism which was included in the Constitution in its forty second amendment. He trusted secularism to give equal respect and protection to all religion. Hence secularism was conceptualized by Ambedkar to give freedom of religion to every citizen. Along with religious equality Ambedkar also wanted to stop practices of untouchability, economic exploitation and caste type of social differences. This widened the scope of secularism. Ambedkar wanted to change the Hindu Code Bill but he managed to obtain the provision of Article 44 which states that every citizen will be secured a uniform civil code by the Indian state within its territory. 16.5 Growth of Indian Secularism Indian secularism arose in the context of deep religious diversity that predated the advent of western modern ideas and nationalism. It was a political phenomenon than a philosophical one and was adopted with a purpose of defying communal tensions in the country. The Congress under Nehru was committed to secularism but there were differences in the true nature of a secular state in India even among the Congress. The R.S.S or the Hindu Right wing never supported secularism and denounced it as a western concept. It was thinkers like Gandhi, Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and B.R Ambedkar who supported secularism in India. India is a secular state because there is no particular religion which is adopted as the state religion. The Constitution doesn't provide any preferential treatment to any

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 223 religion and the people of any particular religion has the right to worship or any religion may be of one's choice is a fundamental right. Secularism in India also brings with it equality of all citizens in the eyes of law. According to the Indian Constitution no discrimination will be made on the basis of caste, creed, gender and class. All citizens irrespective of one's religion, caste or gender have the right to vote. According to Article 14 to 21 all enjoy same rights without discrimination. Person professing any religion will be considered equal before the law. Article 15 also prohibits discrimination of any persons on religious grounds. Article 25 states that all who reside in India are free to confess, practice or propagate the religion of one's choice subject to social health, law and order. All these provisions make us believe that India is a secular state. Indian secularism is unique in its own way. This is because India has always been a multi religious, plural society. In India we find a domination of four major religions Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and Sikhism. Indian society is built upon communal harmony and integrity. Right after independence the Indian Constitution has adopted the democratic form of government. Directive principles and fundamental rights are also incorporated in the Constitution. Among them Articles 25 to 30 ensure freedom of religion to individuals, as well as religious denominations and institutions. However, there are restrictions over certain public sectors while the state has full right to intervene in religious matters if it thinks fit. It was in 1976 that the word 'secular' was included in the Indian Constitution. Indian secularism is more an attitude of "good will towards all religions", "sarvadharma sadbhava"; in a narrower formulation it has been a negative or defensive policy of religious neutrality on the part of the state. Secularism has multiple meanings. It is being applicable through the process of modernization. It is also thought as the anti-thesis of religion and consistent with rationality, individuality, materialism, economic development and social change. Secularization also implies a break away from the traditional structures of society. Secularism is the pathway to a new modern society. A secular state is one that has no connection with any matters - religious or spiritual-, and that the state shall not intervene in it nor sponsor it. The Indian state follows a neutral path to secularism. According to Article 15 of the Indian Constitution,

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the state shall not discriminate on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth.

According to Article 44, there should be a Uniform Civil Code which means one rule for all. But secularism in India met with many challenges and was not accepted by all. T. N Madan has argued that where religion persists as a powerful element in personal identity, secular policy cannot build on a rationalist avoidance of religious community but must take it into account. Secularism is simply perceived in the light of the political but it has been insufficient in countering religious fundamentalism and
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 224 fanaticism. Madan notes therefore that the search for secular elements in the cultural traditions of this region is a futile exercise for it is not these but an ideology of secularism that is absent and is resisted. Secularism is often viewed as a dream of the minority which wants to shape the image of the majority. For many, secularism is nothing but a social myth. It is a tool in the hands of political parties to cover the failure of the minority to separate politics from religion and secure vote banks. Majority of the Indians are dependent on religion to establish their place in society and bestows meaning on their life, more than any other social and cultural factors. Despite all the forces of secularization it is found that secularism is unable to make its headway in India. The biggest example of this is the rising and persisting communal riots and tensions in the country, secessionist movements, dissent over personal laws and uniform civil code, unresolved Kashmir issue, prevalence of the Hindu Rights, domination of the anti-secular BJP. Many of the arguments against secularism are vociferous. People believe that it is the failure of the society and the state to bring communal forces under control and secularism is not an answer to it. Indians are largely religious and would continue to be so. Even the Congress party couldn't be fairly secular. This became more evident in its inability to positively deal with the ever-contentious uniform civil code and banning of the Muslim personal law in the Shah Bano Case (1985-86). This had further created seething anger among the Hindu majority in particular which saw secularism to be instrumental in shaping minority politics. 16.6 Conclusion This chapter takes an attempt to comprehend the meaning of secularism in the world politics as well as the political life of India. The principle of secularism is a controversial issue for Indian politics. Under the current social and political situation, the concept is facing redundancy. Indian politics is far from being secular. Secularism only finds its place in the Preamble and the Constitution but fails to shape the lives of Indians. People are still religiously divided. 16.7 Summary The majority and minority issue still revolves around Hindu and Muslim religious identities. Communal tensions, religious riots, mobs and fanaticism never cease to exist. Political parties seek votes along communal lines and the position of every religious minority are under threat. Under such circumstances one is forced to think why is India a secular nation-state and whether it is time to reinvent or redefine secularism in India.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 225 16.8 Questions I . Answer in detail: a. What is secularism? How is Indian secularism different from its western counterpart? b. Differentiate between the concepts secularization and secularism with examples. c. Explain the growth of secularism in India. II Answer briefly: a. Why is Indian secularism ambiguous? b. What was Nehru's vision of secularism for India? c. Explain Ambedkar's views on secularism. III Answer very briefly: a. How does the Uniform Civil Code contribute to secularism in India? b. What is the Shah Bano case and its implications on secularism? 16.9 Suggested Readings 1. Beteille, Andre. 2000. Antinomies of Society: Essays on Ideologies and Institutions. New Delhi. Oxford University Press 2. Bhargava Rajeev. 2008. Secularism in Rajeev Bhargava and Acharya Ashok (ed). Political theory: An Introduction. New Delhi. Pearson Education in South Asia 3. Madan, T.N. 1987. Secularism in its Place. The Journal of Asian Studies. 46(4): 750 4. Pylee. M.V. 1994. India's Constitution. Ram Nagar. New Delhi. S. Chand and Company Private Limited 5. Smith, D.E. 1963. India: India as a Secular State. New Jersey. Princeton University Press. Bombay. Oxford University Press 6. Srinivas M.N. 1966. Social Change in Modern India. Berkeley. C.A California University Press
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 226 16.10 Endnotes 1. Smith, D.E. 1963.India: India as a Secular State. New Jersey. Princeton University Press. Bombay. Oxford University Press. P.4 2. Pylee. M.V. 1994. India's Constitution. Ram Nagar. New Delhi. S. Chand and Company Private Limited 3. Srinivas M.N. 1966. Social Change in Modern India. Berkeley. C.A California University Press. P.119 4. Beteille, Andre. 2000. Antinomies of Society: Essays on Ideologies and Institutions. New Delhi. Oxford University Press. P. 93 5. Ibid. 99 6. Madan, T.N. 1987. Secularism in its Place. The Journal of Asian Studies. 46(4): 750 16.11 Glossary Theocratic State- It is a state that is ruled by religion. Secular State- It is a state that keeps religion away from state or policy matters and treats its citizens equal irrespective of their religion. Hindu Code Bill- The Hindu Code Bill was an attempt to reform the Hindu personal laws by Dr. B.R Ambedkar. It especially seeked to bring reforms to the condition of Hindu women. It was Ambedkar's attempt to bring about equality and justice within Hinduism through legislative measures. Uniform Civil Code- It seeks to replace personal laws based on religion by one uniform civil law for India. Secularization- It is a process by which people adopts a secular way of life by rejecting religious influences.
Unit 17 Secularism and its Challenges in India Structure 17.1 Objectives 17.2 Introduction 17.2.1 What is Secularism? 17.2.2 Secularism in the West 17.3 The Need for Secularism in India 17.3.1 The Crisis of Secularism 17.4 The Problem of Communalism 17.4.1 Communalism and the Nationalist Movement 17.4.2 Communalism and Vote Bank Politics 17.4.3 Issues of Majority and Minority 17.5 Conclusion 17.6 Summary 17.7 Questions 17.8 Suggested Readings 17.9 End Notes 17.10 Glossary 17.1 Objective ? To understand the concept of secularism. ? To learn the meaning of secularism in the West. ? To analyse the need for secularism in India. ? To learn about the various crisis faced by secularism in India. ? To learn about the problem of communalism and Hindu nationalism vis-a-vis secularism in India.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 228 17.2 Introduction Secularism was introduced to Indian citizens as a principle policy of the state. It was largely a political practice whereby Indian government wanted to secure the rights and interests of every religious community in the country. This secularism was different from being secular in the social and cultural lives. However, secularism is met with serious challenges and obstacles. Already there have been started so many debates and discourses that state secularism must be a promotional interest of the government for securing the sympathy and support of the minority groups. Yet few also feel that secularism is a major step towards a healthy democracy with its objectives of securing equality and justice for all its citizens. The debate over secularism in India is an ongoing process where scholars, politicians, academicians and the people share dissenting their voices. Secularism in India is still popularly perceived as a western imposition for the purpose of fulfilling vote bank politics. Communalism and religious fanaticism are seen as major impediments to secularism. In this unit, the attempt is taken to decipher the meaning of secularism, its importance in Indian democracy and the challenges that secularism face in India. 17.2.1 What is Secularism? Secularism means that an independent nation-state will not discriminate against any religion or community or any person professing a particular religion. Even though a pluralistic society, no particular religion will be considered as a state religion. The state will refrain itself from bestowing any preferential right on person of any particular religion. In other way the state will maintain its distance from religious favouritism. "The goal of secularism, defined most generally, is to ensure that the social and political order is free from institutionalized religious domination so that there is religious freedom, freedom to exit from religion, inter-religious equality and equality between believers and non-believers. In other words, religion defines the scope of secularism" 1 . Indian secularism also aims at bringing about religious equality in the country which takes place in the aftermath of the Partition. However, unlike its western counterpart, the Indian states have always been anything far from anti-religious. For India secularism doesn't imply a complete separation of the state and religion but it is a matter of state policy. On the contrary, by adopting the principles of secularism the state aims to protect the diverse religious groups and their identities that exist in the subcontinent since the ancient times. So, religion definitely holds an important place in Indian polity.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 229 Secularism was one of the ideals of the new democratic government in India that was to come into being after the British rule. However, it was included formally much later in the Indian Constitution. The Indian state was expected to uphold the principles of secularism. Nevertheless, secularism is one of the most contested and challenged ideals of democracy. Secularism is challenged by the various social, political and economic developments. Many scholars like Amartya Sen held the doctrine of the Hindutva ideology and thought that BJP might be responsible for damaging secularist principles in the country 2 . They were seen as the main critiques of secularism and represented the ideology of Hindu nationalists in the political arena. However, one cannot only blame the Hindutva movement for the crisis faced by secularism in India. There are a series of factors that added to its collateral damage. The secular state of India is under constant threat today and with it the ideals of democracy seem to break down. People were and still are divided on the basis of religion. The major question is to trace the challenges and crisis of secularism in Indian society and polity. Before coming to the crisis of Indian secularism, it is important to understand the difference between secularism in the west and in India. 17.2.2 Secularism in the West In the west secularism emerged as a new modern idea that was to mark the end of the old feudal order and develop the emergence of a new modern nation-state. Secularism was the need of the hour in the west which tried to undermine the powers of the Catholic Church over the lives of the people. Modern western secularism was a search for a way out of religious wars and keep the Church out of all matters of state interest. Another major function of secularism was that it helped people identify themselves as citizens of the state and not in terms of other primordial loyalties like religion, ethnicity, race and class. The word secularism was coined by George Jacob Holyoake in the middle of the nineteenth century. The word was Latin in origin and also indicated freedom. The origin of the idea of secularism might be traced to the period of Enlightenment in Europe. This was a time when religion or belief in God started giving way to reason and rationality. The word ‘secular’ started being associated with ‘this worldly’ while religion was concerned with the ‘other worldly’. Although religion is seen to be a feature of backward or traditional society, secularism is a feature of the new age of modernity. It is also associated with the words like ‘progress’ and ‘development’. while religion is seen to divide the society, secularism aims to establish an egalitarian and just society.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 230 17.3 The Need for Secularism in India In India secularism was viewed to be the harbinger of a just and equal society which could cordon off religion-based inequalities and differences among groups and communities. Secularism was adopted in order to build a united India amidst plurality and multiculturalism with religious differences and discriminations. According to Rajeev Bhargava, the makers of the Indian Constitution adopted secularism as one of the principles of state policy as an aftermath of the Partition and deterioration of Hindu-Muslim unity in the country. “Bhargava (1998) defined what he called political secularism, a minimalist secularism in which the state keeps a principled distance from religious communities in order to ensure minimal standards of living to ordinary citizens and prevent the degradation of life. Ethical secularism is more demanding in that it necessitates not merely living together in a political association, but living together well. Both ideas of secularism insist upon the separation of religion from politics” 3 Bhargava believed that secularism is necessary not only to avoid or stop religious fanaticism but also to avoid religious conflicts. While religion was excluded from state institutions it was not excluded from the lives of the people. The declaration of the Indian state to provide special rights to minorities gave secularism a distinctive character in India. It was believed that absolute uniformity was not required for national integration. Secularism was an attempt to promote communal harmony by not disrupting the religious sentiments of the people. The idea behind secularism was that the state would maintain distance from religion but it possessed every right to intervene in matters of religion that was necessary. Actually, it was thought that India was the home of different religious communities and Indian state had every right to cater to the needs of all. After independence, India wanted to build a democracy that would treat all its citizens equally. As the Partition took place India vowed that it would not discriminate its citizens along religious lines, neither it would have a state religion. Secularism became the gradual call of the hour. Besides secularism being a major state policy, the Congress government had to wait till the Forty Second Amendment of the Constitution to include the term secularism officially. Secular ideologies are mentioned in Article 25 and Article 28 in the chapter of Fundamental Rights. Article 25 propagates the freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess and practice any religion. Similarly, Article 27 and Article 28 ban taxes for the purpose of supporting a particular religion and by banning religious instruction in the institutions recognized or aided by the state. Article 325 and 326

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 231 provide for the principle of non-discrimination among citizens in the area of voting and representation on the basis of religion, race and sex. The ideology and practice of secularism are under much debate and controversy across Indian society. Popularly there is a belief that secularism is a borrowed concept which has been forcefully imposed upon the country. Its alien construction makes it inept for solving the problem of communalism in the country. The seeds of communal disharmony were sowed since the British rule which outgrew into the most violent form of communal tension in the history of India in the form of the Partition. But in no way could secularism bridge the gap between diverse religious groups, neither had it been able to avoid communal issues. Many believe that the crisis is faced by India today are due to secularism. As T.N Madan says, "In either formulation, Indian secularism achieves the opposite of its stated intention; it trivializes religious differences as well as the notion of unity of religions... He calls secularism as 'impossible', 'impracticable' and 'impotent' 4 The makers of secularism have failed to recognize the supremacy of religion in the social and cultural lives of Indians. People of the dominant Hindu majority groups are even unhappy about the protection of the rights of the social religious groups in society. Besides all Constitutional principles, laws and Acts, Indian democracy has failed to uphold the values of secularism. Numerous communal tensions and violence are indicative of the failure of secularism in India today. 17.3.1 The Crisis of Secularism T.N Madan, Ashish Nandy, Partha Chatterjee all criticized secularism as a symptom of deep internal crisis 5 . This was because secularism never complied to the normative structure of Indian society. They all linked secularism to a flawed- modernity in India. Secularism could never eliminate religion from the public life of the people because religion formed the foundation of Indian society and culture. Rajeev Bhargava placed his argument against this view. Bhargava believed that those who criticized secularism failed to view India as a modern society and secularism was a new variant feature. He stated that Indian secularism never promoted privatization of religion and never created a wall of separation among different religious groups or communities rather secularism proposed a distanced relationship between the state and religion. While intending to understanding the failure behind secularism in India, Bhargava noted that secularism as a concept faced some internal threat. This threat originated from the failure to understand the distinctive characters of secularism. Bhargava also believes that secularism is a doctrine that can change over a period of time. Secularism also has multiple interpretations. Secularism is a value that has been inherited from the west but has been made its own by the non-western societies. Even

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 232 in western societies the traditional meaning of secularism is again being reexplored and reinterpreted. This is essentially due to the rising multiculturalism in western societies along with large scale migration and development of Diaspora communities. In case of India, Bhargava notes, that the critics of secularism have linked it to other concepts inherent in modern society i.e., the concept of nation-state, instrumental rationality, hegemony of science and probably industrialization. Secularism is also related to individualism and concepts like liberty and equality which is not well accepted by the Indian society. The Indian critics of secularism for instance have failed to understand the substantive value behind secularism of protecting its citizens against all kinds of religious oppression. However, separation of religion and the state does not mean exclusion of religion and state. The critics of secularism also fail to look into its positive implications like eradication of untouchability, bringing about social and religious reforms and promoting or expanding secular institutions like schools, colleges, hospitals and so on. Hence one major criticism against secularism is that it is highly unsuitable for the Indian context and there should be some alternative to it. 17.4 The Problem of Communalism Secularism is challenged by the communal forces that operate within the country. The frequency with which communal holocausts have been taking place in this country show that there is something fundamentally wrong with our political system as well as our secular governance 6 . Secularism was a dream of the then Indian National Congress leaders like Gandhi, Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. But this dream got backfired under the elite driven communalism in the country. Communalism means a kind of collective outburst of one community against the other or strong allegiance to one's own ethnic group than to a society. It is associated with a religious community and implies exclusive loyalty to one's own religion. There are several popular notions about communalism. One of them is that it is seen as a product of religion but it is not. Rather it is the product of the politics of elites of religious communities. It is the competitive politics between the elites of two or more communities which give rise to communalism 7 . Communalism can be traced back to the Nationalist movement which started as a Freedom struggle from British rule. But even after independence the country got its first major communal blow through the Partition. The Hindu-Muslim unity was lost forever. Even after independence series of communal revolts and backlashes were found in different regions of Uttar Pradesh, Gujrat and other states of North India. The

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 233 Gujrat riots, Godhra riots, Bombay riots, riots in Punjab all proved about the failure of secularism in Indian society. 17.4.1 Communalism and the Nationalist Movement One major obstacle to the principles of secularism is communal politics which was embedded within the Nationalist movement itself. If one questions the reason behind the defeat of secularism in India, one has to dig deep into the Nationalist movement for an answer. The Nationalist movement was also known as the Swadeshi movement whose primary aim was to free the country from British rule and create an independent nation-state. Drawing inspiration from the western world and other newly emerging nation-states after the setback of World War II, the Nationalists like Nehru, Gandhi, Jinnah and others envisioned a new India with a new identity of nationhood. The Nationalist movement therefore brought with it new modern ideals of nationhood, patriotism, equality, liberal thinking and secularism. As a nation divided along caste and religious lines and victimized by the 'divide and rule' policy of the British, secularism was believed to be the prerequisite for an equal society. After independence, the ideology of secularism became the ideology of the sate but couldn't touch the popular sentiments of the people. Rather people were not just alien to the concept but many vehemently opposed it. This was because the nationalist movement itself was not secular in nature. Rather it brought with its fears of communal disharmony. The Movement itself recognized the dominance of two major religions in the country, the Hindus and the Muslims that further culminated into the Partition of the country along communal lines. Many scholars like Akeel Bilgrami 8 believed that the way secularism was imposed upon India did not go down well with its popular sentiments. Rather preaching of secularism should have been a gradual and negotiated process between the Congress party and the other religious groups and communities. Communalism emerged as a mere reaction to secularist principles in the state. Even most of the Indian politicians and bourgeoisie failed to accept secularism even though it was formally included in the Constitution. It was never easy to translate the Constitutional ideals into practise in a complex country like India. The Congress party was not really as secular as it stated to be. Few members of the Congress also allegedly practised communal politics. Nehru believed as education, science and technology spread, Indian society would become more secular and rational. However, the picture of India was very different from what Nehru envisaged. The masses lacked education at the primary level and science and technology was also limited to the elite sections or the upper caste groups in society. There was inequality everywhere. Even the education system was trapped under the influence of communalism. For instance, the text books were a source of communal
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 234 divide. The ruling classes wanted to mobilize votes on the basis of their own respective communities and they also started practising the old British policy of 'divide and rule'. The Indian democracy never could oust communalism, rather it was supported by communal forces. 17.4.2 Communalism and Vote Bank Politics In India the Hindus constitute the majority while the Muslims are the largest minority groups. Tensions between these two religious communities have grown since the British rule. It was the British who tapped the cultural differences between these two communities as an instrument for the 'divide and rule' policy. The age-old dispute between these two religious groups further accelerated to the Partition of the country. Even the nationalist leaders during the freedom struggle couldn't bridge the gap between the Hindus and Muslims under the one nation theory. One major reason for this has been the fight for power and electoral policies in the country. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League were for ever divided in their battle for electorate power after independence. Communal disharmony started ever since the partition of the country and India's independence. Religion was used as an instrument to mobilize the people to fulfil the wish of a selective few, the powerful or the elites. The ruling elites are always in a power battle and the politics of the country is nothing but divisive politics. The major political parties like the Congress and the Janata Dal had always exploited the communal sentiments of the people for their own political motives. The Congress party from the very beginning tried to maintain a pluralistic nature which gradually reduced to nothing but vote bank politics. Secularism therefore became a medium for encouraging vote bank politics. Among the Hindu fundamentalists, secularism is seen as a means to appease the Muslim minority groups. Many feel that it is pseudo secularism that operates within the country. Secularism promotes further communal disharmony and anti-nationalist feelings among the people. Many yet feel that after the Partition just as Pakistan adopted Islam as the state religion, India could have been declared a Hindu state. Jawaharlal Nehru believed that the spread of education, science and technology would eventually help establish secularism and secular ideology in Indian society. But this never happened. Not all members of the Congress were secular in their mind or in practice. Education took a backseat and illiteracy became a major social problem. Education never seeped into the lower rungs of society. Caste, class, religion and linguistic inequalities never withered away, rather heightened. Even the text books taught in schools were sources of communal divide. The ruling classes,

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 235 the political and economic elites were always trying to secure votes on the basis of compartmentalization of society. There was a strong propaganda against Nehruvian secularism which was shown as a sham and meant for creating Muslim vote bank. Protests were flared against the separate Muslim personal law which allowed the Muslims to marry more than once while the Hindus had to strictly adhere to monogamy. All this developed in the light of the famous Shah Bano case of 1985 that further went against the preaching of secularism. In the Shah Bano case the Supreme Court gave its decision in favour of a divorced Muslim woman Shah Bano who moved the court seeking maintenance from her divorced Husband. This was against the Muslim personal law. The decision of the Supreme Court was given in her favour under section 125 of the CrPC. This was seen as an interference in the Shariah Law. In 1986, the Congress under Rajiv Gandhi as the Prime Minister was forced to change the law for the Muslims. Soon an Act was passed called the Muslim Women (Protection on Divorce) Act which made section 125 of CrPC inapplicable to Muslims. This was met with severe criticism and a blow to the Congress's secularist policies. The BJP as the opposition demanded implementation of the Uniform Civil Code. The Congress made yet another blunder. In order to appease the Right wing Hindu fundamentalists, after the passing of the Muslim Bill, Rajiv Gandhi opened the doors of the Babri Masjid for the Hindus to worship Ram. The location of the Babri Mosque was believed to be Ayodhya, the birth place of Ram. This led to the Ramjanmabhoomi and Babri Masjid controversy followed by communal riots and violence in the country. Large number of communal riots broke out in the 1980s. The Anti-Sikh riots started after the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi by her Sikh body guards. More than four thousand Sikhs were killed in the massacre. Hence the belief that strengthened was that secularism doesn't fit into the country 17.4.3 The Issues of the Majority and Minority The issue of majority versus minority holds a lot of significance to one's cultural, social and political identity in the country. India has two major religious groups, the Hindus who are the majority and considered to be the early inhabitants of the land and the Muslims who are the largest minority group within the country. Apart from that there are other religious groups like Christians, Sikhs, Zoroastrians, Buddhists, Jains and Persis who form insignificant minorities. These groups are insignificant due to their numbers. The Indian state is found to patronize some religious groups by giving them minority status, which is again a distinctive character of Indian secularism. The Constitution has always tried to preserve the rights of religious minority groups and safeguarded their own religious and educational institutions yet
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 236 the Indian state is often accused of its incapability to promote tolerance and harmony among different religious groups. Secularism is a means of uniting the vast differences that exist in Indian society in terms of primordial loyalties. Religion, caste, ethnic groups, linguistic communities are myriad and divided within the country. There is a vast difference between the majority groups who are also the dominant cultural groups of society and the minority sections of society. A major threat or attack on secular values comes from its support of the minority groups or the weaker sections of society like the Muslims, Dalits, women and even the adivasis. Such groups also face social exclusion from the mainstream communities. Today there is a new period of crisis where the issue of majority is not just socially or politically ascendant in India, but it holds secularism where the protection of religious minorities is getting shattered. Religion and politics seem intertwined in South Asian countries including India and hence western concept of democracy in India shows that political instabilities and ethnic tensions are part of the process of nation-building. However apart from religion, other forms of discrimination and marginalization on the basis of language, caste and gender also curtail secular thinking. Rowena Robinson mentions that failure of secularism must be traced to several factors and their amalgamation including the weakness of states and their unwillingness to stand by secularist principles. She writes that prejudices and social exclusion and their complexities are often injected into society. Terms like secularism and affirmative action means that the majority are threatened by the loss of their power and privilege and tends to indulge in violent reactions 9 . 17.5 Conclusion The limitations of secularism could be felt with the growing religious and cultural discontents in the 1980s and 1990s. At this time there was also the rise of Hindu Nationalism which further challenged the existence of secularism over religious fundamentalism. Hindu nationalists are of the opinion that India is the land of Hindus and it is the land of their ancestors. The Muslims and Christians were considered outsiders and hence 'the other'. Starting from the 1970s, to the 1980s and 1990s India seethed with anger along communal lines. Communal violence and mass killings of minority groups backed by political parties collaborated to the rise of a powerful Hindu Nationalism. Along with this and rising ethnic conflicts debates started centering around the concept of secularism. Scholars were divided in their views on secularism. On the one hand T.N Madan and Ashis Nandy criticized secularism for being ill- fitted and out of place. They believed that in South Asia religion could be pushed into

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 237 the private domain. On the other hand there were scholars like Rajiv Bhargava Bharucha and Vanaik for whom secularism should be a fundamental principle of state policy if unity and integrity has to be achieved 10 . There were several questions on the rights of minorities and also multiculturalism. Secularism started being studied in the light of religious fundamentalism. The Hindutva ideology started moulding the people by institutionalizing them in their everyday lives. In schools, homes, public sphere, Hindutva was gaining prominence. People were made to believe in hatred for the other religious groups and took the other religious communities as outsiders. Co- habitation of different religions together all of a sudden became unacceptable. The Hindus were made to believe that Muslims were encroaching in their every life, drawing benefits from the government. Religious festivals, celebrations, Godmen, religious books, pilgrimage became instrumental in creating religious divide within the country. The Godhra riots are the biggest instance of the growing Hindutva power. The Hindutva movement gradually leads to the emergence of new cults, organizations and movements. There is a growing relationship between Hindu religiosity and Hindu nationalism. Those who stand against this new found Hindu nationalism are termed as Anti Nationalists. The notion of secularism is under much threat along with the ideals of democracy. The recent abolition of Article 370 stripped Kashmir of its special status is an example of anti-secular forces in the country. Kashmir had always been a major controversial communal subject ever since independence. The move of the BJP government to abolish the famous Article 370 from Kashmir was another biggest anti-secular change. It was supported by the Hindu masses at large. The Kashmiris lost their own identity due to curbing of fundamental rights, speeches and expressions. 17.6 Summary There is a growing curtailment of fundamental rights, speeches and expressions. Kashmiris are forced under curfew and politicians are forcefully driven under house arrest. The media have been blacked out. All these are questioning the role of secular democracy in India today. Recent times have also seen a new trend of Hindu Nationalism where it is equated with the Bharat Mata concept 11 . The Hindus are the real sons of Bharat. There have been lynching of minorities over beef eating, worship of Ram and Gau Mata are almost forced upon all sections of a heterogeneous Hindu community. The secular academic institutions are also under constant threat and challenge. The Intelligentsia, people with communist ideologies,
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 238 the media's independent form are all being shattered. On the whole anti-secularism is on the rise and its basis lies in tramping the freedom and liberty of the citizens. Secularism still remains one of the most contested and disapproved ideas of Indian democracy. Indian secularism on the one hand means withdrawal of the state from any religion while on the other hand the state never refrains from interfering in religious issues. This has not gone down well with the nation and is believed to be anti-sectarian. As a reaction, the recent political system shows a serious crisis to secularist principles that have been laid in the Constitution. Anti-secularism also implies anti-democratic forces in the country and a challenge to national freedom of the citizens. Hence secularism has become a biggest challenge for Indian democracy as well as for the people in their everyday lives. 17.7 Questions I. Answer in detail: a. What do you understand by secularism and what is the significance of secularism in India? b. Explain the crisis faced by secularism in India. c. What is the problem of communalism? How is it relevant in the context of Indian secularism? II. Answer briefly: a. Write a note on communalism in India. b. What is the issue of majority and minority in the context of secularism in India? c. What do you understand by anti-secularism? III. Answer very briefly: a. Define secularism. b. What is meant by Hindu nationalism? c. Explain vote-bank politics. 17.8 Suggested Readings 1. Bhargava Rajeev. 2008. Secularism in Rajeev Bhargava and Ashok Acharya (eds). Political Theory: An Introduction. New Delhi. Pearson
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 239 2. Bilgrami, Akeel. 2014. Secularism, Identity and Enchantment. Harvard University Press. JSTOR 3. Engineer. Ashgar Ali et al. 2002. Sowing Hate and Reaping Violence: The Case of Gujrat Communal Carnage. Mumbai. Centre for the Study of Society and Secularism. 4. Madan, T.N. Nov 1987. Secularism in its Place. The Journal of Asian Studies. 46(4): 75 5. Robinson R and Upadhyay Surya Prakash. 2014. Religion and Cultural Pluralism in Yogendra Singh(ed.) Indian Sociology (vol 3): Identity, Communication and Culture. New Delhi. Oxford University Press 6. Robinson, Rowena. 2017. The Politics of Religion and Faith in South Asia.Society and Culture in South Asia. 3(2)vii-xx 7. Sen Amartya. 1996. Secularism and its Discontent in Basu, K Subhramahnyam S. Unravelling the Nation: Sectarian conflict and India's Secular identity. Penguin Books 17.9 Endnotes 1. Bhargava Rajeev. 2008. Secularism in Rajeev Bhargava and Ashok Acharya (eds). Political Theory: An Introduction. New Delhi. Pearson. P. 275 2. Sen Amartya. 1996. Secularism and its Discontent in Basu, K Subhramahnyam S. Unravelling the Nation: Sectarian conflict and India's Secular identity. Penguin Books. P. 294 3. Robinson R and Upadhyay Surya Prakash. 2014. Religion and Cultural Pluralism in Yogendra Singh (ed.) Indian Sociology (vol 3): Identity, Communication and Culture. New Delhi. Oxford University Press. P. 346 4. Madan, T.N. Nov 1987. Secularism in its Place. The Journal of Asian Studies. 46(4): 75 5. Ibid. 6. Engineer, A. Ali et al. 2002. Sowing Hate and Reaping Violence: The Case of Gujrat Communal Carnage. . Mumbai. Centre for the Study of Society and Secularism 7. Ibid. 8. Bilgrami, Akeel. 2014. Secularism, Identity and Enchantment. Harvard University Press. JSTOR

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 240 9. Robinson R and Upadhyay Surya Prakash. 2014. Religion and Cultural Pluralism in Yogendra Singh (ed.) Indian Sociology (vol 3): Identity, Communication and Culture. New Delhi. Oxford University Press. P. 340-372 10. Ibid. 346 11. Robinson, Rowena. 2017. The Politics of Religion and Faith in South Asia. Society and Culture in South Asia. 3(2)vii-xx 17.10 Glossary Secularism - It is a political concept whereby the state policies are kept away from religion. Hindutva - It is an ideology that sought to define Hindu culture as a way of life popularized by the RSS and the BJP. Nation-State - It is an independent state which consists of people who share common identity and culture. Religious Fanaticism - It is a state of extreme devotion or enthusiasm towards ones own religion. Communalism - It is a system whereby people of one religious community holds strong allegiance towards ones own religion. Hindu Nationalism - It is an ideology based on the belief that India belongs to the Hindus and is the land of their ancestors where all other religious groups like the Muslims and Christians are considered 'outsiders'.
Unit 18 Nationalism: Concept, Growth and Challenges Structure 18.1 Objectives 18.2 Introduction 18.2.1 Meaning of Nationalism 18.2.2 Historical Development of Nationalism 18.3 Features of Nationalism 18.3.1 Nationalism in Debates and Discourses 18.4 Nationalism in India 18.4.1 Indian Nationalism and its Challenges 18.4.1.1 Regionalism 18.4.1.2 Communalism 18.4.1.3 Fragmented Nationalism 18.5 Conclusion 18.6 Summary 18.7 Questions 18.8 Suggested Readings 18.9 End Notes 18.10 Glossary 18.1 Objectives ? To understand and comprehend the meaning of nationalism. ? To learn about the historical development of the idea of nationalism. ? To learn about the various features that describe the concept of nationalism. ? To understand nationalism through various academic debates and discourses. ? To learn about the growth of nationalism in India. ? To understand the various challenges of Indian nationalism that act as impediments to the concept. ? To critically reflect upon the concept of nationalism in India.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 242 18.2 Introduction Nationalism is a term associated with nation building or nationhood. The term is used as a popular usage with the coming of modernity starting from western Europe and spreading to other parts of the globe. Nationalism is a term full of multiple connotations. It is based upon one nation theory backed by concepts like state, citizenship, democracy, civil society etc. It is also a medium uniting the masses under one absolute state. Nationalism has many dimensions. The concept has emerged with the course of modern society and soon became widespread worldwide. However, nationalism has multiple meanings. On the one hand nationalism tries to evoke nationalist or patriotic sentiments towards one imaginary body, the nation, while on the other hand, nationalism becomes responsible in triggering other social issues like fragmented nationalism, multiculturalism, pluralism etc. This unit tries to understand the meaning of nationalism and to trace the historical development of the concept, its origin in western Europe and its meaning in the history of Indian nation building. The unit also attempts to find out the challenges to the growth of nationalism in India. 18.2.1 Meaning of Nationalism Nationalism is one of the most intriguing features of modern society. Nationalism emerges out of the feeling of oneness with the nation-state to which one belongs. It implies that people with a distinct language, religion, race or ethnicity, traditions and customs are united under one demarcated geographical territory. This demarcated territory provides a unique identity to its inhabitants - the national identity. This sovereign territory is also a political community and is called a nation. Several historians, political scientists, sociologists and anthropologists have tried to understand the concept of nationalism from their own perspectives. According to political scientists, nationalism reflects a political sentiment of the people. In this case, a nation becomes a political community whereby its citizens or inhabitants are all closely bound together within the state, abiding common laws and government and its citizens are believed to be culturally, ethnically and linguistically one homogeneous population. Nationalism is an ideology which is attached to the idea of nation or nationhood. A nation can be defined as people who live in a specific defined territory where people have some unity, shared political interests, aspirations and a shared history. This means that nations should be built out of individual states and each state should represent a nationality. People within a nation are ruled by one political organization

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 243 and they hold allegiance to the same. The citizens should enjoy equal rights and be looked after by the nation-state. No nation should be subjugated by other nation- states. People of one nation often want to glorify their nation through one common national language, national emblem, national anthem. Arnold Toynbee understands nationalism as something which is subjective and creates psychological feeling in people. For Alfred D. Garcia nationalism is more about feeling for one's own country and developing suspicious feelings for outsiders. For Hans Kohn, it is a state of mind for the people who are united under one nation state seen as an ideal political organization. According to historians like Romila Thapar, nationalism did not emerge in the ancient times. A nation is different from a state and government. A state can be ruled by different forms of government. Nationalism arises from the concept of nation. It is related to the different aspects of the state like democracy, territoriality and power. It represents the values and culture of the people residing within the sovereign territory of the state. A nation is never ruled by the rulers. A nation is a representation of the democratic process. In order to understand the concept of nationalism one should look at the historical premise to recognize the development of the concept. 18.2.2 Historical Development of Nationalism Nationalism originated in western Europe in the late 18 th and early 19 th century. Prior to that in the ancient and medieval era, people were unknown about the sentiment of the nation. The loyalties of the people were solely restricted to their own territories, the village or the city. Even during the time of the Roman Empire in Europe the nation-state concept failed to emerge. Feudalism was detrimental to the rise of nationalism. Under feudalism the serfs or the subordinate groups in society were ruled by the feudal lords or the vassals. The feudal system developed over land as the primary economic asset. The feudal system was also a vertical power structure starting from the monarchy. All this prevented the formation of a centralized political community in medieval Europe. There were no rules of residence or citizenship in those days. Politics, administration, law and culture were all decentralized. There were differences in language or dialects spoken across Europe along with social practices, local customs and traditions. All these factors prevented the growth of a large homogeneous culture which was crucial for the development of modern nationalism. The demise of the Roman Empire and the Hundred years of war between the English and the French paved the way for the rise of the first nations in Europe around the 14 th century. The feudal system further collapsed or weakened with the rise of Absolute monarchies like the Tudor dynasty in England and the Bourbon dynasty in France.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 244 Religious domination also subsided. This was a time when the new mercantile classes engaged in trade and commerce were growing in strength. With the rise of merchant capitalism and trade, there was the emergence of capitalism in modern Europe. The religious reformation also started in the 15 th century. The monarchy started losing their control over the people. They remained confined within their own territories exercising their rule over a standardized set of people. They maintained strict rules, observed religion, education and language and maintained standing armies. Their aim was to have absolute power over their subjects. This had a far-reaching impact in the early periods of modernity in Europe. This gave rise to the absolute state which possessed sovereignty, centralized government and fixed territorial boundaries. Nationalism grew out of the emergence of a centralized modern state in the 16 th and 17 th century Europe. The Renaissance and reformation had their own roles to play in cultivating feelings of national identity. One cannot forget the ideals of French Revolution and the slogans of liberty, equality and fraternity, all of which got associated with the modern nation-state. The modern state is structurally and functionally very different from the pre- modern states. This is because the modern states are not only centralized but also have undivided political power unlike the medieval period where political power was fragmented and divided among different rulers. The modern state possesses the characteristic of sovereignty which means complete undivided power over one's demarcated territory and also nationalist feelings and sentiments. These historical events help us understand the notion of nationalism. The concept of nation graduated from such absolute rule by the monarchy. A nation meant sharing of one culture, one language and a homogeneous ethnic community united within a state. The newly emerging elites or the bourgeoisie soon started cultivating the feeling of nationalism. This was a time when the bourgeoisie rose to power dominating the representative assemblies and parliament in western Europe. The idea of the 'nation' became very significant as a sense of identity for the bourgeoisie. The Industrial Revolution of the 18 th century started uniting the bourgeoisie under nationalism. They started looking for greater political power under the modern states. The French Revolution of 1789 was an example of the mass revolts that started taking place against the despotic rule of the absolute monarchies. All these revolts that became widespread across western Europe took place along nationalistic lines and the elites controlled the leadership of the national movements. Soon the absolutist states started transforming themselves into the new democratic states. Both nationalism and liberalism emerged simultaneously. Soon from a political philosophy, nationalism started concentrating on the economy. The Industrial

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 245 Revolution that began in western Europe provoked the European states to engage in lucrative trade and look for market across the globe. Soon trade was followed by colonialism in other parts of the world include Asia, Africa and Latin American countries. Under the new system of colonialism, the focus and identity of the respective European nations shifted to forming colonies in other parts of the world which will help them grow as a nation economically as well as politically. The mission was also to civilize the other so called uncivilized parts of the world. These countries were then colonized by the capitalist countries of western Europe and consequentially got through their own struggle for freedom and nationalism. As Benedict Anderson said, the doctrine of nationalism was inadvertently 'exported' to Latin America, Asia and Africa by European colonial powers. The national liberation movements in the colonies were also started by the elites, the foreign educated middle classes who became the new leaders of the colonized nation and stood opposite to imperialism. The colonized countries soon started mass movements for independence. These movements in the colonies rapidly created a wave of decolonization across the world after the World War II. Shortly they emerged as newly independent nation-states. 18.3 Features of Nationalism There are several features of nationalism. Every nation should have an identity of its own. This identity is built out of individuality and the ability to take one's own decision for its citizens. A nation should have the right of governance. Every nation wants to be independent and sovereign, it should have full right over its people and the territory which it abounds. A nation would always protect its citizens from outside attacks physically, economically and politically. Nationalism is like an inspiration for the people. People love to glorify their nation. It is like worshiping God. Nationalism can give rise to heroism or altruism towards the nation. Nationalists would sacrifice their lives for the nation and their fellow countrymen. Nationalism also encourages people to preserve their own culture and heritage. People are proud of their national culture which is yet another source of one's identity. Nationalism with its origin also develops two concepts like liberty and equality along with democracy. People of one nation feel united and equal under their national territory. They are integrated through nationalistic feelings and patriotism. Heightened nationalism can curb feelings of exclusion, separation and social differences with a nation-state. Feelings of nationalism always grow out of a common geographical territory. Territoriality is another major feature of nationalism. Even a heterogeneous population
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 246 residing in one territory will share mutual feelings and cooperation through exchange of culture. So geographical proximity or closeness always promotes nationalism. People of same nationality often share a common historical background. A common history with a common religion, race or ethnic background can help to cultivate feelings of nationalism easily. People within the same nation are often bounded by some common interests. Nationalism can be boosted with a strong common government and political interests of the people. Over all nationalism is a subjective phenomenon. While there are several positive features of nationalism, the concept is often used in the negative light. There are humanists like Rabindranath Tagore and others who have laid the criticisms of nationalism. For Tagore nationalism is nothing but an organized self-interest of some people. Nationalism can also be called fictitious where some promote their own interests at the expense of the masses. Nationalism is utilized by the privileged and the powerful people for their own gains. Too much nationalism can lead to intolerance towards other nations or even within the nation. People often discriminate among themselves in terms of race, caste, class, religion under the garb of nationalism and anti-nationalism. There is often exploitation and social exclusion of the minorities by the majorities within the nation. All these are against the basic ideology of nationalism. 18.3.1 Nationalism in Debates and Discourses Nationalism is an abstract concept. There have been various debates and discourses on what constitutes nationalism- Eric Hobsbaum in his book 'Nations and Nationalism since 1780' (1990) spoke about a correlation between history and nationalism. Several historical phenomena played important role in creation of nationalism which not only included the elite communities but also the less privileged sections of society. Nationalism unites the dominant classes or the bourgeoisie and creates a false sense of community between them and masses in the face of exploitation of the latter by capitalist forces. British social anthropologist Ernest Gellner in his book 'Nations and Nationalism' (1983) had related nationalism to a new kind of society which was born out of the womb of an old society. In this kind of society, every individual shared a common culture, history and education and a common law and order. Gellner in his work discussed about the cultural factors that helped shape nationalism. Nationalism for Gellner was a congruence between culture and power. For Gellner, nationalism had gained political legitimacy because of the cultural factors of nationalism. Gellner observed that it was not the nations that created nationalism but nationalism created nations. Nationalism developed to fulfil the needs of the modern industrial society and was not conducive for the social organization of agrarian society. The modern

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 247 industrial economies were in need of a workforce that was beyond the scope of an agrarian society ruled by family and kinship ties. According to Gellner the nation- state concept emerged to suit the needs of the capitalist economy by providing a common education system integrated by one language and within a centralized political and economic system. Education therefore played an important role in imbibing nationalist feelings among the people in modern society. Nationalism can be spread through widespread universal literacy among the people. A shared high culture can communicate feeling of nationalism in industrial societies. For Gellner the cultural homogeneity is useful for industrial societies in many ways. Unlike the tribal societies, which were stateless, industrial societies need to educate the masses in a culture that is free from familial or corporate ties. Nationalism is therefore the only means of social cohesion. Echoing Gellner's notion Aijaz Ahmad argues how nationalism is a stage of transition from traditional societies to modern societies. Benedict Anderson in his 'Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism' (1983) has stated that nationalism is 'imaginary'. It is a shared experience by the people of a nation-state. According to Anderson, nations are imagined because they are not the products of shared language, race or religion. Rather they are created out of imagination and with the help of the technology of print media. "

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The members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion...regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived

of as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is the fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people...". This is how nationalism in Europe and America have provided a model for the rest of the world. Rabindranath Tagore on the contrary has never supported the ideal of nationalism. He has also been criticized as an anti-nationalist during his time. For Tagore, the concept of nation is associated with the 'nation-state' and is an instance of the western societies. A nation or as per Tagore can be defined in terms of the political and economic need fulfilment of the people. People of a nation are not bounded by ethnicity, language, religion or the like but through the politics and commerce. A nation in this sense exhibits instrumental rationality to achieve its purpose. Tagore's ideas are a contrast to the existing ideas of nation and nationalism in the 20 th century. Western modernity is able to give rise to the nation-state whereby the state has full regulatory power along with science and technology. Tagore do not support nationalism, as he has taught that the nation would be greater than its people. Tagore observes that
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 248 the nation state is selfish, and it is opposed to self-sacrifice. Tagore believes that the nation-state can divide mankind. What is important is to sustain a free spirit, be self- sacrificial and encourage development of the moral and spiritual man. 18.4 Nationalism in India Partha Chattrejee pointed out how nationalist forces started in India since 1885 with the formation of the Indian National Congress. Like other newly independent nation- states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, India too got its gift of nationalism from the western world, i.e., British colonialism. India is a country divided along language, religion, caste and ethnicity. Colonialism had played a major role in cultivating nationalist feelings in India. For Indians, nationalism came into force through the anti-colonial movement. However right after independence, the newly found nation was doomed under the ills of society like poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, corruption and a large population to deal with. Instead of uniting under one nation, the country was divided along language, religion, region and the caste system. Indian Nationalism has always been the narrative of the elites in society and the colonial rulers. It fails to capture the perspectives of the lesser-known subalterns, the peasants, the middle class and others. It also fails to uphold the regional variations and their stories of nationalism. Nationalism has been seen as the power politics of state formation. Nationalism and nation-state are perceived as modern phenomena and creation of modern politics. This nationalism is a problematic concept. Earlier writings of sociology seldom concentrated on nationalism or nation building. However, in between the emergent crisis of communalism and liberalism there have been rising ethnic resurgences in every part of the world which have altered the meaning of nationalism. The ambiguity of nationalism can be gauged from the fact that "nationalism may refer to the doctrine or ideology of an aspiring class or to the political orientation of a state, or to a praiseworthy sentiment of attachment to one's own nation or state...Both as ideology and movement the concept could be used either in speaking of a state or group or ethnic communities or a single ethnic community". Indian nationalism from its very inception was divided along sectarian lines. For instance, the country saw several protests and rebellions by the lower caste groups against the upper castes. The British rule fostered national feelings among the upper caste groups, the Brahmins and the other dwija or twice born castes. On the one hand, the Brahmins and upper castes dominated the nationalist movement and on the

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 249 other hand they were in support of the British Raj for their own personal gains. The dominant cultural groups, namely the upper castes helpedcreate political consciousness. The English educated middle class gradually led to the emergence of the Nationalist movement. Side by side, there were other rebellions, movements and uprisings mostly by the lower caste groups taking shape. With the Indian National Congress taking the charge, the national movement had emerged while all other movements, rebellions and uprisings were merely communal movements. There was also an attempt of homogenizing culture. However, the process of homogenization of culture had a toiling effect on Indian nationalism. Indian nationalism was also a false consciousness so far as the masses were concerned. This was because the Hindu and Muslim dominant groups were battling for their own distinct ideas on nation and claimed exclusivity of their own respective communities. Nationalism at one point had also become nothing but Hindu nationalism. All this started with the revival or reforming Brahmanism through the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj and the Theosophical societies. This too became a part of the national renaissance. The emergence of Hinduism was at once Brahmanical and national because this new avatar of Hinduism also dominated Indian nationalism by developing a pan-Indian character. But acquiring a pan-Indian nationalism was difficult for India because people had to accept that India was composed of several nations, nationalities in terms of cultural groups, castes, communities, tribes and linguistic groups. However, this was unacceptable to the British as well as the upper caste elite nationalists. Effort was made to bring India under one uniform administration. Once India secured independence, the problems of nationalism became more complicated. Communalism had penetrated the subcontinent since the British policy of Divide and Rule. This was further exaggerated by the Nationalist leaders for their own interests. India got divided into India and Pakistan while Kashmir got a special status through the Article 370. Communal violence neither ceased to exist. All this further led to several challenges to Indian nationalism. 18.4.1 Indian Nationalism and its Challenges The major challenge to Indian nationalism comes from the problems of culture, ethnicity and identity. Indian nationalism faces threat from regionalism, communalism, anti-secularism, fragmented nationalism in terms of ethnic nationalism, tribal nationalism and Hindu nationalism. 18.4.1.1 Regionalism Regionalism in India is rooted in its rich diversity of linguistic, caste, ethnic and religious groups. Regionalism rises from the feeling of integration with one's own region often fueled out of regional deprivation. Regionalism also comes with strong

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 250 shared collective identities with a particular region. Regionalism has become a major impediment to nationalism in India. It can be seen as a contradiction to nationalism or nationalist feelings. India is culturally diverse. Each region is fragmented in terms of language, religion, ethnicity and culture. The government's futile effort to impose a particular ideology, language or cultural pattern over the people at large comes as a threat to their own regional identity. Ever since independence, ethnic mass mobilisations have been common in the country revolving around the creation of states. In the minority areas, economic, social and political deprivation over accentuates feelings of regionalism against the nationalist feeling. Political parties for their own gains at times concentrate on one particular region. Regional disparities are common among states which undergo uneven pattern of development specially, the BIMARU states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh are the common examples of this case. Of late, India has gone through the worst forms of regional disturbances. Several disparity issues in terms of language and ethnicity have led to separation of states or the demand for separate state. The Khalistan movement has emerged in Punjab as a separatist movement with the demand for a separate autonomous state. There has also been the creation of three new states- Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttaranchal after regional battles. There is also the dispute over Bodoland in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. Regionalism is anti-national. At times it can give rise to militants and terrorists. Regionalism is therefore a very big threat and challenge to national unity of the nation. Regionalism can lead to separatism or even secessionist movements. Regionalism leads to confrontation with the state whereby a particular region often seeks autonomy from state control at times leading to secession. This happens when regional identity takes over national identity. Separatism is common in regions which are economically or politically deprived and exploited. Such regions feel a sense of detachment from the nation. Regional identity is a big threat to national integrity. In India the state of Jammu and Kashmir was a very big example of separatism. The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front has beenone of the separatist organizations. 18.4.1.2 Communalism Communalism has a long history in India since the time of the British rule. The Hindus are the majority religious group while the Muslims are the biggest minority in the country. Communalism means when one religious group consider themselves to be superior vis-a-vis other religious groups. They are also engaged in social, economic, political and cultural conflict with other religious groups. Bipan Chandra categorized communalism as national communalism, liberal communalism and extreme

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 251 communalism. All these three forms could be found in India during its freedom struggle. Communalism also leads to communal politics. Communal politics are often sustained by political parties for their own interest. This again goes against the policy of secularism and democracy. In case of India, there is a rising force of Hindu nationalism whereby nationalism is perceived as a Hindu prerogative. Hindu nationalism had started ever since the nationalist movement which also became the source of national identity. Hindus always perceived the Muslim minorities as outsiders. This simultaneously led to communal tensions and violence between these two religious groups since Indian independence. On the other hand, secularism in India is also complicated enough to make the situation complex. Anti secular forces try to create frenzy among the masses against the state. The popular notion is that Indian secularism is a sham which tries to shield the interest of the minorities at the cost of the majority. Various anti-secular forces have paved the way through democratic ideals and nationalism. 18.4.1.3 Fragmented Nationalism Indian nationalism is of a pluralistic nature and hence fragmented. While the anti- colonial nationalists were focusing on one nation and one culture, nationalism was actually fragmented at the local level. Apart from the larger national identity, in the post-colonial societies a kind of sub nationalism is invoked. This is called cultural nationalism 10 . The minority groups are often threatened by the superiority of the majority population. The nationalist movement itself was seen as an elitist movement which involved only the upper caste, educated, Hindu nationalists. The Muslim leaders also faced discrimination in the hands of the majority Hindu nationalists (The formation of the Muslim League called for a different nationalist struggle). The sectarian trend of nationalist movement can be perceived from Partha Chatterjee's work Nation and its Fragments (1999) which noted how the organized political parties of the anti- colonial movement wanted to replace the colonial state with a bourgeois state while the peasant politics that were on the rise at that time "did not fit into the grid of interests and aggregation of interests that constituted the world of bourgeois representative politics" 11 . Even in post-colonial India, the political leaders chose a fragmented politics and nation building whereby majority and minority communities are divided in terms of primordial identities like language, religion, region and tribes 12. . In today's globalized world the meaning of nationalism is also transforming. People are reverting back to their ethnic roots. Large scale migration across transnational borders have increased fear of the existence of one's own culture and ethnicity in the multi-cultural world. This has also resulted in ethnocentrism and xenophobia. Nationalist sentiments of the people also come under threat. People no longer believe

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 252 in one nation one identity theory. There is increased tension between cultures where national policies centre around the one cultural group while the other groups (minorities) are discontented. In India there is the emergence of Hindi Cultural Nationalism promoted by the RSS. There is an effort to homogenize the masses in a different kind of ethnic (in this case Hindi) nationalism by consumption of cultural products. This also shatters the federal democratic structure of the country. The belief is that India is a nation of the Hindus which in term is a religion of tolerance and hence should be an integral part of the national culture. This type of nationalism shuns the minority Muslim, Sikh and Tribal nationalism. 18.5 Conclusion This chapter has tried to discuss the meaning of nationalism in modern society and its meaning and implications in modern India. There is a lot of ambiguity revolving round the concept of nationalism. It is a major feature of the modern democratic state. But in the post industrialized world nationalism as a concept needs to be revisited. In a country like India the fervour of nationalism often feels like a promulgated idea of the state. 18.6 Summary In contemporary times, nationalism emerges as the most contested ideas. The image of nation-state that becomes prevalent at the advent of modernity, uniting and building solidarity among the people of a state, is changing. Nation-states built around ideas of democratic governance is holding less and less significant today. Simultaneously ethnocentric ideas are on the rise across the world. The welfare concept of the modern state with its nationalist ideals are also dwindling. People are losing their trust on the nation. In case of India, the rise of Hindutva movement in modern times and its mass support is a clear example of the crisis faced by nationalistic idealism. At this critical juncture one needs to re examine the whole gamut of nationalism in the new political, social and cultural space.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 253 18.7 Questions I. Answer in detail a. Explain the historical development of the idea of nationalism. b. What is meant by nationalism? Discuss briefly the features of nationalism c. How will you explain the growth of nationalism in India? d. What according to you are the various challenges to the idea of nationalism in India? II. Answer briefly a. How has regionalism become a challenge to nationalism in India? Give examples. b. What do you understand by fragmented nationalism? III. Answer very briefly a. What is a nation? b. Who gave the concept of the 'Imagined Community'? c. What is meant by Hindu Nationalism? 18.8 Suggested Readings 1. Aloysius, G. 1997. Nationalism without a Nation in India. New Delhi :Oxford University Press 2.

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in The Partha Chatterjee Omnibus. New Delhi. Oxford University Press: 159 12. Ibid. 224 18.10 Glossary Civil Society - It is a community of citizens, a collective entity that exists for specific and limited purposes. Civil society is separate and independent of the State. Citizenship - T.H Marshall in Citizenship and Social Class (1950) defined citizenship as 'full and equal membership in a political community'. It holds the promise of equality and integration within the political community. Communalism - Communalism is a political ideology whereby ones own religious and ethnic community is considered superior to all other minority groups in society. It often promotes intolerance and hatred of one religious group against the other. Democracy - It is a form of government where the common people take part in decision making process through their elected representatives. Democracy is based upon consent of individuals who form the political community. Imagined Community - Imagined community is a concept developed by Benedict
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 255 Anderson in his book "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism" (1983) which he used to explain the idea of a nation. Anderson noted that the nation is imagined by the people who share a sense of communion even though they have not seen or met each other. People of a nation imagine belonging to the same collectivity with its history, trait, beliefs and attitudes. Liberalism - Liberalism is a broad political ideology that promotes the ability of people to make meaningful choices whereby the individuals are free from external coercion of the State. Nationalism - It is a broad term, an ideology or a movement that seeks to establish the concept of nation-state. Nation - Nation refers to a united political community who's people share that same cultural, linguistic, ethnic and racial history. Regionalism - It is an ideology or political movement that enhances the causes of a particular region within the nation-state. Regionalism especially in India is often seen as against national integration and challenges the legitimacy of the State. State - State is a political organization which has complete authority over its population within a specific territory and a government. Sovereignty - The theory of sovereignty looks upon the State as an absolute structure of power and authority over its land and people.
Unit 19 Regionalism: Issues and Challenges Structure 19.1 Objectives 19.2 Introduction 19.3 Regionalism: The Meaning 19.3.1 Characteristics of Regionalism 19.3.2 Forms of Regionalism 19.3.3 Dimensions of Regionalism 19.3.4 Causes of Regionalism 19.3.5 Elimination of Regionalism 19.4 Historical Lineage 19.5 Regionalism in India 19.5.1 India after Independence 19.5.2 Regionalism as a sub state movement 19.5.3 Regionalism: Issue of Ethnicity and Language 19.6 Contemporary Debates: Region and Regionalism 19.7 Linkages between Women and Regionalism 19.8 Impact of Region on Women 19.9 Regionalism in Indian Politics 19.10 Conclusion 19.11 Summary 19.12 Questions 19.13 Suggested Readings 19.14 Glossary 19.1 Objectives This unit will help you — ? To explain the concept and characteristics of regionalism. ? To find out the causes, forms and dimensions of regionalism. ? To get an overview of the historical lineages on region and regionalism. ? To understand the linkages between gender relations and regionalism.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 257 19.2 Introduction Regionalism has been an important feature of Indian politics since the dawn of independence. It has posed a serious threat to the unity of India. Regionalism means love of a particular region. Regionalism refers to sub-nationalism demanding the preference for a region as against the country as a whole. 19.3 Regionalism: The Meaning Regionalism is the extreme loyalty and love shown to a particular region. It expresses itself in such a distorted notion like development of one's own region even at the cost of interests of other regions and people, and unwillingness to allow people from other regions to work and settle in region. Regionalism militates against nationalism and delays the process of national integration. This may be characterized by the commonness of cultural, linguistic or historical and social background. According to Marachell E. Dimock, regionalism is a clustering of environment, economic, social and governmental factors to such an extent that an identity within the whole, a need for autonomous planning, a manifestation of cultural peculiarities and a desire for administrative freedom, are theoretically recognized and actually put into effect. Regionalism can be seen as an ideology that seeks to advance the causes of regions. But it is necessary, at the very outset, to distinguish two quite different meanings of the term regionalism. At the international level, regionalism refers to transnational cooperation to achieve a common goal or resolve a shared problem or it refers to a group of three countries, such as western Europe, the western Balkans, or southeast Asia, that are linked by geography, history or economic features. Used in this sense, regionalism refers to reinforce the links between these countries. Today, the foremost example of such an attempt is the European Union (EU) (Bevir, 2009). To some scholars, regionalism in Indian politics in generally has been regarded as something that is anti-system, anti-federal and against basic interest of a well-integrated polity (Reddy and Sharma, 1979). 19.3.1 Characteristics of Regionalism 1. Regionalism is a psychic phenomenon. 2. It is built around as an expression of group identity, as well as loyalty to the region. 3. It presupposes the concept of development of one's own region without taking into consideration the interest of another region. 4. It prohibits people from other regions to be benefitted by a particular region.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 258 19.3.2 Forms of Regionalism Regionalism in India has assumed various forms like: (a) Demand for State Autonomy: Regionalism has often led to the demand by states for greater autonomy from the centre. Increasing interference by the centre in the affairs of the states has led to regional feelings. Demand for autonomy has also been raised by regions within some states of the Indian federation. (b) Secession from the Union: This is a dangerous form of regionalism. It emerges when states demand separation from the centre and try to establish an independent identity of their own. Disputes between states over the sharing of river water, primacy given by the states to the language of majority and to people of their own states in job opportunities have also given rise to feelings of regionalism. Migration of people from backward state to a developed state for employment opportunities have often resulted in a hostile attitude against the migrants for example, problems going on in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. 19.3.3 Dimensions of Regionalism Regionalism in India may be viewed from two dimensions – positive and negative. In positive terms regionalism embodies a quest for self-identity and self-fulfilment on the part of two domiciles of a region. In negative terms, regionalism reflects a psyche of relative deprivation on the part of people of an area not always viable in terms of national economic analysis. It implies excessive attachment to one's region or the preference for their country or the state. In the positive sense it is a political attribute associated with people's love for their region, culture, language, etc., with a view to maintain their independent identity. While positive regionalism is a welcome thing in so far maintaining as it encourages the people to develop a sense of brotherhood and commonness on the basis of common language, religion or historical background, the negative sense regionalism is a great threat to the unity and integrity of the country. In the Indian context generally the term regionalism has been used in the negative sense. The feelings of regionalism may arise either due to the continuous neglect of a particular area or region by the ruling authorities or it may spring up as a result of increasing political awareness of backward people that have been discriminated against. Quite often some political leaders encourage the feelings of regionalism to maintain their hold over a particular area or group of people.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 259 19.3.4 Causes of Regionalism There are several causes of regionalism in India. These causes are discussed below. 1. Geographical Cause: Linguistic distribution along geographical boundaries and isolated settlement pattern induce in people the concept of regionalism. Sometimes people live, in such area which appears as a separate region cut off from the rest of the country and thereby may give rise to feelings of separatism among the inhabitants of the region. 2. Historical Causes: Due to historical reasons people believe that they are separate from the rest. A feeling of regionalism may develop among the people of a particular region if they believe that they have been politically dominated by the people of other regions. 3. Economic factors: Uneven economic development in different parts of the country may be considered as the prime reason for regionalism and separatism. There are certain regions which are economically more developed. But there are certain regions which are economically backward even after Independence. No effort has been made for regional balance in matters of industrial, agricultural and above all, economic development. This disparity has caused the feeling of relative deprivation and thereby the demand for separate states, for example, Bodoland and Telangana recently have been formed on this principle. 4. Political and Administrative Factors: Political parties, particularly regional parties and local leaders exploit the regional sentiments to capture power. They give emphasis on regional problems in their election manifesto and promise for regional development. This has resulted in the feeling of regionalism. The regional parties like DMK, AIADMK in Tamil Nadu and Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh were formed in this basis of principle. 19.3.5 Elimination of Regionalism Regionalism may be a product of cultural and social differences. Following suggestions may be given for the elimination of regionalism. 1. Development of Transport and Communication Transport and communication network should be improved so that people of a region may find it easier to visit other regions and develop friendly relations with people therein. 2. Removal of Regional Imbalance Uneven economic development with regional imbalance has been the main cause of disgruntlement among the people of a particular region for regionalism. Hence,
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 260 effort should be made to distribute the national resources in a planned manner to mitigate the problem of regionalism. 3. Economic Development of Deprived Regions Top priority is to be given on economic development of those regions where people have developed the feeling of relative deprivation. So that they can be drawn into the national mainstream. 4. Acculturation The cultural distinctiveness of regional groups delimit the interaction between- different groups. Frequent cultural contacts should be promoted to break the regional barriers and to develop the nationalist spirit. 5. Abolition of Regional Parties The regional parties which play a dirty role in exploiting the regional feelings of the people should be banned. 6. Proper Education Education can play an important role for the promotion of national integration. It may be construed as a powerful agent for doing away with the separatist tendencies among the countrymen. 7. Appeal through Mass-Media Mass media, particularly electronic media are powerful agents of social change. Hence, extensive effort should be made to encourage feelings of nationalism among the people through mass media communication. 19.4 Historical Lineage Pre-independent India was a land with fragmented regions that possessed autonomy in different degree. British colonizers re-structured those regions for colonial exploitation. At the same time, privileged sections of the population responded to British colonialism in two ways. On the one hand, they adopted colonial modernity for their upward mobility. On the other hand, they questioned the colonial onslaught on their region. Thus, the notion of region in India during the period of colonialism and post-independent state was a skewed one. Regional culture persisted in a dynamic fashion even after the formation of India. In other words, various strata of people in India associated themselves with their regional cultures. At the same time, they were governed by the nation at large. Thus, the regional cultures shaped the consciousness of plural and unequal masses who were scattered throughout the country.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 261 19.5 Regionalism in India Regionalism as a phenomenon in the Indian political system is not new. Regionalism has remained perhaps the most potent force in Indian politics ever since 1947, if not before. Regionalism is rooted in India's manifold diversity of languages, cultures, tribes, communities, religions and so on, and encouraged by the regional concentration of those identity markers, and fuelled by a sense of regional deprivation. For many centuries, India remained the land of many lands, regions, cultures and traditions. The basic point that highlights in this respect is that internal self-determination of community, whether linguistic, tribal, religious, regional, or their combinations, has remained the principal form in which regionalism in India has sought to express itself, historically as well as contemporaneously. In the pre-independence period, it was applied by the British imperialist, as they intentionally encouraged the people of various regions to think in terms of their region rather than the nation as a whole, with an aim to maintain their hold over India during the national movement. 19.5.1 India after Independence The following two processes were initiated at the dawn of Independence in India by the national leaders. 1. Integration of the country: All parts of the country were not equally integrated by the Britishers. The national leadership took effective steps to integrate the following in the national mainstream: a) The Princely states were brought under unified constitutional framework. The people of these states were no more subjected to the autocratic excesses and the tyrannies of their rulers. b) Uniform administration was gradually extended throughout the country. This was not so during the British days when a very large area of the country remained either non-administered or partially administered. 2. The entire country was uniformly democratized. This brought a change in the quality of life of the people of the Princely states of this country. (Kumar, 1998). 19.5.2 Regionalism as a Sub- State Movement On the contrary, in its positive sense, regionalism implies an idea of searching the self-identity of the people of that particular area. In other sense, it is rather a separate demand for protecting and preserving racial, linguistic and economic interest of a group of people belonging to a nation. To be precise, regionalism is in fact, a movement of a sub-nationality against a prevailing nationality. It is often distinguished by a particular racial, linguistic or religious group settled in a particular part of the country which demands either separation or sovereignty of special constitutional, administrative,
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 262 economic or political status for themselves to the exclusion of the rights and interest of other communities and takes recourse to necessary political measures with a view to coercing the authorities accede to their demands, then that movement is certainly a regionalist movement. Hence, regionalism is the other name of distinctive and restrictive political movement having no broad based liberal and democratic elements but, in some cases, it also had a clear objective of attaining separate statehood, as in the case of Gorkhaland and Telangana. The regional movement is also considered as the 'diverse trend detrimental to national unity'. Regionalism is thus a movement against social, political and economic deprivations and it is also a movement against the hegemonic groups who are dominant in the mainstream of the country as a whole. It is important to note that regionalism in India, in its present form, has various connotations like 'provincialism' (Pratt and Sullivan, 2009), 'localism' (Salloukh and Brynen, 2004), 'son of the soil theory' (Weiner, 1978), 'disintegration of Indian states' (Wadhawan, 1997), struggle for separate statehood or provincial autonomy (Bhattacharjee, 2018), struggle for more power, especially economic power etc., whatever may be the connotations, the concept of regionalism has now become a separatist movement in different parts of India in various forms. India is now infected with regional upsurge of different kinds like geographical regionalism, linguistic regionalism, cultural regionalism, ethnic regionalism and so on. 19.5.3 Regionalism: Issue of Ethnicity and Language The term 'ethnic' in general can be understood as

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a group of people who share a common culture and life style but

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An ethnic group is characterized by a multiplicity of attributes like religion, caste, region, descent, race,

language, colour, culture and so on. The focus of interests of an ethnic group is to get some benefits for itself. The group often uses ethnic criteria like religion, language or caste to mobilize itself to give identity which separates it from other group or groups. There are different approaches used by different social scientists to understand the nature of ethnicity as a factor in human life and society. Examples of such approaches are: primordialism, essentialism, perennialism, constructivism, modernism and instrumentalism. According to Lake and Rothschild (1996) ethnic conflict is a sign of a weak state or a state embroiled in ancient loyalties. In this case, states act with bias to favour a particular ethnic group or region. Therefore, in critical or difficult political situations, the effectiveness of governance is dependent on its ability to address social issues and human needs. The continuing demand for separate state in India as argued by T.K Oommen is due to two reasons. First, even though the Indian state is conceived as a multi layered entity- a union/federal, provincial or autonomous regions, Zila parishad panchayat
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 263 hardly any authority gives to the lower three level. This prompts a demand for provincial state by regional linguistic communities, ignoring their population, size and financial viability. Second, the cultural specificity of subaltern communities is not only ignored but sought to be destroyed through their attachment to the state dominated major linguistic communities which results in the former's marginalization and alienation. He also points out that the failure of the states in India to link culture and governance systematically provides an important agenda for the society. Moreover, the recognition of language as the basis for politico administrative units has attended to the deprivation of most of the speech communities. (Oommen, 2004) 19.6 Contemporary Debates: Region and Regionalism The existence of relative deprivation is one of the most important aspects in constructing the argument for regionalism. For instance, if the people from any particular region feel that they are more deprived than others in terms of distribution of resources, infrastructures and so on, then it may create regional affiliation. For example, Gorkha Nationalist Liberation Forum (GNLF) started its movement in Darjeeling. In the view of GNLF, Darjeeling was the most underdeveloped region in comparison to the southern part of West Bengal. This sort of sentiment to have a separate region is often manipulated by the community leaders according to their vested interests and ideological inclinations. The second significant factor for the emergence of regionalism is the issue of language and culture. Every individual's identity is based on the categories of language and culture which, once politicized, play an important role in the formation of region. According to Edward Sapir, language plays a vital role in the creation and determination of a region. Thus, the idea of region has to be explored in the context of language debates. Language is defined as the "human and non- instinctive modes of communicating ideas, feelings and desires by a system of voluntarily produced symbols" (Sapir,1921). Consequently, the need for a region is linked to a population who converse in a particular language. Simultaneously, this premise of a particular language excludes those communities that do not deploy that language for communication (Aloysius, 2007). After Independence, the first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru established the State Reorganization Committee which was amended in 1956. Paul Brass argued that it was done according to the traditional linguistic regions. For instance, current states of Gujarat and Maharashtra were formed after the bifurcation of Bombay in 1960(Brass, 1999). State formation on the basis of language gave rise to some conflicts. For instance, the Tamil revolted against the Hindi belt showed the conflict related to languages. It was argued that language determined the assertions and struggle related to knowledge.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 264 19.7 Linkages Between Women and Regionalism The issues of region and regionalism have wider linkages with gender and particularly, women. But, the role of women in relationship to region and regionalism remains invisible. In fact, women's participation is seldom recognized by institutions such as state, political parties and so on due to patriarchal modes of operation in several forms. For instance, the formations of separate states such as Maharashtra, Gujarat, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand have had various political wings of women. In the recent Telangana movement in which women are protesting against the central government for a separate Telangana state from Andhra Pradesh, the participation of women is often ignored. The movement began under the banner of Chhattisgarh Mines Shramik Sangh (CMSS) which was a trade union of manual mine workers. However, this movement was conceived during the emergency period in 1977. Trade unions emerged in Bengal Nagpur Cotton Mills at Rajnandgaon. There were other upsurges of trade unions during the same period i.e., 1984-1987. A family from Rajnandagoan owned the mill and they deployed Goondas to regulate the labourers. Goondas were even part of the core management activities related to the mills, as well as part of the newly introduced scheme for workers. Unrest of workers emerged in the form of the central trade union for Dalli Rajhara mine workers. Thus, they approached this union, known as 'Lal Hara' (Red Green), which came under Rajnandgaon Mazdoor Sangh. After the foundation of Bhilai Steel Plant, Durg and Raipur were transformed into an industrial hub. Industrial units at Jamul (Bhilai), Urala and Siltara (Raipur), Sarkanda (Bilaspur), Tedesara (Rajnandgaon) which were part of Raipur Industrial Development (RIDA) were already appropriated into this region. Consequentially, it became a part of M.P. Industrial Development Corporation or Audyogik Kendra Vikas Nigam (AKVN). This particular region witnessed the formation of different industry. This growth was related to the incentives that were provided to Raipur Industrial Development Area. It was argued that the major part of industrialization happened in privatized fields except public sector Bhilai Steel Plant. It had been contended that a parallel trend was the exploitation of workers through the violation of constitutional and statutory rights. Industrialization accelerated the profit and pauperized the workers and resources. More workers got affiliated to the Lal Hara trade union and it resulted in increase in its membership. Workers who suffered from the inhuman policies and activities of the industries found the aforementioned union as a platform to raise their voices. The Lal Hara trade union had different off shoots such as Pragatisheel Engineering Shramik Sangh (PESS), Chattisgarh Mill Mazdoor Sangh and Chattisgarh Shramik Sangh. NSOU ? CC-SO-04 265 Chattisgarh Mukti Morcha which were related to rural assertions in its earlier phase. Later, it was merged with diverse unions under Red Green Platform. Industrialists and repressive state apparatus declared their solidarity to crush the assertions of workers. Leader of the movement Shankar Guha Niyogi, was assassinated during this period. Police killed 16 protesting workers in the year 1992. Some of the leaders were subjected to physical attack. Mahila Mukti Morcha was always the main aspect of Chhattishgarh Mine Shramik Sangh. In the Dalli Rajhara, where the CMSS was its origin, women formed half of the workforce. CMSS participated in the united struggle and the first strike of which was held in 1977. Women lived under gruesome conditions in Dalli Rajhara. Women faced sexual harassment from the lumpen elements of that area. Majority of women who were sexually harassed belonged to the working class. However, women resisted such forms of exploitation. Women who were part of CMSS regions and regionalism pursued legal action against CISF jawans who raped a tribal girl. It was argued that Mahila Mukti Morcha emerged during that period (1980-81). It addressed the problems which women faced such as wife-beating, problems related to marriage, sexual harassment of women and so on. These political activities were instrumental in creating political consciousness among women. Thus, women achieved a separate platform to raise different forms of marginalities faced by them. Hence their engagement with Mahila Mukti Morcha created competencies for articulation and leadership for women. Mahila Mukti Morcha operated in the informal living places of the contractual workers and unorganized workers at Dalli Rajhara. Women started antiliquor agitation. They picketed liquor shops and identified drunken revellers from their area. Women also demanded their rights from the administration. They demanded separate toilets for women. They also urged the authorities to take action against the disobedient men who harassed women in the cinema halls. Activists of Mahila Mukti Morcha created consciousness among women at large. Thus, they mobilized many women and empowered them. Women started participating in demonstrations due to constant efforts of those activists. They conducted elections, public programmes which attracted most of the women. Large membership was a salient feature of the Mahila Mukti Morcha. 19.8 Impact of Region on Women The social development of a particular region affects the gender relations of that region. For instance, women are socially mobile in places such as Kerala. Development in Kerala is linked to the history of the social movements. In other words, the

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 266 movements collectively resisted oppression based on caste, gender and class which led to the upward social mobility of women in Kerala. On the other hand, states such as Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh are backward in terms of development. This is reflected in the gender indices of these states. Women still undergo different forms of oppression. 'Secession' also determines the status of women. For instance, the claims for a separate Kashmir are raised by different political groups, and by Kashmiri militants. Muslim women from Kashmir who have demanded a separate Kashmir are mobilized by the sub-regionalist/extremist politics which act as a threat to the Indian nation. Women in Kashmir are caught in the internal patriarchy of their community, bound by religion and external military apparatus. Women have raised their voice against the military apparatus as well as the impact of militancy on their lives. For instance, the rape of women which took place at Shopian showed the brutal oppression which is determined by patriarchal military apparatus, and against which many women have spoken up. 19.9 Regionalism in Indian Politics Regionalism in Indian politics is a uniquely powerful experience, and to understand it properly we have to recognize the important factors behind it. Geographic isolation is considered as one of the important factors. India is a very large country, but it's also a country where a lot of infrastructure is still in the process of being developed. This means that some states and communities within India are isolated from major political centres. Till transportation and communication technologies have failed to connect these communities with the rest of Indian society, the people here tend to have very strong regional identities. The nation is a pretty vague concept to many of them. India has struggled with unequal development. While some Indian cities and states contain world-class industrial and technological centres, others are still remote, rural, and relying on outdated technologies. People's lives are different and the amount of progress is different, so regional disparities are very common. Regionalism in India is based on the history of cultural segregation. Indian society has a long history of organizing people into castes, and when large numbers of people in the same caste live in the same area, they can develop a regional sense of belonging, especially if they feel excluded from the rest of the nation. This same phenomenon is true of religious, ethnic, and linguistic minority groups in India as well. Finally, India's regionalism likely reflects discontentment and distrust with national politics. For people who feel like their communities or states are marginalized, ignored,
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 267 or developed unequally, they have to trust on national political leaders, national political parties, and national politics in general. In Indian states where regionalism is strongest, state politics are dominated by regional political parties. These political parties are generally found in that state, only deal with issues of that state, and advocate for the state to find its own solutions to political problems rather than dealing with the national government. These regional political parties have existed since Indian independence (and before), but since the 1970s they've grown continually in prominence and influence. Today, some states in India are almost entirely represented by regional political parties both at the state level and within the Indian parliament. This is especially true in the Lok Sabha (the lower house of India's parliament), where regional political parties seem to be gaining more seats every year. Not only are they gaining more seats, but they're often taking those seats from India's preeminent national political party, the Indian National Congress. This is the same party that supported both Gandhi and Nehru, the foundational figures of Indian independence and national identity. So, the rejection of the Indian National Congress by people in states progressing pro-regionalism is significant. 19.10 Conclusion We this can conclude that regionalism is triggered by following factors: (a) Low rate of economic growth The economic growth of India has been fluctuating since independence. But with respect to high population growth, the economic growth has been not enough to catch the development with full speed. In the last decade, the economic growth was progressive, but now they are reeling under the influence of world economic crisis and other bottlenecks at domestic level. (b) Socio-economic and political organisation of states The states have been unable to do the adequate land reforms and the feudal mentality still persists. Bhoodan and Gramdaan movements, after independence, have not enthusiastically carried out and even land under land banks are not efficiently functional. The political activities in the backward states are limited to vote bank politics and scams. (c) Lower level of infrastructural facilities in backward states The level of infrastructural development, such as power distribution, irrigation facilities, roads, modern markets for agricultural production has been at back stage. All these are state list subjects.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 268 (d) Low level of social expenditure by states on education, health and sanitation The sates which have invested heavily on education, health, and sanitation fall under the developed and advanced states. For example Tamil Nadu can be cited for better health care services and their. Primary health centre is bench mark for other states. (e) Political and administration failure Political and administrative failure often creates source of tension and gives birth to sub-regional movements for separate states. Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Uttrakhand and recently Telangana are under the resultant effects of these failures only. Many such demands are in pipeline such as- Vidarbha, Saurashtra, Darjeeling and Bodoland, etc. These failures also weaken the confidence of private concerns and do not attract the states. 19.11 Summary This unit discusses at length the definitions, conceptual clarifications and scope of regionalism. It also discusses the various dimensions, characteristics and causes of widespread regionalism as well as its historical legacies. The unit has also examined the post- independent situations of regionalism as well as the present debate enveloping it. Feminists' dimensions of regionalism and its impact on the women have also taken into consideration. Emphasis has also been given to see the link between regionalism and the Indian polity as well as the possibilities for regional disparities to subsist in the present world 19.12 Questions Answer briefly: 1. What are the characteristics of regionalism? 2. What are the forms of regionalism? 3. Write short note on regionalism on the basis of ethnicity and language. 4. Why regional disparity still persists? Answer in detail: 1. What are the causes of regionalism? 2. Write a short note on elimination of regionalism. 3. Write a note on contemporary debates related to region and regionalism.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 269 4. Regionalism as a sub state movement – Explain. Essay Type Question: 1. Write a note on regionalism in India. 2. Explain the historical lineages of region and how you can relate it to women and regionalism. 3. Critically analyse the relationship between region, regionalism and women. 4. Write a note on regionalism in Indian politics. 19.13 Suggested Readings Aloysious, G. (2007). From Regions to Regionalisms. Hyderabad: University of Hyderabad. Bhattacharjee, D. (2018). Provincial Autonomy, Decolonization, War and Nationalism. New Delhi: Routledge. Brass, P. (1991). Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison. New Delhi: Sage Publications. Kumar, B.B. (1998). Small State Syndrome in India. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company. Lake, D.A. and Rothchild, D. (1996). The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict – Fear, Diffusion and Escalation. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. Oommen, T.K. (2004). Nation Civil societies and social movements essays in political sociology. New Delhi: Sage Publications. Pratt, S.C. and Sullivan, S. (2009). Race Questions, Provincialism and Other American Problems. New York: Fordham University Press. Reddy, G.R. and Sharma, B.A.V. (1979). Regionalism in India: A Study of Telengana. New Delhi: Concept Publishing. Salloukh, B.F. and Brynen, R. (2004). Persistent Permeability? : Regionalism, Localism and Globalization in the Middle East. USA: Ashgate Publishing Company. Sapir, E. (1921). Language: An Introduction to the study of speech. New York: Harcourt Brace & Company. Wadhawan, R.K. (1997). Disintegration of States. New Delhi: Radha Publications. Weiner, M. (1978). Sons of the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 270 19.14 Glossary Acculturation - Acculturation is a process of social, psychological, and cultural change that stems from the balancing of two cultures while adapting to the prevailing culture of the society. Acculturation is a process in which an individual adopts, acquires and adjusts to a new cultural environment as a result of being placed into a new culture, or when another culture is brought to you. Individuals of a differing culture try to incorporate themselves into the new more prevalent culture by participating in aspects of the more prevalent culture, such as their traditions, but still hold onto their original cultural values and traditions. The effects of acculturation can be seen at multiple levels in both the devotee of the prevailing culture and those who are assimilating into the culture. Ethnic Conflict - An ethnic conflict is a conflict between two or more contending ethnic groups. While the source of the conflict may be political, social, economic or religious, the individuals in conflict must expressly fight for their ethnic group's position within society. This final criterion differentiates ethnic conflict from other forms of struggle. Provincialism - Provincialism is a characteristic behaviour arising from narrowness of mind or outlook. It showcases a kind of orientation or attitude characteristic of a provincial. It refers to the excessive attention to the affairs of one's province rather than the whole nation. .
Unit 20 Terrorism : Causes and Consequences Structure 20.1 Objectives 20.2 Introduction 20.3 Terrorism : The Meaning 20.3.1 Characteristics of Terrorism 20.3.2 Forms of Terrorism 20.3.3 Dimensions of Terrorism 20.3.4 Causes of Terrorism 20.3.5 Consequences of Terrorism 20.4 Terrorism and Social Ethics 20.5 Politics and Terrorism 20.6 Sociology of Terrorism 20.7 Conclusion 20.8 Summary 20.9 Questions 20.10 Suggested Readings 20.1 Objectives This unit will help you to explain – ? Concept and characteristics of terrorism. ? History of terrorism. ? Causes, consequences and forms of terrorism. ? The impact of terrorism on human rights. 20.2 Introduction Terrorism is an international problem but India is the most affcted country due to terrorism and terrorism related activities such as insurgency, civil war, guerrilla war, intimidation and extremism in various parts of the country.

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 272 Terrorism is a problem faced by India for more than two decades. Earlier, India has been faced with the problems of insurgency in northeast India while dealing with the Naga and the Mizo rebels and the terrorism of the Naxalites in Bengal. Today, terrorism is perceived as a problem capable of destabilizing not only national but also international politics. Terrorism in recent times has affected both the developed and the developing countries. 20.3 Terrorism: The Meaning The Oxford Advanced Dictionary defines terrorism as the use of violent action in order to achieve political aims or to force a government to act. The Encyclopaedia Britannica describes terrorism as the systematic use of terror or unpredictable violence against governments, public or individuals, to attain a political objective. It can be broadly defined as violent behaviour designed to generate fear in the community or a substantial segment of it for political purpose. It is the use of violence on the part of non-governmental groups to achieve political ends. According to the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, terrorism is a method whereby an organized group or party seeks to achieve its vowed aims chiefly through the systematic use of violence. 20.3.1 Characteristics of Terrorism Terrorism is characterised by a technique of perpetrating random and brutal intimidation, coercion or destruction of human lives and property, and used intentionally by subnational groups operating under varying degrees of stress, to obtain realistic or illusory goals. The main characteristics of terrorism are: 1. It is against the state or community. 2. It has a political purpose. 3. It is illegal and unlawful. 4. It aims at intimidating and creating impact of fear and panic not only for the victim but also for the people at large, caused for the purpose of coercing of subduing. 5. It is accompanied by a feeling of impotence and helplessness on the part of the masses. 6. It stops rational thinking. 7. It leads to reaction of fight or flight, and 8. It contains arbitrariness in violence as victims' selection is random or indiscriminate (Sharma, 2008). NSOU ? CC-SO-04 273 20.3.2 Forms of Terrorism According to the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, there are six distinct types of terrorism. All of them share the common traits of being violent acts that destroy property, invoke fear and attempt to harm the lives of civilians. 1. Civil Disorder It is sometimes a violent form of protest held by a group of individuals, usually in opposition to a political policy or action. They are intended to send a message to a political group that "the people" are unhappy and demand change. The protests are intended to be non-violent, but they do sometimes result in large riots in which private property is destroyed and civilians are injured or killed. 2. Political Terrorism It is used by one political faction to intimidate another. Although government leaders are the ones who are intended to receive the ultimate message, it is the citizens who are targeted with violent attacks. 3. Non-political Terrorism It is a terrorist act perpetrated by a group for any other purpose, most often of a religious nature. The desired goal is something other than a political objective, but the tactics involved are the same. 4. Quasi terrorism It is a violent act that utilizes the same methods terrorists employ, but does not have the same motivating factors. Cases like this usually involve an armed criminal who is trying to escape the law enforcement, utilizing civilians as hostages to help them escape. The law breaker is acting in a similar manner as a terrorist, but terrorism is not the goal. 5. Limited Political Terrorism These are generally one-time only plots to make a political or ideological statement. The goal is not to overthrow the government, but to protest a governmental policy or action. 6. State Terrorism It defines any violent action initiated by an existing government to achieve a particular goal. Most often this goal involves a conflict with another country. Every type of terrorism utilizes distinct methods of violence to get their message across. They can be anything from weapons or explosive devices to toxic

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 274 chemicals that are released into the air. These attacks may occur at any time or place, which makes them an extremely effective method of instilling terror and uncertainty into the general public. 20.3.3 Dimensions of Terrorism Terrorism has been perceived by different scholars with different dimensions. We may identify four such dimensions: historical, political, sociological and legal. Historical Dimension : It focuses on the origin, development and qualitative changes in different phases in terrorism. Baljit Singh is one scholar who has used this approach to analyse terrorism. Political Dimension : It perceives political terrorism as a political violence movement organised by an organised political group either at a national or at international level. Legal Dimension : It concentrates on state laws as well as international laws for cooperation among various states in dealing with international terrorism. Sociological Dimension : In analysing terrorism from the perspective of sociological dimension, Jordan Paust focuses on: i) the types of participants engaged in terrorism as terrorists, targets, victims and so forth, ii) the objectives of the participants, iii) the situations of actual interaction, iv) the type of resources at the disposal of each type of participant, v) the strategies of terror utilised and, vi) the outcome of the terroristic process. 20.3.4 Causes of Terrorism Terrorism has several causes which can be related to social, historical, cultural, religious, economic, and psychological aspects. The following could be seen as some of the causes of terrorism: The Reality of Persistent Disputes: Terrorism has its breeding ground in conflicts. Reasons for conflicts, however, can vary widely. Basically, it is the differences in objectives and ideologies that show the way to conflict. Some of the historical examples to this effect are: dominance of territory or resources by various ethnic, linguistic, religious or cultural groups; aspiration for freedom from foreign regimes; imposition of a particular form of government, such as democracy, theocracy, oligarchy, or dictatorship; economic deprivation of a population; and real or perceived instances of injustices. Dearth of Reasonable Redressal Procedure: The absence of a systematic and proper redressal system can cause continuous terrorist activities. If such a system exists, people will have to take recourse to it in order to solve conflicting situations. When such systems are not available due to their nonexistence, sloth, corruption or

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 275 unaffordable cost, the socially and culturally wounded people will get tempted to seek solution by themselves. Terrorist activities thus can arise from a sense of denial of lawful rights of a certain group of people, which they have been demanding determinedly. Weakness of the Distressed People : When there are violent discords coupled with the absence of a genuine redressal system, there could be attempts to find solutions to the problems by force. This could result in various kinds of organized violence like communal riots and war. However, violence takes an ugly form through terrorism when the distressed people realize their inability to influence the dominator, due to their weakness. In such a situation, they are unable to face the oppressive forces face to face or in a direct manner. Therefore, they go underground and fight for their cause. Misguidance : When children and youth are not brought up responsibly by their parents or guardians, there is a high risk for them to get involved with violent groups or militancy. There are groups with vested interest who indoctrinate young minds to take up arms to light for their causes which are sometimes fabricated. Often, an ideology of hatred in the name of religion, ethnic loyalty or nationalism is injected into the minds of people. These youngsters are trained to cause destruction and are armed with deadly weapons. Their misguidance becomes complete when they are taught to regard the death and destruction of their enemies as a glorious achievement and their own possible death in the process as a case of heroic martyrdom. Influence of the Mass Media : Mass media are showing keen interest in terrorism and in the issues related to it. We find radio stations, television channels, newspapers, and Web pages often discussing this subject. These broadcasts reach a large section of people in the world, especially those in the west and intensify the fear that the threat of terrorism generates. The terrorists make use of this effect of the media, thus turning them into an unwillingal1y. The wide coverage given in the media motivates a terrorist organization to go ahead with their plans, since they know for sure that their action will be made known to the whole world and thus draw greater attention to the cause. Often, the live coverage of the terrorist activity helps the perpetrators of violence to get away from the site of the violence in an easy manner. In such cases, the mass media can become an unwilling ally of terrorism. Democratic State : Though it is opined by researchers that democratic nations are generally less vulnerable to terrorism; however, they too are not free from terrorist activities. There is a complex relationship between terrorism and democracy. Though in one sense democracy diminishes the risk of terrorism by undercutting some of its reasons, in another sense it often contributes to its prevalence. The open nature of

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 276 democratic societies makes them vulnerable to terrorism. In such societies, civil liberties are protected, and government control and constant surveillance of the people and their activities are kept to the minimum. Taking advantage of such restraints by the government, terrorists have stepped up their activities. Studies done on the relationship between liberal societies and terrorism suggest that concessions awarded to terrorists have increased the frequency of terrorist attacks. By contrast, repressive societies, where the government closely monitors citizens and restricts their speech and movement, have often provided more difficult environments for terrorists. It should also be noted that in democratic societies, the risk of terrorism is compounded if the law enforcement is slow or inefficient. In such democracies, the aggrieved people, having lost faith in the ability of the legal system of the country to deliver justice, are seen to take law into their own hands, and if they are weak, they do it clandestinely. Globalization : It can be said that globalization, though not a direct cause of terrorism, it can often contribute to the menace of terrorism. The situation brought about by the linkage, even fusion, around the world of communications and financial systems has contributed to the promotion of global terrorism. Again, new communications such as the Internet and satellite phones have made it possible for the extremist terrorist and political organizations to build large organizational networks, exchange information, and combine resources. Psychological Factors : Many psychologists believe that the key to understand terrorism lies in understanding people. According to this perspective, terrorism is purely the result of psychological forces, not a well-thought-out strategy aimed at achieving rational, strategic ends. Therefore, psychologists emphasize the study of the mind of the terrorists. Accordingly, various attempts have been made to gain knowledge of the hidden psychic dynamism which incites a person to perform such acts without any qualm of conscience. There is another psychological view which says that the terrorists are normal individuals, who due to their deep emotional need and a high order of motivation on the grounds of nationalism or religious sentiment forces him to take up the path of violence. Another reason for taking up terrorism could be seen due to the desire to overcome loneliness. They claim that many terrorists are people who have been rejected in some fashion by society and tend to be loners. Since it is in human nature to be part of a group, an alienated loner is naturally drawn towards any group that will accept him, give him a sense of mission, and provide him the ways and means of accomplishing it, along with monetary gains too (Kaippananickal, 2017).

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 277 20.3.5 Consequences of Terrorism The causes of the growing terrorism in a state are many. Mostly the terrorists are motivated by religious and political consideration, but there are also economic factors. Environmental Consequences : Terrorist activities can paralyze the entire cosmos with its vulnerable activities. It can be said that every terrorist attack is a way of demeaning the entire universe. The cosmos, which is the habitat of life, is dishonoured into a place of death and doom. The very fact that a human being is a cosmic reality, he/she is automatically dehumanized in the wake of every terrorist activity. Anything that is done against the cosmic reality is going to affect all the living and non-living beings of the universe. Sowing the seeds of disorder, disharmony and discontent has turned to be the work of a number of psychosomatics. Political Consequences : Terrorism builds up both direct and indirect pressure on the government to weaken it physically and psychologically. The function of terror can also be to discourage the people from cooperating with or giving information to the government. The deepest anxiety amongst ordinary people arises when they fear a collapse of law and order. Terrorism works towards a collapse of the social order and terrorists exploit this situation by trying to project them as a better alternative. In this state of fear and anxiety the essential services may not function properly. Terrorism grows out of political anarchy. Terror incorporates two facets: first, a state of fear or anxiety within an individual or a group and second, the tool that induces the state of fear. Thus, terror involves the threat or use of symbolic violent acts aimed at influencing political behaviour. Following World War II, political terrorism remerged on the international scene. During the 1960s, political terrorism appeared to have entered into another phase. Perhaps the two most significant qualitative changes were: first, its transnational character and second, its emergence as a self-sufficient strategy, namely, operating independently of the larger political arena. Political terrorism occurs as the result of a conscious decision by ideologically inspired groups to strike back at what their members may perceive as unjust within a given society or polity. The answers to contemporary political terrorism, therefore, would have to be found within this larger social, economic, political, and psychological context. Economic Consequences : Terrorism aims at maximizing economic impact in the world at large. The destruction of the twin-towers on that Tuesday of 11th September, 2001 has caused much confusion and disarray in the global economic scenario. Since each act of terrorism is designed in such a way as to have an impact on the larger audience, its reverberations and after effects are largely seen in the economic area. Nations and government machineries are forced to equip themselves with latest

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 278 technologies to combat the network of terrorism. All those involve the bifurcation of national funds which could be made use of other purposes. Terrorism, in other words, deteriorates the economy of a nation. The economy of a nation does not include its financial conditions alone. It deals with all forms of wealth such as human resource, natural resource, intellectual power, aesthetic power, creative power, money-power and so on. Therefore, economic consequences of terrorism affect all forms of wealth without which human life would be impossible. 20.4 Terrorism and Social Ethics Where appropriate, issues relevant to counter-terrorism will be considered in this section, with a more extensive discussion in the following section. The ethical questions of interest which will be discussed include the following: ? Ethical issues related to the commission of terrorist acts, including whether they are ever ethically permissible and, if so, in what circumstances. ? Ethical issues involved in counter-terrorism activities, including whether it is justified to suspend human rights in the fight against terrorism and if so, in which circumstances and which rights. ? Contextual issues related to the resources and attention given to fighting terrorism and other threats, many of which actually or potentially result in much higher numbers of deaths and injuries. It has been suggested that 'terrorist attacks by the groups victimized by the Nazis, for example, would hardly have deserved any negative evaluations' (Lutz and Lutz, 2004). However, the issue is much wider than terrorism on its own and relates to whether it is ever justified to use violence and, if so, in what circumstances. Moral positions should preferably be coherent and consistent. Therefore, the labelling of particular acts as 'terrorist' rather than, for instance, 'warfare' should not affect ethical judgments about them. Discussions about the circumstances in which the use of violence might be justified are part of the wider argument of the relationship between ends and means or consequentialist and deontological ethics. It has been suggested that the use of political violence cannot be justified unless all channels of non-violent protest have been exhausted. While it is clearly desirable to use nonviolent means if at all possible, this argument is problematic, since it is not always clear what channels of non-violent protest are available and the need for change may be urgent due to the existing state of violence and oppression. In addition, engaging in non-violent protest may itself put participants at risk and could lead to reprisals and repression. However, on the other side of the argument,
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 279 there is no guarantee that political violence will be successful in achieving its aims or even that it has a greater likelihood of success than non-violent means. In addition, non-violent resistance has the potential to involve a much greater proportion of the population and to empower them. There is also sometimes a relationship between the ends achieved and the means used. Thus, the use of peaceful means has the potential to achieve change at a deeper level and which is longer lasting, whereas change achieved by violence may require a further peaceful 'revolution' to remove the violence that has become embedded. Several different authors have suggested conditions under which the use of political violence or terrorism might be justified. These include the use of terrorism by a morally innocent individual (however moral innocence is defined) to defend themselves or other morally innocent people against a significant injustice using terrorist activities which are directed proportionately and only against those guilty of committing acts of significant injustice. Further suggestions include the justification of the use of political violence (Narveson, 1991) to prevent immediate injury or longer-range threats to oneself or others and to prevent or rectify the loss of legitimate liberty by oneself or others. However, it has also been suggested that the use of political violence is probably not justified to obtain conditions of a minimally acceptable life even when there are no other means available to do this and that it is also not justified to promote a better life for oneself, a particular group or people in general. The logical conclusion of not accepting this as a fundamental right is accepting an unequal distribution, with some individuals and groups having significantly reduced and probably inadequate shares of these resources and goods. While the difference in perspective is largely based on a difference in political philosophy or ideology, an unequal division of the world's resources and goods is also counter to many ethical theories (Harsh, 2015), implying that access to equal shares is a fundamental right in ethical terms. In terms of deontological ethics making significant differences in the shares received by different individuals or groups is not innately virtuous and is unlikely to be based on good intentions. With regard to positive utilarianism the benefits of an unequal distribution are likely to be low and the costs high. In terms of negative utilarianism there are likely to be significant present and future harms due to many people receiving insufficient for their needs. With regard to virtue ethics an unequal distribution is unlikely to build good character either of those who receive less or those who receive more than an equal share. In terms of normative ethics there is an inherent injustice in an unequal distribution, it is unlikely to promote autonomy and is maleficent rather than beneficent. Since unequal distributions frequently lead to feelings of resentment, the result is unlikely to promote relationships and is therefore counter to the ethics of care. Differences in beliefs about

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 280 the fundamental entitlement to an equal share of the world's resources will affect any analysis of the ethical justification for using terrorism to access basic needs or a fair share of the world's resources, assuming no other means are available to do this. However, acceptance that everyone is entitled to (approximately) equal shares of the world's resources does not imply that the use of terrorism is ethically permissible and this would have to be further evaluated through application of ethical theories. Rights ethics is based on consideration of fundamental moral rights, with actions which violate these rights considered to be wrong. Both terrorism and counter-terrorism raise issues of whether it is morally justified to kill, injure or torture one or a relatively smaller number of people in order to save a larger number of other people. The issues related to counter-terrorism will be discussed in a later section. In the case of terrorism, the existing situation is generally categorized by frequent serious violations of human rights, hostility between different groups, state sponsored violence and other forms of violence. Thus, applying rights ethics to the analysis of terrorism leads to an evaluation of the relative importance of different rights and decisions about which rights and whose rights it is least unjustifiable to violate (Held, 1991). Wherever possible it is clearly preferable to use non-violent methods to ensure respect for human rights. However, situations where this has been tried without success or non- violent approaches seem unlikely to be successful, give rise to the ethical questions of whether any rights violations are permissible in the short term in order to end human rights violations on a long term basis and, if so, what rights. There is also the practical question with ethical consequences of the likelihood of success. Where success is unlikely or its probability is not sufficient high (however that is judged) violation of rights of any type to achieve change should not be considered from either an ethical or practical perspective. Although all rights are important, broad categories of rights of different degrees of importance can be defined. In general, respect for the more important rights should be prioritized and care taken to avoid the violation of important rights in order to achieve respect for less important rights (Held, 1991). This implies that terrorism in support of the right to personal security or sufficient access to resources to meet basic needs is more likely to be justified than terrorism in support of less important goals. 20.5 Politics and Terrorism A totalitarian state makes use of violence as a system of government. But a democracy resorts to it only selectively during a period of crisis, when they even overlook the international convention that insists on respect for human rights. The gravity of situation is assessed by the government and such situation is prone to possible abuse. The term crisis implies a threat to the regime. In weak democracies also rulers resort

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 281 to direct or indirect violence to continue in power. In order to stay in power, rulers who had reached a point at which their follower is disowned them or because a minority, may overturn democracy. The military may help them behind the scenes. Every democratic constitution has provisions to enable the government to assume special powers. Here again there is danger of abuse of power. Terrorism demoralises the population of a region or state. In some instances, however it serves as an integrating factor. However, terrorism itself always invokes problems of law and order. Yet it is not capable of disrupting the entire social system. Terrorism is not a revolutionary movement and so far, terrorists have not succeeded in fulfilling their aims. Terrorist killings do not change the structure of politics. However, this is not to say that they have no effect on the social and political fabric. They do loosen it somewhat. Mechanisms have to be created to prevent acts of terror. 20.6 Sociology of Terrorism A holistic sociological perspective of terrorism will be possible only when we discuss large-scale political events not only in aggregate numerical terms but also in impact terms, that is, we focus not only on quantitative macro-politics but also on qualitative micro-politics. Terrorism demoralizes and demobilizes populations and disintegrates societies, though it is also true that terrorism in some instances serves as an integrative mechanism binding people together in a common cause. Terrorism may involve the problem of law and order, that is, of killing or kidnapping of one group by other group because of its religious affiliations or sub-cultural differences, but it does not disrupt the social system. Nor is terrorism a special method for hastening historical change. No terrorist movement has ever succeeded in achieving its goals. Terrorists, therefore, do not shape the course of historical events. For understanding terrorism, it is necessary to measure the amount of violence engaged in by the terrorists of effect their desired ends, the quantum of force utilized by the police and the armed forces to prevent social change, and also to measure the types of violence. Using this perspective to terrorism in India, the number of people killed and kidnapped in Bihar in one year is much more than the killings and kidnappings in Punjab or Kashmir. The social impact of terrorism which may totally affect the society on a long term basis, thus, should be the central focus in any system of analytic measurement. It may, therefore, be concluded by claiming that terrorism disintegrates society or affects the survival of the system will not be very correct. Nevertheless, mechanisms have to be created to prevent acts of terror. Terrorism and political violence have become the bane of Indian society today. Both are leading the

NSOU ? CC-SO-04 282 country towards anarchy and chaos. Terrorists kill in the name of religion and region, in the name of language and culture. It is time that the prevalent frustration and a sense of deprivation amongst people, particularly the youth, are checked. On one hand, the government has to deal with the terrorists with a very firm hand and on the other minorities have to be protected. 20.7 Conclusion In has been faced with the Kashmir problem for the past half a century and has been faced two Indo-Pakistan wars on this issue, but the government has not been able to take hard decisions and evolve a definite coherent policy. Our policy makers have been chasing the mirage of soft options and have been following a week kneed approach in dealing with the terrorists. Terrorism in Kashmir assumed a new shape 1988 onwards. The militants launched a bloody battle to underline their separate identity. The neighbouring countries, determined to see turmoil continuing in the valley, are providing training and weapons to the militants even today. The people have also been so brain washed that talk of the excesses of the police and the para-military forces. For the militants, the criticism of the government by the people means that people are more than willing to support them. On the other hand, the Hindus have been forced by the militants to leave Kashmir. It is claimed in one report that nearly two lakh Hindus have fled Jammu and Kashmir between 1988 and 1991. The Hindus claimed that the fundamentalists and militants had infiltrated every sphere of the government in the Kashmir valley till the middle of 1996 and that what ruled the roost was not the writ of the government but that of the militants. They maintained that the pro-Pakistan forces had overtaken the valley and in a way, there was a collapse of the administration and the terrorists wanted them to quit the valley. Some sources claimed that till two years ago, Muslims from other countries such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sudan, Libya, Bangladesh, Lebnon, Saudi Arabia and Turkey were engaged in terrorist activities in Kashmir (Indian Today: May 15, 1994). 20.8 Summary Thus, It has been seen that there are several opinions regarding the origin of terrorism. According to one theory, the term terrorism comes from the French word terrorism, which is based on the Latin verb terrererin (to cause to urinate), and which refers to a kind of violence or the threat of imminent violence. It is noted that the terrorism as a concept was first used by the British statesman Edmund Burke. He used it in
NSOU ? CC-SO-04 283 the context of the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution. In those days, terror was understood to be a tool of dictatorship and as a symbol of power. We also saw the various characteristics of power and its present nuances in our current society. 20.9 References 1. Harsh, M.A. 2015. Engineering ethics: defininitions, theories and techniques. In Harsh MA, Ethical Engineering for International Development and Environmental Sustainability. Germany: Springer. 2. Held, V. 1991. Terrorism, Rights and Political Goals. In Violence, Terrorism and Justice, (Eds.) R.G.Frey and C.W.Morris. Cambridge University Press. 3. Kaippananickal, J. 2017. Terrorism. New Delhi: IGNOU press. 4. Lutz, J.M and Lutz, B.J. 2004. Global Terrorism. UK: Routledge. 5. Narveson, J. 1991. Terrorism and Morality. In Violence, Terrorism and Justice, (Eds.) R.G.Frey and C.W.Morris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 6. Sharma, Y.K. 2008. Criminology. Agra: Laxmi Narain Agarwal. 20.10 Suggested Readings Answer briefly: 1. Define Terrorism 2. What are the features of Terrorism? 3. What are the dimensions of terrorism? 4. Short note on Politics and terrorism. Answer in detail 1. What are the Consequences of terrorism? 2. Short note on ethics and terrorism. 3. Critically explain sociology of terrorism. 4. What are the situations now 'terrorism in India' – explain in your own words. Essay Type Question 1. Write a note on causes of terrorism. 2. Establish a relationship between terrorism and social ethics. 3. Write a note on Sociology of Terrorism and Terrorism in India.

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1/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

that the most vital need of the day was to create consciousness among the masses. The sense of a common nationality,

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2/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

in his training and in his vision of life, Ambedkar was deeply aware of the larger dynamics of the world, its complexity and differential bearing on social groups, localities and nations.

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3/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

Dalit- includes those who are designated in administrative parlance as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes.

Dalit includes those who are designated in administrative parlance as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes.

W https://vdoc.pub/documents/encyclopaedia-of-indian-war-of-independence-1857-1947-vol-9-extremist- ...

4/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

Dalits are excluded from the four fold Varna system of Hinduism and are seen as forming a fifth Varna, also known by the name of

Dalits were excluded from the four-fold varna system of Hinduism and were seen as forming a fifth varna, also known by the name of

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5/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	9 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	9 WORDS

Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, the architect of the Constitution of India,

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6/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly.

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7/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	50%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

He never observes the support of any caste Hindu led groups for his mission for Dalits, namely, social justice and equality.

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8/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	48 WORDS	41%	MATCHING TEXT	48 WORDS

launched the anti- untouchability campaign for awakening the consciousness of the Hindus to the wrongs inflicted on the Harijan community. He has also helped Harijans to raise their rights and status. But Dr. Ambedkar has not been satisfied with the political approach of Gandhiji and his bona fides. Consequently, Dr. Ambedkar

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9/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

time of the Poona Pact in Sept. 1932. He vehemently has criticised the way of handling the problems of the Harijans by Gandhiji.

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10/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	9 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	9 WORDS

between Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar over the upliftment of untouchables.

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11/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	35 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	35 WORDS

the Second Round Table Conference in London in 1931 , in which Gandhi vehemently opposed Ambedkar's demand for separate electorates for the Dalits. The intense feelings of the Dalits against Gandhi were manifested by black flag demonstrations

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12/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

In 1932, the Communal Award of the British government granted separate electorates for the depressed classes.

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13/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

only when some Hindu leaders pledged their help in the removal of untouchability, and agreed that the untouchables would have seats in all elected bodies.

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14/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

unto death in his prison cell in Poona, protesting that separate electorates were a device which would separate the untouchables from

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15/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Ambedkar, however, never reconciled himself to this outcome. According to him, it forced the Dalits to agree to live at the mercy of the Hindus.

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16/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	44 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	44 WORDS

According to the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, there are many areas where these weaker sections are denied even common access to drinking water. There has been a sharp increase in the atrocities on them, and their socio-economic conditions are deteriorating, despite the Dalit

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17/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

was used in 1930's in Hindi and Marathi translation of 'depressed classes' by the British

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18/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

the Scheduled Tribes, Neo-Buddhists, working people, landless and poor peasant women and all those being exploited politically, economically, and

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19/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	48 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	48 WORDS

caste. He is a man exploited by the social and economic traditions of this country. He does not believe in God, rebirth, soul, holy books teaching separatism, fate and heaven because they have made him a slave. He does believe in humanism. Dalit is a symbol of change and revolution" (

SA Final Copy.docx (D142174335)

20/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS

overview of the Dalit liberation in India. The former deals with the colonial period whereas the latter looks at both the colonial and the post colonial periods.

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21/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	74 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	74 WORDS

the problem of untouchability. There have been various movements started for maintaining or increasing reservations in political offices, government jobs and welfare programmes. Ghanshyam Shah classifies the Dalit movements into reformative and alternative movements. The former tries to reform the caste system to solve the problem of untouchability.The alternative movement attempts to create an alternative socio-cultural structure by conversion to some other religion or by acquiring education, economic status and political power. Both These above types of movements use political means

the problem of untouchability. Dalits supported the movements for maintaining or increasing reservations in political offices, government jobs and welfare programmes. Ghanshyam Shah (2004) classifies the Dalit movements into reformative and alternative movements. The former tries to reform the caste system to solve the problem of untouchability. That latter i.e. the alternative movement attempts to create an alternative socio-cultural structure by conversion to some other religion or by acquiring education, economic status and political power. Both types of movements use political means

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to attain their objectives. The reformative movements are further divided into Bhakti movements, neo-Vedantik movements and Sanskritisation movements. .

to attain their objectives. The reformative movements are further divided into Bhakti movements, neo-Vedantik movements and Sanskritisation movements.

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23/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

developed two traditions of saguna and nirguna. The former believes in the form of God

developed two traditions of Saguna and Nirguna. The first one believed in the form of God

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24/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	70 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	70 WORDS

Vishnu or Shiv relating to the Vaishnavite or Shaivaite traditions. It preaches equality among all castes though it subscribes to the Varnashram dharma and the caste social order. The devotees of Nirguna believe in formless universal God. Ravidas and Kabir are the major figures of this tradition. It becomes more popular among the Dalits in urban areas in the early 20th century as it opens the possibility of salvation for all. It says about social equality.

Vishnu or Shiv relating to the Vaishnavite or Shaivaite traditions. It advocated equality among all the castes though it subscribed to the Varnashram dharma and the caste social order. The followers of Nirguna believed in formless universal God. Ravidas and Kabir were the major figures of this tradition. It became more popular among the dalits in urban areas in the early 20th century as it provided the possibility of salvation for all. It promised social equality.

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a comparative picture of the movements of these communities in the USA and India.

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the founder of Arya Samaj believed that the caste system was a political institution created by the rulers for the common good of society and not a natural or religious distinction.

the founder of the Arya Samaj, believed that the caste system was a political institution created by the rulers ‘for the common good of society, and not a natural or religious distinction’.

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27/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

initiated by Hindu religious and social reformers. These movements attempted to remove untouchability by taking them into the fold of the

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28/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Social Movements and Social Change” examines the relationship between the Arya Samaj and the untouchables.

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29/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

the untouchables. It goes against any move initiated by the untouchables for their solidarity and integration.

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30/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	66 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	66 WORDS

The neo-Vedantic movements and non-Brahmin movements have played an important catalytic role in developing anti-caste or anti Hinduism Dalit movements in some parts of the country. The Satyashodhak Samaj and the self-respect movements in Maharashtra and the Tamil Nadu,the Adhi Dharma and Adi Andhra movement in Bengal and Adi-Hindu movement in Uttar Pradesh are important anti-untouchability movements which have been launched in the last quarter of the 19th and the early

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31/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	99 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	99 WORDS

Nandini Gooptu in her study on UP in the early 20th century briefly analysed the emergence of the Adi-Hindu movement in the urban areas of the region. Like Adi-Dharma, the leaders of the Adi-Hindu movement believed that the present form of Hinduism was imposed on them by the Aryan invaders. The movement did not pose a direct threat to the caste system. It was in essence, conceived as and remained a protest against the attribution of stigmatised roles and functions to the untouchable by means of a claim not to be Aryan Hindus; it was not developed into a full blown, direct attack on the caste system.

Nandini Gooptu (1993) in her study in Uttar Pradesh in the early twentieth century briefly analyses the emergence of the Adi-Hindu Movement in the urban areas of 134 Resistance, Mobilisation and Change the region (2001). Like Adi-Dharma, the leaders of the Adi-Hindu movement believed that the present form of Hinduism was imposed on them by the Aryan invaders. The movement did not pose a direct threat to the caste system. It was 'in essence, conceived as and remained a protest against the attribution of "low" roles and functions to the untouchables by means of a claim not to be Aryan Hindus; it was not developed into a full-blown, direct attack on the caste system' (

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32/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

scattered references to the Adi-Andhra, the Adi-Hindu and the Namashudra movements. Mark Juergensmeyer's book

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33/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	32 WORDS	79%	MATCHING TEXT	32 WORDS

as Social Vision" dealt with the Adi Dharma movement against untouchability in 20th century Punjab. The main plea of the movement was that the untouchables constituted a distinct religious community similar to those of

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34/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	45 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	45 WORDS

The Shanars or Nadars of Tamil Nadu however crossed the boundary of untouchability.The Iravas of Kerala also blurred if not completely destroyed, the line of untouchability.The Nadars had organized movements in the late 19th century NSOU ? CC-SO-04 43 against the civic disabilities which they suffered. They

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35/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

According to it the low social status of the Iravas was due to their low social and religious practices.

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36/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

The association launched activities for sanskritising the norms and customs of the Iravas.They launched a Satyagraha for temple entry in the 1920s.They bargained with the

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37/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

A major anti-touchability movement was launched by Dr Ambedkar in the 1920s in Maharashtra.

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38/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

possibility of advancement for the untouchables through the use of political means to achieve social and economic equality with the highest classes in modern society.

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39/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

organized the independent labour party on secular lines for protecting the interests of the laboring classes.

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40/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

Dalits demanded a separate electorate in the 1930s which led to a conflict between Ambedkar and

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41/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	40 WORDS	82%	MATCHING TEXT	40 WORDS

He found that Buddhism was appropriate as an alternative religion for the untouchables. He preferred Buddhism because it was an indigenous Indian religion of equality; a religion which was anti-caste and anti Brahmin. Ambedkar and his followers were converted to Buddhism in 1956.

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42/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	40 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	40 WORDS

The movement for conversion to Buddhism had spread Dalit consciousness irrespective of whether Dalits became Buddhist or not. The Dalits of Maharashtra launched the Dalit Panther Movement in the early 1970s.Initially it was confined to the urban areas of Maharashtra and it

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43/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	55 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	55 WORDS

Assertion for Dalit identity has almost become a central issue of Dalit movement. This involves local level collective action against discrimination and atrocities. Statues of Dr Ambedkar are found not only in urban Dalit localities but also in many villages where their number is fairly large. Dalits contribute to installing Ambedkar statues in their neighbourhood. They have to

SA 1103040002-S.docx (D32634442)

44/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

issues related to identity and reservations of government jobs and political positions. There

issues related to identity and reservations of government jobs and political positions. There

W http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/67772/1/Block-2.pdf

45/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	43 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	43 WORDS

the Constitution – " The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker section of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation." —

the Constitution states The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/HIS4C01.pdf

46/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

struggle to get a piece of land from local authorities to install the statue.

SA 1103040002-S.docx (D32634442)

47/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

The statues and photos of Dr Ambedkar are an expression of Dalit consciousness and their assertion for identity.

SA 1103040002-S.docx (D32634442)

48/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 28, No. 14 (Apr. 3, 1993), pp. 570-573 Published by: Economic and Political Weekly 4.

SA Final Copy.docx (D142174335)

49/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

in Gopal Guru (ed)., Humiliation: Claims and Context (New Delhi :

SA 1255 Margaret, M. Swathy.pdf (D21317636)

50/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	72%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 37, No. 42 (Oct. 19-25, 2002), pp. 4339-4340 11. Zelliot, E (2001): From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on Ambedkar Movement,

SA Final Copy.docx (D142174335)

51/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

a sociology of India lies at the point of confluence of sociology and Indology".

a sociology of India lies at the point of confluence of sociology and Indology.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

52/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	47 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	47 WORDS

According to him, Indian society is a 'Hindu Society' and that cannot be understood without understanding Hindu tradition. He has 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

According to Ghurye Indian society is a Hindu society and it cannot be understood without understanding Hindu tradition. The guiding force in Indian society was Hindu ideology. 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

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

53/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	52 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	52 WORDS

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. He has

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. He has

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

54/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Indological perspective claims to understand Indian society through the concepts, theories and frameworks that are closely associated with Indian civilization.

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

55/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

She served four separate terms as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

SA Final Copy.docx (D142174335)

56/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

claims to understand Indian society through the concepts, theories and frameworks that are closely associated with Indian civilization.

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

57/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	131 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	131 WORDS

shall have no faith in Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwara, nor shall I worship them. 2. I shall have no faith in Rama and Krishna, who are believed to be incarnation of God, nor shall I worship them. 3. I shall have no faith in Gauri, Ganapati and other gods and goddesses of Hindus, nor shall I worship them. 4. I do not believe in the incarnation of God. 5. I do not and shall not believe that Lord Buddha was the incarnation of Vishnu. I believe this to be sheer madness and false propaganda. 6. I shall not perform Shraddha nor shall I give pind. 7. I shall not act in a manner violating the principles and teachings of the Buddha. 8. I shall not allow any ceremonies to be performed by Brahmins. 9. I shall believe in the equality of

shall have no faith in Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh nor shall I worship them. 96 Encyclopaedia of Indian War of Independence • I shall have no faith in Rama and Krishna who are believed to be incarnation of God nor shall I worship them. • I shall have no faith in 'Gauri', Ganapati and other gods and goddesses of Hindus nor shall I worship them. • I do not believe in the incarnation of God. • I do not and shall not believe that Lord Buddha was the incarnation of Vishnu. I believe this to be sheer madness and false propaganda. • I shall not perform 'Shraddha' nor shall I give 'pind-dan'. • I shall not act in a manner violating the principles and teachings of the Buddha. • I shall not allow any ceremonies to be performed by Brahmins. • I shall believe in the equality of

W https://vdoc.pub/documents/encyclopaedia-of-indian-war-of-independence-1857-1947-vol-9-extremist- ...

58/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

shall endeavour to establish equality. 11. I shall follow the Noble Eightfold Path of the Buddha. 12. I shall follow the

shall endeavour to establish equality. • I shall follow the 'noble eightfold path' of the Buddha. • I shall follow the '

W https://vdoc.pub/documents/encyclopaedia-of-indian-war-of-independence-1857-1947-vol-9-extremist- ...

59/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	99 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	99 WORDS

paramitas prescribed by the Buddha. 13. I shall have compassion and loving-kindness for all living beings and protect them. 14. I shall not steal. 15. I shall not tell lies. 16. I shall not commit carnal sins. 17. I shall not take intoxicants like liquor, drugs, etc. 18. I shall endeavour to follow the Noble Eightfold Path and practice compassion and loving-kindness in everyday life. 19. I renounce Hinduism, which disfavors humanity and impedes the advancement and development of humanity because it is based on inequality, and adopt Buddhism as my religion. 20. I firmly believe the Dhamma of the Buddha is the only true religion. 21. I consider that

paramitas' prescribed by the Buddha. • I shall have compassion and loving kindness for all living beings and protect them. • I shall not steal. • I shall not tell lies. • I shall not commit carnal sins. • I shall not take intoxicants like liquor, drugs etc. • I shall endeavour to follow the noble eightfold path and practise compassion and loving kindness in every day life. • I renounce Hinduism which is harmful for humanity and impedes the advancement and development of humanity because it is based on inequality, and adopt Buddhism as my religion. • I firmly believe the Dhamma of the Buddha is the only true religion. • I believe that

W https://vdoc.pub/documents/encyclopaedia-of-indian-war-of-independence-1857-1947-vol-9-extremist- ...

60/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

solemnly declare and affirm that I shall hereafter lead my life according to the teachings of Buddha'

solemnly declare and affirm that I shall hereafter lead my life according to the principles and teachings of the Buddha

W https://vdoc.pub/documents/encyclopaedia-of-indian-war-of-independence-1857-1947-vol-9-extremist- ...

61/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

The Laws of Manu, Penguin, New Delhi, 1991 ? Hardtmann, Eva-Maria, The Dalit Movement in India: Local Practices, Global Connections,

SA 1103040002-S.docx (D32634442)

62/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Omvedt Gail, Dalit Visions: The Anti-Caste Movement and the Construction of an Indian Identity, Orient Blackswan, 2006. 7.

SA History - 197211EP058 - P. MALLIGA.pdf (D128803411)

63/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Zelliot Eleanor, From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar Movement, New Delhi: Manohar, 3rd Edition, 2001.

SA Final Copy.docx (D142174335)

64/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	63%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

The expression Scheduled Caste was coined by the Simon Commission and subsequently embodied in the Government of India Act 1935.

SA 1103040002-S.docx (D32634442)

65/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

the promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections.

SA Final Copy.docx (D142174335)

66/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards for the

SA Final Copy.docx (D142174335)

67/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper (3) The

a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper. The

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/HIS4C01.pdf

68/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the

SA CHAPTER 2HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF.docx (D104810649)

69/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

of minorities (1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. (2)

SA Final Copy.docx (D142174335)

70/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the

SA CHAPTER 2HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF.docx (D104810649)

71/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North

SA 1255 Margaret, M. Swathy.pdf (D21317636)

72/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	69%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

tribe or other group follow the customs, rituals, beliefs, ideology and style of life of a high and, in particular, a 'twice-born caste'. Thus, the

tribe or other groups takes over customs, rituals believes, ideology and style of living of a high and in particular, a twice born caste. After the

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

73/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	44 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	44 WORDS

Horizontal Mobility : Refers to shifts in Position in a society which does not involve movement between strata. ? Intra-generational Mobility : This is mobility which occurs within different generations of people. ? Inter-generational Mobility : Refers to mobility within the time span of two or more generations.

Horizontal Mobility : Refers to shifts in position in a society which does not involve movement between strata. Intragenerational Mobility : This is mobility which occurs within different generations of people. Intergenerational Mobility : Refers to mobility within the time span of two or more generations.

W http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/67772/1/Block-2.pdf

74/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained

SA Final Copy.docx (D142174335)

75/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

National Council of Women in India (NCWI) and 3. All India Women's Conference (AIWC).

National Council of Indian Women (NCIW) in 1926 and All India Women's Conference (AIWC)

W http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/67772/1/Block-2.pdf

76/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

by the state or receiving aid out of state funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. Article 30

SA Final Copy.docx (D142174335)

77/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

From mid to late 1980s, women's groups concentrated on providing services to individual women to enable them to gain advantages already given in law.

From the mid- to late 1980s women's groups concentrated on providing School of Distance Education Problems and Debates in Contemporary India 150 services to individual women to enable them to gain advantages already given in law.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/HIS4C01.pdf

78/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

was significantly different from the welfare dispensed by earlier women's groups. The earlier groups sought amelioration; the new groups sought recognition and realization of rights.

was significantly different from the welfare dispensed by earlier women's groups. The earlier groups sought amelioration; the new groups sought recognition and realization of rights.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/HIS4C01.pdf

79/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

Mawdsley, E (1998) After Chipko: From Environment to Region in Uttaranchal. Journal of Peasant Studies, 25 (4) pp. 36-54.

Mawdsley, Emma (1998) After Chipko: from environment to region in Uttaranchal. Journal of Peasant Studies 25 (4), pp. 36-54.

W http://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/archive/00000218.5.

80/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

peasants are socially and economically marginalised, culturally subjugated and politically dis-empowered social groups who are attached to land to eke out subsistence living'(

peasants are socially and economically marginalised, culturally subjugated and politically dis-empowered social groups who are attached to land to eke out a subsistence living (

W http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/67772/1/Block-2.pdf

81/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	75%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

once a prosperous trading community, had been reduced to poverty as the control of maritime commerce

once a prosperous trading community, had been reduced to penury as the English and the Portuguese wrested control of maritime commerce.

W https://scroll.in/article/901670/revolt-against-british-or-communal-riot-removal-of-kerala-mural- ...

82/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

objective was to reclaim land from big Zamindars and re-distribute the same among the tilling farmers and landless labourers.

objective was to snatch the lands from those big zamindars and re-distribute the same among the tilling farmers and landless labourers.

W https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/naxalbari-movement-maoism-charu-mazumdar-kanu-sanyal-jangal ...

83/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

the president of the Siliguri Kisan Sabha , Jangal Santhal had begun organising people for the

The then president of the Siliguri Kisan Sabha Jangal Santhal started organising people for the

W https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/naxalbari-movement-maoism-charu-mazumdar-kanu-sanyal-jangal ...

84/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	35 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	35 WORDS

type of warfare fought by rebels in fast-moving, small-scale actions against orthodox military and police forces and, on occasion, against rival insurgent forces, either independently or in conjunction with a larger political-military strategy. The word guerrilla

type of warfare fought by irregulars in fast-moving, small-scale actions against orthodox military and police forces and, on occasion, against rival insurgent forces, either independently or in conjunction with a larger political-military strategy. The word guerrilla (

W https://www.britannica.com/topic/guerrilla-warfare/Origins-of-modern-guerrilla-warfare.

85/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

Over the centuries the practitioners of guerrilla warfare have been called rebels, irregulars, insurgents, partisans, and mercenaries. Frustrated military commanders have consistently

Over the centuries the practitioners of guerrilla warfare have been called rebels, irregulars, insurgents, partisans, and mercenaries. Frustrated military commanders have consistently

W https://www.britannica.com/topic/guerrilla-warfare/Origins-of-modern-guerrilla-warfare.

86/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Revolt Against British or Communal Riot? Removal of Kerala Mural Revives Debate on Moplah Rebellion,

Revolt against British or communal riot? Removal of Kerala mural revives debate on Moplah Rebellion

W https://scroll.in/article/901670/revolt-against-british-or-communal-riot-removal-of-kerala-mural- ...

87/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	2 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	2 WORDS

revolt-against-british-or-communal-riot-removal-of-kerala-mural- revives-debate-on-moplah-rebellion.

Revolt against British or communal riot? Removal of Kerala mural revives debate on Moplah Rebellion

W https://scroll.in/article/901670/revolt-against-british-or-communal-riot-removal-of-kerala-mural- ...

88/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

years of Naxalbari movement: Classic case of fight for right cause with wrong means"; India

years of Naxalbari movement: Classic case of fight for right cause with wrong means - India

W https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/naxalbari-movement-maoism-charu-mazumdar-kanu-sanyal-jangal ...

89/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

for the propagation of group formation. Additionally, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relation exists

for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists." (

W http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/67772/1/Block-2.pdf

90/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

people along some common point of reference for presenting a united front to articulate their socio-economic or political interests.' 1 Ethnicity

people along some common point of reference for presenting a united front to articulate their socio-economic or political interests. Ethnicity,

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

91/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

India being a plural society is characterized by a large diversity in its population with multitudes of castes and several religious, linguistic, cultural and racial groups living here: 1.

India is a plural society. is characterized by a large diversity in its population with multitudes of castes and several religious, linguistic, cultural and racial groups living here.

W http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/67772/1/Block-2.pdf

92/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

culture.' Ethno-nationalism involves the transformation of ethnic groups into nationalities and their demand for autonomous governance or even secession as sovereign nation states.

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

93/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

faulty development policies, leading to forced displacement from their age-old inhabited land and

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

94/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Movement in the state of Tamil Nadu in South India in 1940s and 1950s

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

95/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	36 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	36 WORDS

the adoption of Hindi as the national language by the government of India. The movement gave the call for the secession of Tamil Nadu from the union of India on the basis of identity centred on Tamil language.

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

96/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

of modern politics based on mass mobilization and imaginary communal interests. The British

of modern politics based on mass mobilization and imaginary communal interests. The British

W http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/67772/1/Block-2.pdf

97/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

many states being carved out based on languages by the State Reorganization Act of 1956.

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

98/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	72%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

the policy of “divide and rule” which sowed the seeds of hatred and mistrust between the Hindus and the Muslims.

The British policy of “divide and rule” in India sowed the seeds of antagonism and distrust between the Hindus and the Muslims

W http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/67772/1/Block-2.pdf

99/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

Punjab began with very secular demands like demands for the city of Chandigarh, water distribution and territorial demarcation, but it soon

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

100/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

they were fighting to safeguard the religious and regional identity of Sikhs in Punjab.

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

101/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

fear of being assimilated into the dominant culture and, hence, to preserve one’s language and culture by demanding an autonomous state

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

102/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

sons of the soil' concept in which regional identity becomes the source of ethnic struggle. Examples include the Jharkhand movement in the

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

103/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	45 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	45 WORDS

The 'Sons of the Soil' doctrine underlies the view that a state specifically belongs to the main linguistic group inhabiting it or that the state is the exclusive 'homeland' of its main language speakers who are the 'sons of the soil' or the 'local residents'. All others

the sons of the soil' doctrine. It is the view that a state specifically belongs to the main linguistic group inhabiting it or that the state constitutes the exclusive 'Homeland' of its main language speakers who are 'the sons of the soil' or the 'local' residents. All others,

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/HIS4C01.pdf

104/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	73%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

in the state for a long time or newly migrated, they are not regarded as 'sons of the soil'

in the state for a long time, or have migrated there more recently, but they are not to be regarded as 'the sons of the soil'.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/HIS4C01.pdf

105/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

Gupta, D (1990). The Indispensable Centre: Ethnicity and Politics in the Indian Nation State. Journal of Contemporary Asia, vol 20, 521-38. 9.

Gupta, Dipankar. (1990). The Indispensable Centre: Ethnicity and Politics in the Indian Nation State. Journal of Contemporary Asia, vol 20, 521-38. 111

W http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/67772/1/Block-2.pdf

106/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Kothari, R (1988). State against Democracy: In Search of Humane Governance. New Delhi: Ajanta

Kothari, Rajni. 1988. State against Democracy: In Search of Humane Governance. Delhi: Ajanta. ——, 1990.

W http://www.egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/67772/1/Block-2.pdf

107/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

Birsa Munda: The tribal folk hero who was God to his people by the age of 25, India Today Web Desk,

Birsa Munda: The tribal folk hero who was God to his people by the age of 25 Birsa Munda By India Today Web Desk:

W https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/birsa-munda-birth-anniversary- ...

108/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Explained: Everything you need to know about Nagaland Insurgency; The Indian Express:

Explained: Everything you need to know about Nagaland insurgency | India News,The Indian Express

W https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/everything-you-need-to-know-about-nagaland-i ...

109/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	1 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	1 WORDS

india/ india-others/everything-you-need-to-know-about-nagaland-insurgency-

India • India Others • Explained: Everything you need to know about Nagaland insurgency

W https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/everything-you-need-to-know-about-nagaland-i ...

110/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

most destructive tsunamis in history took place in the eastern Mediterranean Sea.

most destructive tsunamis in antiquity took place in the eastern Mediterranean Sea

W https://www.britannica.com/science/tsunami

111/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	65 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	65 WORDS

parts of the western third of the island were raised up to 33 feet. The earthquake followed by a tsunami claimed thousands of lives and caused widespread damage spanning from the ‘islands in the Aegean Sea westward to the coast of present-day Spain. Tsunami waves pushed ships over harbour walls and onto the roofs of houses in Alexandria, Egypt, while also ruining nearby croplands by inundating them with salt water.’ (

parts of the western third of the island up to 10 metres (33 feet). The earthquake spawned a tsunami that claimed tens of thousands of lives and caused widespread damage throughout the Mediterranean, from islands in the Aegean Sea westward to the coast of present-day Spain. Tsunami waves pushed ships over harbour walls and onto the roofs of houses in Alexandria, Egypt, while also ruining nearby croplands by inundating them with salt water.

W https://www.britannica.com/science/tsunami

112/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

Coastal waters may rise as high as 30 metres (about 100 feet) above normal sea level in 10 to 15 minutes. The continental shelf waters begin to oscillate after the rise in sea level. Three

Coastal waters may rise as high as 30 metres (about 100 feet) above normal sea level in 10 to 15 minutes. The continental shelf waters begin to oscillate after the rise in sea level. Between three

W https://www.britannica.com/science/tsunami

113/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	66 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	66 WORDS

five major oscillations generate most of the damage, frequently appearing as powerful “run-ups” of rushing water that uproot trees, pull buildings off their foundations, carry boats far inshore, and wash away entire beaches, peninsulas, and other low-lying coastal formations. Frequently the succeeding outflow of water is just as destructive as the run-up or even more so. In any case, oscillations may continue for several days until the ocean surface reaches equilibrium (

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More than 230,000 people were killed, most of them on Sumatra but thousands of others in India, Thailand, Sri Lanka, and more in Malaysia, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Maldives, Somalia, and other locations.

More than 200,000 people were killed, most of them on Sumatra but thousands of others in Thailand, India, and Sri Lanka and smaller numbers in Malaysia, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Maldives, Somalia, and other locations.

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Intergovernmental Coordination Group for the Pacific Tsunami Warning and Mitigation System or the ICG/PTWS.

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116/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	77%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

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Methyl isocyanate (MIS) is a chemical used in the manufacture of polyurethane foam, pesticides and plastics. It usually is handled

W http://www.idph.state.il.us/Bioterrorism/factsheets/methyl_isocyanate.htm

117/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

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119/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Bhopal Gas Tragedy: What had Happened 33 years ago that killed thousands?

Bhopal gas tragedy: What had happened this day 33 years ago that killed thousands?

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state of Bihar and Telangana movement in the state of Andhra Pradesh, the attack on South Indians in Mumbai in 1960s

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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 3 .

to be such and it also implies a process of differentiation in the various aspects of society, economy, polity, laws and morality becoming increasingly discrete in relation to each other.

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the spelling relations as crucial because they shape the purpose, nature, control, direction and objectives underlying the production.

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126/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

means of production, the techno- economic division of labour involved in operating the instruments of production and social relations of production, or what are more precisely characterized as property relations.

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127/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	48 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	48 WORDS

The members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion...regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived

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128/133	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	64%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

the state shall not discriminate on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth.

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Chatterjee, Partha. 1999. The Nation and its Fragments:Colonial and Post colonial Histories

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a group of people who share a common culture and life style but

a group of people who share a common history, tradition, language and life- style, but

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An ethnic group is characterized by a multiplicity of attributes like religion, caste, region, descent, race,

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PREFACE In a bid to standardize higher education in the country, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has introduced Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) based on five types of courses viz. core, discipline specific, generaic elective, ability and skill enhancement for graduate students of all programmes at Honours level. This brings in the semester pattern, which finds efficacy in sync with credit system, credit tranafer, comprehensive continuous assessments and a graded pattern of evaluation. The objective is to offer learners ample flexibility of choose from a wide gamut of courses, as also to provide them lateral mobility between various educational institutions in the country where they can carry their acquired credits. I am happy to note that the University has been recently accredited by National Assessment and Accreditation Council of India (NAAC) with grade "A". UGC (Open and Distance Learning Programmes and Online Programmes) Regulations, 2020 have mandated compliance with CBCS for U. G. programmes for all the HEIs in this mode. Welcoming this paradigm shift in higher education, Netaji Subhas Open University (NSOU) has resolved to adopt CBCS from the academic session 2021-22 at the under graduate Degree Programme level. The present syllabus, framed in the spirit of syllabi recommended by UGC, lays due stress on all aspects envisaged in the curricular framework of the apex body on higher education. It will be imparted to learners over the six semesters of the Programme. Self Learning Materials (SLMs) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. From a logistic point of view, NSOU has embarked upon CBCS presently with SLMs in English/Bengali. Eventually,
the English version SLMs
will be translated into Bengali too, for the benefit of learners. As always,
all of our teaching faculties contributed in this process. In addition to this
we have also requisitioned the services of best academics in each domain in preparation of the new SLMs. I am sure they will be of commendable academic support. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stakeholders who will participate in the teaching-learning based on these study materials. It has been a very challenging task well executed, and I congratulate all concerned in the preparation of these SLMs. I wish the venture a grand success. Professor (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar Vice-Chancellor
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MODULE – 3 : Kinship and Marriage Unit - 10 ❑ Kinship and Marriage : Meaning and Types 151 – 167 Unit - 11 ❑ Changes in Kinship and Marriage : Nature and Factors 168 – 186 Unit - 12 ❑ Relevance of Marriage, Family, and Kinship Today 187 – 203 MODULE – 4 : Social Stratification in India Unit - 13 ❑ Varna, Caste and Jati : Changing Dimensions 205 – 221 Unit - 14 ❑ Bourgeoisie, Working Class and Middle Classes 222 – 238 Unit - 15 ❑ Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes 239 – 258 Unit - 16 ❑ Religious Minorities and Ethnic Groups : Issues and Problems 259 – 277 MODULE – 5 : Social Change Unit - 17 ❑ Social Mobility 279 – 294 Unit - 18 ❑ Sanskritization 295 – 310 Unit - 19 ❑ Urbanization 311 – 327 Unit - 20 ❑ Westernization 328 – 344

MODULE – 01 IDEAS OF INDIA : CIVILIZATION, COLONY, NATION AND SOCIETY 7

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NSOU ● GE-SO-11 9 Unit - 1 ❑ Dynamics of Inidan Civilization : An Overview Structure 1.1 Objectives 1.2 Introduction 1.3 History of Indian civilization 1.4 Advent of Aryans 1.5 The Epics 1.6 Invasion by Foreigners : Cultural factors 1.7 Social Factors 1.8 Political Factors 1.9 Summary 1.10 Questions 1.11 Suggested Readings 1.12 Glossary 1.1 Objectives ● Demonstrate thinking skills by analyzing, synthesizing, and evaluating historical information from multiple sources. ● Develop the ability to distinguish between fact and fiction while understanding that there is no one historical truth. ● Develop an informed familiarity with multiple cultures. 1.2 Introduction With a vast landmass having some distinct diverse characters with various river systems, climatic variations, different crop pattern and eating habits, different flora 9

10 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 and fauna, different language and above all vastly different way of living including faith India is an example of unique entity. The anthropologists argue that all the six major racial

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types the Negrito, the proto-Australoid, the Mongoloid, the Mediterranean, the Western Brachycephals, and the Nordic

had found their way within the Indian population. Hence, it is improper to conclude India a country of unipolar symptoms. For the absence of written documents for the earliest days of 'history' other than literatures deeply connected with religious rituals and sermons it is difficult to draw a near correct picture of those days. 1.3 The History of Indian Civilization The date when the first human being left his footprint in this part of the world is a matter of debate. But it has been widely accepted that the people here became 'civilized' much earlier than others in the globe. India poses a puzzle to many in the outside. When more advanced countries of the present day were nowhere to an orderly social system, the people in some parts of this land were succeeded in raising a well-planned urban life where the inhabitants could establish trading relations with faraway places. Equipments they normally used for cultivation and for domestic use still can be found in use in India. The bullock-carts and the straw huts as depicted in Bharat sculptures of about 130 B.C.E. and the plough used by farmers in Kusana reliefs of 200 C.E. are still common phenomenon in India. Sometimes historians ask themselves how to narrate this story of continuity. The progress made by India during the long course of its existence is undeniable Despite these still saddle quern are relevant in daily life since the days of the Indus people. Even some crop patterns including their sowing time, their consumption and preservation remain more or less same with only some nominal changes and improvements. The Indus Valley civilization is one a very few of its kind in the world. Archaeological excavations reveal a lot about the daily life and community behavior of those who had raised a number of urban settlements scattered in an area covering hundreds of kilometers. Examination of the findings surprised the archaeologists though the seals could not be properly read. No doubt, some conclusions are debatable. Still it is an accepted fact that the people who used to reside there could successfully adopt an advanced life-style. Existence of granary and common bath established the fact of their improved social structure probably with a certain kind of municipal administration. But the most revealing thing is the absence of a deity and place of worship. Existence of a female figure may provide certain clue towards

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 11 a 'devi' worship with worship of fertility through pipal tree and such like. If these are so then India of today is yet to find newer modes of worship. 1.4 Advent of Aryans Excavated sites covering urban life are the one side of the entire picture the other being the villages. Without surplus produced in the villages no urban life is possible. But village and villagers were lost since structures are not available. Village got prominence during the days of the Aryans. The Aryans, a nomadic tribe arrived in India and started with a pastoral life which ultimately culminated in a rural one. Hence one can find the hymns in the Vedas are addressed to the Gods in the shape of nature. Worship of nature still prevails in many forms. Indian village is primarily caste- based. With the coming of Islam feelings of community rose its head and character of village changed accordingly. Occupation was one of the principal factors for rural settlements. There were food-gatherers and hunters to whom the British considered aborigines. They were and are forest-dwellers and solely depend on their own customs prevailing from the days not known. These people divided and sub- divided into many tribes maintain their traditional habits and livelyhood. Growth of modern living, extension of urban settlements, and use of machines all have affected seriously. These tribes have been taken into established religious communities for which they are losing their identities. Even once the deity of the Sabaras, a tribe in Odhisa, Lord Jagannath is now universally worshipped by the Hindus. This is a unique aspect of Indian social life where a vast majority community adopted a deity of a group of forest-dwellers of a tiny corner in Odhisa. With the spread of modern- day living and unimaginable growth in population forest covers are withering away very fast leaving those dependent on forest with no other option than to abandon their traditional living. This process has been going on for last couple of centuries but without major opposition. During the colonial rule rebellion against the rulers were crushed paving the way for state control over forests. Through their livelyhood, occupation and customary offerings to the deities, all of whom are actually totems innumerable numbers of forest-dwelling tribes are the fountainheads of varied cultures of India. Since these people constantly avoided urban culture they became non-entities to the ruling communities. But their usefulness to the 'civilized' population did never diminish. The epics also present such stories. One cannot forget the importance of forest-dwellers in supporting the cause of Rama and also that hunter-family's timely intervention when all the Pandava brothers faced

12 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 possibility of extinction by a conspiracy of Duryodhana. In both the anecdotes the composers tell the eternal tale of the victory of truth and justice over evil. The truthfulness of these are not beyond any suspicion, but they still exemplify the values of Indian family life. Often these are accepted as the core of India's traditions. 1.5 The Epics The stories within the Mahabharata have a lot of similarities with historical events. The battle in Kuruksehtra is sometimes termed as fictitious. But by singing at least one sacred hymn from the Vedas before recital of any part of the epic it has acquired certain historic relevance. Again, the genealogy of the patron of the performer was also recited. By doing so the people of the day nearly discarded the caste-system propounded by the Aryans. The Brahminical superstructure in the Indian society probably took shape between 200 B.C.E and 200 C.E. when the reading of scriptures became exclusive privilege of the Brahmans. The epics provide no exclusive clue by which superiority of the upper castes can be understood. Most important of the stories is the life and activities of Krishna who came from an intermediary caste and not from the Kshtriyas, the warriors. Still we have learned of his innumerable soldiers who eventually fought along the Kurus. Such stories are absent in any of the Greek epics. Again, the story of Janamejaya's performance of a yajna for the complete annihilation of the Nagas, the cobra demons who could take a form of snake at will and had killed Janamejaya's father Parikshit II surpasses the original story of the epic. This cobra is the totem of many tribes for time immemorial. The sacrifice of Janamejaya remains incomplete without the presence of Astika, the son of a Brahmin father and a Naga mother, giving a different dimension of the social order. Because a son of clean Brahminical parentage was considered a true Brahman. Again, Somasrwas, the chief priest in that sacrifice was not a clean Brahman. These stories have been considered as sacred as the other parts of the epic which establishes the fact that classification of the Indian society, primarily based on occupation was of much later date from the date of composition of the Mahabharata. The story of the Nagas who were chiefly in possession of the forests in the Gangetic valley and in the foothill of Punjab. Food gathering was easier here to the initial Aryan nomads. In that context the Nagas had the similar status of that of the Aryans. These forest-dwellers were so strong that they could not be easily vanquished. Here a mixture between the foreigners and the local hunters took place. Since a good

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 13 number of poor Brahmins were not provided any livelihood, as the Vedas tell us, they adopted a forest life and married girls from there. Absence of women flock among the invaders is an accepted fact. This position led inter-mixture and creation of a social order which was ultimately absorbed within the Aryan culture. Late D.D. Kosambi, the Marxist historian was sure that during the days of the early settlement of the Aryans the young Brahmins in their early phase of apprenticeship in the Guru's seminary had to devote at least twelve years in memorizing the Vedas and to bear a lot of domestic responsibilities there. They had no time nor scope to plough and to produce food. Hence dependence on the Nagas was a natural course. On the other hand those Nagas were never a warrior tribe. It is believed that remains of ochre-washed pottery of Hastinapura I were the creation on this Naga tribe. Gradually, the Nagas transformed themselves from hunters and food-gatherers into agriculture. Their relation with the Kurus is established in the stories of the Mahabharata. This is one of the principal aspects of the growing Indian society where mixtures of several bloods was usual at least before the reckoning of the Common Era. The Vedas, the epics and the Jain and Buddhist texts render certain help for getting some idea of the earliest period of our reckoning. Travelogues help sometimes but fail to produce pictures in wide canvass. Since the twelfth century the Indian started history writing. In some regions archeological findings strengthen our imaginations and help to construct ideas of habitations there. India's uniqueness in holding numerous sects, tribes and lingual groups in a single canvas deeply rooted in her long historic traditions which started emanating from various sources. As many as 180 language groups with nearly 550 dialects were listed by the celebrated linguistic, G. A. Grierson in his monumental research, the Linguistic Survey of India. It is true that these assertions faced challenge but theories relating divergence in language are universally accepted. Even the framers of the constitution of independent India could not ignore these facts. Initially 11 major languages were recognized and the figure had to be raised first up to 15 in 1967 and again by 18 in 1992. Ignoring such context it has been fanatically tried to project this society a monolithic one by ignoring the realities experienced by the people of India for many generations. The theory of nationhood has more or less been built up with European experiences. The concept of nation-state is a western one and to scan Indian scenario with that instrument leads to a false notion. The sense of nationalism which India has developed is quite different from those rooted in the western thought and practice. Traditions of acceptance and of co-habitation have developed a mosaic where all the colours and patterns have converged successfully. It has been widely believed that

14 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 a long-drawn historical process in India beaded socio-cultural diversity into a thread of unity. Cultural pluralism in a way strengthened that unity. How the Indian civilization was first born and then continued after so many turbulence had amazed the western readers. Exploring India and 'Indian-ness' became one of the primary duties of the British colonisers. It started in the late eighteenth century first, with the survey of Major James Rennell and then with the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The British probably had no idea about the vast and rich antecedent of their newly-conquered race. Wealth of India and its artisan crafts including fine weaving for long had been street gossip in parts of Europe. But the actual knowledge about this country and its society was gathered by the foreign rulers when they intruded interiors. The pictures made them surprised since all conjectures about this land were shattered. Now the question is, which India they had been expecting? 'In the first perception, i.e., unity and diversity as two ends of a continuum, the two concepts retain both their distinctiveness and interlinkages. In fact, in this sense, a deft management of diversity is a continuous process, or part of as ceaseless effort that goes on in a plural society to achieve a harmonious interdependent co-existence amongst communities insisting on maintaining the distinctiveness of their identity.' (Ajay k. Mehra; 'Unity and Diversity in India : Two Ends of a Continuum or a Converging Horizon?' in Imtiaz Ahmad end others eds. Pluralism and Equity Values in Indian Society and Politics New Delhi, 2000. pp.115-16) Their expectation of nearly a single linguistic group, same food habits and above all a single religion did not match with India. Moreover, religions of different shades had also flourished under royal patronage and seldom had they posed problems in curving out relationship among different kingdoms. India also had never witnessed religious wars in her soil though persecutions were very common. Two things posed as puzzles to the British. How people having so many faiths stay along for many centuries and how the lingua franca was to be detected. William Jones, the founder president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal suggested that all the languages spoken by the people here had monogenesis. He strongly believed that all the languages had their common root. Needless to say that primary proposition was to establish this root in the west. Studies of Sanskrit and its grammar became popular among the early European scholars who championed the cause of the Orientalism. But one premise was forcefully established that the past of the orient was glorious which had by that time evaporated. With the rise of Utilitarianism the British as the ruler resolved to take care of the interest of the people of India.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 15 1.6 Invasion by Foreigners : Cultural Factors One very important aspect of the Indian society is that it could digest a lot of foreign elements. India had the misfortune of having been prey for invaders for centuries. If one takes historical context the value of pluralism would be visible in many facades. That also played pivotal role in state formation too. Pluralistic tenets influenced not only social but also political, economic and above all cultural factors. When fragmented this pluralistic trend pursued a determined role to achieve strong as well as long-lasting political authority. In the process both nation and state came into existence simultaneously. Whatever means were available the forces for unity strenuously endeavour to deploy. In a sense, the tendency of diversity was buried under the alter of unity. An evolutionary process got shape first with a political agendum. Formation of an orderly state was the primary goal. While achieving this tribes and races initiated a further process of assimilation. They helped to emerge a variety of kinship, mode of living, pattern of settlements, systems of production, rules of land tenure and finally community life. In fact, the Aryans whose legacy we are proudly following had their origin in faraway place. These nomadic tribe finally decided to settle here and introduced an agrarian society with a hunter and pastoral past. Their social as well as transcendental way of life are still relevant in some parts and within some communities. Mixture with the indigenous social order was inevitable and the end product has gradually become the social system in India. The Vedic tradition of Rajachakravarty was not only a glorification of a sovereign but also a symbol of assimilation of several local political and administrative systems. In the process a large and divergent patterns were merged into one to project a broader political order. Empires in the ancient period came into being by innumerable assimilations-tribal, cultural and administrative. It is not known whether those people laid out a fixed agendum for creating a political order. The political order was not necessarily a complete indigenous one. Greco- Roman shadow was also too deep. Invasions through the north-west brought a number of novelties. From wearing apparels, ornaments to sculptures foreign elements intruded. This mixture produced one of the finest schools, the school of Gandhara arts. Rise of the Mahayana sects within the Buddhism popularized this school which is one of the identities of India in its ancient past. The long shadow of the Greco-Roman mode of architecture hugely flourished during the Maurya reign and continued in the later days. Contacts with outside by curtsey of traders strengthened the long process of this assimilations.

16 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 1.7 Social Factors While spreading the ethos of imperial order the people propounded that hegemony which was able to rule upon people residing in different geographical settings. Those who were ruled readily accepted their rulers and their administration. Language and local traditions including tribal ones did not affect very much. But the society was dominated by the upper castes whose hegemony was often resented by the lower ones. The dissensions did not breed revolts. What India achieved was evolution. Larger kingdoms and then empire flourished chiefly on trade. Trade was the forte of the lower castes. The financial strength of the traders helped them to get some elevation in the prevailing social order. Ultimately they became intermediary caste and was duly honoured. They found salvation within newly emerged faiths like Jainism and Buddhism. These two were totally opposed to the Aryan way of rituals sacrifice and many others. But their surge could not be restricted. Royal patronage started coming and Buddhism spread out by crossing the seas. Asoka's baptisation is well known. In one of his rock edicts he declared that all his subjects were his own offspring. This might be a political declaration. But through it he clearly expressed his desire to accommodate all irrespective of their creed. In this way a trend was set for accommodations. As a result, India is the only country where nearly all types of religion are practiced. This is no mean achievement if viewed in larger worldly context. History of Buddhism is nothing but assimilation of several traditions which became a singular one and finally found its place within the settled Aryan, now we may call it Hindu religion. This metamorphosis is revolutionary one which helped people with different as well as conflicting ideologies in merging into one. Rise of Jainism and then Buddhism ushered in the simultaneous rise of the lower strata in the social order. Growth of regional varieties of classical Sanskrit was one of the principal gains. None of the Jain and Buddhist texts are written in the classical language which was in the sole custody of the learned high castes. The rise in the use of Prakrit is the signal for the rise of the people from below. This could happen by not affecting the existing caste pattern. Hence, India did not experience bloody conflicts which 18th century Europe had to. European scholars seldom could assess this phenomenon. Unitary tendency for generations taught the people to remain faithful to it. Though divergent in many ways religion and tradition stitched a lot. Apart from tradition and culture mixture of blood also produced new groups of people. The Rajputs had their origin in the Grujjar-Pratiharas who in turn had their

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 17 roots in central Asia. A complex and shady origin did not prevent the Rajputs in the medieval ages in fighting the Muslims to protect honour and dignity of the Hindus. Once who had not been considered 'Indian' by any of the Aryan standards, became the sole protector of Hinduism, sometimes synonymous to India itself. Unitary trend of culture expanded its wings manifold and helped to produce a picture of oneness. In the course of hundreds of years such churning continued. But it is wrong to conclude that the Rajputs posed as a single unit. Their tribal character had never been lost which generated animosity among themselves. Then, the tradition of the Rajachakravarty haunted them and a violent fight began to claim that position. By that way these tribes or clans acquired the Indian culture. Thirteen century witnessed another phenomenon. The Muslims invaded India and the rule of Islam started to continue for more than five centuries. All the earlier invaders ultimately lost their identities and gradually merged themselves within Indian social and religious environment of which we have already discussed. The Muslims maintained their identity and never allowed any aberration. Whichever land they occupied, converted the entire lot into their own fold. That process was not practiced here. On the contrary, there was a constant attempt to practice co- habitation. The racial dissensions and warfare were highlighted by the western scholars and the colonial rulers without giving credence to the fact that the invaders in India had lost their foreign connection forever. To them such co-habitation of strongly opposing people was never possible. They perceived social and political interactions on the basis of the two communities, Hindu and Muslim. The history tells that the Muslims converted nearly an entire race over whom they had established their suzerainty. But those marauds people could not succeed in doing so in India. On the contrary, both the people, ruler and ruled decided to stay together without being too much involved in the social structures of each other. Islam brought a loose sense of democratic behavior. They refused to give credence to any caste system. At the same time, the presence of the Sufi saints helped to treat all irrespective of one's caste and creed. The coming of Islam coincided with the growth of the Bhakti cult. It is wrong to conclude that the Bhakti movement had been influenced by the Sufi order. The Bhakti movement with its earlier roots in the south slowly arrived at the north and could acquire a pan-Indian status. Interestingly enough both these orders had a number of similarities. The propagators of the orders, both the Hindus and Muslims usually detested official patronage. The saints used to live in their respective hospices away from locality. Their daily life was the symbol of hardship which

18 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 enthused common people. They seldom discriminate among their followers. Religious piety was the sole motto. In the process assimilation of people from various faiths could be possible. This unique religious orders could be embraced by anyone and that too by not discarding his or her own faith. The followers' had only religion i.e.; mutual love and nominal adherence to rituals. Even Gandhi, while leading his famous march towards Dandi only chanted the bhajana of Narsinghdas Mehta, a Vaisanabite saint. Relevancy was such that people took this as a clarion call of Gandhi in Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. Under the Mughals, who acquired the sole credit of ruling uninterruptedly for so long a period without any major disturbance. Credit goes to Babar, the founder first and then to his grandson, Akbar. Akbar was the first ruler in the medieval India to visualize a pan –Indian empire. In attaining this he pursued a policy of tolerance towards his Hindu subjects. By awarding even-handed justice to all, irrespective of race and religion Akbar brought peace and order which were to stay for long after him. He is also credited for bringing first the Rajputs within the state craft and then extended the net. Family relations established by his was followed by his successors. Aberrations due to the policies of Aurangzeb brought disaster and ultimate withering of the empire. Akbar's intention was to provide a stable as well as orderly administration. He maintained the traditional rural social structures without any interference from above. In doing so he started a process of cultural mixture. Not only did he try to introduce liberal Islam but also advocated self-respect for all. To fulfil this he started paying respect to the Hindu scriptures and customs. Upon advice of Birbal he used to chant thousand names of the sun since the emperor to the Indians represent the sun. For all such 'heathen' behaviours he had to face rebellion from the orthodox elements among his own community Still he remained undaunted. He started a process of translation of the Indian religious scriptures and epics into Persian, the court language so that non-Hindus could understand the eternal values of Indian philosophy.. In course of time, this language was adopted by the learned Hindus.This was not the end.Due to the mixture of two communities a new language Urdu appeared. Ultimately, it became the lingua franca of all in the north and north- west India. The 'functional hierarchy' on which Rajni Kothary has put so much emphasis had emanated from 'manifold frame of identification' as well as their 'inter- dependence'. This inter-dependence often over-lapped with each other facilitating the process for unification. Mixtures in manifold could also be possible due to this inter-dependence. Since all types of rigidity were avoided a society, loosely stitched

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 19 could emerge. To achieve this all the groups or units always avoided to discard those shades of identification which might have hurt the sentiments of the others. This is also applicable to the different units of independent India. All the constituent provinces do not have identical interests. Protection and up-keeping of the interests of respective states are the primary political agenda of the states. In many cases these create tension and shabby quarrel among them. Still the flame and heat never reach such a proposition which is impossible to douse. This practice remains all along for which Indian federation works. 1.8 Political Factors Already social and cultural aspects have been dealt with. Other important façade of this unity is political. The British rulers used to claim that fragmented India could be brought under a single rule for the use of the English language and the railways. The role played by the railways cannot be denied. But the English could be understood and spoken by a factional part of the Indian population. During the freedom struggle the leaders from different parts of India could assemble on a single platform to draw a common agenda. The sense of nationalism did not develop among the masses. But they a vast majority of whom were illiterate followed ritualistically their leaders whoever they may be and came from whichever part of India. Nobody should be oblivious of the prevailing schism among the leaders about the means and procedures of the movements. All were overcome without any significant turmoil excepting the divisive final phase. The two-nation theory ultimately divided the country, and the Indian nationhood acquired its ultimate shape. Still the essence of the theory which divided India failed to corrupt nationalism of the Indians. People in the newly emerged nation quickly dumped that ideology and embraced all in providing that sense of unity which had been the guiding principle during the days of struggle. Independent India could draw her constitution by keeping regional differences at a bay. Regional aspirations were honoured in free India. To achieve a state based on language Patti Sriramalu's sacrifice set a new trend. A number of states in later days were formed to honour the aspirations and wishes of the people of the regions. Division of Punjab into two was necessitated for the same reason. But the state of India as a single unit was never challenged. The motive of the leaders of free India was to present a welfare state and that became the principal plank of various political parties. Elections were fought to achieve the same. Democracy and democratically
20 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 elected institutions' pivotal role in this field have been immense. People from across the length and breadth of this land participates in the elections without any hesitation to be ruled by a bunch of representatives not necessarily from one's own region. The sense of national unity prevailed over regional identity. 1.9 Summary The Planning Commission envisaged during the freedom struggle was nourished for an over-all growth of the country. To do so resources from one region were shifted to another with a view to provide a uniform development of the country as a whole. But sometimes divisive prospects also haunt the entire process. Those can simply be termed as fissures. The leaders having various shades of opinions from extreme right to extreme left finally understood the value of tradition in the daily life of the people. They embarked with such political agenda which subtly or broadly focused towards caste, creed, and language and so on. 1.10 Questions (i) Discuss in detail the multiple dimensions associated with Indian civilization. (10 marks) (ii) Explain the influence of foreign invasions on Indian culture and civilization. (10 marks) (iii) Briefly discuss the historical background of Indian civilization. (5 marks) (iv) Analyse the role of Indian constitution in shaping the political framework of country. (5 marks) 1.11 Suggested Readings (i) India after Gandhi by Ramachandra Guha. (ii) The Discovery of India by Jawaharlal Nehru. (iii) The Argumentative Indian by Amartya Sen. (iv) The Great Partition by Yasmin Khan. (v) India : Brief History of a Civilization by Thomas R. Trautmann (2015)
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 21 (vi) Society and Culture In India : Their Dynamics through the Ages by Indra Deva, Shrirama (2018) (vii) Ancient India and Indian Civilization by P. Masson-Ousel, P. Stern, H. Willman-Grabowska (1996) 1.12 Glossary (i) Culture the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society. (ii) Civilization the stage of human social and cultural development and orga- nization that is considered most advanced. (iii) Brahmacharya the first of the four stages (Ashramas) of life. (iv) Brahmanas a collection of ancient Indian texts with annotations on the hymns of the four Vedas.
22 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Unit - 2 ❑Religious, Linguistic and Cultural Plurality : Unity in Diversity Structure 2.1 Objectives 2.2 Introduction 2.3 India – Land of Diversity 2.4 Colonial Influence – Role of Social Reformers 2.5 Summary 2.6 Model Questions 2.7 Suggested Readings 2.8 Glossary 2.1 Objectives ● Meaning Of Diversity ● Reasons Behind Diversity, Economic and Social differences ● Brief introduction about unity in diversity 2.2 Introduction Diverse culture and behaviour could never be placed in an air-tight compartment. So, to rule such a vast country the British policy was to divide the people as efficiently as possible. In a way they succeeded in dividing the country on the basis of faith. Till then India was able to put such a face which could reflect a various universe. No doubt that the indigenous society prior to the arrival of the Muslims was strictly divided along caste line and in majority of cases caste depended on occupations. The Dharmashastras prescribed different rules for the upper and lower caste. Untouchability was practiced and colonies of the castes in very lower strata away from the village were very common. Still the caste rules and their applications 22

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 23 varied according to local conditions. The artisan- producer might be untouchable but the produce of his or her were necessarily not so. This custom prevailed for centuries which also put impetus to the production systems. Social orders were such which conducted the production systems and finally established a feudal order. Surprisingly, lands were awarded to the Brahmins who by rule were not allowed to plough. They had to depend on the hired labour who incidentally was in the lower strata. The sense of 'class' as defined in the Marxist doctrine was absent. Caste was the basis and was accepted for centuries together without any major modification. Even the intrusion of foreign elements could hardly change it. How did so many element converge into a unitary one- is a matter to be surprised. "the eclectic rather than proselytizing style of spiritual integration characteristic of India tradition; the absence of either a unifying and continuous secular tradition; and above all, a highly differentiated social system that has brought functional hierarchies, spatial distinctions and ritual distance into a manifold frame of identification and inter-dependence." (Rajani Kothari; State Against Democracy; In Search of Humane Governance. Delhi, 1988. Pp 155-56.) 2.3 India – Land of Diversity India is the only country where nearly all major religions of the present day are practiced as well as preached. We may find such scenario in some other countries but language spoken is more or less same which not the situation in India is. Here, religious and linguistic diversities are very prominent. Still India is united. Continuity of tradition in nearly original forms is very normal. Indian society has been evolving with some set practices and orders. These are the combination of multiple units and sometimes their factions. Needless to say that the villages are caste-based. But their power to absorb a lot of foreign elements is immense. Outward appearance may vary from one to another but basic tenets of family life remain more or less similar. Though professions of the inhabitants differ from each other, livelihood seldom. Religious ceremonies, rituals during a marriage etc.; were identical though the class of priests differed. This is the strength which helps the Indian social stricture remain intact. Juxtaposition of fragments of historical traditions has created a unipolar system by absorbing social, political, economic, and cultural units. The constitution of the free India allows all to practice his or her own faith individually and in assembly. Secularism is the hallmark of Indian polity. This

24 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 secularism means that the state allows all and dies not remain thoroughly neutral. However, the people here use to stay beside each other for centuries together. It is true that Buddhism and Jainism like Sikhism are treated as the part of broader Hinduism. Similar some smaller faith are also viewed in the same manner. Others, which are opposed to Hinduism include Islam and Christianity. Islam arrived here more than a millennium so does Christianity. Since Islam could occupy state power its roots are sphere extended too deep and too broad. This was not the case with Christianity. After colonizing India the East India Company also tried to promote mass conversion with a hope that similarity in faith between the ruler and the ruled would secure their position permanently. But all of the efforts went into vein. Here lies the success of Islam. What is often not clarified in this mode of classifying the religious traditions is whether their classification under one or the other of these two categories derives from antiquity or if it is a recent invention and what were the specific circumstances in which they came to be so classified.' (Imtiaz Ahmed; 'Basic Conflict of 'We' and 'They' between Religious Traditions, between Hindus, Muslims and Christians in India 'in Imtiaz Ahmad and ors.eds. Pluralism and Equality : Values in Indian Society and Politics. New Delhi, 2000. P.157) The historians have culled huge amount of literature and epigraphic evidences emanating from past and suggest the construction of religious traditions in terms of a sharp divide of either mutual tolerance as supposed to be existed among different groups of people. Customs and behavioural patterns of people for centuries remain more or less similar still today. Even from the names and surnames of a person or individuals one can identify one's religion and caste too. Since the period concept of society emerged four categories of names commonly used were : ethnic names derived from tribal or names of community, names derived from the country of origin, honorific and generic terms already used with reference to outsiders. It is also said that these terms do not follow any evolutionary pattern. It is a common believe that the Muslims did also find place in such terms like 'yavana', 'tajika', 'mlechha' etc. in the ancient Sanskrit texts. But this was not so. All the intruders and not followers of the established faith were identified with such terms. Similarly, inscriptions and literary works of ancient Persian and Arabic sources attest to the relative absence of an essentialised representation of Hindus as a reified religious group or community. (Imtiaz Ahmad. P. 159). Then how the term 'Hindu' came into existence? It has become well-known that this very term denotes

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 25 geographical origin i.e.' the people residing on the banks of the river Sindhu (Sindh or Indus) were called the Hindus by foreigners. Initially by this term some people residing in a place were identified and not that by their own faith. But with the passing of time the terms 'Hindu' as well as 'Hinduism' was related to the adherents of a faith. Subsequently even ethnic, sectarian or caste was determined with such terms which are closely and solely related to religions. In a broader perspective terms like Brahmana, Rajput, Syed, Sheikh etc. though have religious affiliations, commonly understood to have caste or ethnic origins. As and when ethnicity got prominence, it is believed that the Hindus and Muslims, the most populous communities fought among them themselves more than between them. During the formative years the Muslims tried to maintain their 'purity' in a conquered land but to extend power and to retain sovereignty this trend lost ground. Though a 'true' Muslim used to believe that as a philosophy Islam stood opposite to Hinduism and as a result never they could meet. Too and often the 'ulema' tried to convince and force rulers at Delhi to order mass conversion or to face death. But none obliged. Since the rulers had their own agenda they normally used to maintain a status quo. No doubt, some overzealous rulers showed bigotry but, they were few in number. Due to such atmosphere the Hindus and Muslims used to stay together. Same stories were repeated if one goes through the history of the Sikhs. Their rise was to save the down-trodden and oppressed. Oppression by state and also by upper caste and privileged people was normal. Fight between the Sikhs and the Mughal state from the reign of Jahangir was too bloody. Even the Guru was tortured and beheaded. Still a bond among people remained. From certain compulsions and social churning Guru Nanak in the late 15th century united some fragmented tribes and some marginal people from the Hindu society and preached a new faith. No worship of deity is the hallmark of his religion. The new faith called Sikhism (Sikh meant disciple) which within a very short span became popular in the north and north-west of India. Similar was the appeal of Sant Ravidas, a messiah of the untouchables. These new faiths opened gateway of salvation to a large section of masses who due to primarily for their low caste could not participate in religious programmes. The Sikhism posed serious problems to the mighty Mughals. Some Gurus laid down their lives. But the unitary force of the religion and the teachings of self-righteousness prevailed for which after so many battles with the Mughals and the East India Company the Sikhism is vibrant with its cultural ethos.

26 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 2.4 Colonial Influence – Role of Social Reformers This condition continued for centuries and still prevails. Under the colonial rule aberrations became prominent. It was the policy of the colonial masters, especially from the days when seeds for freedom movement was sown, to divide the people on the basis of creed and caste. But the very term 'Unity in diversity' was coined by Vincent Smith, a civilian cum historian of India in the 1920s. By these words he must have mentioned the unitary nature of the Indian society and not the British state system here. Even this unity was not the creation of the Indian nation post 1947. A deep sense of unity amidst its socio-cultural diversity had been detected by Vincent Smith, the civilian cum historian. The British could only bring such diverse elements within a broad administrative and territorial unit. Presence of innumerable big and small, even miniscule ethnic groups with their language, sometimes not in script; religions again sometimes only in forms of totem did not prevent people in sharing their territories with others. Some of these groups or tribes had fought with the foreigners to protect their own identities and lost. Their defeat in war field failed to dilute their traditions and cultural roots within a bigger world. In free India Jawaharlal Nehru decided to give equal weightage to all the traditions and ethnic values. While describing the position under Nehru for preserving the traditional Indian philosophy in 'new' India Prof. S. Gopal once mentioned that" This will also help us to see what truth is in the oft-repeated charge that India has never been a nation and was always a prey to anarchy and invasion till the British came. But even in the remote past there has always been a fundamental unity of India-a unity of common faith and culture.' (S. Gopal ed. Jawaharlal Nehru : An Autobiography. New Delhi. 1983. P. 8). It has been widely admitted that heterogeneity within Indian society and culture had not been a new import. It was the principal thread of unity of this great race. It is the historical evolution of the Indian society and its socio-cultural traditions are eclectic spiritual integration. This integration was made possible mostly by voluntary submission and that too by not a total discard of individualism .Hence, local sub-cultures and an intermittent, unstable and discontinuous political centre continued to stay. Such diverse features went into making a plural 'multi-centre' social tradition, keeping the great variety and heterogeneity in a 'continuous pattern of coexistence'. In India major traditions had their roots in religions, a vast number of which were active for long. Often religion and its practices were subtly inter-woven with

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 27 caste. Primarily within the Hindu social order occupational castes have their own and distinct faith. This faith has worked as a primary binder of the community. In the process presence of 'gotra' also had its share of contribution. Innumerable village with people professing identical 'gotra' still exist. The 'gotra' gives a sense of social unity which very rarely could be ignored. Since the day one when indigenous society had been taking shape both family and relations grew simultaneously. Tradition in India was and still is to accommodate all the elements from outside. Though family life was guided strictly by certain rules framed within scriptures those sometimes became corrupt due to inflow of foreign elements. One aspect of Hinduism is the absence of a well-worked out theory or practice. 'The culture of the low castes incorporated forms of worship and practice which differed from that of the high castes, leading to a fundamental dichotomy between notions of Sanskritic Hinduism and popular Hinduism.' (Imtiaz Ahmad; op.cit. p.161). But the Sanskrit sourced do not provide a single model but many model some of which stand opposed to each other. For this the philosophical tenets do not provide a singular mode of practice and worship, but a lot of numbers. Consequently, orthodoxy either within texts or in practice is absent. This is the tradition of India. But irony remains in the other form. Liberal though in religious thought social customs continue to be rigid. Social stratification in some parts of India is still serious as well as severe. Untouchability continues through every Indian enjoys right to vote and to be elected. Acquisition of high ministerial berth even through democratic process has failed to remove the caste stigma. Some reputed temples also refuse entry of the untouchables. Gandhi started a movement of temple entry for every Indian and also promoted depressed communities. He used to call the untouchables, 'Harijan' meaning sons of the god and started publishing a paper in the same nomenclature. But all his efforts failed to improve the situation. Growth in English educated population in the late-19th century brought some radical changes. The process had already been continuing since the days of Rammohan and the Young Bengal movement in the 1830s in Bengal. After 1857 and with the establishment of three universities in three Presidencies urge for western education grew and with its westernized people started leading social life. It is true that their presence was limited within urban areas. But those urban intellectuals sowed the seeds of modern India. Whether it was Rama Krishna Pramhansa, Keshab Chandra Sen, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayananda, Madhav Govind Ranade and men like them or Sir Syed Ahmad Khan the goal was to cultivate modern thinking. Religious reform movements stimulated cultural rejuvenation. Previously, in the name of
28 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 orientalist learning the hidden policy to establish superiority of the occident had been subtly undertaken. But the second half of the 19th century India started to identify its own strength. In that way the western influence was much deeper primarily the coastal regions and the regions where the Hindus highly outnumbered the Muslims or where as in Bengal the Hindus occupied influential positions (Sumit Sarkar; Modern Times : India 1880s - 1950s.. New Delhi, 2018 p. 311). But it will be wrong to think that the Muslims lagged far behind. Prof. Sumit Sarkar understands that their position in the western United Province (now Uttar Pradesh) was an exception. With a rich Urdu cultural background the Muslim 'asraf' gentry constituted cultured gentry there. Before 1857, the policy of the government was to act in tandem with them for which association of the Urdu-speaking Hindus joined hand with the Muslims and established the Delhi College. There Urdu was the medium of instruction even in the Science faculty which had still been not possible in Calcutta or in Bombay. But the rebellion of 1857 changed the entire environment. The Hindus were now favoured by the government and on account of pressure from the communal elements within the Hindus the Persian was replaced by Hindi in nagri script in the law courts. This official change brought such cultural milieu which ultimately divided the elites first and then the masses in northern India. Some enlightened in India viewed the progress of the west (to them it was primarily Europe and most probably excluding its eastern part with Russia) due to the presence of secular ideas. One contingent feature of European social order after secularism became established as the principle of social and political life was tolerance. Since the late 19th century intellectuals started adorning secular values. These secular ideas had been practiced and that too very radically by some students of the then Hindu College in Calcutta. They were called the 'Young Bengal' or the Derozians (the pupils of the young professor, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio of the College). But these chosen few failed to popularize their ideas. Secular ideas were propagated chiefly by the western educated few who used to stay and preach in the urban areas. With the birth of Indian National Congress Indian could achieve the first goal i.e.; a political platform which could accommodate all views. Still regional divides along with caste division persisted. Both religion and caste could make deep impact in India's social and political life in the initial decades of 20th century. Often people from the down-trodden castes within the Hindus and the minorities looked on going freedom struggle at askance. The debate of majority versus minority, in fact, had its origin in the 1880s with the birth of the Congress. The leading figures of the Congress were chiefly high-caste

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 29 educated Hindus though a few like Dadabhai Naoroji or Badriddin Tayebji could be found. Formation of the Indian National Congress in a sense fuelled suspicion in the minds among the minoririties. In 1906 some leading Muslims formed their own political platform, the Muslim League to protect their interest. Bengal was partitioned in 1905 in such a manner by which the newly created province of Eastern Bengal and Assam could have a Muslim majority. The demand for annulment of the partition and a vigorous movement for it made some leading Muslim nervous. They chose to have their own political agenda and a party. Formation of the Muslim League was meant for that. In 1909 to place their demand of separate electorate for the proposed Council elections they led by Aga Khan met the Viceroy at Simla and finally succeeded in achieving their goal. This was the beginning of a politics based on faith, hitherto unknown here. When the minority, Muslims could convince the colonial masters the down-trodden among the Hindus followed suit. The Census of 1931 identified and listed the untouchables and other castes in the lowest strata of the Hindu society. Meantime the Congress led by Gandhi had started civil disobedience movement. To tackle the movement and to bring some changes in governance the government called for a round table conference at London. In face of this Dr. B. R. Ambedkar raised the issue of the depressed classes. He demanded for separate electorate for them. The Congress raised strong objection but failed to convince any of the parties. Previously it was religion which divided the Indian 'unity' and now it was the turn of the caste. For such atmosphere social coherence started disappearing. Now religion along with caste raised their heads and with passing of each day the gulf between the majority 'Hindu' and the minority began to widen. Now to the depressed castes started distancing themselves from the upper castes who got a sudden degree of solace in the freedom struggle and projected themselves as sole spokesmen of their entire community. But the depressed people did not subscribe to that position. Hence the gulf could not be narrowed least to fill. Even Gandhi's fast and subsequent Poona Pact somehow brought peace. But the break between 'majority' Hindus representing high and intermediary castes and 'minority' Hindu consisting of down-trodden remained. In the far south, especially present Tamil Nadu a rich literary and cultural tradition laced knitly with religious fervour' emerge on closer look as significantly different in implications from the cult of tamil tai (Mother Tamil)in the '20th century (Sumit Sarkar, op.cit. p. 331) It is well-known that the earlier part of the 19th century the Tamil officials used write an official letter in Persian, land deals etc. in Marathi, study music in Telugu, performed religious

30 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 offerings in Sanskrit and correspond among themselves in Tamil. But with the passing of time vernacular was popularized which brought the people closer while enriching the language itself. (Sumit Sarkar, op.cit. p. 331) Growth of some vernaculars like Oriya and Assamese had nearly the same history though both were nourished to oppose Bengali which had been in use in government offices and in law courts. These are some broad features of the growth of regional linguistics and culture in some parts of the country. But in the other way these changes also sowed seeds of division. It has been widely believed that due to the policies of the colonial rulers Indian social fabric got punctured. But the Indian social order which was also closely linked with economy as well as education also had a distinct role. Social reform movements though spearheaded in some parts of the country and religious reforms like the Brahmo and Arya Samaj movements could only brought changes in limited scale. Basic arrangements continued to be unchanged. The leaders of the Congress were aware of the situations but could do nothing to amend. Moreover since the days of the Swadeshi Movement under current of hatred for the Muslims started flowing among the majority community. During those days Bengal had its pre-eminence both in politics and in culture. The divide could not be healed though Bengal was re- united in 1911. This situation ultimately alienated the Muslim minority from the main stream politics. Gandhi's movements enthused large number of people but association with the Muslims is still not beyond question. To mend the fence the Congress leaders jumped into action and that too during 1937-39 consequent to the implementation of the Government of India Act of 1935. Here again, its sphere of action was limited in the then United Provinces, Bihar and Bombay where it formed governments on its own. Then it tried to gain confidence from all, especially of the Muslims. But that was too late. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's rise and his Two-Nation theory finally triumphed. India has a long history of rule of minority communities who came from outside but prior to the invasion of the English all invading mass adopted India as their own land. Oppressions of several kind for generations failed to divide India. But twentieth century witnessed the power of religion and community on the basis of which a new state Pakistan was born. Akbar S. Ahmed while describing the Pakistan movement writes, 'Pakistan meant more than just territory, more than a defined area with boundaries. Pakistan meant a culmination of a Muslim movement rooted in history.' (Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity : The Search for Saladin. Karachi, 1997. P. xviii) Hence, the sense of separation on the basis of religion had not been a new nor novel phenomenon.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 31 Free India inherited the politics based on religion and caste. It is true that with the creation of Pakistan and partition of the Punjab and Bengal huge number of Muslims went to Pakistan. But the Hindu minority in the newly-created state had to migrate into India as they were not treated there on equal term. This created new problems. As free India adopted secularism and the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy right to vote was given to all. Though Pakistan was created on the basis of religion all the Muslims did not leave India. Now they decided to protect their interest. On the other hand, the Hindu majority was not truly united. The depressed class within it along with the tribes enjoyed reservations both in legislature and in government employments. This was a huge task and the leaders dealt this as efficiently as possible otherwise India could have been Balkanised. With the growth of communication and spread of the Aryans in the deep of the Gangetic Valley two major things happened. First, the Aryan social order was constantly increased with involvements of several tribes and groups whom the Aryans were able to conquer. Secondly, stratification process was initiated. The true and pure Aryans constituted their own society who demanded service and various obligations from those who had been subjugated. This social discrimination was so strict that the vanquished tribes who were the original inhabitants of the land had lost all the social, economic and political power. The Dasa was only to serve the people in the higher echelon and to carry out their dictates. Oppressive rules were inflicted to keep the social order intact. But this failed to survive for eternity. Aspirations of the people in the lower strata and accumulation of resource pursued them to think otherwise. Apart from this marriage among the communities also facilitated a social change. Ownership patterns of land could not be changed but trading activities plated havoc. From the Dasas grew the Vaisya, the trading community who could increasingly command the resources available. Expansion in territorial limits of the kingdoms expanded the communication network too. Regions in the farthest areas were gradually accessible. Administrative requirements paved the establishment of markets where mutual connections among various types of people could also be established. Economic expansion ushered in new mode of religious performance by discarding the earlier forms where huge Yagnas with animal sacrifice was a must to the privileged ones. Those for long had been denied to take part in such rituals now demanded their shares. They now adopted a novel mode without any serious tremor. The period around sixth century B. C. E. Mahavira, the Jain monk and Goutama Buddha initiated newer methods of religious performance. Both of them renunciated earlier forms and practices. Instead they preached universal tolerance by which 32 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 social divisions lost importance. The Jainism could not spread itself in major parts of India and it was limited primarily among the trading communities in the western and some portions of the peninsular India. But the message of Buddha got such acceptance in many parts of the continent that ultimately India has been known as the land of Buddha. It used the language of common men in spreading its messages. Prakrit or Pali assumed the position of lingua franc. Hence, Buddhisim was not confined in a particular place neither within a particular community. Its appeal broke all the barriers and in one way unified a lot. From the days of imperial Magadha Buddha started gaining relevancy not only in religious or social but also in political lives of people. Under Asoka state patronage took such a turn that diplomacy also revolved around the tenets of Goutama Buddha. This unique feature in the Indian statecraft when education was too limited made this land a place of surprise to the outsiders. The phenomenal growth in the Buddhism made its position vulnerable even within its followers. India in the dawn of the reckoning under Common Era assumed enviable position by absorbing several foreign elements within it. Alexander's invasion in the fourth century B. C. E. and subsequent connections established by a number of tribes far away from India. Regular communications and trading activities reached their height during the rule of the Kushanas who themselves were of foreign origin. In course of time, the Buddhism was adopted a number of countries where Indian culture got easy acceptance. The Buddhism opened huge avenues of learning, painting sculpture and also architecture. "The art and architecture of Burma, (Myanmar), Thailand, Korea, Japan, and China, and hence world art, would be much poorer without Buddhist motifs developed under Indian influence.") Kosambi; The Culture and Civilisation...p. 96) Wide influence of India upon the daily life and spiritual world of a number of countries since the days of the Mauryas remains an accepted fact. It is a fact that the statecraft in Tibet till 1959 remained under a strong Buddhist influence. A number of countries in central and South East Asia not only adopted Buddhism but used to believe that Buddhism had been the guiding force of their civilization. Most of the classical Mongol and Tibetan literature were nothing but offshoots of Buddhist literature and philosophy. Not just religion but the way of life was also guided by the same philosophy. A number of temples, monasteries in numbers of countries in the South East Asia still carry traditional rituals with great reverence. Though Buddhism has lost its place in central Asia presence of a huge number of ruined stupas (relic monuments) and recently destroyed gigantic statue of Buddha in the Bamian cave in Afghanistan are the relics of Indian influence in various forms.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 33 In the spiritual world India's presence got acceptance in a far away land and among the races of different source. Buddhism "not only influenced Manichaeism but must earlier have helped in the formation of Christianity. The scholars who wrote the Dead Sea scrolls. Though good Jews, show peculiarities that appear to be of Buddhist origin. Their practice of living in a monastery almost on top of a necropolis would be repulsive to Judaism, though quite agreeable to Buddhists. The 'Teacher of Righteousness' mentioned in the documents of this (probably Essene) Palestinian foundation bears the precise title of the Buddha.It is not, therefore, surprising that the Sermon on the Mount should sound more familiar to Buddhists than to the followers of the Old Testament who first heard it preached." (Kosambi; op.cit. pp. 96-7). Often Buddhist principles got precedence over a Semitic faith. Religious and some traditional practices even in Arabia were emanated from Buddhism. Achievements of Indian thought and practices could be possible due to the strength of adaptability taught in Indian philosophy, and here lies its success. The strong message of Buddhism encompassing all the segments of a social order infused required vitality within it. Ultimately, India's way of life was transported to those lands. In this way Asoka became a name to reckon with in faraway lands when the venerated monarch had lost all his glory within India. More significant is the fact that after a near total eclipse of Buddhism itself in its place of origin it survives still in some of those countries. Through the rise, growth and its decline Buddhism transformed a tribal society into a monarchy with absolute authority and then to feudalism. India was able to maintain a close co-habitation of monarchy with oligarchy and finally with republic in the shapes of sixteen mahajanapadas (principalities or/ and kingdoms) Buddha himself arrived during those days. Rise of Magadhan Empire wiped out small kingdoms and presented an economy under which trade and commerce could flourish. Creation of wealth was started and communication with various regions developed. These acted as conditions for a unified social order covering a number of regional practices. First Jainism and then Buddhism assumed the thread for unifications. Success story of the latter has already been mentioned. But none can deny the role played by Jainism which still being practiced by a good number of people in the western and southern parts of India. Apart from these major two there were others too, most important of whom were the Ajivikas. For the absence of stories of mutual hatred the prevailing peace and respect for each other helped in developing schism in society. It was not a novel one. Since the days of composition of scriptures questions were raised by the Charvakas who sometimes challenged the presence of all-powerful being. Their arguments though

34 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 not so popular but were churned in many ways. Finally, majoritarian views had to incorporate some of the core ideas coming out from different sources. Side by side Jainism and Buddhism a school of monotheistic order also got credence. It is not surprising that the Vedic rituals and Brahminical practices as preached through the Brahmans could not overshadow the Upanishadic teachings. Importance of the Upanishads can be judged when one traces the rise of the Brahmo movement in the 19 th century Bengal. A learned as well as modern man like Rammohan Ray took refuge under the tenets of the Upanishads while fighting the Christian missionaries working for conversions in India. Rammohan discarded idolatry without having moral and scriptural support from the Christians who were hell-bend in discrediting Hinduism. To the foreign masters, particularly in the 19 th century Indians were nothing but fallen children of some glorious clans once who could nurture civilized way of living. Rammohan and then others like Swami Vivekananda, Keshab Chandra Sen, Swami Dayananda to name a few after him took cudgels to establish the vibrant nature of the Indian civilization. Their motive was to establish such an identity of India which was able to adopt everything good and vibrant and to rectify the anomalies as and when required. India also went through the days of Sankaracharyya whose primary aim was to clear all the misgivings of Hinduism. In doing so he decided to demolish all the practicing religions prevalent during his time and to present a unified character of his 'India'. In a way Brahminical superiority was established. Along with this position Sanskrit regained its position. In theory the Vedic texts remained immutable, Sanskrit as living language had started adoption of regional variations. Cultural changes predominated by not affecting core points. "High culture was associated with the elites at various courts and focused on the aesthetics expressed in creative literature, sculpture, architecture and philosophy, together with their style of life. Quite apart from the elite, it was also assumed that ordinary people were materially well off, with little to complain about." (Thaper; Early India. p. 280). But complaints were there. Sanskritisation of all phases of life certainly affected the people living in lower strata of society. Starting from the period covering the 5 th and 6th century C. E. caste became dominant. The Brahmins could own land but could not plough. Engaging hired labour was essential for food production. Similarly, a variety of occupations gave birth to a number of occupational castes some of whom were clean and the rest unclean. Varied nature of local customs prevailed and for this occupational castes

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 35 barring some could be involved in the social structure. Another very important difference made distinct change in their status in the north and in the peninsular India. The Dravid community's adoption of certain Aryan values and above all language for rituals brought them closer to the Aryan core pattern. Though social customs did not match religious ceremonies acquired similarities gradually. Through these a pan-Indian fabric could be weaved. Wealth of India and internal strife, particularly in the north allured foreigners for long. Within a very short period after the death of Mohammad western India was invaded by the rising Muslims from Arabia. Its effect was nothing. But with the beginning of the 8th century India's north-west became an easy prey of the invaders. The onus in protecting the borders was assumed by the Rajputs who became champions in protecting the Brahmins and also cow. Now these became viewed as performance for Dharma which must be the Karma. In this way Hinduism began to be practiced. But the very origin of the Rajputs was not beyond dispute as it was widely believed that their ancestors were first Hunas and then Gurjar-Pratiharas. With this hazy ancestry they were considered the standard–bearers of the Hindus in face of constant threats. In one way divergent culture and way of life became integral part of Indian scenario. Islam after a long and bloody endeavor could succeed in occupying India. Their arrival put Hinduism in a challenge. Plunder and destruction of places of worship and conversion jeopardized the established social order. But in spite of several attempts and those for several centuries basic structure of the Indian society remained more or less the same. Though some Brahminical privileges were threatened orthodoxy practiced as a way of compensation. Traditional Hindu society was now strictly compartmentalised. Caste became synonym of class. The ruling community was by and large warrior and learned cleric. On the other hand, the general administration and particularly, financial one with trade and commerce became monopolized by some communities within the Hindus. These close contacts sometimes opened avenues for co-operation. In face of the Indian traditions the invaders could hardly remain pure .They saw the classification of their society into Asraf elite) and Azlaf (commoner) sections. Hence, social division remained too distinct in both the communities. Dominance of upper caste or ancestry whichever suits shaped the community behavior of both Hindus and Muslims. This continued for generations. Even the more powerful and 'enlightened' foreign rulers in the late 18th and 19th centuries failed to alter. But these divisions could not deter the cultural unification which can be considered the soul of Indian civilization.

36 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Contact with Islam helped to develop some social patterns. The Hindus were too much involved with caste of a person for which India had failed to innovate technological devices. Occupational castes were considered lower for which scope of their mental upliftment was too remote. The Muslims were least concerned with caste. They were interested in production for which slaves were set free for their greater service to the masters. When the growth from below was accepted then liberal attitude towards faith was also encouraged. With the spread of Sunni faith schism also developed since 8th century. Hence, traditional Islam arrived with Sufi saints. These saints were often opposed to the Koran and Hadith and were determined to preach the sermon of universal love. They were greeted in India since the Bhakti cult had already been practiced here. The Bhakti movement was originated in the South revolving Siva. This practice transported to the Gangetic provinces during the Tripartite Struggle in the 10 th -11 th centuries. In the north Bhakti evolved with the worship of Rama and Krishna. Like the Sufis the followers of Bhakti cult tried to demolish caste barriers and made bridge between the two rival communities. Though loo ked by the leaders of the society at askance appeal of these cults and their saints to the masses cutting all barriers is still vibrant. 2.5 Summary Several religious movements helped regional languages to grow. A huge number of hagiographies along with prayers sometimes in form of songs and music produced huge amount of literary works. Songs like Bhajanas and Qwalies enthused mass participation irrespective of religion, gender and language. In a way traditional as well as classical literary works lost importance to the works composed eulogizing the cult. Islam also brought a new language in India. Initially, it was Arabic. But during the Mughals Persian became the court language and a new one, Urdu emerged for the masses. This became a lingua franc India is a land of any languages derived from opposing cultural entities as we have noted earlier. The languages chiefly spoken on the north of the Vindhyas had their origins in the Aryan group of languages either in closer or in distant way. But the languages spoken in the peninsular India are quite different. In a number of surveys, it has been proved that spoken words though vary within a mere 1 to 15 kilometers the scripts are uniform. This script helps people in a wider perspective to remain united for centuries.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 37 2.6 Questions (i) Explain how India has portrayed the problem of Unity and diversity in its socio-cultural structure. (10 marks) (ii) Discuss in details the challenges to cultural unity in India. (10 marks) (iii) How regional diversity saves the ancient Indian culture ? (5 marks) (iv) Why is India known as a Museum of many races ? (5 marks) 2.7 Suggested Readings (i) Unity in Diversity : The Indian Experience in Nation-Building by M.S. Gore (ii) India : Unity in Diversity by T. K. Suman Kumar Indian Society : Unity in Diversity by Ajay Shah (iii) Unity in Diversity by O.P. Ghai (iv) Unity in Diversity : The Indian Experience in Nation-building by M.S.Gore (v) Godbout, Adelard (April 1943), "Canada : Unity in Diversity", Foreign Affairs, 21 (3): 452–461, doi : 10.2307/20029241, JSTOR 20029241 (vi) Kalin, Ibrahim (2004a), "Ibn al-Arabi, Muhyi al-Din", in Phyllis G. Justice (ed.), Holy People of the World : A Cross-cultural Encyclopaedia, ABC- CLIO, pp. 385–386, ISBN 9781576073551 a. Glossary (i) Diversity — Diversity is defined as individual differences between groups based on such things as : 1. Abilities 2. Age 3. Disability 4. learning styles 5. life experiences
38 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 6. neurodiversity 7. race/ethnicity 8. class 9. gender 10. sexual orientation 11. country of origin 12. cultural, political or religious affiliation 13. any other difference (ii) Equality — The term "Equality" (in the context of diversity) is typically defined as treating everyone the same and giving everyone access to the same opportunities. It is sometimes used as an alternative to "inclusion".
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 39 Unit - 3 ❑ Great Traditions and Little Traditions Structure 3.1 Objectives 3.2 Introduction 3.3 Social Revolution 3.4 Social Orders 3.5 Role of Eminent Anthropologists 3.6 Integration of Village 3.7 Influence of State 3.8 Summary 3.9 Questions 3.10 Suggested Readings 3.11 Glossary 3.1 Objectives ● To study the contribution of eminent anthropologists ● Life history of anthropologists ● Theories and concepts emphasized/propounded by them 3.2 Introduction India has acquired a unique position where traditions, religious customs and rituals are intact. With the passing of time the Indians steadfastly tried to absorb all available customs in their daily life. Hence, the Vedic rituals though in modified forms, the Jain and Buddhist customs in different and sometimes in contradictory modes, the Islamic customs and those also in two broad arms are still practiced by the people. Number of non-believers and atheists are microscopic meagre. Since the 39
40 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 number of the Hindus is overwhelmingly high in respect of others their dominance in the social and cultural lives are imminent. Here, in India religious customs in too and many occasions are allied with daily life in inseparable ways. Not necessarily the followers of this faith use to follow the religious dictums as the other principal religions ask their respective followers to do. But the vast number of people following the Hinduism have already embraced the rituals as the customs of their daily life. These have been going on since the time immemorial. The traditional Hindu social order was created and then historically maintained to preserve the caste system which is largely based on individual professions. In preserving this pattern the Hindus have failed to honour the merit of individual barring him or her to proceed or ascend the other caste. It is nothing less than a stigma in society. 3.3 Social Revolution Now the question arises whether the social orders could be torn apart to accommodate others who do not belong to that strata of the society. We know that Mahavir, the Tirthankar and Goutam Buddha initiated a social revolution through which mainly the intermediary castes were able to break certain traditions. Their movements assumed such importance that people, irrespective of wealth and social standing embraced those religions. Even some very powerful and authoritarian rulers also converted themselves in those faiths. They acquired the status of 'religion of protests'. The protest was against the traditional customs which had been preventing the enterprising members in the lower strata of society to move forward. No doubt that those movements ushered in a new way of life in the sub-continent. This was not confined only in rituals and customs but could make headway in creating noteworthy cultural and intellectual atmosphere. But rejuvenated traditional forces succeeded in the fourth/ fifth century in dislodging the above two. Since then the social orders were built up in such a way where scripture values started dominating. Interesting enough the scriptures did never acquire a universal acceptance. With the passing of time dominance of the north and central Indian traditions as well as culture gained ground. The land called 'Aryavarta' had and still has strong differences with the land of the 'Dravida's. Not only linguistics and costumes but also food habits along with mode of worship are sharply different. With the arrival of the Muslims a different religion with its culture also available. Hitherto unknown traditions and behavioural patterns could be found. Primarily the Rajputs fought with the invaders and tried to prevent their suzerainty in the north and the central parts

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 41 of India. They failed. Their failure was chiefly due to their segregations from each other. The Rajputs were divided into several clans and fought for years to put the opposite clan under one's dominance. These clan divisions had emanated from their age-old belief relating to their respective lineage. Inter-mixture in any form was strongly discouraged. Hence, each one of these clans had developed their own cultural identity. Emergence of different units within the indigenous communities did not confine within the 'Aryavarta' but also spread out in the peninsular India apart from the east and the Deccan. Rapid spread of Islam chiefly in the eastern India with the growth of agriculture and reclamation of un-inhabited parts once full of forests and riverine marshes helped to develop a mixed culture. With the arrival of traditional Islamic order some strong dissenting force within also made their presence felt. The Sufies in various orders (Silsila) were very active particularly in the rural life of India. On the other side, the cult of 'Bhakti' which broke the jinx of established rituals and religious customs within the Hinduism found wide acceptance among the downtrodden and the people of the lower order. All such orders juxtaposed in many forms created a new social dimension which by itself became a new cult. They did not, even do net present uniformity. From region to region and from caste to caste such practices vary. For centuries a large number of tribal communities had been able to protect their identities and customs. In some cases though they were absorbed in the traditional social as well as religious orders they seldom discard their way of life. At least one very common example in their assimilation with the traditional faith can be cited. It is commonly believed that the deity of Lord Jagannath of Puri had its origin in the religious practice of the Sabar community of ancient Odhisa. The Sabars can still be found in limited number. Adoption of the deity or the religious culture of marginalized community far away from the traditional Indian social order proves the power and strength of it in those days. But irony lays elsewhere. Presently, the Sabars don't worship their deity and the Lord Jagannath has become a symbol of ritual for innumerable numbers who follow traditional faith. 3.4 Social Orders Social orders take shape when response from one of its members is given by his or her fellows living more or less in same environment and condition. In course of

42 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 time, social behaviours generate traditions. The sociologists suggest the reading of Indian culture with the help of two different concepts viz.; 'Little tradition' and 'Great tradition'. This very concept strengthen the idea that the civilization and social as well as cultural organisations have their traditions. Initially agrarian economy and society gave birth of some customs and rituals. They took refuge to nature as for the nature they were living and earning livelihood. All their deities were nature's produce. Hence, totem became inseparably allied with their daily life. This pattern is common throughout the world. With evolution of time various novelties were incorporated which act as the founding stone of modern social systems. Orthogenetic evolution indicates changes in those areas where internal or indigenous factors work for some very essential changes. On the other hand, heterogenetic contacts indicate those changes which occur due to external contact or interference of outside civilization. Some suggests existence of two levels where the social structure of these civilizations operate, i.e.; at the level of folks or peasants and at the level of elites of 'reflective few'. This has been a continuous phenomenon and ultimately produces a mosaic in society. Since the agrarian community or the peasants are usually confined in particular pockets of a country they are seldom exposed to outside culture. However, in the course of last one hundred years or so mixture of various cultures and ethnic communities nearly destroyed the rural identities. The folks or the peasants are included under little tradition and great tradition includes the elite groups or 'reflective few'. But it will be wrong the think that they stands strictly on separate alters. Both of these are inter-linked and constantly interact with each other. From such interactions emerge all sorts of changes and growth in cultural structure of traditions. Hence, one may conclude that all civilizations start from a primary or orthogenetic level of cultural organizations. With passing of time both the internal growth and external contacts help to build newer traditions. The society being exposed much to the outside world has been able to modernize itself. 3.5 Role of Eminent Anthropologists It is known today that Milton Singer and Robert Redfield developed the twin concept of Great Tradition and Little Tradition while studying the orthogenesis of Indian civilization in the then Madras (modern Chennai) city. Tradition means handing down of information, belief and customs by word of mouth in way of

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 43 examples from one generation to another. In other words, tradition is the inherited practices or opinion and conventions associated with a social group for a particular period. For constant practice of the usages attitudes of the people take shape. Hence, interactional patterns and socio-cultural institutions emerge for posterity. Like Milton Singer McKim Marriot also have conducted survey at KishanGhari village of Uttar Pradesh. His field of study covered rural area unlike of Singer. Needless to say that urban society is more exposed to foreign elements vis a vis the rural one. Still McKim found that there is constant interaction between Little and Great Traditions. He concludes that Little Tradition consists of local customs, rites, rituals, dialects and Great Tradition contains legitimate form of all these things. Traditions in many forms have thus emerged which stitch the social fabric consisting of innumerable units. McKim has found that when Little tradition and Great tradition interact with each other two types of movements are observed – upward and downward. When the elements of Little tradition move upward, McKim calls it as 'Universalization' and when some elements of Great tradition move downward it is called as 'Parochialisation'. This type of interaction is reflected in different areas like village community, caste system and so on. This creates a common cultural consciousness among Indians. The common cultural consciousness has been formed by certain processes and factors such as sacred books, rituals etc. Constant interaction between Little and Great traditions helps in cultural continuity in the face of modernization which sometimes create havoc in established social structure. As noted earlier India possesses certain degree of uniqueness due to intrusion and assimilation of various foreign elements from time immemorial. Beauty of the Indians is that they had refused to forego their traditional values and beliefs entirely. This could be possible for the constant interaction of Little tradition and Great tradition in various forms. As we have seen for centuries India has been a place of mixed social and cultural traditions. Multi-ethnicity is the major ethos of this country. In fact, geographical texture and natural produce shaped the livelihood of the people of the region. The evolution of culture, mainly in Indian context is the interplay of two factors the physical environment and the metaphysical ideas. As noted earlier new movements of emerging faiths within the broader world of traditional religious order introduced changes which though very effective but never destructive. The complex

44 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 formed from these elements is called as national culture. With the diversified landscape the production of crops varied from each other and thus the India's economic life developed on an agricultural pattern and this had a marked influence on the shaping of her culture as a whole. No doubt, that the foundation of Indian civilization is totally based on agriculture. Conflict and co-existence of two traditions and cultures are vivid in the rural life of India. Tribal communities in different parts of India still practice their own religious rituals and cultural traditions. Again the same people willfully attend the religious festivals of the majority community. This co-existence is a marvel in the social fabric of the country. This tradition is sometimes termed as a position on middle ground. To some the relations between little communities and 'civilized' mass "may be likened with some justification either to the primitive or to the modern Western extreme." (Village India p. 172) The primitive communities are viewed as the 'world' within a highly cultured and advanced social order. To the anthropologists this is unique since the little communities have never diluted their cultural and religious moorings while participating in the major events descending from traditions. For such behaviours the traditional Indian village in many cases despite their modernization still conceived as the extension of the primitive pattern of life. As example, one may cite the existence of little communities though influenced by urban way of life long ago in Kerala, Karnatak, Jharkhand and in Odhisa. How these people have been able to do so? This was made possible due to a" high degree of economic self-sufficiency, political solidarity as against the outside world, and a sense of ritual integrity." (Village India, p. 172) One striking view for such a scenario is that prior to India's colonization by the British Indian villages normally existed in "isolation" from the rest of the world. This state of thing actually shaped the destiny of the villages who succeeded in building a self-reliant economy for themselves. From this economic strength emanated a force to keep cultural identity. The colonial masters were only interested in collecting rent and revenues without disturbing the social behaviours. Since intervention from state was nominal the tribes were able to keep their own respective positions as they had been. No doubt, fissures in the shape of rebellion broke out from time to time. Bone of contention was primarily enactment of forest acts by dint of which the government made the forests and forest products including animals state wealth. But the rebellions did never take an all – India shape and the government was able to put those down at different times of outbreak. Hence, the then state only developed a relationship attached with sovereignty. For such an arrangement village life in India continued to exist in its traditional form.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 45 3.6 Integration of Village It can't be denied that India has remained united entity despite of its diversity. It has become possible for the give and take atmosphere prevailing for generations. People in India seldom wish and try to break the social chains. Though inter-caste as well as inter-faith marriages have taken strong roots among the members of the traditional societies this practice is still not so popular among the tribal communities and not among the village-dwellers. The villagers whatever tradition or faith they follow still are averse in adopting newer practices. Hence, traditions among the little communities continue. Though the Indian villages often found to be unified in character but they are actually complex while considered in terms of great traditions of Indian civilization. If considered in details then one can easily find several differences of peasant customs more clearly than a lifelong "poring over the Vedas." As already mentioned that differences in many field exist from time immemorial between the tribal life and the traditions. Not only the tribal villages but village life in general does not necessarily go along the set customs and traditions derived from the ancient texts and scriptures. Holistic and isolated conceptions of Indian village communities are studied thus far seemed most appropriate to students of social life in faraway areas. Still the customs of marriage and even inheritance differ from village to village. As is well-known that the Indian villages were set and grew following caste lines of Indian social order. Hence, it is presumed that all the villagers belong to a singlefamily tree. This is very common among the villagers to accept the village customs which often do not conform to traditional ones. Interesting to note that most of the villages are still connected with outside world primarily for political as well as administrative reasons while maintaining their age-old customs during social and religious functions. There are supralocal patterns too. To study these some scholars suggest that some structural unit larger than the single village might more appropriately be taken as a microcosm for holistic study. (Village p. 173) From outside, it is difficult to assess the contents of the customs of a single village and to draw a uniform picture. Marian Smith, writing of North Indian villages in Punjab, takes further note of ways in which traditional economic and religious organization run far beyond the village. She suggests that some structural unit larger than the single village might more appropriately be taken as a microcosm for holistic study. (Village. P. 173). Similar picture can be availed from the villages in the South. There too. It is very difficult to interpret the rituals and beliefs of Coorg villagers

46 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 without tracing the same rituals and beliefs to literary levels in the much larger units of region and nation. If assimilate all the findings gathered from various parts of India then the individual natures of self-created world of Indian little communities can be assumed. While addressing the problems we cannot say both that the Indian villages are yet to break the shackles of the past and to adopt some systems outside its own ambit. To the sociologists the value of the great traditions of India is as relevant as the peasant lives in various parts of interiors. To understand the both one has to dissect the social fabric at various levels. Value of land and also its possession are very important. Similarities attached with this question among the villages dominated by the Hindus and by the Muslims are seldom common .The same is true when one ventures to study a tribal one. In the 21st. century and under a democratically elected government a sea-change has occurred especially, in administrative and in economic lives. Those changes sometimes affect daily life. Holding pattern of arable lands and in some cases homesteads have also changed. Though the law forbids purchase of lands by non-tribal in tribal villages in recent past the state has come in the scene. For development works and for industrialization the land-holding patterns have changed sharply. In majority of cases tension brew when the state decided to act. These have been causing concerns to the people. It is false to presume that all along the people in the villages used to live peacefully. There are certain internal divisions of economic interest among groups of landholders and the other below to them. Pattern of agriculture is such that tillers are divided into many sections. Traditionally, the Indian villages had khudkast's (i.e.; tillers of the land belonging to the village and in majority of cases belonging to dominant caste) and "pahikast"s (i.e.; tillers brought from outside). Hence, tensions in terms of caste and holdings of land were very common. Incorporation of foreign elements in the social order are not unnatural. With the association of others in the village the economic activities also acquired some degree of novelty. Those who came from outside brought their own customs and rituals. Moreover, for economic needs a single village could not remain strictly isolated in the broader economic arena. The villagers have to establish contacts with outside for their own needs. They are to sell their produce and to buy other articles which cannot be produced by themselves within the village. In this process, a small unit like a particular village gets into direct contact with a greater one. Another very important source of contact was regular visits of agricultural

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 47 labours from outside during harvesting. This may happen twice in a year. The people thus coming also bring their respective social behaviours and cultures. They usually do not permanently stay and their character may vary from one year to another. These migratory labours seldom intermix with the local people. But they leave the signs of their social behaviours. Sometimes the apparels they wear and language they speak also have a certain degree of influence over the local population. Immigration thus facilitate inter-mixture in various levels. While people coming from outside has some value similarly migration also occur. Primary reason is economic. But the people going outside and that not necessarily to a particular place also carry their own culture and language to those places. The ultimate result is the mixture between great and little traditions in several forms. In face of the situations in most of the villages internal divisions are quite normal within each of the villages. Daughters of the village move out and wives move in in many such cases. Any survey to ascertain actual picture can reveal the true character of a village. With the spread of basic education villagers now become well acquainted with the affairs of outside world. Education helps to build some very common sense which in consequence act as the bridge between great and little traditions, faiths and customs. Besides, such environment, the gap between rural and urban societies are daily being minimized. Fast and cosmopolitan urban life invade the village for which the villagers are now more attracted by the outside world. Each Indian village has normally its own deity to worship. Often the presence of a big temple or a mosque is not certain. Even presence of crematorium is not certain. The villagers use to worship a sacred tree or a place in case of a Hindu village and a burial of a saint in case of a Muslim village. In the tribal villages tree- worship is much popular. Often the priests or preachers as the case may be are brought from outside. It is a common view that the forte of identity is the religion and the way of its performance. But people also join spontaneously in the bigger and traditional festivals like Dasserah, Holi, Diwali, Eid, Muharram etc. During such celebrations local identities become lost in the bigger or universal ones. Some villagers have also converted into Christianity. In some parts of India conversions are not so old. In such villages the people use to offer some cocks or hens as sacrifice at the altar of their church. In doing so they wish to carry out their age-old customs though not in conformity with the Christian rituals. These are ample examples of mixtures of rituals. Hence, the religious and social fabrics of a village present a mosaic in daily life.

48 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 While adopting great traditional orders the villagers as little communities have no close coherence or well-bounded physical locus. It has been an accepted fact that as parts of the little community reach beyond the physical village, while many parts of other communities and of the great community reach inside the village. (Village p 175) Sometimes a village is a nexus of much informal activity among nonkinsmen and noncastemen. Assimilation of people takes place since they use to reside side by side and take parts in all social and economic activities in conjunction with each other. For so many ins and outs in the rural society it may acquire a newer type of civilization as 'secondary'. It is said that urban communities and urban culture in such secondary civilizations are necessarily different from the society and culture of the indigenous folk. It is an accepted fact that such secondary civilizations have acquired heterogenetic in origin and their respective growths. Commonly the villages lose their set identities and make themselves transformed into a newer cultural paradigm. One may ask a question. Whether a secondary civilization is continuation of the civilization or not. Primarily the rural life is termed as the primary civilization and its transformation though sometimes an upliftment is nothing more than secondary one. The 'great tradition' which is characteristically developed by such a primary civilization is a carrying-forward of cultural materials," etc.; "already contained in local little traditions." (Village. P.181) While following this pattern the little communities would almost seem to cease to exist. Singer and Redfield prefer to believe that development of an urban community in a primary civilization as one in the series of nucleations within a common field (Village. P. 181). Some conditions may befall before the little communities when placed in a primary civilization. 3.7 Influence of State With passage of time and with simultaneous progress influence and control of state increase. The state usually exercise its authority in two ways. One through its bureaucracy and secondly, through certain interest groups who enjoy some privileges and work on behalf of state. The latter-named group is the principal landholders in the village and sometimes enjoys quasi-judicial power too. During the colonial rule this group was in many occasions tools of the state in one way or other in quelling dissensions. Again there are other types of disunity in the village population which are still rooted into traditional Indian caste system. Great traditions champion Indian

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 49 social divisions which have been in place for centuries. People belonging to upper echelon of this order still believe that it is their right to humiliate the people belong to the lower strata. Interesting enough the persons suffering from this environment are also wilfully accept their position. Certainly fissures occur but those are only of temporary nature. Given such situation nature of the state is very difficult to dissect. The state in one hand tries to keep complete harmony in the social order and in the other allows powerful interest groups to oppress on the weaker ones. After independence India's economic, social and political systems are broadly based on equality, justice, liberty, rationality and secularism. Though India does not have its national language wide use and currently much wider use of English helps people from different region and language group to mix and exchange views with others. In doing so a person seldom forget his identity. In this way Little tradition still exist. The Great traditional elements, on the other hand, are continuously getting mixed with Little traditional elements since contacts among people coming from various ethnic groups have been increasing. Current relationship between a village and state has brought a certain degree of suspicion in relation to older 'orthogenetic' land administration particularly in north India. That might have descended from top 'as much as it was a result of indigenous growth upward from little communities.' Presence of some administrative manuals drawn during the colonial rule as guide to its officials crystalize an orthogenetic policy towards village societies.(Village p. 183) Primary aim of the British was to ensure assessed revenue collection and those by following a perfect routine. Some- times they used to collect revenue directly from the tillers and sometimes from highest bidders at auction. In majority of cases the latter ones were not cultivators. As the rate of revenue was in most cases, was very high land-holders of ancient origins had to leave their right for the new comers. As a result, holding pattern changed drastically meaning little communities gave in to the great. 3.8 Summary During the colonial rule and more specifically during the late 19 th century some erudite people in India envisioned a unified India from the Hindu Kush and Himalayas to the seas and oceans in the east, west and south. After the failure of the Rebellion of 1857 people in general started accepting the foreign rule as a fate

50 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 accompli. But spread of western education, larger use of the English language and introduction of modern communication systems in the shape of railway, telecommu- nication and faster postal network created an environment conducive to modern living. People receiving western education also learned about the western democ-racy, sense of liberty and equality which they had not been experiencing here. But the very idea of 'nation' as emerged and gradually developed in the west was not available in India. It was accepted by some in the late 19 th century that India would never be a nation since its social fabric as they viewed, was fragmented due to caste division. Hence, India would never be conceived as a nation with a composite social and cultural mooring. Even the Indian National Congress in its formative days could not gather support from the vast rural India and also from a good number of communities. By the turn of the century this phenomenon of nationhood started gaining some ground. Struggle for independence brought people nearer though still the participation of all was lacking. For the freedom movement Indians started reviving their glorious past. Discovery of the original script of Arthasastra by Kautilya and excavation of the Indus valley civilization made Indians proud. They were then sure of the superiority over their then rulers in the past. Now the concept of Indianness started taking shape. Still such feelings were confined to a handful few. Like India Egypt, Iraq, Greece, Knossos and China had also their respective glorious past. But unfortunately, except China all had lost their identity in face of several challenges coming from various quarters. Nowhere else has there been, except China and India a real continuity in civilization. In spite of innumerable invasions and mixing of different cultures India has been able to keep and protect her identity for centuries. Now the question is, from where India has been gathering strength? Once Jawaharlal Nehru claimed that respect to its own past helped India to keep its identity and traditions intact. (Glimpses of World History. P. 13). He also claimed that the Indian are the heirs of those who entered in this land from the north west and came down to what was then called Brahmavarta and Aryavarta and Bharatvarsha and ultimately to Hindustan. Intrusion of marauder hordes many times and defeat of the indigenous people at their hands failed to rob this country of its values emanated for centuries. India witnessed constant warfare and massacre of uncountable men and women many times. But all such horrors normally took place in the urban centres.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 51 Since India's artisan craft achieved a world-wide publicity wealth was confined chiefly there. As a result, vast rural population was spared from such destructions. These people without and guidance and directive continued with the ancient faith, traditions and way of life. 3.9 Questions (i) Critically examine the concepts of little and Great Traditions for understanding the Indian Villages. (10 marks) (ii) Discuss the interaction between 'Little tradition' and 'Great tradition' (10 marks) (iii) How does interaction between little and Great tradition bring about social change ? (10 marks) (iv) Elaborate the roles of Marriott and Singer in the context of little tradition and Great tradition. (10 marks) 3.10 Suggested Readings (i) Great Tradition and Little Traditions : Indological Investigations in Cultural Anthropology by Swami Agehananda Bharati (ii) Delpar, Helen (2008). Looking South : The Evolution of Latin Americanist Scholarship in the United States, 1850–1975. University of Alabama Press. p. 68. ISBN 978-0-8173-5464-0. Retrieved 13 August 2017. (iii) "Robert Redfield–Anthropology". University of Chicago Centennial Catalogues. University of Chicago Library. Retrieved 1 April 2018. (iv) "Book of Members, 1780–2010 : Chapter R" (PDF). American Academy sof Arts and Sciences. Retrieved 20 April 2011. (V) "ROBERT REDFIELD, EDUCATOR, IS DEAD; Anthropologist at the U. of Chicago 1927-49 Studied Concept of Folk Society". The New York Times. October 17, 1958. ISSN 0362-4331. Retrieved April 1, 2020.
52 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 3.11 Glossary ● Great Tradition : The cultural practices of dominant social categories were called the Great Tradition. ● Little Tradition : These were that tradition which do not correspond with the Great Tradition. ● Integration of cult : Modes of worship. ● Folks : The folks or the unlettered peasantry and the elites.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 53 Unit - 4 ❑ Nation Building : Issues and Challenges Structure 4.1 Objectives 4.2 Introduction 4.3 Concept of Nation 4.4 Other views of Nation 4.5 Nation-State Meaning 4.6 Nation Building in India 4.7 Hurdles of National Integration 4.8 Emergence of Nationalism 4.9 Challenges Faced 4.10 Summary 4.11 Questions 4.12 Suggested Readings 4.13 Glossary 4.1 Objectives ● Know about the pressing challenges independent India faced in the first decade after 1947. ● Understand how freedom challenged the very idea of a secular India. ● Understand how the integration of princely states into the Indian Union was carried out. ● Understand how the reorganization of states or drawing of the internal boundaries of the Indian states was carried out. 53
54 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 4.2 Introduction How should we define the term 'nation'? It is a very tough as well as complicated exercise. Whenever we talk about 'nation' we visualize a geographic, linguistic and above all a cultural entity. Etymologically this term has its origin in the Latin word of 'nation' meaning descent or birth. Prof. Eric Hobsbawm once noted that 'nation' is not very ancient concept. To him this concept could have been developed in the 18th century. From the days of modern reckoning people in various parts of the globe tried to remain in a group sharing roughly a common lineage. They decided to share a common language and religion. This in turn had been rooted in common race. In this way the very concept of race emerged. This is roughly the history of the western world where the people though sometimes claiming to propagate same religion and had come out from a common root decided to create their own state. It is a fact that the concept of modern state is not so old but behaviour and economic activities supported by distinct vocabulary called language acted as aspirations to people residing in a particular place to create their own state and thereby formed a nation. But the term 'nation' has its political meaning which is totally different and distinct from a nationality. Nationality becomes relevant when the nation is able to hold on some land and form its own state with the required instruments. So, formation of a state is the final achievement of nationality. It is very different concept from the concept of kingdom and an empire. A person with his personal might and intelligence can curve out a kingdom by defeating some ones or by inheritance. When a king expands his sphere of influence and occupies vast mass of land with people from different sects, he creates an empire. These seldom can be called state least a 'nation state'. The concept of 'nation state' has its origin mainly in Europe. Formation of the United States of America can also be seen in this line though people gathered there from different parts of the globe even in the late 18th century. Still the people there could build up a notion which helped to develop it into a 'nation state'. Cessation of Portugal from Spain and formation of a number of 'nation states' after 1919 in Europe are the perfect examples of it. This pattern became popular in the second half of the 20th century when innumerable colonies were freed from their bondage. After the conclusion of the Second World War India's emancipation was followed by formation of a number of states after their liberation. But all of those

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 55 were and are not ‘nation states’. Most of these countries are multi-national in nature. Ethnic and linguistic divisions are so strong that in some cases the smaller groups have various symptoms of nationhood or near nationhood. If one surveys the present positions of the states of the world, he or she will be bewildered in finding the nature of nationalism. Since in very rare cases the theory of ‘one nation one state’ can be found in practice presence of nation state becomes absurd. It is very common to find several nations in a particular territorial boundary. But it is also not a conjecture that one nation is spread out in several states. India, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and also the United States of America are the example of those states which accommodate several races and nations within them. While the Kurds, the Hazaras and the Tamils can be termed as trans-state nations since they are spread out in many states. Hence, no one can correctly identify ‘nation’ in one go. But the primary criteria as accepted by all is the identity on the basis of ethnicity and language may be a logical one. Language has a very powerful appeal as we have seen the formation of Bangladesh on the basis of language only. In this case religion lost the match though it had played havoc only 25 years prior to the formation of Bangladesh. So, one cannot conclude and arrive at a solution in perfectly defining the term ‘nation.’ 4.3 Concept of Nation Once sociologist, T. K. Oommen has called certain ‘tentative definitional proposals of a nation/nationality, state/citizenship and ethnic/ethnicity.’ To him a nation is nothing more than a territorial entity to which the national hade an emotional attachment and in which they invest a moral meaning. That is the homeland either inherited or adopted. But a state is not entirely so. It ‘is a legally constituted institution, which provides its residents with protection from internal insecurity and external aggression.’ Prof. Oomman also makes certain distinction between the state and nation. He says that while territory is common to both, ‘there is crucial difference between national territory and the state territory; the former is a moral, and the latter a legal entity... If the state and the nation are coterminous, we have a nation-state. But most states today are multinational, poly-ethnic, or a combination of the two.’ (ibid) If one goes by the assertions of Prof. Oomman than he is to agree with the theory of fusion of a common homeland with a common language. He again says that
56 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 nationality ‘as the collective identity that the people of a nation acquire by identifying with the nation. This proves that citizenship has been equated with nationality. But in majority of cases nationality is used as term, synonymous to ethnicity. If so, then various cultural groups constituting a nation are described as nationalities. 4.4 Other Views of Nation We have some other views too. To Anthony D. Smith a nation can emerge with a group of people sharing an historic territory, common myths, and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and a common legal rights and duties for all members.But his version has been challenged since he did not distinguish a nation from an ethnic group. Needless to say, that the idea of a territory is central to all definitions of nation and is the distinguishing feature between nation and other social categories such as an ethnic group. Elaborating on this point Lowell W. Barrington notes that nations are groups of people linked by unifying traits such as myths, values and symbols etc., and also a desire to control a territory that is thought of as group’s national homeland. He also says that it is not necessary that they actually control any such territory. Prof. Barrington is sure that the words ‘nation’ is often mistakenly used as synonyms with ‘ethnic group’. No doubt that the very idea of ‘nation’ chiefly emanates from the existence of ethnicity but ethnic groups are not entirely responsible for creation of a nation. Another inseparable ingredient is the presence of a territory. As an example, one may cite the ‘nationhood ‘of the United States of America where the people do not share a common lineage or ancestry. But they own a territory, share a common language and cultural identity. Then, how a ‘nation’ can be defined? None can ascend nor descend while defining a nation. Conceptual ambiguity is there as various structures are available. In elaborating this theory Benedict Anderson suggests that nationality, nation-ness and nationalism, are cultural artifacts of a particular kind. (Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. P. 13) To him a nation is an act of imagination. Since no cultural or sociological factor is a sole contributory factor in building up a nation it is better to take refuge to imagination. It is commonly suggested that existence of the major institutional forms through which this imagined community comes to acquire a concrete shape. The states and /or nation-states in the 20th century have acquired a profoundly modular character. This view has come out from the experience of the states formed in the last century when

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 57 nationalisms with a set of modular forms from which nationalist elites in Asia and Africa had chosen the ones they liked. On the other hand, Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein think that 'nation' has a historical construct through which current institutions and antagonisms can be projected into the past to assign a relative stability on the communities on which the sense of individualism depends. To them a nation or a nation-state does not have an ethnocentric perspective excepting a sense that is the product of a fictive ethnicity. If one tries to define the concept otherwise then their ancestry and a history of community culture will vanish.' But they have to institute in real (and therefore historical) time their imaginary unity against other possible unities. '(ibid. p. 49) They further argue that 'No nation possesses an ethnic base naturally, but as social formations are nationalized, the populations included within them, divided up among them or dominated by them are ethnicized – that is represented in the past or in the future as if they formed a natural community, possessing of itself an identity of origins, culture and interests which transcends individuals and social conditions (ibid. p. 96). In his book, 'Ethnicity and Nationalism Prof. Paul Brass states that 'ethnicity' and nationalism are not 'givens', but are social and political constructions' (p. 8) Who formulates this ? His answer is, they are created by elites of ethnic groups with the object of 'protecting their well-being or existence or to gain political and economic advantage for their groups as well as themselves.' (ibid) Hence, to him ethnicity and nationalism are modern phenomena inseparably connected with the activities of the modern centralizing state arising out of specific types of interactions between the leadership of centralizing states and elites from non-dominant ethnic groups, especially but not exclusively on the peripheries of those states (ibid. pp. 8- 9). 4.5 Nation-State Meaning The concept of 'nation-state' was put into practical experiments especially in the modern west in 20 th century. In the process many of the constituent groups within the nation –states lost their individual as well as distinct identities. In some cases, they remained dormant. In such states the idea and concept of 'nation' occupies central position. Naturally, here state and nation become synonymous. So, the minority elements within these nations were expected to lose their individual
58 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 identities and to get assimilated within that state. By the way the marginal communities are to lose their culture and language if not religion in the first place. Nationalism in such cases can be viewed as a strong and powerful concept by which unity of the state can be kept intact. Given the situation the dominant group within the nation -state took up the reins in assimilating the smaller constituents with a plea to build the nation itself. Undoubtedly, in some cases the exercise could achieve a certain degree of success depending on the 'effectiveness of their projects of cultural standardization.But the success rate of the project in most of the cases is nominal. Because, the dominant group always tried to enforce its own agenda and also tried to influence economic and social activities in its favour. In such exercise the aspirations of people and their very identity are bulldozed. One can go by the historic experiments undertaken by Hitler before 1940 in his neighbouring countries such as, Austria and Czechoslovakia and ultimately in parts of Poland. Similarly, the Communist rulers of the then Soviet Union also tried to enforce the said model. But dominance of the superior units in both the cases brought only disasters. Hence, the theory of the nation-state is not easy to implement in the ground. Why such experiments failed ? To the sociologists, subjugation of minor or marginal communities always does not yield results. This attempt in general, reinforces a sense of separate identity among the latter vis a vis the dominant community or communities as we have already noted. Hegemony of the dominant unit, primarily in the cultural front usually breads nationalism or sub-nationalism of the subjugated units. Led by their elites, these movements mobilize the marginal people/peoples for getting their due shares in the society as well as in the state itself. On the other hand, the ruling groups intention is to suppress these and to maintain status quo. In these situations, the possibilities to build the nation become illusive and may end in fiasco. 4.6 Nation Building in India We already know that India is a land of composite culture with a huge number of ethnic as well as religious groups. That is not the end of the story. Presence of caste and then sub-castes in many forms also has their individual roles to play. Its varied religion, ethnicity, way of living, language etc. are severe challenge towards the process of nation- building. Separate landmass and environment are also contributory factors in that process. The colonial masters used to utter that they had

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 59 united India which had been divided and sub-divided into several units. They also used to get solace from the idea that India would be shattered into innumerable units as and when they leave. So, the work was too tough to complete after India's liberation. It is claimed that post-colonial nation-building approach was such by which it was attempted to provide a unitary façade involving several composite units within it. 4.7 Hurdles of National Integration Indian society has for more than a millennium been divided and again sub- divided into several castes irrespective of creed. The majority community started its shape during 4th-5th centuries the legacy of which is still being carried. Rise of Mahavira and Gautama Buddha in 6th century B. C. E though affected the traditional Indian society for some period those were ultimately evaporated. Ultimately Indians are living within a caste-ridden society. This caste pattern also has regional bearings. As results entire country does not follow standard set of rules and practices. Coming of Islam in the 12th-13th centuries caused a certain degree of social havoc in some parts of India. But the Muslim society was also affected with social divisions. Hence, the people of India do not present a composite order. Another major problem in India is that the people's social status generally depends on individual's occupations. Within the Hindu society it has been a settled fact for centuries that those who undertake manual work should stay at the bottom of the order. For such practice there exist untouchables who are not allowed to mingle within the higher echelons. On the other hand, the Muslims though don't advocate caste system strictly on the line practiced by the Hindus their society is also broadly divided into 'ashraf's (aristocrats) and 'ajlaf's (common). Moreover, they are also divided between the Shias and Sunnis. Apart from these two major communities there exist a good number of other religious sects and innumerable tribes preaching their individual religious faiths. Given this position U. Phadnis and R. Ganguly (Ethnicity and Nation-building in South Asia) argue, post-colonial nation-building approaches focused almost exclusively on creating a unified 'national identity 'based around either common political values or citizenship or a putative majoritarian 'ethnic' identity. The aim of both approaches, on the whole, has been to produce a pulverized and uniform sense of national identity to coincide with the state boundaries that seldom reflect ethnic divisions on the ground. This type of outlook towards nation-building, as promoted

60 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 vigorously by the modernization school of thought, refused to accept the notion that states incorporating more than one 'ethnic nation' could be both stable and harmonious."(p.13) But the process of nation-building is not smooth one. As noted, Indian social structures were never composite. Moreover, for preceding two centuries the colonial masters' endeavour was to divide and rule India. For their policies unification was not possible neither those were ever envisaged. Process of modernization from within was affected in very limited sphere. Recourse to western education gave birth to a modern elite group who chiefly decided to borrow from the west and to implant those here. They were confined primarily in some towns and selected parts of the country. Even Bengal the breeding ground of the 19th century modernization failed to provide the same atmosphere throughout the province least the entire eastern India. Lack of education was the major contributory factor for most of the hindrance towards the achievement of a unitary façade. 4.8 Emergence of Nationalism Colonial rule gave birth to a sense of nationalism though Rabindra Nath Tagore was averse to the term' nation' itself. To him this term was suited to Europe where nationhood emerged either from a common ancestry or from a common language. But Gandhi had a different observation. He envisaged a nation which has its root in the ancient past. Foreign rule though subjugated the people in India but could not vanquish the feelings of the people. Gandhi succeeded in uniting entire India to oppose the foreign rule. Whether India could be claimed as a unified 'nation' or not is a point of high debate. S. N. Banerjee prior to emergence of Gandhi could think about a growing nation. Like Gandhi he also ascribed the oppression of the foreign rule and aspiration of those oppressed helped 'nationalism to grow and flourish. Observing the situation in India Prof. Hobsbawm once described India as a polity that grew out of anti-colonial movement. The leaders of those movements were able in assembling people from various regions with various ethnicity with them. It was the finest achievement of the leaders spearheading freedom struggle. The British left with a fanciful dream that very soon India would be dismembered. Still India remained united. The leaders in the free India also could bring more than six hundred big and small near independent states within the fold of the newly-born republic. This was more or less handiwork of the elites, the theory as propagated by some. The British left the power with a selected few whom some prefer to call 'elite'.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 61 This group was miniscule minority but was able to carry the entire country with them. They had to combat a host of internal and external pressures to reduce as well as to eliminate if needed, the incongruence between state and society. Society had a strong influence upon the masses who were eventually divided into a large number of groups. Nation-building process in all the countries confronted challenge from the social groups. Threats of separatism were also very strong. Each case of separatism constitutes a unique specimen of state-society contradiction. To overcome such difficulties towards nation-building exercise in the post-independent the state adopted a policy to construct a pan-Indian identity. In doing so the state formulated its economic and cultural policies. Its aim was to honour the aspirations of the people spread put in the vast landmass. But that undertaking opened the flood-gates of dissensions, tribal, regional as well as linguistics. The state's attempts were roughly viewed as a majoritarian one. This brought violent protests threatening to cessations also. A type of ethno-nationalist movement emerged. Ethnicity could not be overshadowed by majoritarian agenda. India's political atmosphere too often was designed by those people who do not necessarily represent the entire country. For this smaller elements within the society feel themselves neglected. Hence, the future and also survival of India as a nation depends on acceptance of the plurality of nationalities. A strong state tries to decimate group identities in the name of national integration. India is not an exception. This attempt by the state has long been a force for brewing trouble in many parts of the country. During freedom struggle the Indian National Congress endeavoured strenuously to put the question of nationalism above everything. No doubt, it had roughly a urban character in its initial days. Even the Muslims kept themselves out from it by following advice of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh. Its leaders like DadabhaiNaoroji, Surendra Nath Banerjee, R. C. Dutt and men like them could envisage a united India which would be able to accommodate all shades of opinions by overcoming local or regional issues. Hence, a sense of nationalism developed. But the avowed votaries of it were all guided by the western model. During the Swadeshi Movement (1905- 11) sense of nationalism (Swadeshi) got a boost. Twentieth century opened with nationalist movements which gathered momentum and ultimately with arrival of Gandhi the Congress could achieve national unity. 'The pre-eminent view of Indian nationalism has been that of an inclusionary, accommodative, consensual and popular anti-colonial struggle. This has entailed degenerating the exclusive affinities of religion as 'communal' in an imagined hierarchy of collectivities crowned by the

62 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 ideal of a 'nation' unsullied by narrow-minded bigotry." (Ayesha Jalal;' Nation, Reason and Religion : Punjab's Role in the Partition of India' in Economic and Political Weekly. Vol.33 No. 32 8 August 1998. p. 2183) 4.9 Challenges Faced The groups challenging the procedures of national integration are not always homogenous in character. They are often constituted by a number of other smaller ethnic configurations living in geo-social proximity. By incorporating smaller groups within a leading one and finally to form an ethnic identity is still working. This can be found in the north-eastern part of India. One can equate the present position of that region with the colonial and pre-colonial days. As we have noted the presence of a number of ethnic groups during those days, most of whom were not brought within mainstream. So, economic seclusion helped to keep cultural identity intact. Lack of communications was also responsible. The authority always calculated profits for any of the investments it made. As investments towards improvement of social fabric was never within its agenda development had been a far cry. As a result, people in such region felt themselves oppressed by the 'foreigners'. After 1947, participation in the political affairs of the country at the centre again alienated them. They used to believe that the rulers had only changed their colour. The colonial rulers to some extent, succeeded in transforming India into a politico-territorial entity. They also created new regional politico-territorial units incorporating willy-nilly more than one, in most cases several, such nationalities. But the so-called integration process was marred by imperialist agenda as already noted. The rulers though elected by the people in free India failed to assess the aspirations and grievances of all spread out in the entire land. When development progressed in several fronts newer issues emerged. Since winning the elections became increasingly more vital chunk of resources were deployed in such regions from where majority of seats in the legislature come. Now such conditions fuelled more dissensions in the regions deprived of their dues. To them not only lack of development is issue but cultural hegemony running down from above is also another vital one. Regional aspirations increasingly become very high which penetrates too deep into the socio-political life of the people living on the margins. This sub-nationalism has strong appeal. In majority of the cases the people demanding recognition of their aspirations started claiming a rich heredity and some claim themselves parts of warrior clans. Since free India inherited such a territorial mass from erstwhile

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 63 colonial masters which had been acquired by them with sinister and/or imperial designs. Explaining this Sudipta Kaviraj noted that 'sub-colonial advantages for some linguistic groups, simply because those were the first to receive colonial education and formed the natural reservoir for personnel' (m Politics in India. P. 224) for colonial administration advocated nationalism in such a way which excludes a large number of groups and tribes. This left out groups rose with their demands after 1947. In this way first a new state, Andhra Pradesh was created for Telugu speaking people by bifurcating the then Tamil-dominated Madras Presidency. To keep India untied the British used to employ force. In free India that was a far cry. Hence the leaders embraced parliamentary democracy on the Westminster model as they all along had cherished that. Universal adult franchise was given to those vast majority of whom could not even write their names in their vernacular. Elected representatives went to the legislative assemblies in the centre and in the states and started taking policy decisions covering various issues. Small states had smaller representation resulting to non-fulfilment of their aspirations. Sometimes the marginal group of people had to suffer as they had experienced in the earlier days. However, reservations in employments and in people's representation were allowed. But the quantum of loss seldom match to their gains. Nehru, the first prime minister opposed statehood demand on the basis on language. He was afraid that if this were allowed then consolidation of the nation would not be possible. In this context, SudiptaKaviraj explained that Nehru's fear was emanated from such a situation when cessation would be inevitable.(Ibid. p. 225) But eventualities could not be averted. We have already talked about the formation of Andhra Pradesh. It was followed by creation of States Re-organization Commission. A number of states were to be formed and all on linguistic basis. This trend did not end. In 1967 Punjab was divided into two Haryana and Punjab since the Sikhs demanded legitimacy of their Gurmukhi language. Assam was divided and some states like Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya were born simply on the basis of ethnicity. Bifurcation of Uttar Pradesh was needed to help the hilly region to flourish. On the other hand, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar were divided to create tribal-majority states. Recently Andhra Pradesh had to cede erstwhile Nizam's kingdom for the formation of Telengana. 4.10 Summary Whenever a new state is formed aspiration in the other regions with similar perspective gets fuelled. In some cases, this has legitimate claims. Statehood 64 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 demands for Vidarbha (from Maharasthra), Bundelkhand (from Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh) have been continuing for quite long. Further division of Uttar Pradesh and statehood demands for separate Gokhaland (bifurcating West Bengal), Bodoland (from Assam) are very loud. Previously demands were made for linguistic states but in the recent past regional imbalance and neglect became focal points. The question is-why there are dissensions among the people of a nation which is so young ? One very important reason for these is the over centralization of the state affairs. The government at centre is too powerful and amendments in the constitution also strengthened its position. Moreover, majority of the acts and rules were drawn during the colonial rule. The colonial masters had no interest in satisfying regional needs. Administration to maintain law and order under colonial set up was transformed overnight into an administration to carry out welfare measures. Similarly, bureaucracy also remained same. The strength and devotion of the leaders in free India were never questioned. But the legal systems prevented them to revolutionize. While preventing imposition of Hindi in Tamilnadu in the 1960s demand for more power to the states was initiated. In 1973 the Shiromoni Akali Dal in Punjab adopted a resolution at Anandpur Sahib on the similar line. To suggest constitutional amendments through which states' power and authority could be enhanced Sarkaria Commission was constituted. But its recommendations were shelved. With the growth in population and bigger use of technology increasingly minimizes scope of employments. Now the demand of the Siv Sena in Maharasthra for opportunities to the sons of the soil has been gaining ground. This very demand is opposed to social integration. Immigration and migration within the country will be ultimately stopped. Hence hindrance towards nation-building has been increasing regularly. Whatever difficulty befalls India still a united country. This has been possible due to the tradition prevailing in Indian social system. For centuries together the Indians have embraced and adopted multiple numbers of foreign elements. In this way adaptability here is very vibrant. In the same fashion adoption of the Westminster model and a constitution which enshrines roughly a model of separation of power, individual rights in all spheres of life and above all secular ideals could be possible and smooth. No doubt, that the state is yet to fulfil all the commitments. But the policy since independence in promoting betterments in economic, cultural and social fields has brought progress. Now people is in habit in scaling the progress of self and also of the region of his/her place of residence primarily in economy. This is the

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 65 success of Indian state which has been able to engage the people in material world. The competition for better living also acts as unitary force since people from one region to another has constantly been moving for better opportunities. These immigrants try to be associated with the local people and with their language, food- habit as well as culture. This is a very binding which ultimately put down fissiparous trends. 4.11 Questions (i) What was the huge obstacle in nation building at the time of India's independence? (10 marks) (ii) What were the circumstances when India attained its independence? (10 marks) (iii) "Free India was born in very difficult circumstances." Justify the statement with suitable reasons (10 marks) 4.12 Suggested Readings (i) Politics of Nation Building In India by ShibaniKinkar Chaube (ii) The Politics of Nation building: Problems and Preconditions by Arnold Rivkin (iii) Karl Wolfgang Deutsch, William J. Folt, eds, Nation Building in Comparative Contexts, New York, Atherton, 1966. (iv) Mylonas, Harris (2017), "Nation-building," Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations. Ed. Patrick James. New York : Oxford University Press. (v) Mylonas, Harris (2012). The Politics of Nation-Building : Making Co- Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities. New York : Cambridge University Press. p. 17. ISBN 978-1107661998. (vi) Keith Darden and Harris Mylonas. 2016. "Threats to Territorial Integrity, National Mass Schooling, and Linguistic Commonality," Comparative Political Studies, Vol.49 : 11 1446-1479
66 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (vii) Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2006. "The Great Divide : Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse." World Politics, Volume 59 (October) : 83-115 4.13 Glossary ● Nation-

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a large body of people united by common descent, history, culture, or language, inhabiting a particular country or

territory. ● Nationality-the status of belonging to a particular nation. ● Nationlism-identification with one's own nation and support for its interests, especially to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations. ● Nation Building-Nation-building is constructing or structuring a national identity using the power of the state.
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Unit - 5 ❑ Village, Town and Region Structure 5.1 Objectives 5.2 Introduction 5.3 Traditional Structure of Indian Village 5.4 Characteristics of Indian Village 5.5 Socio-economic Changes in Agricultural Village 5.6 Towards Modernization of Village Society 5.7 The Rise of the City 5.8 Transformation of Villages into Towns 5.9 Nature of Influence of Towns 5.10 Towns and Agriculture 5.11 Town is a Shopping Centre for Country People 5.12 Summary 5.13 Questions 5.14 Suggested Readings 5.1 Objectives ● To understand the traditional structure of Indian village ● To understand the characteristics of Indian village ● To understand the socio-economic Changes in agricultural village ● To understand the towards modernization of village Society ● To understand the rise of the city ● To understand the transformation of villages into towns ● To understand the nature of influence of towns 69
70 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 5.2 Introduction Rural society means society that lives in village and is dependent on natural environment. Rural economy rests predominantly on agriculture and allied activities. These societies have a low density of population, intimate group relationships and have oral traditions. Rural societies are rich in culture and tradition. However, from the contemporary point of view, they are considered to be socio-economically less developed. Therefore, several developmental activities have been undertaken in our country to improve their socio-economic conditions. On the other hand, urban society includes towns, cities and metros with a specific way of life. An urban society can be defined as an area having higher density of population, people engaging mostly in occupations other than agriculture and domestication of animals, having a distinct ecology and culture different from that of the large society's culture. India is predominantly a rural country with two third populations and 70% workforce residing in rural areas. Rural economy constitutes 46 per cent of national income. In India on the basis of human settlements rural and urban are two different types of social formation. So, in this cognizance traditionalism and modernism are interwoven in globalized India. Over the past two decades rapid economic growth, counter urbanization, larger capitalistic market set up and gradual changing political scenario have also resulting rural power structure and occupational pattern indeed. Despite the rise of urbanization more than half of India's population is projected to be rural by 2050. Rural transformation and changing pattern of agrarian relation are focal theme of concurrent research in social sciences. 5.3 Traditional Structure of the Indian Village Studies of the Indian village began in the early stages of the establishment of British colonial rule, and arose out of the necessities of fiscal administration. It was inevitable that in these studies the Indian village with its traditional social? order should appear to the eyes of the British writers as a "completely self-sufficient, isolated republic". Their studies of "the village community" were concerned with the self-sufficient socio-economic structure of the village, with systems of communal land-ownership and collective responsibility in the payment of taxes, and with the organs of village self-government which supervised these social mechanisms. The conception of the Indian village which was built up from the study of these aspects of rural society was that of an occluded communal social organism.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 71 The Indian village may certainly be regarded as having maintained a traditional order of society and as having constituted a little isolated universe of its own in the period before the establishment of British rule. We may say with M. N. Srinivas that this isolation was a product of such factors as the absence of roads, the prevalence of widespread political instability and the fact that very little money circulated in the rural areas. Of necessity, this state of society underwent some change under British rule. However, the essential nature of British colonial rule was such that it delayed the modernization of India, barred the way to industrialization and did not lead to the breakup of the self-sufficient economy of the village. Of course, the idea that the Indian village was completely self-sufficient and isolated is a mixture of myth and reality. M. N. Srinivas and many other writers have pointed out that, although it is true that little currency was in circulation, there were a certain number of itinerant merchants, and weekly markets were long established institution. The self-sufficient division of labour in the village was indeed supported by the caste system, but it was not the case that members of all the castes whose occupations were necessary for the life of the people were present in every village. This was especially so in North India, where caste endogamy and village exogamy combined to draw the villagers into social relations established by marriage which transcended the individual village. We need not add that caste panchayats were organized which united members of the different castes living in neighboring villages. Further, although it is the practice to speak of the village community, it is not the case that the village was a communistic community in which all the villagers shared equally in the ownership of the land. No community of the kind which is characteristic of the idyllic classless society of the period of primitive communism has been found in the caste society of the Indian village. The communal ownership of land did not exist in all Indian villages and even in those areas where the communal ownership of land was found, the institution of communal ownership was in practice much complicated by the caste hierarchy and distinctions were made between individuals in regard to their enjoyment of communal rights. 5.4 Characteristics of the Indian Village Nevertheless, the Indian village does possess certain characteristics in the understanding of which we can well employ the concept of the village community.

72 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Further, these characteristics still survive in the modern village community, even although the traditional structure of the village is now in process of dissolution. (i) Internal Organization of the Village Among the Indian villages of this period there were some which were inhabited by members of only one caste, but by far the greater part of them were “multi-caste” villages in some degree. The village community was composed of these castes, arranged one above the other in a hierarchy whose rankings were most clearly apparent in the practices observed in regard to commensality. It was the general rule for the members of the different castes to live in different sections of the village. The first thing which one notices about Indian villages is that the better houses are usually located in the center of the village, while the ill-kept and roughly constructed houses are built round them or are located at points on the circumference of the agglomeration or at a slight distance away from it. Since this is so, one can always distinguish two residential areas at least at first glance – the group of houses occupied by the dominant caste and the group of houses occupied by members of the scheduled castes. These residential areas are denoted by the word ‘thola’, to which the name of the caste living in the area is prefixed. The castes which are represented by only a small number of persons live in a residential area occupied by a larger caste of approximately the same social standing. For example, it is usual for the Brahmins to live in the residential area occupied by the dominant caste. At present there is some irregularity in the geographical distribution of the castes within the village, and the castes are mixed together in a greater degree than formerly, but we may suppose that in the traditional village these distinctions in regard to residential areas were carefully observed. The castes living in the different residential areas were arranged in a hierarchy which was self-evidently legitimate in the eyes of the villagers and was accepted by them as axiomatic. This ritual ranking, however, was at the same time related to the economic stratification which characterized the village. That is to say, the dominant caste was also the landowning caste, while the Scheduled Castes in the lowest stratum of the village community comprised the poorest section of the landless inhabitants of the village. If we divide the Indian castes into three main strata – the upper stratum containing the Brahmins and the land-owning dominant castes, middle stratum containing the merchant and artisan castes, and the lower stratum containing the aboriginal people and untouchables – we may say that the representatives of the upper stratum in the Indian village were landlords and rich peasants, while the lower

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 73 stratum was composed of landless labourers and tenant peasants. The artisan castes in the middle stratum may be regarded as having lived in a state of dependence (economic as well as social) on the castes in the upper stratum. (ii) The Jajmani System as the Traditional Economic System As we have stated above, the castes in the Indian village live in separate residential areas and the villagers' consciousness of belonging to a particular caste is strengthened by the social and geographical implications of the contacts which they make in the course of everyday life. As a consequence of this, it would appear that the village was split up into a number of caste groups, but in fact the castes were bound together by the Jajmani system, the traditional occupational organization. In the period during which the Indian village was based on the communal ownership of land to a greater or lesser degree, certain social relations were established under which the dominant castes, who possessed considerable rights over the communally-owned land, assumed a sovereign role in food production and mobilized the labour of members of the lowest stratum of society for this purpose, causing the artisan castes to manufacture and deliver to them goods required for consumption by these agriculturalists as well as agricultural implements to be used by them in production, and paying these artisans in kind with food grains. This was the Jajmani system. This form of economic organization was not operated according to the principle of an exchange of equal values, but took the form of services performed by the members of the artisan castes and the untouchables for the benefit of the dominant castes (who were the sovereign power in agricultural production and the owners of the land used for agriculture), in return for which the dominant castes gave them an assured livelihood by means of payments in kind. For this reason, the payments in kind made to artisans by the land owners, that is, by the sovereign power in agricultural production, remained at a fixed level, but the quantity of the goods manufactured by the artisans – for example, the number of pots which a potter had to produce for his patron – was not fixed but was dependent on the requirements of the patron. In the case of the blacksmiths, too, there was no limit to the number of occasions on which a peasant patron could command the services of the blacksmith for the repair of his agricultural implements. When there were two or more households of potters in the village the agricultural producers who made payments in kind to the potters as patrons were divided into two groups. The amount of the annual payment in kind was not arrived at by negotiation between individual patrons and clients (client being used in the Roman sense), but was laid down in the first instance by the caste Panchayats of the persons in question, these decisions later
74 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 receiving the approval of the village. Similar arrangements were made in the case of the exchange of services between the artisan castes. Among the castes of the lower stratum of society, too, certain persons were granted an assured livelihood by the village. The sweepers, who were allowed to beg the leavings of food from the members of the castes of the upper stratum of village society, are an example of such a case. Their services at marriage ceremonies and funerals were rewarded by fixed payments. The same arrangement was made in remunerating the Brahmins for their officiation at religious ceremonies. The caste system, associated in these ways with certain traditional hereditary occupations, was maintained by the economic power of the landowners, that is, by the agricultural producers. Agriculture, it need hardly be said, was not an occupation confined to any particular caste, but in general it was main occupation of the dominant castes. These dominant castes were the sovereign power in the economy of the villages. In these circumstances, agricultural production was never organized as a means of acquiring profit by re-investment in the expansion of the scale of reproduction, but had the function of maintaining the traditional mode of living in the village. (iii) Hereditary Structure of Village Self-Government The institutions of village self-government which operated under this economic system were run by the dominant castes. The traditional power structure in village government was headed by a hereditary headman who was a member of one of the dominant castes. In many cases, members of certain families in the dominant castes were recognized as being eligible for the office of headman, and this eligibility was hereditary. This headman, as need hardly be said, had to assume responsibility for tax collection and the maintenance of order on behalf of the ruling power. In this way the headman received recognition as the headman of the village from the external political power. He undertook the collection of the Land Revenue with the co- operation of the Patwari, who compiled the land register and calculated the taxes, and the Chaukidars, who served tax notifications and demands. The Patwari may be described as the village accountant, and most of those who fulfilled this function were members of the Brahmin caste. In contrast, the Chaukidars, who may be regarded as village policemen, were usually recruited from the Scheduled Castes in the lower stratum of society. Again, leaving aside serious offences, the headman had the power to inflict punishments on the villagers in the cause of maintaining law and

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 75 order in the village. He was also, of course, the principal mediator in disputes among the villagers. Disputes within a single caste were settled by the caste Panchayats, but disputes which the caste Panchayats found them unable to settle, as well as disputes between castes, were submitted to the mediation of the headman. The headman also presided at many of the religious festivals celebrated in the village. It goes without saying that the headman's rule over the village was not a dictatorship. His position was strengthened by the support of the dominant castes, and in the background of his administrative power lay influential members of the village community who, like himself, were members of the dominant castes. Between the headman and the villagers lay the leaders of the castes, that is to say, the leaders in the different residential areas of the village. We may be justified in supposing that at this period the actual operation of village self-government was in the hands of an informal assembly of elders composed of these leaders and dominated by influential belonging to the dominant castes. In concrete terms, the situation in regard to this traditional power structure differed in the Zamindari type villages and the Ryotwari type villages. There were also differences between villages in the areas which came under direct British rule and those in the areas in which the princely states retained their independence. In spite of these differences, however, we may accept the view that, up to the beginning of the present century, the village was allowed a comparatively high degree of autonomy under this system of self-government, and that the economy of the village was self-sufficient to a fairly high degree. 5.5 Socio-Economic Changes in the Agricultural Village The traditional socio-economic structure of the Indian village which we have briefly described above underwent gradual changes during the period of British rule. In particular, since the beginning of the 20 th century the handicrafts which were maintained by the Jajmani system have shown a tendency to disappear under the influence of modern industry. These changes became all the more marked after Indian Independence. Further, the institutional changes in political administration which occurred after Independence had a strong impact on the traditional power-structure of the village. No more than any other social organism could the Indian village – so typical of stagnant Oriental society – be spared the trials of modernization.

76 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (i) Economic Change and Traditional Occupations These social changes in the village were brought about, first and foremost, by economic factors. Although it is true that imperialist colonial rule barred the way to industrialization, it was impossible for the economy of the Indian village to remain completely unchanged as the times advanced. Economic development led to the penetration of a money economy into the village, and the villagers came to regard a certain level of monetary income as a necessity to be used in purchasing some at least of the manufactured products of modern industry. Further, modern industrial production could not but have some effect on the traditional occupational structure in the village. Certain of the hereditary occupations associated with the caste system became incapable of maintaining themselves, and even where the traditional occupational system was not brought to complete dissolution, many of the traditional occupations came to require fewer workers than in former times. As an example, we may cite the case of the carpenters who had made ox carts in the past, but who found themselves unable to stand up to the competition from vehicle-building works in the towns. When the carpenters living in a village are employed only in repair work, one carpenter can do the work formerly done by three. The same situation obtained in the case of the blacksmiths. When textile mills were established the village weavers found that there was no work for them to do, and they were obliged to abandon their traditional occupation. Economic development also led to the appearance of new occupations. As the economy developed, even members of the castes whose principal occupation was agriculture were led to open little shops in the villages and to act as dealers in various commodities. In particular, in areas near the cities an increase took place in the numbers of factory workers and transport workers who commuted from their village. In such villages as these the members of all the castes began to live in closer relations with the cities, and changes were liable to occur in the socio-economic structure. Even in villages situated at some distance from the cities, the Chamars, in the lowest stratum of village society found that they could no longer make a living by preparing hides, and the weavers, having lost their traditional occupation, were forced to find some livelihood outside the village and took up the transportation of milk by bicycle or left the village to go to temporary work in brick factories. On the other side, these changes have resulted in persons who have been deprived of their traditional occupations employing their labour in agricultural production. The monopoly of land held by the dominant castes (the landowners and

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 77 organizers of agricultural production in the past) have been broken and increasing numbers of persons in the artisan castes and even in the Scheduled Castes in the lowest stratum of society have come to own land of greater or lesser area and to carry on agriculture as their principal occupation. A discrepancy has appeared between the traditional hereditary occupations of the members of the various castes and their actual occupations, and where this discrepancy has reached great proportions the Jajmani system itself has broken down. When this happens, the annual payments in kind which were intended to assure the livelihood of the workers under the Jajmani system change their nature and assume the form of remuneration paid in exchange for labour. Fixed payments in kind are then to be found only among a certain section of the richer peasantry, and cash payments become general. These developments have wrought great changes in the Indian village, which hitherto has been a cosmos of its own in which the castes lived in a state of interdependence by means of a self-sufficient economy in which payments were made in kind. (ii) Influence of the New Panchayat System The second kind of change which has taken place in the Indian village is the change in the realm of political administration. The British colonial administration made some impact on the village through the tax collection system, but provided that the taxes were paid the colonial authorities did not interfere to any great extent in the running of self-government in the village. About the year 1920 attempts were made to establish the Panchayat System, but this institution was not of such a character as to negate the existing traditional power structure in the village. However, the New Panchayat System which was introduced after Independence was put into force by the Government with great expectations, since it was associated with the Community Development Programmes. The New Panchayat System was of a character which was incompatible with the existing form of village self-government. The electoral constituencies and the number of members in the New Panchayats were laid down on a population basis. The Panchayats were chosen by election, and seats were usually reserved for members representing women and the Scheduled Castes. We may describe this change in local self-government in a few words as being a change from the rule of tradition in the direction of the rule of legitimacy. We may draw attention to the following important points in connection with the new institution. Firstly, the hereditary principle has been negated, and the principle of deciding the choice of leaders by election has been adopted. It is not possible for us to equate this change with the change from "ascribed status" to "achieved status" as
78 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 S. C. Dube says, but the use of the electoral method in deciding the choice of leaders implies a change in the type of leader which is regarded as ideal. The new institution has at least opened the way to the overthrow of the state of affairs in which the dominant castes monopolized the office of the head-man. Secondly, the decisions taken in connection with the administration of the village must now be taken on a majority vote and not as a result of unanimity among the members. Formerly decisions had been taken by the leaders of the dominant castes, and a compromise agreement was regarded as the unanimous decision of the whole meeting. It was difficult for any of the members to resist such decisions but now that the voting procedure has been adopted it has become possible for members to express their opposition. Thirdly, the connections between the panchayats and the external political power have been strengthened under the new system, and the questions discusses in the village include an increasing number of matters which could not be dealt with within the administrative institutions of the village itself. Even under the old system of local self-government it was not the case that the village was completely closed and isolated, but in former times the village was more independent than it is now, and it was easy to maintain the social order of the village unchanged. However, matters are different now. We may say with D.G. Mandelbaum, "the old councils were arbitrary, conserving agencies whose prime function was to smooth over or settle village friction. The new panchayats are supposed to be innovating, organizing bodies working for changes rather than conserving solidarity". The Panchayat's business brings it into contact with their higher administrative organs of the Government in connection with such matters as the Community Development Programmes, extension work and the organizing of agricultural co-operative associations. When such activities are undertaken at the initiative of the superior organs of government, there are more chances of changes of leadership to occur at village level and for changes to occur in the form of decision-making. (iii) Urbanization and Weakening of Social Unity The progress in urbanization which has taken place recently is connected with changes in the structure of the economy and has led to changes in the social attitudes and value systems of the inhabitants of the villages. The deeply-rooted Hindu religious faith is still to be found in the villages in the form of religious celebrations or the rituals associated with them and practices are maintained in the traditional manner. However, the religious celebrations no longer play so important a part in the life of the village as they did in former years. Again, with the progress of

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 79 urbanization, the caste system, deeply imbued as it is with the Hindu view of the world, has become less strict in the social distinctions which it makes. The Government has negated caste discrimination in the Constitution, and it does not allow the traditional commensality rules to be observed at public functions in the village or in schools. Over a long period, this will probably have a considerable effect. The changes in the times have also inspired the members of the hitherto oppressed castes in the middle and lower strata of society with a desire to improve their social position. This desire may be augmented by an increase in the gap between the socio-economic stratification and the ritual rankings of the castes. As M. N. Srinivas says, even today "it is considered proper to follow one's traditional occupation," but "this view does not obtain among many of the younger people who have been to school and who are urban in their outlook". We may thus say that in the modern Indian village both the vertical ties centered chiefly on the dominant castes, that is, village loyalty, and the horizontal links transcending the village which join members of a caste, that is, caste loyalty, have been weakened. M. N. Srinivas, who regards the latter as being more important than the former, takes the village to be the social unit which commands the loyalty of all the villagers, regardless of caste, but we may consider that the village has been losing its unity. D. Pocock and L. Dumont think that caste is fundamental, but that the cohesion of the castes is now generally weaker than before. In recent studies of the Indian village, attention has been paid not only to the village itself but also to problems in the surrounding region, and it would appear that some emphasis is being attached to the fact that the castes have wide horizontal connections. In fact, however, this is not necessarily the case, and the most important point to be noted in this connection is the fact that the village is no longer a small self-sufficient cosmos of its own. That is to say, the social changes which have taken place in the village are of such a character that they require some extension of the scope of village surveys and an examination of the question of the weakening of unity in the village community and in the castes must be carried out in a wider context. 5.6 Towards the Modernization of Village Society The Indian village's road to modernization is beset by many difficulties. In opening up this difficult road, India, like many of the underdeveloped and developing countries, has sought a solution in industrialization. However, whether this has been successful is by no means indisputable. The reason for this is that modern industry

80 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 does not absorb a large amount of surplus population from the villages. At the same time, efforts are being made to encourage cottage industry as well as modern industry, but there is no sign that cottage industry will be able to bring about modernization in the Indian village. In conclusion it can be said that the Indian village will not be modernized unless some strong measures are taken in regard to agriculture itself. Further, Indian industrialization will not be able to proceed along the road of expansion and development unless there is a rise in the productivity of agriculture which will make possible an accumulation of capital and a rise in the purchasing power of the peasants. 5.7 The Rise of the City An important concomitant of urbanization in India is that villages located outside the boundaries of a city get included in it over time. This phenomenon has been intensifying since the 1950s and is sure to intensify further. India is on the path of rapid urbanization, and the urban development authorities of all cities are planning to draw more and more villages into their nets. The causes and consequences of the phenomenon, therefore, require careful analysis. How a village gets included within a city is usually a long drawn process. It is necessary to recall that in most parts of India a village is made up of, first, a residential settlement (gaon-than or abadi area) where houses and huts are huddled together, and second, agricultural fields, pasture (gauchar) land, water tanks and ponds, cart tracks, wasteland, and other open territory all around it. The two together constitute a territorial unit called the "revenue village" (mauza in most parts of India) with fixed boundaries recognized for local administration. Often it includes, besides the main settlement, one or more small subsidiary settlements, or "satellite villages", as M. N. Srinivas called them. On the other hand, a mauza may not have any residential settlement, in which case it is called a "deserted village". In the case of a village located on the periphery of a city, one piece of land after another gets sold to individuals, business firms, property agents, institutions, government establishments, and others in the city. Why the urban buyers buy this land is more or less known. But why a villager should sell his land is a matter of investigation. What are the motivations? What are the compulsions ? What does a villager do with the money he gets by selling land ? Is he wise or stupid in selling land ?

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 81 When most of the agricultural fields in a village are acquired by the urban people, they demand urban facilities : paved roads, underground drainage, piped water, regular electricity supply, security, etc. Pressures build up on the municipal corporation and on the state's politicians and bureaucrats to include the village within the city. Often the government, anticipating this development, works out a town planning scheme. The net result is inclusion of the entire mauza in the city. 5.8 Transformation of Villages into Towns ● Just as the village gets included within the city, the city people and their culture also migrate to the village and transform it into a town. This is a very complex process. It is well known that a settlement considered as a village at one census might become a town at a subsequent census. Since the 1961 Census, a settlement is normally considered a town if it satisfies three criteria : (i) a population of 5,000 or more, (ii) a population density of at least 400 per sq. km, and (iii) at least 75% of the male workers should be engaged in non-agricultural work. If it receives the state government's recognition it becomes a "statutory town"; otherwise the census of India may recognize it as a "census town". It has been discussed at length how these criteria have been applied differently in different states and at different censuses in the same state, making comparisons over space and time difficult. Recognition of a village as a statutory town is, moreover, a complex bureaucratic decision, often influenced by local political forces. Of the three criteria, that of a minimum population is the easiest to apply, if the satellite villages are not ignored. The criterion of population density should not also pose much of a problem because in any case most village settlements have high density and would have more or less the same density when they become towns, although this requires calculation of density only for the residential settlement of the village, main as well as subsidiary, and not for the mauza's entire territory. 5.9 Nature of Influence of Towns Before entering into some special cases of Indian towns and their regions, it is worthwhile to make clear the related concepts of city region. Urban influence is of
82 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 varying nature. It may have its influence on agriculture, on industry, on administration and also on certain services like medical, cultural including educational, recreational, etc. 5.10 Towns and Agriculture Much has already been discussed about town's influence over surrounding countryside. Everywhere and in every age towns people have owned rural properties. In India, 'zamindari' system has been in vogue for a long time. Formerly, in princely states of India there were landowners owning rural properties and used to live in the state capital town. In modern times also rich people have lands and properties in the villages of their forefathers, but they themselves live in the neighboring town. People possess farm-houses in the mid of their agricultural farms to look after and supervise their farm operations and visit intermittently. It has become almost a status symbol of a few well-to-do urbanites to have properties and land in nearby villages. It is not an exaggeration, therefore, to state that "the country is very often the property of the town". Town also depends on agricultural production. Dickinson while describing agricultural regions of Europe identified roughly concentric zones of various crops in relation to the town. There would be floriculture, market-gardening, rearing of dairy-cattle for milk, etc., and then cultivation of sugar beet and cereals. Often some of the industries located in a town such as based on wool, sugarcane and sugar beet for wine, wood products, mats, baskets, 'bidi' (in India), flax (in Europe) for linen industry, products for dyeing obtained from plants, mulberry for silk industry and so many other products are rural based. A town actually acts as a market for the rural products based on local raw materials. Thus, a town, through middlemen, offers required supplies and the facilities for products meant for export. In this way a town exerts a very real control over the surrounding country. 5.11 Town is a Shopping Centre for Country People Villagers come to town to do their shopping. They purchase goods of their choice. Large cities have goods collected from different parts of the world. Importance of extent of market lies in a region not by its large or small size. But it is the sale
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 83 which determines the significance. The evaluation of sales to the inhabitants of the town, and also to those outside the time, determines the strength of the area of influence. Among towns there is found a hierarchy for performing central administrative functions within its regional limit. It has been seen in places like southern Germany where hierarchy is present in ascending in order as market town, township, country town, district city, state capital, provincial capital and regional capital. The structure of the hierarchy varies from country to country. The town, however ,,serves as the regional center is equally significant of all administration, business, and legal affairs, medical and educational services. People from the countryside rely on their regional capital. 5.12 Summary Urban settlements everywhere have grown to form clusters around a large city. Often these are constituted by country towns and villages and are attracted to fall within the ambit of a major city by virtue of mutually associated functions. Thus, a 'city region' is formed around a city and metropolis. The city region is linked socially and economically to its urban center. Actually, the city region is an area influenced by an urban center two dimensionally. Town acts both as centripetally as well as centrifugally. Goods and services flow both into and out of a city, and thus the region of city is economically interdependent. It is neither a sphere of influence, nor does it necessarily form a continuous zone. A city cannot sustain by itself, but it is linked by its surrounding countryside interdependently. 5.13 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) What is a village ? (ii) What is a town ? (iii) What is the structure of the Indian village ? (iv) What is the process that leads to the rise of the city ? (v) State the role of town as a business center.

84 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (vi) How do towns benefit agriculture ? G-B (10 Marks each) (vii) Discuss the characteristics of a village society. (viii) What are the socio-economic changes that took place in the village society ? (ix) State the causes that lead to the transformation of the village to towns. (x) State one difference between village, town, and city. 5.14 Suggested Readings (i) Fukutake, T. (1964). Change and Stagnation in Indian Village Society. The Developing Economies, 2(2), 125–146. doi : 10.1111/j.1746- 1049.1964.tb01169.x (ii) Pani A, and Ghatak, I. (2018). Village Society – A Review. International Journal of Research and Analytical Reviews (IJRAR), Volume 5, Issue 3. (iii) Shah, A. M. (2012). The Village in the City, the City in the Village. Economic and Political Weekly (EPW), Volume XLVII, No. 52.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 85 Unit - 6 ❑ Religion : Its Functions Structure 6.1 Objectives 6.2 Introduction 6.3 Why Sociologists study Religion? 6.4 Religion Defined 6.5 Religion among Primitive People 6.6 Elements of Religion 6.7 Religion as an Institution 6.8 Functions of Religion 6.8.1 Religion as an Integrative Force 6.8.2 Creating a Moral Community 6.8.3 Religion as Social Control 6.8.4 Provides Rites of Passage 6.8.5 Religion as Emotional Support 6.8.6
Religion serves a means to provide answers to Ultimate Questions 6.8.7
Religion as a Source of Identity 6.8.8 Legitimating Function of Religion 6.8.9 Psychologizing Religion 6.8.10 Religion acts as Psychotherapy 6.8.11 Religion as an Agent of Social Change 6.8.12 Religion as an Agent of De-politicization 6.8.13 Religion controls Sexuality 6.9 Dysfunctions of Religion 6.10 Summary 85
86 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 6.11 Questions 6.12 Suggested Readings 6.1 Objectives ● To define religion ● To understand the relation of religion with the primitive people ● To understand the elements of Religion ● To understand the role of religion as an institution ● To understand the functions of religion ● To understand the dysfunctions of religion 6.2 Introduction Religion has always been with us. Throughout history, it has expressed the deepest questions human beings can ask, and it has taken a central place in the lives of virtually all civilizations and cultures. As we think all the way back to the dawn of human consciousness, we find religion everywhere we turn. In our day and age, rumors of religion's demise seem very premature – and perhaps there's no grain of truth in them at all. Religion persists and is often on the rise, even as scientific and non – religious perspectives have become prominent. We still find religion everywhere, on television, in film, in popular music, in our towns and neighbourhoods. We discover religion at the center of global issues and cultural conflict. We see religion in the lives of the people we know and love, and in ourselves, as we live out and wrestle with our own religious faith. Why does religion continue to thrive? There are many reasons, but one thing is certain: religious traditions are adaptable in important ways. For many, contemporary religion even has room for skepticism, science, and the secular, which allows it to keep going strong in our rapidly changing world. From antiquity man has sought answers to questions concerning the mysteries of nature, such as why it rains, why volcanoes erupt, why accidents and incidents happens and questions about his own creation, his relationship to the supernatural, a satisfying philosophy of life, and life after death. In his quests, man has developed
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 87 certain beliefs about the supernatural and also rituals and ceremonies for appeasement and propitiation of the supernatural. These rituals based on beliefs, convictions, and the ceremonies and symbols accompanying prescribed roles and prescribed roles and prescribed patterns of behavior, together constitute religion. The religious beliefs, forms of worship, objects of worship, rituals, ceremonies of the people of the world are varies and most numerous, but most of them are basic in the profound influence that they exercise on the behaviour of individuals, groups and society as a whole in almost every aspect of life. It is found throughout the world because it offers answers to such ultimate questions as why we exist, why we succeed or fail and why we die. People have believed in supernatural powers throughout history. Belief in supernatural powers or beings is, thus, the main basis of the phenomena of religion. The most widespread manifestation of this belief we find in the form of rituals. Rituals are the observations, in a prescribed manner, of certain actions that help to establish liaison between the performer and the supernatural power. All religions – primitive or modern – have this base of belief and rituals. 6.3 Why Sociologists Study Religion ? As said above, religion is considered as a belief in some supernatural power. Sociologists are not interested in knowing what this supernatural power is or how it works. They are also not concerned with the truth or falsity of any given religion. Sociologists take an objective look at religion – its functions, social foundations and social consequences. Sociologists also regard religion as a non-natural knowledge or an explanatory system which believes in a unique truth and which believes itself to be in possession of it. Sociologists study religion as a system of ideas that have a great impact in directing human behaviour. He does not study religion per se, but the effects of religious beliefs and practices on the social and cultural systems, socialization process and personality development. For a sociologist, religion is a non-rational, collective and symbolic action which acts as a response to the human need for meaning. Sociologists have no access to divinity revealed truth but they themselves try to seek to reveal their own truth. More specifically, the sociologist is concerned with the myriad ways in which society and religion interact, with profound consequences for the individual. Religious beliefs have social consequences and it is these that sociology studies under the name sociology of religion.

88 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 6.4 Religion Defined How to define or even explain religion is a very difficult task as it is so diverse in historical development so culturally varied, that all definitions developed so far often failed to encompass is adequately. In its simplest and purest form, religion is an emotional attitude towards the unknown and the uncontrolled. It is a universal phenomenon that exists in some form or the other everywhere but varies in character. At the one extreme, it is concerned exclusively with the demon world. At the other, it is social and personal and related with supernatural constructs – transmigration existence of God and soul and the origin of universe. Pioneer sociologist Emile Durkheim defined religion as "...a
unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things,
uniting into a single moral community all those who adhere to beliefs and practices". Anything that people in a society consider to be sacred and celebrate in recognized rites become religion. Religion thus rest on beliefs, sacred things, prescribed rites and officially consecrated individuals – priest – to celebrate those rites. Durkheim believed that everything can be sacred. Sacredness is not a property that is inherent in an object. It exists in the mind of the beholder. Thus, a tree, an animal, a pebble or a piece of wood may be considered sacred. In Durkheim's view the world is divided into two distinct categories : (i) the sacred, supernatural, divine and spiritual and (ii) the profane, natural, human and material. For early anthropologist E. B. Tylor, the belief in supernatural power is religion. Functionalists like Kingsley Davis believes that religion is an attempt to transcend the tedium of everyday life; that is it, involves the belief in and response to some kind of beyond. It is any set of coherent answers to existential dilemma like birth, sickness, ageing and death. It is human response to those things which concern us ultimately. It is a collective way of dealing with the unknown and unknowable aspects of human life – with the mysteries of life. It is also concerned with making of moral decisions. Paul Tillich says that religion is that which concerns man ultimately. In sociological terms, religion is simply a system of beliefs, practices, rituals and symbols that somehow related to our community's orientation to the supernatural or the life beyond. Religion entails a system of beliefs, practices, rituals, a form of worship and symbols, obedience to divide commandments and a concern with transcendental realms that are beyond the rational and the empirical. Thus, religion can take many forms such as bathing in the Holy Ganges (Hindus), offering
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 89 prayers in the temple, church or mosque or performing some sacrificial rituals, participating in Holy Communion (Christians), or performing the Mitzvah ceremony (Jews). 6.5 Religion among the Primitive People In the process of evolution, man came to believe that there are some powers outside him that control the forces of nature as well as his own well-being. He believed that these powers can be propitiated with gifts and other actions. Rituals and ceremonies developed to take care of the interests of these supernatural powers. Shamans, medicine men, and priests emerged to mediate between man and those powers he held in awe. Objects that represented or were associated with these powers were treated as sacred. Gradually, these beliefs, practices and their practitioners tended to become part of the tribal social structure. Primitive religions have taken at least three majors forms: animism, naturism and totemism. Animism is the belief that all things, animate and inanimate, are endowed with personal indwelling souls or spirits. This involves belief in spiritual beings such as ghosts, spirits and souls. For example, the Native Americans believed in the Great Spirit that exists in all objects and beings and spoke to them through animals and trees. Naturism is the belief in the personified forces of nature which control human destiny. Throughout history humans believed that gods or other supernatural beings controlled the forces of nature and once again, they sought to appease them for blessings. Not only thunder and lightning, wind, fire and mighty ocean but also dreadful diseases such as small pox are believed to be controlled by certain gods or goddesses. Finally, most tribal societies have a totem, an animal, plant or natural object that is set apart as sacred and towards which members of the community feel a special relationship. Totemism is a form of social organization and religious practice typically involving an intimate association between sibs and their totems, which are regarded as ancestors or as supernaturally connected with an ancestor, which are tabooed as food and which give the sibs their names. Animism, naturism and totemism have several elements in common. People believe that they can communicate with these powers or spirits and influence them to enhance the community's well-being. Attitude of the community involves veneration of ghosts, spirits and other supernatural beings. Rituals and ceremonies often involve magic and sacrifices. There are sacred objects, places and people that are taboo. Very often celebrations of the spirit involve magic, dance and ritual sacrifices.

90 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 James Frazer, British social anthropologist and classical scholar, analyzed primitive religions and a vast range of exotic beliefs and customs in terms of man's search for true knowledge and effective control of his environment and his conditions. He delineated the evolution of human psyche in three phases: magical, religious and scientific thought. Magical thought assumed that the universe is regulated by impersonal and unchanging laws and the magician like the modern day scientist used his knowledge in a quasi-technical manner to accomplish things. As the failures of magic became apparent, it was gradually discredited and people turned to religious thought. In this phase, supernatural beings were supposed to control the world and they began to venerate and propitiate them. Finally, recognizing the limits of his own powers and gradually applying logico-experimental methods, man arrived at the scientific stage. 6.6 Elements of Religion All religions have certain elements in common, yet they differ in expression and manner. Most religions of the world have the following elements. (i) A set of beliefs and values regarding the ultimate power in the universe, life after death, in supernatural beings. (ii) A set of ceremonial ways, (rituals and behaviour) of expressing this belief including festivals, ceremonies, prayers, religious services, feasts, sacrifices, fasts, offerings and pilgrimages. (iii) Things considered sacred such as Gods, spirits, special persons or any object or symbol or thought defined as sacred, supernatural divine or ultimate. (iv) A group of community of believers, a congregation, who make religion a social existence as well as a personal experience, which includes meetings, discourses and devotional gatherings. (v) A form of organization that reinforces the sacred, unites the community of believers and carries the rituals. (vi) An expressive culture – particularly visual and performing arts – including dancing, singing, chanting, processions, mythical ecstasy, trance, alteration of psychological states through drugs and deprivation.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 91 (vii) Holy texts believed to be based on revelation and containing the tenets of faith and rules of conduct. (viii) A moral philosophy which unites the mundane and the supernatural in a mystical blend. Each of the above of elements will vary in form, in observed, in the response they evoke from individuals and in influence according to the culture concerned – altogether these prescribed specific lines of action, attitudes and values desirable under varying conditions according to which man is exact to behave. Religion developed slowly with evolution of human society in its more primitive forms. In its evolutionary development, the earliest people are said to be the pre- religious people – possessed no organization or special roles (no temple, church or priest or clergy), only a communal sharing in rituals and gave expression to religious symbols. As religion and society evolved, a sense of sacredness takes concrete form in objects and images that becomes sacred, whether these are persons, animals or natural objects, human artifacts or symbolic expressions. The sacred also becomes conveyed and expressed for the living in ritual, where behaviour gives objective form to mood and feeling. A division among the sacred and the profane eventually marks of religious activity.
6.7
Religion as an Institution In viewing religion as an institution, sociologists evaluate its impact on human societies. As an institution, religion has operated to standardize the religious emotions, beliefs and practices and to spread and perpetuate them. It is a powerful instrument of social control and social integration. It is a strong bond of social unity through promoting of a community of thought. It deals with divine sanctions at well as with present and future rewards and punishments. Through this, it exercises a profound influence on one's behaviour. In viewing religion as a social institution, sociologist, have also evaluated its impact on individual and society as a whole. As an institution, religion is characterized by its universality, its rituals, its sacredness and its persistence. Religion can be viewed from both individual and societal points of view. The functions of social cohesion and social control are oriented towards the larger society while providing emotional and social support and other psychological explanations which are more oriented towards the individual.
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Although religion, like other institutions, has changed, it continues to be a potent force, rather with more vigour in our lives throughout the modern neo-liberal risky world. The assertion that God is dead is not true for a large part of the
world's population. Despite the incredible growth in the importance of science and empiricism since 19th century, which has caused many people to regard religion as a superstition, an irrational belief and religiosity and spirituality among people
are increasing in some way
or the other. At many times, religion persists in the face of scientific evidence. Even, the men who call themselves as scientists are not fully devoid of religious beliefs and take part in many religious rituals in the home as well as at the
workplace. We often hear a doctor saying that he or she will do his/her best to save the life of the patient but it is ultimately
the

God who saves. This proves that religion has always been present and has also been a prominent institution. In traditional societies the religious and non-religious spheres of life are not sharply differentiated. But in modern industrial societies, religion and society are not the same. The emergence of different modes of life experience leads to different meanings about life, producing a religious differentiation. Religion
thus may still provide cohesion but that may be only for certain sub-groups of society. 6.8
Functions of Religion Religion is a cultural universal because it fulfills several basic functions within human societies. It is a basic requirement of group life. In sociological terms, these include both manifest and latent functions. Among the manifest (open and stated) functions of religion are included defining the spiritual world and giving meaning to the divine. Religion provides an explanation for events that seem difficult to understand. By contrast, latent functions of religion are those which
are unintended, covert or hidden. Functionalists suggest that religion is a requirement for society and individual both because it serves both manifest and latent functions.
These functions are briefly discussed below. 6.8.1
Religion as an Integrative Force Durkheim believed that the primary function of religion was to preserve and solidify society. It functions to reinforce the collective unity or social solidarity of a group. Sharing the same religion or religious interpretation of the meaning of life
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unites people in a cohesive and building moral order. The social cohesion is developed through rituals such as reciting prayer in the honor of God, institutions of worship (church, temple, and mosque) and multitudes of observances and ceremonies practiced by different groups. The unifying rituals of different faiths are also observed by individuals on the most significant occasions such as birth, marriage and death. This integrative function of religion was particularly apparent in traditional, pre-industrial societies. Durkheim was particularly concerned with a perplexing question, 'how can human societies be held together when they are generally composed of individuals and social groups with diverse interests and aspirations'. In his view, religious bonds often transcend these personal and diverse forces. It gives people certain ultimate values and ends to hold in common.
Although the integrative impact of religion has been emphasized here, it should be noted that religion is not the only integrative force – the feelings of nationalism or patriotism may also serve the same end. In contemporary industrialism societies, people are also bound together by patterns of consumption, ways of life, laws and other forces. 6.8.2
Creating a Moral Community Religion provides a system of beliefs around which people may gather to belong to something greater than them in order to have their personal beliefs reinforced by the group and its rituals. Those who share a common ideology develop a collective identity and a sense of fellowship. Members of moral community also share a common life. This moral community gives rise to social community through the symbolism of the sacred that supports the more ordinary aspects of social life. Religion then legitimizes society. It provides sacred sanction for the social order and for its basic values and meanings. 6.8.3 Religion as Social Control Frank E. Manual (1959) had said that 'religion was a mechanism which inspired terror, but terror for the preservation of society'. While conservatives have valued religion for its protective function, radicals have also often recognized that religion can be a support of the established order and have consequently been critical of religion. Friedrich Engles, a life-long close associate of Karl Marx, once noted that
94 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 religion could make the masses 'submissive to the behest of the masters it has pleased God to place over them'. Durkheim also emphasized that besides acting as an integrating force, religion also reinforces social control in oppressive society. Religious beliefs can influence the conduct of those who believe in them. It keeps people 'in line' through folkways and mores. It provides a foundation for mores of society. Religious sanctions are sought for certain desirable patterns of behaviour to persist in society in the forms of mores. Thus, many taboos in various cultures have religious sanctions, e.g. the taboo against eating of pork in Jewish and Muslims and cow meat in Hindus. 6.8.4
Provides Rites of Passage Religion helps us in performing ceremonies and rituals related to rites of passage – birth, marriage, death and other momentous events – which give meaning and a social significance to our life. 6.8.5 Religion as Emotional Support Religion is a sense of comfort and solace to the individuals during times of personal and social crisis such as death of loved ones, serious injury. This is especially true when something senseless happens. It gives them emotional support and provides consolation, reconciliation and moral strength during trials, and defeats, personal losses, and unjust treatments. It provides a means whereby man can face the crisis and vicissitudes of life with strength and fortitude. The concepts of karma and transmigration among Hindus and Jesus Christ as son of Gog, and prayer among Christians seek to provide such fortitude, and strength. Thomas O'Dea (1970) writes, 'Men need emotional support in the face of uncertainty, consolation when confronted with disappointments, and anxiety'. It is often said that visiting places of worship and holy premises serves for outlets for releasing tension and stress. Religion offers consolation to oppressed people also by giving them hope that they can achieve salvation and eternal happiness in the afterlife. Religion increases the 'God will provide' attitude. 6.8.6 Religion serves a means to provide answers to Ultimate Questions

All religions have certain notions and beliefs that
provide answers to questions like why are we on earth, is there a supreme being, what happens
to life after death.
These beliefs are based on the faith that life has a purpose and there is someone or
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 95 something that controls the universe. It defines the spiritual word and gives meaning to the divine. Because of its beliefs concerning people's relationships to a beyond, religion provides an explanation for events that seem difficult to understand. 6.8.7 Religion as a Source of Identity Religion gives individuals a sense of identity – a profound and positive self- identity. It enables them to cope effectively with the many doubts and indignation of everyday life. Religion may suggest people that they are not worthless or meaningless creatures and thus, helps them alleviating the frustrating experiences of life which sometimes force a person to commit suicide. According to Thomas Luckman (1983), 'the prime function of religion is to give personal meaning to life.' In industrial societies, religion helps to integrate newcomers by providing a source of identity. For example, Bangladeshi immigrants in India, after settling in their new social environment, came to be identified as Indian Muslims. In a rapidly changing world, religious faith often provides an important sense of belonging. 6.8.8 Legitimating Function of Religion According to Max Weber (1930), religion may be used to explain, justify or rationalize the exercise of power. It reinforces the interests of those in power. Even in societies not as visible ruled by religious dogma, religion legitimates the political sector. For example, India's traditional caste system defined the social structure of society. According to one theory, caste system is creation of the priesthood (Brahmins) – the uppermost stratum of this system, but it also served the interests of political rulers by granting legitimacy to social inequality. Marx has acknowledged that religion plays an important role in legitimizing the existing social structure. The values of religion reinforce other social institutions and the social order as a whole and as a consequence it perpetuates social inequality in society. 6.8.9 Psychologizing Religion The notion of positive thinking serves as an example of psychologizing religion. It provides peace of mind, promises prosperity and success in life, as well as effective and happy human relations. It is thus a source of security and confidence, and also of happiness, and success in this world. But at times religion can be debilitating and personally destructive. Persons
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convinced of their own essential wickedness can suffer extreme personal difficulties. As Kingsley Davis (1949) noted, 'like other medicines, it (religion) can sometimes make worse the very thing it seeks to remedy. Innumerable are the psychoses and neuroses that have religious content.' But, in this role, religion is not always harmful. Many times, it serves as a liberating and integrating force for individuals. For instance, it helps in bringing change (sobriety) to seemingly hopeless alcoholics. 6.8.10 Religion acts as Psychotherapy In modern world, religion has also become a supporting psychology – a form of psychotherapy. Now, God is conceived of as a humane and considerate God. Such a hopeful perception helps the sufferer in alleviating his/her personal and social crisis. A new vocation of religious practitioner has recently come up in the mental health field as a helping professional. It already existed in village India and other places in the form of shamans, priests and magicians. 6.8.11
Religion as an Agent of Social Change While religion supports the status quo in its priestly function, it inspires great change in its prophetic function. It can enable individuals to transcend social forces; to act in ways other than those prescribed by the social order. Mahatma Gandhi, Jesus, Thomas More all died upholding spiritual beliefs that were not those of the social order in which they lived. Religion, in its prophetic function, provides individuals with an unshakable foundation of social criticism which later on become the basis for change. Many religious groups of the world protested against Vietnam, and Iraq, and an age-old Buddha statue in Afghanistan. Generally, religion
is regarded as an impediment in the path of social change but many religious groups, by criticizing existing rules of social morality and social injustice, and community or government actions, help in bringing about social change. In this regard, Max Weber's pioneering work on the relationship between economy and religion, The Protestant Ethic, and Spirit of Capitalism (1930) can be cited that how Protestant ethic had helped in the development of spirit of capitalism in certain European nations. Weber's major theoretical point to be noted here is that ideas can change history and in doing so can contribute to changes in the material context of life. Despite establishing relationship between religious ethic and economy, Weber
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 97 argued that the effects of religion on society are unpredictable and varied. Sometimes it might have conservative effect, whereas in other cases it might contribute to social change. Thus, Buddhism militated against the development of capitalism in China, whereas in Northern Europe, Calvinism had the opposite effect. Contrary to Weber, Marx has put forth a quite opposite thesis. He opined that religion impedes social change by encouraging oppressed people to focus on other worldly concerns rather than on their immediate poverty or exploitation. He said, ' Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the feelings of heartless world....It is the opiate of the people'.

Whereas Marx had seen religion as a consequence of the economy, Weber believed that religion helped to shape a new economic system. It should be noted that many religious leaders have acted in the forefront of many social and political movements. For example, Martin Luther King fought for civil rights of Blacks in America. Swami Dayanand worked aggressively for women education and widow remarriage
in India. 6.8.12 Religion as an Agent of De-politicization According to Bryan Wilson (1976), religion functions as an agent of de- politicization. Marxists suggest that by inducing a false consciousness among the disadvantages, religion lessens the possibility of
a
collective political action. In simpler terms, religion keeps people away from seeing their lives and societal conditions in political terms. 6.8.13 Religion controls Sexuality According to B. Turner (1992), religion has the function of controlling the sexuality of the body, in order to secure the regular transmission of property via the family. In feudalism and now capitalism, religious control of sexuality is an important vehicle for the production of legitimate offspring. In the end, it may be said that in spite of being regarded as superstition, religion is persisting for such a long time as a social institution because of its varied functions cited above that it performs for the welfare of both the individual and the society. At many times, even the so called educated people regard religious laws as superior to the man-made laws. In primitive and traditional societies, and even some sections of modern societies, despite all-round attack over it, religion is a pervasive matter, and religious beliefs, and rites play an important part in the activities of various kinds of
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groups – from family to occupational groups. Though inhabitants and citizens of a modern society, many remain traditional in their religious and moral outlook. For some, this means that religious authority and principles override that of secular law. 6.9 Dysfunctions of Religion
In common parlance the functions of religion are more highlighted. Its dysfunctions or negative functions, which may be covert, are not much talked about but in some instances religious loyalties are seen as dysfunctional. They contribute to tension or even conflict between groups or nations. Millions of European Jews were either exterminated or killed by Nazis during Second World War. Besides this, history is replete with the examples of wars which were fought on the issues of religion. Even in modern times, nation such as Lebanon (Muslims versus Christians), Israel (Palestinians versus Jews), India (Hindus versus Muslims) and many others have been greatly affected by religion. Generally, it is held that religion makes a unique and indispensable contribution to social integration. This proposition is based on the studies of religion in non- literate societies. How far this proposition is true in complex and changing societies is of question today. What are the unintended consequences of religion? What are the functional alternatives to religion in meeting social needs – the need of social integration? It is difficult to defend the proposition that religion alone supported social integration or social control in modern societies like America or Britain or even Indian society. It is often seen as a disintegrating force in some quarters. A small incident of the destruction of old structure of Babri Mosque has deepened the gulf between Muslims and Hindus in India. Religion is not necessarily a beneficial or admirable force or social control. For instance, Hindu religion reinforces traditional patterns of behaviour that call for the subordination of the powerless. Subservient position of women in Hindu and many other religions is the outcome of this feeling. Religion is a potent impediment to social change and progress. It supports the existing social order and encourages both the privileged and dispossessed to accept the status quo. The caste system and to some extent joint family system in Hindus are reinforced by the Hindu philosophy of religion. These two pillars of Hindu society have put many hindrances in the developmental process of the country.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 99 6.10 Summary Marx has strongly criticized religion. For Marx all that was fundamental in the science of society proceeded from the material and especially the economic sphere. For him therefore religion is, to be sure, superstition, but to stop at this point is to limit religion to merely abstract belief. It leaves the impression that religion may be dislodged simply by new, rational belief. Marx's sense of the matter is more profound. Merely changing beliefs is not enough. The transformation of an entire social order is required, for belief is deeply rooted in the social relations of men. Religion, writes Marx, is the self-consciousness and self-feeling of man who either has not yet found himself or has already lost himself. But man is no abstract being, squatting outside the world. Man is the world of man, the state, and society. This state, this society produces religion, a perverted world consciousness because they are a perverted world. Religion is the compendium of that world, its encyclopedic, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn completion, its universal ground for consolation and justification. It is the fantastic realization of the human essence because the human essence has no true reality. Marx believed, like Ludwig Feuerbach that what man gives to God in the form of worship he takes from himself. That is, man is persuaded through suffering or through false teaching to project what is his to a supernatural being. But he was convinced, unlike Feuerbach, that what is fundamental is not religious forms – against which Feuerbach had urged revolt-but the economic forms of existence.
The abolition of religion as the "illusory happiness" of the people is required for their real happiness,

declared Marx. But before religion can be abolished the conditions which nurture it must be done away with. " The demand to give up the illusions about its condition is the demand to give up a condition which needs illusion". Marx's criticism of religion is thus deeply connected with the criticism of right and the criticism of politics. As Marx put it... "The criticism of heaven transforms itself into the criticism of earth, the criticism of religion into the criticism of law and the criticism of theology into the criticism of politics". Marx was an atheist as well as a great humanist. He had profound sympathy for all who look up to religion for salvation. This is amply clear from his following observation : "The criticism of religion ends with the teaching that man is the highest essence of man, hence with the categorical imperative to overthrow all relations in whom man is debased, enslaved abandoned..."]

100 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 6.11 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) Define religion. (ii) What are the elements of religion? Explain. (iii) What is the need to study religion? (iv) Differentiate between sacred and profane. (v) Write a note on religions of the primitive people. G-B (10 Marks each) (vi) Discuss the functions of religion. (vii) What are the dysfunctions of religion? (viii) How does Marx criticize religion? (ix) Write a note on religion as an institution. 6.12 Suggested Readings (i) Abraham, M. Francis (2015) : Contemporary Sociology – An Introduction to Concepts and Theories (Second Edition), New Delhi : Oxford University Press. (ii) Rawat, H. K. (2018) : Contemporary Sociology, Jaipur : Rawat Publications.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 101 Unit - 7 ❑ Family : Concept, Types and Functions Structure 7.1 Objectives 7.2 Introduction 7.3 Family : Concept 7.4 Family : Definition 7.5 Family : Characteristics 7.6 Family : Forms 7.6.1 Nuclear Family 7.6.2 Extended Family 7.6.3 Families Based on Descent, Inheritance and Residence 7.7 Indian Joint Family 7.8 Family : Functions 7.9 Future of the Institution of Family 7.10 Summary 7.11 Questions 7.12 Suggested Readings 7.1 Objectives ● To understand family as a concept ● To understand the characteristics of family ● To understand the forms of family ● To understand the features of the Indian joint family ● To understand the functions of family ● To predict the future of the institution of family 101

102 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 7.2 Introduction Family is one of the most important social institutions. Most of the world's population lives in family units; it is an important primary group in the society. Family is the most pervasive and universal social institution. It plays a vital role in the socialization of individuals. Family is regarded as the first society of human beings. It is known as the first school of citizenship. One is born in family, grows in it, works for it and dies in it. One develops emotional attachment to it. The parental care imparts to the child the first lesson in social responsibility and acceptance of self-discipline. Family is the backbone of social structure. The difference between a living and a dead social system – of whatever size, be it the largest or the smallest – is the presence, or disappearance (due to death or migration), of its members. A social system lives through its membership. Individuals who belong to it may die or withdraw; their replacement is a must if a system is to survive. Since a social system is a plurality of interacting individuals, the first functional pre-requisite is the presence of individuals in interaction. Since individuals have a limited life span compared to a social system – particularly a society or a community – the system must ensure their replacement when they die or move out. Every social system has to attend to the question of recruitment of its membership, of ensuring continuing membership. For societies as a whole, this recruitment pre- requisite is fulfilled through the institution of marriage – persons of opposite genders are united for the purpose of sexual congress, necessary for the process of reproduction. The continual living together of mating partners and their progeny creates conditions for the small primary group called the family. 7.3 Family : Concept Anthropologist George Murdock (1949) has observed that there are only two truly units of human organization – the family and the community. Philosophers and social analysts have also noted that society is a structure made of families and these have been observable throughout man's history. It is unlikely that any society has ever existed without some social arrangements that could be termed family. Even in most primitive societies, it existed in some or the other form. It has remained present in all cultures, despite variations in its composition, descent, and residence and authority patterns.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 103 The family is the basic social institution from which the other institutions – political, economic, religious and educational – have grown as increasing cultural complexity made them necessary. It is the institution which links the individual to the large social structure and thus performs the mediating function in the large society. It is through the family that the society is able to elicit from the individual his/her necessary contribution. It grows out of biological needs such as procreation, protection of the expectant mother and the infant child and old and the sick that cannot support and live by themselves. Not only this, it also helps in the socialization of the young, the production and distribution of food and the exploitation of environment which is essential to permit the satisfaction of the more intimate biological needs which cannot take place without organized cooperative efforts. Recruitment by birth as the principal mode of enlisting membership is common to all societies. It is this aspect of recruitment that has given prominence to the institution of the family. Apart from religion, family is the only institution that is universally found in all societies. It is the family towards which every individual seems to be oriented. The individual carries out assigned tasks as a member of the family. While most individuals marry, it is not compulsory for them to do so. People can choose to remain bachelors/ spinsters. Widowers and widows of marriageable age and without children can also prefer widowhood to remarriage. Unmarried people still belong to the family to which they are born; only they will not have a family of their own. In many societies, ascetics who decide to remain celibate are treated with respect for their sacrifice; while some persons may become their disciples, they do not preach celibacy to all their followers. Those who renounce the world for higher religious goals also depend on the families in society for their sustenance. They return from their hermitages to the towns and villages to beg for alms. It is in this sense that: family is the fundamental instrumental foundation of the larger social structure, in that all other institutions depend on its contributions. It is the family that performs the functions of reproduction of the young, physical maintenance of family members, social placement of the child, socialization and social control. The family is regarded as universal in three different aspects : ● An arrangement to meet a universally defined biological need or drive; ● Understood as the smallest group consisting of people related through blood or marriage, who takes care of the children; this is found in all societies; and
104 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 ● The family fulfills some universally applicable functions of society, such as replacement of members, socialization and social control. It will be seen that in the first meaning, the emphasis is on the biological need for sex; in the second, the focus is on the group; while in the third, it is the functions that the family performs for the wider society that are regarded as crucial. In other words, family is universal because it provides a group setting where both the biological needs of the individuals and the functional requirements of society are fulfilled. Family, understood as a group of people of both sexes, of different age groups, with some sexual relationships within the group permitted while others are tabooed, is universally present. But its uniqueness ends there. Each society has a distinctive family culture that is defined not by biology, but by the sociology of the society in question. 7.4 Family : Definition What is meant by the term family? The term family has been defined in various ways in a both narrow and broad sense. In a narrow sense, Elliot and Merrill (1961) defined the family as 'a biological social unit composed of husband, wife and children.' Almost, in similar terms, Ogburn and Nimcoff (1950) stated, 'the family is more or less a durable association of husband and wife with or without children or of a man and woman alone with children.' However, in modern times, one of the most notable features of the Western society has been the increase in the single- parent family, i.e. a family where one parent, usually the mother resides with and takes responsibility for parenting her children. Not only this, there are instances of pairing in which unmarried people are living together or homosexual couple rearing children. Such people call their pairing as families. In a broader sense, family has been defined by Burgess and Locke (1963) as '.... a group of persons united by the ties of marriage, blood or adoption, constituting a single household, interacting and intercommunicating with each other in their respective social role of husband and wife, mother and father, son and daughter, brother and sister, creating and maintaining a common culture.' Similarly, Oxford Dictionary of Sociology (1994) defined family as an intimate domestic group of people related to one another by bonds of blood, sexual mating or legal ties. According to MacIver and Page (1959), 'the family is a group defined by a sex
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 105 relationship sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children.' In the two definitions cited above, the roles, functions and relationships between different members have also been taken into account besides the associational aspect of the family. Looking to the possibility of its polygamous character as found in many primitive and even modern societies, anthropologist Edward Westermark defined family

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as 'a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of parties entering the union and in the case of the children born of it'.

This definition seems to be most exhaustive as it includes both its associational and institutional aspects. Recently, Anderson and Sabatelli (1999) have defined family as 'an interdependent group of individuals who have a shared sense of history, experience, some degree of emotional bondage and devise strategies for meeting needs of individual members and the groups as a whole.' This definition locates the crucial roles and responsibilities of the family members as a linked entity. Family can be studied as a group, a social system and a social institution. As a social group, it consists of spouses and their children with or without other nearest blood relatives. It is the primary social group in which early childhood socialization takes place. As a social system, it is composed of interdependent parts, it has a characteristic organization and pattern of functioning and it has sub-systems that are part of larger system. The family is also considered as a social institution because it is an area of human social life that is organized in discernible patterns. It helps in meeting our crucial societal goals and needs. As an institution, it places emphasis on household, marital, and kinship relationships, along with norms and values that govern inter, and intra-familial relationships. 7.5 Family : Characteristics Every family is known to possess the following characteristics : (i) Family is a universal group, it is found in some form or the other in all types of societies, whether primitive or modern. (ii) A family is based on marriage, which results in a mating relationship between two adults of the opposite sex. (iii) Every family provides an individual with a name and hence it is a source of nomenclature.

106 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (iv) Family is the group through which descent or ancestry can be traced. (v) Family is the most important group in any individual's life. (vi) Family is the most basic and important group in the primary socialization of an individual. (vii) A family is generally limited in size, even large joint and extended families. (viii) The family is the most important group in a society; it is the nucleus of all institutions, groups and organizations. (ix) Family is based on emotions and sentiments. Mating, procreation, maternal and fraternal devotion, love and affection are the basis of family ties. (x) The family is a unit of emotional and economic cooperation. (xi) Each member of the family shares duties and responsibilities. (xii) Every family is made up of husband and wife, and/or one or more children, both natural and adopted. (xiii) Each family is made up of different social roles, like those of husband, wife, mother, father, children, brothers or sisters. 7.6 Family : Forms Families throughout the world vary in many different ways. There are tremendous variations in family structures around the world. Variations in family structures include variations in accepted modes of mate selection (endogamy and exogamy), forms of marriage (monogamy and polygamy), rules of authority (patriarchal or matriarchal), rules of decent and inheritance (patrilineal or matrilineal and sometimes bilateral), rules of residence (patrilocal, matrilocal or neolocal) as we find in modern society. We here explain the important forms of family based on structure and marriage. 7.6.1 Nuclear Family It is a unit generally composed of married couple (in the statuses of husband and wife) in the role of mother and father or parent and their unmarried dependent children, either natural or adopted, living together. It is called nuclear as it serves as the core or nucleus upon which larger family groups are built. It is also sometimes referred to as conjugal family. Such a type of family is relatively independent of the

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 107 wider kinship network because the social emphasis is placed primarily on the marital relationships. William Goode (1959) observed that spouses in the nuclear family have to rely heavily on each other for the companionship and support that might be provided by other relatives in an extended (joint) family system. The term nuclear family is sometimes used for such families also which may and may not include husband and wife. They consist of any two or more persons related to one another by blood, marriage or adoption who share a common residence. Thus, a brother and sister or a single parent and child would be nuclear families but not strictly speaking conjugal families. In conjugal family the emphasis is primarily on conjugal bound, i.e. marital relationship. In virtually all societies we can identify this type of family. In most traditional societies, including India, the nuclear family was part of a larger kinship network of some type. Anthropologist G. P. Murdock (1949) asserts that it is a universal human grouping. However, there are several categories of evidence against this position. Family units comprising step parents as a consequence of divorce or remarriage is known as reconstituted family. It is a form of nuclear family in which one or both parents have had children from a previous relationship. 7.6.2 Extended Family When nucleus of the conjugal family is extended by the addition of other closely related kin (grandparents, aunts, uncles, nephews, brothers and their wives, cousin sisters, etc.) it is called an extended family. Giddens (1997) writes: 'when close relatives other than a married couple and their children live in the same household or in close and continuous relationship with one another, we speak of extended family.' As stated above, an extended family may include grandparents, brothers and their wives and children, sisters and their husbands, aunt and nephews.

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The term refers to a family system in which several generations live in one household.

It consists of several individual families related by blood or marital ties. In most traditional societies, the extended family is the norms which go beyond the nuclear family unit. But, the old structure of extended family is crumbling and fast changing everywhere and in its place a modified extended family is gradually coming up. The form of extended family differs from society to society. Indian joint family is also one of the forms of extended family. It is an extended form of consanguine family in which many blood relatives together with their mates and children reside. It is different from conjugal family which has a married couple as its core surrounded by a fringe of blood relatives, whereas the consanguine family has the group of
108 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 brothers and sisters at its core surrounded by a fringe of husband and wives. Generally, it is defined as, when two or more lineal or collateral nuclear families live together in one household, it is called joint family (in reality, joint families are an amalgam of what have been otherwise several families of orientation and procreation) (Majumdar 1956). Families formed on the basis of marriage are of two types: monogamous family, in which one man marries one woman at one time, while polygamous family is formed by the concurrent marriage of one sex to two or more members of the opposite sex. Polygamous family is of two types: polygynous family, in which a man may be married to more than one woman at the time and polyandrous family, in which a woman may have two or more husbands simultaneously. This type of family is much less common. 7.6.3 Families Based on Descent, Inheritance and Residence Norms of descent, inheritance, authority patterns and residence also decide the forms of family. The most common form of descent is patrilineal. In this type of descent, lineage is traced through father's kin: offspring owe a special allegiance and loyalty to father and his kin. It indicates that only the father's relatives are important in matter of property, inheritance and the establishment of emotional ties. Conversely, in societies which favour matrilineal descent, the mother's relatives assume the important role among offspring. This pattern of descent is not common, but they do exist as we find in Khasi and Garo tribes of North East India. When both sides of a person's family are regarded important, this system is referred to as bilateral descent. In this system, kinship lines are traced equally through the biological relatives of both the mother and the father and inheritance is passed on in equal proportions to children regardless of sex. Now the question arises: who rules? Who has the power to make a decision? Societies vary the way the power within the family is distributed. Most societies are patriarchal, i.e. the men have the power and authority and are dominant. They dominate in all family decision making. Women hold low status in such societies. By contrast, in matriarchal societies, the authority rests with the females, especially wives and mothers. This system is rare and even in such society male members is seen exercising power through female members. The least common pattern of authority is the egalitarian model in which spouses are regarded as equals and decisions are equally taken by husband and wife. In modern times, the egalitarian family has begun to replace the patriarchal family as a social norm.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 109 Norms of residence are very much different. When a married couple chooses its own place of residence or decides to establish a separate household, it is known as neolocal family. This type of residence pattern seems to be linked most closely with norms of monogamy and individualism. In many societies, the bride and groom live with groom's parents (the patrilocal family) or with wife's parents (matrilocal family). In such cultures it is felt that the new couples need emotional support and economic support of kinsfolk. Usually it is seen that the young couple begin their married life not as an independent household (neolocal residence) but with parents of either spouse and later on after sometime they end up an independent household of their own. Sociologists also distinguish families of orientation and families of procreation. The family (usually nuclear) in which one is born and reared is termed as family of orientation. This is the family in which the most basic early childhood socialization occurs. Contrary to this, when a person marries, a new nuclear (or conjugal) family is formed and it is known as family of procreation. It is a family in which the person procreates after being married. This family consists of oneself and one's spouse, and children. Thus, a person becomes member of two different but overlapping nuclear families. Marriage is a dividing line between family of orientation and family of procreation in terms of the nature of roles one performs in two families. 7.7 Indian Joint Family There are certain technical differences between the joint and the extended family. In Western society what is called joint family meant one uniting both father's and mother's lines. In this sense, Indian joint family is different from Western joint family. It is not only the extended form of nuclear family as is generally supposed, but it has other ingredients of jointness also. Co-residentiality, i.e. living together of nearest kin relatives with the conjugal family, is only one characteristic of Indian joint family and that too has lost much importance these days. What is meant by jointness that makes a family joint in Indian context, we start with much quoted definition of Irawati Karve (1953). She define
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joint family as 'a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cook at one hearth, who hold property in common, who participate in common family worship and

who

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are related to each other as some particular type of kindred.' Karve has defined the family in

historical context : the family that seems to have existed in Vedic and Epic period or in mediaeval times. This definition emphasizes on five characteristics of the joint
110 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 family; (i) common residence, (ii) common kitchen, (iii) common property and income, (iv) common worship, (v) some kind of kinship relations. If we apply these characteristics to the present Indian families, it would be very difficult to call a handful of families to be joint in the above sense. According to I.P. Desai (1956), it is the relationship between the members of a household that determines the type of family. What distinguishes nuclear family from the joint family is the difference in the role, relations and the normative patterns of behaviour among different members. He defined it as under: '

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we call that household joint family which has greater generation depth (

i.e. three or more generations) than the nuclear

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family and the members of which are related to one another by property, income, mutual rights and obligations.'

Desai thinks that when two nuclear families having kinship relations are living separately but function under one authority, it will be a joint family. For him, generational depth, rights and obligations and property relations are the main criteria for explaining joint family. Some sociologists have given importance to commensality and fulfillment of obligations as the criteria of joint family, irrespective of common residence and common kitchen. It is the authority of the elder in matters of family and religion, joint investment of capital, joint enjoyment of profits, and of including birth, marriage and death expenses out of joint funds that determines a family to be joint. Thus, the main basis of joint family is the subordination of narrow individual interests to the larger interest of the family as a whole. It is the co-operative spirit among the members to help each other at the time of any calamity and their attendance at family functions and the observation of obligations or responsibilities towards are the members of the family rather than the facts of co-residence, commensality and the size of the group that keep the family joint. Due to the exigencies of modern times, it is not possible to place undue emphasis on common residence and common kitchen as dimensions of jointness. In its modern form, the nuclear families as the units of a joint family retain considerable autonomy and yet maintain connections with the other nuclear families of brothers and their parents to exchange gifts, goods and services. This type of family differs from a traditional joint family in that its members may live separately in the same household or in different parts of the city or in different cities in India or outside India and choose their occupations independently rather than following the traditional parental occupation. Yet it may be joint family if its members contribute their bit to the feelings of jointness by rendering financial and other kinds of help, performing various reciprocal obligations and following joint family norms. Physical jointness (common property,

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 111 purse, common land or business) has more or less weakened, but sentimental jointness still exists. This we can see at the observance of any family ritual – birth, marriage and death – when all members gather. When a joint family grows so large as to be intended to split apart, brothers start new joint families of their own. The Indian joint family has probably always gone through such cycles of formation and fission. To conclude, it may be said that it is set of relationships and rights and obligations that make a family to be joint rather than its mere structure. Instead of large joint families, we will have only locally functioning effective small joint families of two generations and so. At the same time, even the majority of those nuclear families in which a man, his wife and unmarried children live separately, will continue to be joint with their primary kin like father or brother in terms of functioning (Ahuja, 1993). At the level of interaction, if the actions are oriented towards the husband, wife and children, it should be understood as nuclear family, but if they are oriented towards to a wider group of relatives (brothers, sisters, uncles, aunt and grandparents), then, it should be understood as a joint family. The basic elements of the traditional joint family may be summarized in the following points : (i) Responsibilities of members – duties and rights. (ii) Authority structure based on status. (iii) Affectional pattern – intimacy. (iv) Sentiments – mutuality of interest and mutual assistance. (v) Primary group controls. The family has been one of the most important institutional pillars of Indian society. 'If there is an "ism" that governs Indian society and its institutions, it is familyism' (Kakar and Kakar, 2007). 7.8 Family : Functions From the fact that family is a universal social institution, it is clear that it has very important social functions. (i) Procreation Every society needs to replace its members. Although reproduction can take

112 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 place outside the marital union, it is only the family that can effectively nurture and socialize the human young to meet the needs of society. (ii) Sexual Regulation No society can allow unrestricted promiscuity. First, every society has to ensure that statuses and roles are defined so that individuals can function effectively in assigned positions. Second, by specifying that individuals marry within or outside certain social groups, society is establishing networks of relationships and forging useful alliances. (iii) Economic Support In the pre-industrial society, the family was the unit of production and consumption. Today as individuals pursue independent economic activities outside the home, the family may no longer be a significant unit of production. But the family is still responsible for maintenance of the human young, education, training and material support. In India, the family's support for children does not end when they turn eighteen; in the absence of productive employment many adults continue to depend on their parents. (iv) Social Placement Every individual is recognized as the member of a family and thus has an inherited status. Children inherit not only the family name and material assets but also a social standing. In fact, birth into a family determines a person's caste, class, religion, language and clan. (v) Socialization The family is the most important and effective agent of socialization. The human young is dependent on his or her parents for a long time. The child also spends the most formative years of his or her life in the family. The institution of family is responsible for initiating the child into the social circles, religious groups, language and caste. Thus the child gets socialized into the group's values, beliefs, standards and practices. (vi) Emotional Security This is one of the most important functions of the family. Food and shelter can be provided by other institutions such as the orphanage. Studies have shown that children who grew up in loving families tend to become mentally and physically healthier than those brought up in other institutions.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 113 Many of these functions continue to be performed in large measure by the Indian family. But some of the functions such as education, apprenticeship for economic activities, training, recreation and religion have been taken over by schools, religious institutions and other community clubs. 7.9 Future of the Institution of Family The existence of the twin institutions of marriage and family, which used to be pivot of all community life, seems to be in peril because of the changes in the attitude and norms of associational living. There have been loud claims that families are in decline and there have even been those who welcome the so-called demise of the family, because it is viewed as oppressive and bankrupt institutions. Scholars of Marxian leanings advocate that there is no need of marriage and stable traditional family. They regard these institutions as the outcome of patriarchal structures, which represent capitalism. Critics of modern family life suggest that a woman's inferior place in the home compound, female inequity in society at large and virtues of intimacy and emotional attachment, in fact, unveils a system of exploitation of wives by husbands and children by parents. Commenting on the modern family, Edmund Leach (1967) wrote, "The parents and children huddled together in their loveliness take too much out of each other. The parents fight; the children rebel." Leach further argues that the 'isolation and close-knit nature of contemporary family life inculcates hate which finds expression in conflict in the wider community.' Since industrialization and its attendant harmful consequences and the disorganization of family life (breaking of family ties, open attitude about sex, increasing divorce rate, a general tendency for seeking personal happiness, mental and emotional disturbances, delinquent behaviour and illegitimate children) and the increasing tendency of living together without marriage after the advent of IT revolution in the mid-20th century, it had become much common to forecast pessimistic future of marriage and family. Whether the family is breaking up or adapting to the modern needs ? Traditionalists affirm the idea of breaking up or declining or to use David Cooper's word 'dying'. Feminists and other critics of the conventional family have an interest in derogating it in some way or the other. Some experts are concerned about the ultimate outcome of the profound changes that occurred after industrialization and IT revolution of the 20 th century and are afraid that there will be a complete breakdown of the family. It is rather 114 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 premature to tell the demise of the family and not to expect that the family will adapt itself to the new situation. Nonetheless, it is but definite that the family is fast changing, and its format is crumbling and is being replaced by a new one. In spite of the constant prediction of its demise, the family remains a significant institution. It is the only refuge in a brutal society. The family has become the sphere of personal life at a time when people are increasingly looking to themselves, outside of productive work, for meaning and purpose. Resilience and elasticity are the most potent characteristics of the institution of family which are keeping it alive. It is certain that there are changes underway, and possibly more to come, which will not only change the structure and functions of the family but also its meaning. The loss of the traditional functions was the basis for defining the family which used to be the source of emotions and sentiments. These are not found in an impersonal, competitive world of today, for making it a haven in a heartless world. All societies develop myths about their present family systems, as well as about the past ones. It is a well-established tendency to glorify the past. How can we assume that the modern family system and the morals attached to it are really worse than the golden past, if we go deeply in the details of individual lives of 18th and 19th centuries? The traditional family as it was usually thought of in its purest form never existed. There are too many oppressive facets to families in the past to make them a model for today. The theme of bemoaning the rapid pace of modern change, as against the harmonious unaltered family behaviour of the past, is an old one. We cannot, however, prove that life was much more harmonious a century ago, or people were more contended in it. There is no doubt that the structure of the family and the norms of associational living are changing. The traditional expectation that the marriage will last for a lifetime has become an ideal in the past. In this regard, Anthony Giddens has suggested that terms like broken marriages and broken homes embody the traditional ideal and have unfortunate negative connotations, especially regarding children whose parents are separated or divorced. Thus, the changes in the family as discussed may be viewed from the point of reorganization of the family. 7.10 Summary To conclude, it may be said that the future of the family and marriage is not bleak. Both institutions, which are rooted in the basic in emotions of love and

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 115 affection, will survive in some form or the other. Their structure may differ from place to place but the content (functions) shall keep the trinity of father, mother, and child together. The form of the new emerging family may be the neo-conventional family - a family with suits to the needs of the modern man. The social changes that have transformed earlier forms of marriage and family are mostly irreversible such as the modern woman would not like to return to the old domestic situation, confined to the four walls of the house. This was quite painful for them. The norms of family living, and sexual partnership have also undergone a sea change. Emotional communication between members of a conjugal family is becoming more and more central both in the personal and family domains. Because also undergone a sea change. Emotional communication between members of a conjugal family is becoming more and more central both in the personal and family domains. Because of the emphasis on the modern values of individual freedom, personal happiness, satisfaction and self- fulfillment both partners now do not want to live in a miserable marriage and thus there is every possibility of the steep increase in divorces in near future. This may be the cause of concern for those people who advocate for the old values of family stability. In reality, the family is not collapsing or dying as is generally said by the traditionalists; it is merely diversifying in its form and functions. Transitional families (neo-local, functionally joint, based on equality of sexes) are increasing and may become the order of the day. 7.11 Questions G-A (5 masks each) (i) Define Family. (ii) What are the various forms of the family ? (iii) What is the future of the family ? (iv) Differentiate between nuclear family and joint family. G-B (10 Marks each) (v) What are the characteristics of family ? (vi) Write a note on the functions of family. (vii) What is the structure and functions of the Indian Joint Family ?
116 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 7.12 Suggested Readings (i) Abraham, M. Francis (2015) : Contemporary Sociology – An Introduction to Concepts and Theories (Second Edition), New Delhi : Oxford University Press. (ii) Atal, Yogesh (2012) : Sociology – A Study of the Social Sphere, New Delhi : Dorling Kindersley (India) Pvt. Ltd. (iii) Dasgupta, Samir; Saha, Paulomi (2012) : An Introduction to Sociology, New Delhi : Dorling Kindersley (India) Pvt. Ltd. (iv) Rawat, H. K. (2018) : Contemporary Sociology, Jaipur : Rawat Publications.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 117 Unit - 8 ❑ Gender : Types, Roles and Functions Structure 8.1 Objectives 8.2 Introduction 8.3 Sex and Gender 8.3.1 Sex 8.3.2 Gender 8.4 Deconstruction of Sex and Gender 8.5 Gender Roles 8.6 Gender Stereotypes 8.6.1 Stereotyping 8.6.2 Kinds of Gender Stereotypes 8.6.3 How gender stereotypes affect people? 8.6.4 How to fight gender stereotypes ? 8.7 Summary 8.8 Questions 8.9 Suggested Readtngs 8.1 Objectives ● To understand the distinction between sex and gender ● To understand the deconstruction of sex and gender ● To understand the gender roles ● To understand the idea of gender stereotypes 8.2 Introduction When filling out a document such as a job application or school registration 117
118 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 form you are often asked to provide your name, address, phone number, birth date, and sex or gender. But have you ever been asked to provide your sex and your gender ? As with most people, it may not have occurred to you that sex and gender are not the same. However, sociologists and most other social scientists view sex and gender as conceptually distinct. Sex refers to physical or physiological differences between males and females, including both primary sex characteristics (the reproductive system) and secondary characteristics such as height and muscularity. Gender is a term that refers to social or cultural distinctions associated with being male or female. Gender identity is the extent to which one identifies as being either masculine or feminine. Concepts are terms used by social scientist as analytical categories to study society and social behaviour. Through the use of concepts social scientists develop categories that act as aids in the scientific investigation of behaviour in the society. In gender studies there are several such concepts that provide the framework in the study of behaviour. The concept of gender gives recognition to the fact that every known society distinguishes between women and men. Therefore, the concept of gender is a systematic way of understanding men and women socially and the patterning of relationships between them. The concept of patriarchy helps in the study of the male dominance in the society. The concept of gender helps to study the differences in behaviour between men and women and to analyze the basis of these differences as basically biological or as social constructions by the society. In feminist writings and in discourses on Gender Studies, these concepts are basic to our understanding of social differences between men and women in the society. A study of these concepts is useful as analytical categories. 8.3 Sex and Gender The term “sex” and “gender” are concepts used by academicians, researchers and feminist writers to make a distinction between the biologically different “male” and “female” and between the socially different “man” and “woman”. Feminist sociologists suggest that there is a need to understand and distinguish between the two terms “sex” and “gender” in academic discourses and writings. 8.3.1 Sex In a very broad way, “sex” refers to the biological and physiological differences between male and female sex. The term sex is a physical differentiation between the biological male and the biological female. Thus, when an infant is born, the infant

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 119 comes to be labeled “boy” or “girl” depending on their sex. The genital difference between male and female is the basis of such characterization. There is a biological difference between the sexes and most people are born (expect for a few ambiguous cases) as one sex or another. However, it has been argued that having been born into one sex or another, individuals are then socialized according to specific gender expectations and roles. Biological males learn to take on masculine roles. They are socialized to think and act in masculine ways. Biological females learn to take on feminine roles. They are socialized to think and behave in feminine ways. As the feminist writer Simone de Behaviour puts it “one is not born a man but becomes one”, “one is not born a woman but becomes one”. At birth, besides the basic biological differences in the genitals and reproductive organs, there is not much difference between the male child and the female child. Society makes the differences between boy and girl through gender constructions. The biological difference between the sexes does to some extent explain certain psychological and socially constructed differences. This view is criticized by some feminist writers like Judith Butler. Judith Butler argues that sex is natural and comes first. Gender is perceived as a secondary construct which is imposed over the top of this natural distinction. Viewed thus, Butler argues “sex” itself becomes a social category. This means that the distinction between “male” and “female” is a social distinction made by the society, that is, it is a social construction. It is a particular way of perceiving and dividing the differences between “male” and “female”. Butler explains that “sex” though seen as biological, is as much a product of society as it gender. So the term sex is also socially constructed. The scientific, biological meaning and definition of sex is an important source of explanation to point out the basic differences in sex. Butler’s concern is that “biology” itself, as a scientific discipline, is a social system of representation and more important there are a number of differences between human beings, but only some become a basis for dividing human beings into distinct types. In other words, even if we accept that there are basic differences between the “sexes” there is no logical or rational reason for use. This is the basis for dividing human beings into two groups or sexes. Judith Butler further explains “sex” is not just an analytical category. It is a normative category as well. It stipulates what men and women are. It also stipulates what men and women ought to be. It formulates rules to regulate the behaviour of men and women. Butler concludes that sex is also a social category. There are some feminist writers who do not agree with Butler and regard “sex” as basically biological in nature. 120 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Much research in sociology assumes that each person has one sex, one sexuality and one gender. Sometimes sex and gender are used interchangeably. Sometimes sex means sexuality; it may refer to biology or physiology. A woman is assumed to be feminine female, a man a masculine male. Research variables polarize sex as males and females; sexuality is polarized as homosexual and hetero sexuals; gender is homosexual as and women these reflect conventionalize bodies that do not take into account transvestites, transsexuals, bisexuals and so on. In gender studies or women studies the four of concern is on the biological sex – man, woman, male female and the way in which biological differences have been socially gendered in different ways by the patriarchal society. When infants are categorized as a particular sex, they are subject to a range of gendered behaviour through gendered socialization. This brings us to the question what is gender? 8.3.2 Gender The concept of gender in feminist writings and other sociological discourses became popular in the early 1970. In simple terms, gender explain the differences between men and women in social terms as men, and as what a man can do; as “woman”, and as what a woman can or cannot do. Therefore, gender is an analytical category that is socially constructed to differentiate the biological difference between men and women. The term gender is also used to describe the differences in behaviour between men and women which are described as “masculine” and “feminine”. Feminist writings focus on this aspect and claim that these differences are not biological but are social constructions of patriarchal society. Some theorists suggest that the biological differences between men and women also result in their mental and physical differences. They argue that biologically, men are physically and mentally superior to women. Other theorists suggest that the biological difference between men and women are exaggerated. The differences are socially constructed by the patriarchal system of society by which men are described as superior to women. Therefore, women become subordinate to men in the society. Ann Oakley in her book, “Sex, Gender and Society” (1972) explores the term gender. Oakley says that in the Western culture women play the roles of the “housewife” and “mother”. This is because women are made to play these roles because of their biology. The western culture also believes that any effort to change the traditional roles of men and women in the society can cause damage to the social fabric of the society. Oakley concludes that this view regarding the roles of men and women helps to support and maintain the patriarchal society. Simone de Beauvior in her book “The Second Sex” (1949) says that “one is not born, but rather becomes a woman”. She explains that gender differences in the

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 121 society make the man superior through his role as the bread winner. It gives him a position of power in the society and family. Gender differences are set in hierarchal opposition such that men are superior and women are subordinate. Women's position is that of the "other" and women are the continual outsiders. Civilization was masculine to its very depth. Shulamith Firestone in her book, "The Dialectics of Sex" (1970) suggests that patriarchy exploits women's biological capacity to reproduce as their essential weakness. She explains that the only way for women to break away from this oppression is to use technological advances of free themselves from the burden of childbirth. She advocated breaking down the biological bond between mothers and children by establishing communes where monogamy and nuclear family do not exist. Few feminists accept Firestone's views mainly because both technology and its uses are still firmly in the hands of men. While cultural feminists question whether all the key differences between men and women are solely cultural and whether also biological, these feminists prefer to value and celebrate the mothering role as evidence of women's natural disposition towards nurturance and would not like to relinquish even if they could. Ann Oakley says that there is a constant slippage between sex and gender; for example people are generally asked to declare their "gender" instead of sex on an application form. In feminist writings there are references to the close association of gender with the biological or natural as inevitable. Recent writings on sex and gender suggest that feminism has relied too much on the polarization of sex and gender distinctions, showing that the meanings attached to sex differences are themselves socially constructed and changeable. It is dependent on the way we understand them and attach different consequences to these biological facts within our own cultural historical context. At the same time there is an argument that biology does contribute to some behavioral characteristics. Moira Gatens states that evidence points "that the male body and the female body have quite different social value and significance and cannot but help have a marked effect on male and female consciousness". Certain bodily events have huge significance especially of they occur only in one sex. She cites the example of menstruation. She points that masculinity is not valued, unless it is performed by biological male; hence the male body itself is imbued in our culture with the mythology of supremacy of being the human norm. Judith Butler's theorization about gender introduces the notion of performativity,
122 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 an idea that gender is involuntarily performed within the dominant discourses of hetero-reality. Butler's conception is perhaps most radical as she asserts that all identity concepts are in fact that effects of institution practices, discourses with multiple and diffuse points of origin. She further states that sex/gender distinction suggests a radical discontinuity between sexed bodies and culturally constructed gender. This approach questions the way we make the construction of gender identity. Individual do tend to challenge the way discourses establish and reinforce certain meanings and institutions such as that of compulsory heterosexuality. It is difficult to accept a rigid distinction between sex and gender as either wholly biological or singularly cultural. There is a constant shift between conceptualizations of human beings as controlled by either predominantly biological or social forces. The debates on sex and gender will continue as same will argue in favour of biological differences while other feminist writers will favour the differences as socially constructed, supported by social institutions like religion, caste, family marriage and so on. The substantial shift in women's lives and expectations since the 1960s clearly explains that the category of feminine has been rather elastic. Women's roles and performances have changed drastically over the past few decades which have added new dimensions to the debates by feminists and other on sex / gender distinctions. 8.4 Deconstructing Sex and Gender In rethinking gender categories it is necessary to look at sex and gender as conceptually distinct. Each is socially constructed in different ways. Gender is an overarching category – a major social status that organizes almost all areas of social life. Therefore, bodies are gendered and are built into major social institutions of the society such as economy, ideology, polity, family and so on. For an individual, the components of gender are the sex category assigned at birth on the basis of the appearance of the genitalia. Each category provides a gender identity, gendered sexual orientation, marital and procreative status, a gendered personality structure, gender beliefs and attitudes, gender at work and family roles. All these social components of are supposed to be consistent and congruent with one's biology. The actual combination may or may not be congruent with each other and with the components of gender and sex, moreover, the components may not line up neatly on one side of the binary divide.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 123 The need for official categorization in societies of infants into neat legal label “boy” or “girl” soon after birth are at the sometime subject to rather arbitrary sex assignment. Sex change surgery is not uncommon for infants with anomalous genitalia Sociologists are aware of the varieties of biological and physiological sexes. The rational given for categorization of the ambiguous as either female or male throws light on the practices that maintain the illusion of clear at sex differences. Without such critical exploration, sex differences can easily be considered as natural of what actually is socially constructed. 8.5 Gender Roles Gender roles are based on the different expectations that individuals, groups, and societies have of individuals based on their sex and based on each society’s values and beliefs about gender. Gender roles are the product of the interactions between individuals and their environments, and they give individuals cues about what sort of behavior is believed to be appropriate for what sex. Appropriate gender roles are defined according to a society’s beliefs about differences between the sexes. Gender roles are the roles that men and women are expected to occupy based on their sex. Traditionally, many Western societies have believed that women are more nurturing than men. Therefore, the traditional view of the feminine gender role prescribes that women should behave in ways that are nurturing. One way that a woman might engage in the traditional feminine gender role would be to nurture her family by working full-time within the home rather than taking employment outside of the home. Men, on the other hand, are presumed by traditional views of gender roles to be leaders. The traditional view of the masculine gender role, therefore, suggests that men should be the heads of their households by providing financially for the family and making important family decisions. While these views remain dominant in many spheres of society, alternative perspectives on traditional beliefs about gender roles have gained increasing support in the twenty-first century. Different disciplines offer a range of perspectives on gender roles. An ecological perspective on gender roles suggests that gender roles are created by the interactions between individuals, communities, and their environments. That is, while individual people play a role in constructing gender roles, so too do the physical and social environments within which people operate. A biological perspective on gender roles suggests that women have a natural affinity toward the feminine gender role and that men have a natural affinity toward the masculine gender role. The biological
124 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 perspective does not, however, suggest that one role holds any inherently greater value than another role. A sociological perspective toward gender roles suggests that masculine and feminine roles are learned and that masculine and feminine gender roles are not necessarily connected to males’ and females’ biological traits. Sociologists study the different meanings and values that masculine and feminine gender roles hold in society. Related to the sociological perspective, a feminist perspective on gender roles might assert that because gender roles are learned, they can also be unlearned, and that new and different roles can be created. The feminist perspective points out that gender role are not simply ideas about appropriate behavior for males and females but are also linked to the different levels of power that males and females hold in society. For example, maintaining economic control over themselves and their families is one way that men experience greater power in society than women. Because men are expected to be the primary breadwinners for their families, women often find themselves to be in poverty if their marriages dissolve. In this example, a feminist perspective would assert that men tend to hold more power in their marriages than women since men are less likely to lose power or social status if their marriages dissolve. Gender roles can be linked to expectations of males and females in realms outside of the family as well, such as work. In the workplace, men and women are often expected to perform different tasks and occupy different roles based on their sex. Even in the early 21st century, many corporations operate from a perspective that favors traditional beliefs about gender roles by, for example, offering parental leave benefits only to mothers and denying such benefits to fathers. In addition, because the traditional perspective toward gender roles remains predominant in many corporations, the positions that women and men hold within corporations are often segregated by sex. Women are more likely to be expected to work as secretaries, and men are more likely to be expected to work as managers and executives. Also, men are presumed to be more ambitious and task-oriented in their work, while women are presumed to be more interested in and concerned about their relationships with others at work. As these examples demonstrate, gender roles are sometimes created on the basis of stereotypes about gender. Gender stereotypes are oversimplified understandings of males and females and the differences between them. Individuals sometimes base their perceptions about appropriate gender roles upon gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes tend to include exaggerated or erroneous assertions about the nature of

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 125 males and females. For example, a common gender stereotype about males is that they are not emotional. Females, on the other hand, are commonly stereotyped as being irrational or overly emotional. Political movements such as the feminist movement continue to work to deconstruct gender stereotypes and offer alternative visions of gender roles that emphasize equality between women and men. Finally, gender roles are often discussed in terms of an individual's gender role orientation, which is typically described as either traditional or nontraditional. A traditional gender role orientation emphasizes differences between men and women and assumes that each sex has a natural affinity to particular behaviors. Those who maintain a traditional gender role orientation are likely to be influenced by the rules and rituals of the generations that came before them, by their parents and grandparents. Individuals with nontraditional gender role orientations are more likely to believe that an individual's behavior is not or should not be determined solely by her sex. Individuals with nontraditional gender role orientations are more likely to believe in the value of egalitarian relationships between men and women and in the power of individual human beings to determine what roles they wish to occupy and the extent to which those roles are or should be associated with their sex. 8.6 Gender Stereotypes Gender relates to a set of cultural expectations according to which men and women behave. Each culture assigns certain roles and standardized patterns of behavior to its members that allow them to organize their lives in a consistent and predictable way. In normative order, cultures and societies prescribe normative role behavior and ease-down interaction of individuals. Normative role behavior is collectivistic that delimits individual freedom and tie them to predetermined rights and duties as well as expectations. The socially constructed and culturally defined realities are closely associated with the development of stereotypes that are predetermined notions or images, which define various spheres of activities including gender. 8.6.1 Stereotyping Stereotyping is the act of judging someone on the basis of one's perception of the group to which that person belongs. In other words, it is "the unconscious or conscious application of (accurate or inaccurate) knowledge of a group in judging a member of the group". A stereotype is a view that is held by one or more individuals

126 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 about a group to make overgeneralization of the characteristics of that group. Through stereotyping, people are categorized according to the characteristics they have in common, including gender, age, race, ethnicity, language, religion, and so on. In sociological discourse, stereotyping is closely associated with prejudicial judgment characterized by rigid and irrational generalization about an entire community of people. More specifically, gender stereotypes are deep-rooted perceptions of the characteristics of male and female, which support the continuity of specific gender roles. Based on gendered division of labor and social roles, men and women are often represented stereotypically according to the traits they are assumed to possess by virtue of their biological make up. Several studies point to stereotyping on the basis of their sex-related characteristics. It is viewed that gender stereotypes are formed during the process of learning and communication in which sociocultural and interactional factors play the role of key socializing agents. The factors and agents also include family as a basic and primary source of gender socialization where social roles are assigned based on gender. Family as a foremost socializing agency transmits simplistic labels and deep-rooted messages considered specific for a feminine woman and a masculine man. In family, different role models are assigned to women and men according to what is traditionally attributed to each sex. Similarly, on the basis of a set of physical qualities and psychological characteristics defined by family, society labels tasks which are known as gender stereotypes. 8.6.2 Kinds of Gender Stereotypes There are four basic kinds of gender stereotypes : ● Personality traits — For example, women are often expected to be accommodating and emotional, while men are usually expected to be self-confident and aggressive. ● Domestic behaviors — For example, some people expect that women will take care of the children, cook, and clean the home, while men take care of finances, work on the car, and do the home repairs. ● Occupations — Some people are quick to assume that teachers and nurses are women, and that pilots, doctors, and engineers are men. ● Physical appearance — For example, women are expected to be thin and graceful, while men are expected to be tall and muscular. Men and women are also expected to dress and groom in ways that are stereotypical

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 127 to their gender (men wearing pants and short hairstyles, women wearing dresses and make-up). In many societies, masculine stereotypes is identified with competitiveness, aggressiveness, and independence, whereas feminine stereotypes revolve around a set of beliefs that define women as caring, altruistic, affective in interpersonal relationships, child friendly, emotionally expressive, sensitive and empathetic, and above all submissive and passive. 8.6.3 How gender stereotypes affect people ? A gender stereotype is harmful when it limits women's and men's capacity to develop their personal abilities, pursue their professional careers and make choices about their lives. Harmful stereotypes can be both hostile/negative (e.g., women are irrational) or seemingly benign (e.g., women are nurturing). For example, the fact that child care responsibilities often fall exclusively on women is based on the latter stereotype. Gender stereotyping is wrongful when it results in a violation or violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Example of wrongful gender stereotyping are the failure to criminalize marital rape based on societal perception of women as the sexual property of men, and the failure to effectively investigate, prosecute and sentence sexual violence against women based on, e.g., the stereotype that women should protect themselves from sexual violence by dressing and behaving modestly. Gender stereotypes compounded and intersecting with other stereotypes have a disproportionate negative impact on certain groups of women, such as women from minority or indigenous groups, women with disabilities, women from lower caste groups or with lower economic status, migrant women, etc. Wrongful gender stereotyping is a frequent cause of discrimination against women and a contributing factor in violations of a vast array of rights such as the right to health, adequate standard of living, education, marriage and family relations, work, freedom of expression, freedom of movement, political participation and representation, effective remedy, and freedom from gender-based violence. Gender stereotypes can affect people in the following ways : ● Hyper-femininity is the exaggeration of stereotyped behavior that's believed to be feminine. Hyper-feminine folks exaggerate the qualities they believe to be feminine. This may include being passive, naive, sexually inexperienced, soft, flirtatious, graceful, nurturing, and accepting.

128 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 ● Hyper-masculinity is the exaggeration of stereotyped behavior that's believed to be masculine. Hyper-masculine folks exaggerate the qualities they believe to be masculine. They believe they're supposed to compete with other men and dominate feminine folks by being aggressive, worldly, sexually experienced, insensitive, physically imposing, ambitious, and demanding. ● These exaggerated gender stereotypes can make relationships between people difficult. Hyper-feminine folks are more likely to endure physical and emotional abuse from their partners. Hyper-masculine folks are more likely to be physically and emotionally abusive to their partners. 8.6.4 How to fight gender stereotypes ? There are ways to challenge these stereotypes to help everyone — no matter their gender or gender identity — feel equal and valued as people. ● Point it out — Magazines, TV, film, and the Internet are full of negative gender stereotypes. Sometimes these stereotypes are hard for people to see unless they're pointed out. Be that person! Talk with friends and family members about the stereotypes you see and help others understand how sexism and gender stereotypes can be hurtful. ● Be a living example — Be a role model for your friends and family. Respect people regardless of their gender identity. Create a safe space for people to express themselves and their true qualities regardless of what society's gender stereotypes and expectations are. ● Speak up — If someone is making sexist jokes and comments, whether online or in person, challenge them. ● Give it a try — If you want to do something that's not normally associated with your gender, think about whether you'll be safe doing it. If you think you will, give it a try. People will learn from your example. The International Human Rights law framework prohibits gender stereotypes and stereotyping which undermine the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. States have obligation to eliminate discrimination against women and men in all areas of their lives. This obligation requires States to take measures to address gender stereotypes both in public and private life as well as to refrain from stereotyping.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 129 8.7 Summary The sex / gender difference raises the issues of male – female; masculine and feminine, male associated with masculinity and female with femininity. With each construction the biological differences between men and women get translated into social terms and descriptions. Feminist writers argue that biological differences get heightened through social descriptions of masculinity and femininity. Patters of differences by gender is seen when the character is either masculine or feminine. For example, pink and blue are gendered colors, former regarded as "feminine" and the latter as "masculine". Further to be "strong" and "tough" is masculine. Being "weak" and "soft" are associated with feminine character. There are several other traits that are categorized as masculine and feminine. Masculinity and femininity are concepts which signify the social outcomes of being male or female the traits and characteristics which describe men and women give men advantage over women. Masculinity is not valued unless performed by biological male. Hence the male body is imbued in our culture with certain traits that characterize maleness or masculinity; hence the human norm of male supremacy. Similarly femininity is performed by the biological female. The female body is in our culture is imbued with certain traits that characterize female or femininity. According to Judith Butler any theorization about gender introduces the notion or idea of performance of gender in terms of masculinity and femininity. Thus, performance of gender becomes involuntary as gender gets internalized through the socialization process within the dominant discourses of patriarchy gender is performed at different levels within the family and in the society. We socially enter into our gendered categories of masculine and feminine right from birth. The concepts of masculinity and femininity are needed in feminist discourses and writings to explain the differences between men and women. Some argue that these differences are based in their biology while others reject this argument and emphasize that the differences are socially constructed. Therefore, the construction of men and masculinity will accrue exclusively to the bodies of males. The construction of women and femininity will accrue exclusively to the bodies of females. In contemporary writings there is a recognition that this social categorization of masculinity and femininity are blurring. There is a constant shift in the conceptualization of human beings as controlled by wholly biological or social forces. Women's expectations have changed; women live and roles have broadened.
130 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 8.7 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) What do you mean by gender ? (ii) What are gender stereotypes ? (iii) What are the types of gender stereotypes ? (iv) What is the difference between sex and gender ? G-B (10 Marks each) (v) What are gender roles ? (vi) How have gender roles transformed in the society overtime ? (vii) In what ways do stereotypes affect the society ? (viii) What measures must the society adopt to counter gender stereotype ? 8.8 Suggested Readings (i) Bhasin, Kamala (2000) : Understanding Gender, New Delhi: Kali for Women. (ii) Bhasin, Kamala (1993) : What is Patriarchy? New Delhi : Kali for Women. (iii) Blackstone, Amy (2003) : Gender Roles and Society, Human Ecology : An Encyclopedia of Children, Families Communities, and Environments; Pp 335-338. (iv) Hussain, Muhammas; Naz, Arab; Khan, Wasim; Daraz, Umar; Khan, Qaisar (2015) : Gender Stereotyping in Family : An Institutionalized and Normative Mechanism in Pakhtun Society of Pakistan, Sage Open; DOI : 10.1177/ 2158244015595258; Pp 1-11. (v) Oakley, Ann (1972) : Sex, Gender and Society, London : Harper Colophon Books. (vi) Pitcher, Jane; Whelahan (2005) : Fifty Key Concepts in Gender Studies, New Delhi : Sage Publication.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 131 Unit - 9 ❑ Ethnic Groups and Their Distinctions Structure 9.1 Objectives 9.2 Introduction 9.3 Etymology of Ethnicity 9.4 Defining Ethnicity 9.5 Racial classification of Indian people by different Anthropologists 9.5.1 Classification of Sir Herbert Hope Risley (1915) 9.5.2 Classification of B.S. Guha (1937) 9.6 Manifestations of Ethnic Identity in India 9.7 Types of Ethnic Groups 9.8 Ethnic Unrest in India 9.9 Summary 9.10 Questions 9.11 Suggested Readings 9.1 Objectives ● To define ethnicity ● To understand racial classification of Indian people by different anthropologists ● To understand the manifestations of ethnic identity in India ● To understand the types of ethnic groups ● To learn about ethnic unrest in India 9.2 Introduction In sociology, ethnicity is a concept referring to a shared culture and a way of life. This can be reflected in language, religion, material culture such as clothing and 131

132 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 cuisine, and cultural products such as music and art. Ethnicity is often a major source of social cohesion as well as social conflict. Ethnicity, unlike race, is not based on biological traits, except in the case of ethnic groups that recognize certain traits as requirements for membership. In other words, the cultural elements that define a particular ethnic group are taught, not inherited. This means that the boundaries between ethnic groups are, to some degree, fluid, allowing for individuals to move between groups. Because ethnic groups are self-defined, it is important to remember that no single aspect of group identity (language, religion, etc.) can be used to sort people into one group or another. Ethnic diversity is one of the social complexities found in most contemporary societies. Historically it is the legacy of conquests that brought diverse peoples under the rule of a dominant group. Ethnicity refers to the differentiation of groups of people who have shared cultural meanings, memories, and descent produced through social interaction. Ethnicity is considered to be shared characteristics such as culture, language, religion, and traditions, which contribute to a person or group's identity. An ethnic group is a group of people united on the basis of some shared experience or some common physical or socio-cultural attributes. For e.g. race, culture, language, religion, region, nationality, heritage. Ethnic group is defined as a segment of a larger society which is seen by others to be different in some combination of the following characteristics – language, religion, race and ancestral homeland with its related culture; the members of the ethnic group also perceive themselves in that way and they participate in shared activities built around their (real or mythical) common origin or culture. Weber (1997) defines ethnic groups as those groups

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which entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical types or customs or both.

This subjective belief is important for the propagation of group formation. Furthermore, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relation exists.

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Ethnicity involves a feeling of consciousness among the members of an ethnic group of the existence of such shared characteristics. It also involves the process of mobilization of people along some common point of reference for presenting a united front to articulate their socio-economic or political interests. Ethnicity, thus, involves the process of interaction between two or more groups. Barthes (1969) says that the issue of the identification of social boundary is intrinsic to the concept of ethnicity. Each ethnic group draws a boundary to identify its own members and to distinguish the "we" group from other ethnic groups.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 133 9.3 Etymology of Ethnicity It is widely known, 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic' are derived from Greek. At the time of Homer (between 750 and 650 BC) the term ethnos was applied to various large, undifferentiated groups (warriors as well as bees and birds) and meant something like 'throng' or 'swarm'. Aristotle (384–322 BC) used the term to denote alien or 'barbarous' groups as distinct from Hellenic civilization. In the Greek text of the New Testament ethnicity refers to non-Christian or non-Jewish populations. The adjective 'ethnikos' accordingly meant 'pagan', 'heathen', or 'barbarian'. The modern academic usage of the term 'ethnic' began in the early 19th century. In the 1830s and 1840s, scientific 'ethnological' societies devoted to the study of the origin, characteristics and progress of the world's different 'peoples' were founded in Europe and the USA. The term ethnic was applied to indicate differences in religion, behaviour, life-style or phenotype. The word 'race' first entered Western languages between the 13th and 15th centuries and had a variety of meanings. Before the Enlightenment it was sometimes used to refer to a family line or lineage, particularly of noble families. Later it meant a class of people or the people of a land, but it was not until the late 18th century that 'race' began to acquire the meaning of one of the great subdivisions of mankind. During the 18th and 19th centuries, however, the ideas of people, race, nation, and class were still merged and the terms frequently used interchangeably. Well into the twentieth century, 'ethnic group' was mostly employed for populations in the 'developed' parts of the world (Europe and the USA) and differentiated by the aforementioned criteria, while the majority populations in each country were considered 'nations'. The indigenous inhabitants of Africa, the Americas, Asia and Australia were, in contrast, generally referred to as 'tribes'. From the 19th- century evolutionist perspective, their forms of social organization were considered relics of earlier stages of development. A similar view was represented by the modernization theory that dominated the debates on development up to the 1960s. 'Tribal' loyalties in the developing countries were held to be hindrances to societal integration and nation building. As a response to the mounting critique of the 19th- century evolutionary concepts, the term tribe has largely fallen into disuse in the social sciences and been replaced by 'ethnic group' or 'ethnie'. This complex history of usage is still reflected in recent academic discourse. Many authors employ 'ethnic group' merely to describe forms of socio-cultural
134 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 differentiation within existing states. Others consider the 'ethnie' or ethnic group to be a forerunner of the nation or the nation as a special variant of the 'ethnie', with nation characterized by its ideological reference to a bygone, existing or desired state. 'Ethnie' or 'ethnic group', then, would refer to any grouping that distinguishes itself from others by cultural criteria and symbols (such as language, beliefs, norms or history). Authors like Francis (1947), Rothschild (1981), Connor (1984) or Brass (1991) do not make a systematic distinction between 'ethnie' and 'nation', but instead consider them as largely synonymous. Francis (1947), for example, employs 'ethnic group' to denote a minority within a state, e.g. French Canadians in Canada, as well as to refer to the French in France or the Irish in Ireland. Modern genetics tend not to speak of 'races' because there 'has always been so much interbreeding between human populations that it would be meaningless to talk of fixed boundaries between races' and 'the distribution of hereditary physical traits does not follow clear boundaries'. However, in a number of cases people's actions are informed by the belief that systematic differences in the personality of members of different 'races' are linked to hereditary characteristics, and that phenotypic features play a crucial role in differentiating between social groups. 9.4 Defining Ethnicity The conceptual differences sketched above notwithstanding, most scholars would probably agree that the term ethnicity should be employed for a sub-class of us / them distinctions people make. Thus, the question arises as to what features make distinctions 'ethnic'. Frederic Barth's classic definition states ethnicity as: "A categorical ascription is an ethnic ascription when it classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background". Barth sees ethnicity as a special form of social categorization, and links it – as Max Weber long before him – to the idea of common descent.

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Max Weber used the term ethnic group to connote those human collectivities which 'entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization or migration' (Weber, 1968).

Thus, Weber states that ethnic groupings are aggregations of people who share a 'subjective belief in their community of descent'. Weber also points out that this belief normally rests on the idea of cultural and/or phenotypic similarity. However, Barth's 'basic, most general identity' is too vague to be of much help. Beyond this, his definition implies that each human being has only one 'primary' group identity.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 135 Likewise, much more recent commentators such as Horowitz (1985), who deployed the term in an ascriptive sense, saw the core features of ethnicity as common origin, skin colour, appearance, religion and/or language. Schermerhorn, in his seminal work Comparative Ethnic Relations, defined the term ethnic group as 'a collectivity within a larger society [who] have real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood' (Schermerhorn, 1970). Clarifying the term 'symbolic elements', he says that these can include 'kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these'. Geertz (1996) avers that ethnicity is based on the primordial ties of blood, race, language, religion or tradition and such "attachments seem to flow from a sense of natural affinity than from social interaction". However, many sociologists do not agree with Geertz's views on ethnicity that it is based on primordial loyalty and is immutable. Writing on ethnicity in South Asia, Phadnis and Ganguly (2001) posit that ethnicity is a dynamic and fluid concept. Its basis is not pre-determined but keeps on changing depending on the circumstances existing at a particular time. A person's identity is multi-faced and keeps on flitting from one to another depending on the circumstances. For instance, ethnicity based on religion at one time may give way to another like region or language whenever there is a change of interest or circumstances. Another important concept is that of ethno-nationalism. Ethno-nationalism is on rise in recent years due to large-scale trans-national migrations in the current era of unprecedented globalization. According to Anthony Smith (1993) "ethnic nationalism…unlike the territorial or civic versions of nationalism…conceives of the nation as a genealogical and vernacular cultural community. Whereas civic or territorial conceptions of the nation regard it as a community of shared culture, common laws and territorial citizenship, ethnic concepts of the nation focus on the genealogy of its members, however fictive; on popular mobilization of the "folk"; on native history and customs; and on the vernacular culture…". 9.5 Racial classification of Indian People by different Anthropologists India's present-day population is a conglomeration of people belonging to
136 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 different racial groups with different ethnic backgrounds. The people entered India from different parts of the world at different time periods adopting themselves. India has been a meeting point of different races and tribes from times immemorial. Almost all the major races of the world are found in India. As a result, India has a varied population and diversified ethnic composition. Different Anthropologists classify racial composition of Indian people based on their works. Some of the notable classifications are Sir Herbert Hope Risley (1915) and B.S. Guha (1937). 9.5.1 Classification of Sir Herbert Hope Risley (1915) Sir Herbert Hope Risley tried to classify the Indian population on the basis of anthropometric measurements. He had developed a clear-cut idea about the racial elements of India when he directed the operation of Census for India in 1901. Later, he took the help of anthropometry to affirm his assumptions and published the results in 1915 under the title 'The People of India'. He identified three principal racial types in India i.e. The Dravidian, the Indo-Aryan and the Mongoloid. On the whole, Risley distinguished seven different 'physical types' in the Indian population in the following way : (i) The Dravidian The stature of these people is short or below medium. The complexion is dark, approaching to black. The hair is similarly dark and plentiful with an occasional tendency to curl. The eye colour is also dark. The head is long and the nose is very broad, sometimes depressed at the root. The people of Dravidian type are distributed in the region from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges covering the southern part of India, which especially includes the Western Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh (Hyderabad), Central India, and Chotonagpur. The best example of this type is the Paniyans of Malabar (South India) and the Santals of the Chottanagpur. Risley believed these people as original inhabitants of India who are found to be modified at present by the infiltration of the Aryans, the Scythians and the Mongoloids. (ii) The Indo-Aryan This type is the most close to the traditional Aryans who colonized India. The people are tall statured with fair complexion, dark eyes, and plentiful hair on face and body. They also possess predominant longhead (dolichocephalic), narrow and long (leptorrhine) nose. The type is confined to Punjab, Rajasthan, and Kashmir where the members are known as the Kashmiri Brahmins, Rajputs, Jats, and the Khattris.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 137 (iii) The Mongoloid The most important characteristic features of this type are broad-head, dark complexion with yellowish eyes and scanty hair on face and body. The stature is usually short or below medium. The nose shows a wide range of variation, from fine to broad. The face is typically flat where the eyes are oblique with epicanthic fold. The people of this type are found along the Himalayan region, especially in the regions namely North East Frontier, Nepal and Burma. The best examples are the Kanets of Lahul and Kulu Valleys, Lepchas of Darjeeling and Sikkim, the Limbus, the Murmis and the Gurungs of Nepal, and the Bodo of Assam. (iv) The Aryo-Dravidian This type is known as the Hindustani type. Generally the heads of the people are long with a tendency towards medium. The complexion varies from light brown to black. The nose is usually medium, although the broad nose is not uncommon. But in this case, the broad nose is always broader than the nose of Indo-Aryans. In stature, the people are shorter than the Indo-Aryans who usually show a below average height; i.e. the height ranges from 159cm to 166cm. Thus, the Aryo-Dravidians is differentiated from the Indo-Aryans. The type is considered as an intermixture of the Aryans and the Dravidians in varying proportions. The people of this type are found in Uttar Pradesh, in some parts of Rajasthan and in Bihar. (v) The Mongolo-Dravidian This type is known as the Bengalian type characterized by broad and round heads with a tendency towards medium dark complexion and plentiful hair on face. The nose is usually medium with a tendency towards flatness. The stature is also medium but sometimes short. Such people are found in Bengal and Orissa. The notable representatives of this type are the Bengali Brahmins and Bengali Kayasthas. According to Risley this type is not only an admixture of the Mongolians and the Dravidians, some blood strains of Indo-Aryan type are also mixed with it. (vi) The Scytho-Dravidian The people of this type possess medium to broad head, low to medium stature, fair complexion, and a moderately fine nose, which is not conspicuously long. The hair is scanty on face and body. It is held that the type has been evolved by the intermixture of two distinct racial strains—the Scythians and the Dravidians. Typical example of this type is found in Western India comprising the Maratha Brahmins, the Kunbis and the Coorgs, who are distributed in the tracts of Madhya Pradesh,

138 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Maharashtra-Gujrat border region upto the Coorg. The Scythian element is more prominent in higher social groups of these regions while the Dravidian features predominate among the lower social groups in the region. (vii) The Turko-Iranian This type is characterized by broad heads and fine to medium nose, which is long and prominent. The stature is fairly tall and the average height of the males varies from 162cm to 172cm. Although the eyes are dark in colour, grey eyes are not uncommon. Complexion of the people is generally fair; plentiful hair is found on face and body. The type includes the inhabitants of Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Northwest Frontier Provinces (now in Pakistan) who are represented by the Balochis, Brahai, Afghans and some other people of NWFP. In the view of Risley, this type has been formed probably by the fusion of Turki and Persian elements in which the former's features predominate. Risley's classification faced a considerable criticism from different authorities, especially in respect of the Dravidians, the Scytho-Dravidians and the Mongolo- Dravidians. Besides, the Indo-Aryans is distributed only in Punjab, Rajputana and the Kashmir Valley according to Risley. But the speakers of Aryan languages actually occupy a vast area in Indian subcontinent, which has not been reflected in his classification. If he had measured the people of Kashmir alone, then he should have placed them in a separate group as they possessed absolutely different physical features. Further, Risley had given much importance in Scythian elements when he discussed about broad-headed people as the Scytho-Dravidian type. In fact, the Scythian invaders stayed so short that they hardly get any opportunity to spread any remarkable influence among ethnic elements of Bombay Presidency where Risley conducted his study. Risley also stated that the broad-headed elements in Bengal have been influenced by the Mongolian people. But it is difficult to confirm that the brachycephalic elements in Bengal and Gujrat have been derived from the Mongolian element. Although all Mongolian people are brachycephals but the epicanthic fold as a typical Mongolian feature is found only among some people living in Darjeeling and neighbouring districts. This feature is totally absent among the people of other parts of Bengal. 9.5.2 Classification of B.S. Guha (1937) The racial classification of Dr. B. S. Guha's is based on anthropometric measurements, which were collected during his investigations from 1930 to 1933.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 139 Guha traced six major racial strains and nine sub-types among the modem Indian population. (i) The Negrito These people are considered as the first comers and the true autochthones of India. They are characterized by dark skin colour, short stature, and frizzly hair with long or short spirals. The head is small, medium, long or broad with bulbous forehead. The nose is flat and broad. The lips are everted and thick. The best representatives of this type are the Kadars, the Irulas, the Puniyans, etc. of South India. Such type of characters is also visible among the tribes living in the Rajmahal Hills. In respect of the head form and hair form, the Indian Negrito strain resembles more to the Melanesian Pygmies than to the Andamanese or African Pygmies. (ii) The Proto-Australoid This group is considered as the second oldest racial group in India characterized by dolichocephalic head, broad and flat nose (platyrrhine nose) which is depressed at the root. They are further short in height, dark brown to nearly black in skin colour. The hair is wavy or curly. Supraorbital ridges are prominent. These features are found among almost all the tribes of the Central and Southern India. The best examples are the Oraons, the Santals, and the Mundas of Chottanagpur region; the Chenchus, the Kurumbas, the Yeruvas and the Badagas of Southern India; and the Bhils, Kols of Central and Western India. (iii) The Mongoloid This type of people is distinguished by scanty growth of hair on face and body. The eyes are obliquely set and show the presence of epicanthic fold. The face is flat with prominent cheekbones and hair is straight. This group can be divided into two sub-groups, such as Palaeo-Mongoloid and the Tibeto-Mongoloid. The former one is further sub-divided as long headed and broad-headed. In Palaeo-Mongoloid group, especially the longheaded type possesses long head, medium stature, and medium nose. Their cheekbones are prominent and skin colour varies from dark to light brown. The face is short and flat. They are the inhabitants of the sub-Himalayan region; the concentration is most remarkable in Assam and Burma Frontier. The SemaNagas of Assam and the Limbus of Nepal are the best examples. The other sub- division of palaeo-Mongoloid is the broad- headed type who possesses broad head with round face, dark skin colour and medium nose. The eyes are obliquely set and epicanthic fold is more prominent than that of the long-headed type. This type has
140 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 been identified among the hill tribes of Chittagung, e.g. the chakmas, the Maghs, etc. Second sub-division of Mongoloid is the Tibeto-Mongoloids who show no further divisions. Their physical features are characterized by broad and massive head, tall stature, long and flat face, and medium to long nose. The eyes are oblique with marked epicanthic fold. Hair on body and face is almost absent. The skin colour is light brown. The best examples are the Tibetans of Bhutan and Sikkim. (iv) The Mediterranean This group is divided into three distinct racial types, these are : (a) Palaeo-Mediterranean The people are characterized by long head with bulbous forehead, projected with high vault. They also show medium stature, small and broad nose, narrow face and pointed chin. The hair on face and body is scanty. The skin colour is dark. These people probably introduced megalithic culture to India. The Dravidian speaking people of South India exhibit the main concentration of this type. The Tamil Brahmins of Madura, Nairs of Cochin, and Telugu Brahmins are the examples. (b) The Mediterranean The features include long head with arched forehead, narrow nose, medium to tall stature and light skin colour. Their chin is well developed, hair colour is dark, eye colour is brownish to dark and the hair on face and body is plentiful. These people live in the regions like Uttar Pradesh, Bombay, Bengal, Malabar, etc. The true types are the Numbudiri Brahmins of Cochin, Brahmins of Allahabad and Bengali Brahmins. It may be assumed that probably this type was responsible for the building up of Indus Valley civilization. (c) The Oriental These people resemble the Mediterranean in almost all physical features except the nose, which is long and convex in this case. The best examples are the Punjabi Chattris, the Benia of Rajputana, and the Pathans. (v) The Western Brachycephals This racial group is divided into three types, which are : (a) The Alpenoid This type shows broad head, medium stature, prominent nose and rounded face.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 141 The hair on face and body is abundant and the skin colour is light. This type is found among the Bania of Gujarat, the Kathi of Kathiawar and the Kayasthas of Bengal. (b) The Dinaric : This type is characterized by broad head. The nose is very long and often convex. The face is long and stature in general is very tall. The skin colour is dark; eye and hair colours are also dark. The representative populations are found in Bengal, Orissa and Coorg. The Brahmins of Bengal and Mysore are the best examples. Both the Alpino and the Dinaric people entered into India through Baluchistan, Sind, Gujarat, and Maharashtra. They penetrated Ceylon from Kannada. The presence of this type has been noted in the Indus Valley site, Tinnevalley and Hyderabad. (c) The Armenoid This type shows a resemblance with the Dinarics in physical characters. Only difference is that, among the Dinarics the shape of occiput is much developed and the nose is very prominent. The Parsis of Bombay exhibit typical Armenoid characteristics. The Bengali Vaidyas and Kayasthas sometimes show the features of this type. (vi) The Nordics The people are characterized by long head, arched forehead. The nose is straight and high bridged. All are tall statured with strong jaw and robust body built. The eye colour is blue or grey. The body colour is fair which reddish. This element is scattered in different parts of Northern India, especially in the Punjab and Rajputana. The Kho of chitral, the Red Kaffirs, and the Khatash are some other representatives of this type. The Nordics came from the north, probably from Southeast Russia and Southwest Siberia, thereafter penetrated into India through Central Asia. 9.6 Manifestations of Ethnic Identity in India

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Ethnicity is a social-psychological process which gives an individual a sense of belonging and identity.

It is, of course, one of a number of social phenomena which produce a sense of identity. Ethnic identity can be defined as a manner in which persons, on account of their ethnic origin, locate themselves psychologically in relation to one or more social systems, and in which they perceive others as locating them in relation to those systems. By ethnic origin is meant either that a person has
142 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 been socialized in an ethnic group or that his or her ancestors, real or symbolic, have been members of the group. The social systems may be one's ethnic community or society at large, or other ethnic communities and other societies or groups, or a combination of all these. The articulation of ethnic identity and assertion in India primarily takes the following forms : (i) Linguistic Ethnicity Language has always formed the basis of asserting ethnic identity in India. This was well evident during the

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Dravidian Organization movement in the state of Tamil Nadu in South India in 1940s and 1950s

when violent protest broke out against

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the adoption of Hindi as the national language by the government of India. The movement gave the call for the secession of Tamil Nadu from the union of India on the basis of identity centered on Tamil language. Because of intense linguistic feelings, many states were carved out based on languages by the State Reorganization Act of 1956.

Recently, linguistic identity was again on display in the state of Maharashtra in Central India, where in the name of Marathi pride, there were concerted attacks on the helpless and poor Hindi-speaking North Indian immigrants from the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. (ii) Religious Assertions and Communalism : This is probably the most difficult and intricate socio-political issue that the Indian state has to grapple with when it comes to nation-building, especially the communal tension between the Hindus and the Muslims. Mutual distrust between the two communities is very high. The recent surge in Hindu nationalism has further intensified the feeling of cultural assertiveness on both sides. Post-independent India is replete with gory incidents of Hindu-Muslim riots. (iii) Tribal Movements This is not unique to post-independent India. The British period was full of incidents when tribes rose in revolt against the officials, the landlords and the money-lenders when they were forcibly evicted from their traditional land. Even in independent India, the tribes constitute the most neglected lot. Their lack of development and displacement from forests and traditional lands has caused huge disaffection among them. This has led to the resurgence of tribal identity movements in different parts of the country. An important dimension of this is what is called the "ethno-ecological" movement in which the tribes are not only fighting against their displacement but also against the ecological destruction of their natural habitats. The growing menace of Maoist violence in India in the tribal dominated regions of the
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 143 country, where the

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tribes are engaged in armed rebellion against the state, is a direct

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This entails the transformation of ethnic groups into nationalities and their demand

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consequence of their oppression, displacement, poverty and anger against their cultural erosion under the onslaught of the dominant mainstream culture. (iv) Ethno-Nationalism

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for autonomous governance or even secession as sovereign nation states. The secessionist movement in Kashmir, the Khalistan movement by Sikhs in Punjab in 1970s and 1980s for a separate homeland and the Naga movement in North-East India

are examples of feelings of

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ethno-nationalism. (v) Regionalism Regionalism centers around three main factors: i) fear of being assimilated into the dominant culture and, hence, to preserve one's language and culture by demanding an autonomous state, ii) the skewed economic development of India where certain groups feel that they have been left behind despite being rich in resources in their regions and iii) nativistic tendencies – "sons of the soil" concept in which regional identity becomes the source of ethnic strife. Examples include the erstwhile Jharkhand movement in the state of

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Bihar and Telangana movement in the state of Andhra Pradesh, the attack on South Indians in Mumbai in 1960s

and the simmering movement in the north-eastern state of Assam to expel the immigrants especially from the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, which often taken the ugly turn of sanguinary strife between the natives and the immigrants. (vi) Casteism A rather inconclusive debate rages as to whether caste can be considered an ethnic group. A large chunk of that debate centers on the relation between caste and race. Scholars such as Berreman (1963) contend that caste is quite akin to race in its attributes and have highlighted the striking parallels between the two; others such as Dumont (1961) hold that the caste system, indigenous to India, has several unique features of its own which prevent it from being subsumed within the larger rubric of race. Beteille (1992) says that many American social anthropologists while working on racial segregation in the southern states of the United States in 1930s found it useful to speak of a caste system in representing the cleavages between blacks and whites in rural and urban communities there. They found strong similarities between caste system and stratification based on race. In fact, Myrdal (1944) employed similar terms and categories in his classic study of the American Negro.
144 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 9.7 Types of Ethnic Groups What follows is not a complete classification of types of ethnic groups. It uses as criteria of classification locus of group organization, degree and nature of self- awareness in ethnic organization, structural location in interethnic relations and the generational factor. According to these criteria we can distinguish the following types of ethnic groups: primary and secondary ethnic groups, folk-community and nationality-community ethnic groups, dominant majority and subordinate minority ethnic groups, immigrant or young and established or old ethnic groups. (i) Primary and Secondary Ethnic Groups This distinction refers to the place of origin where the group's culture emerged as a distinct entity.

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Primary ethnic groups are those which exist in the same place in which historically they have been formed. They are indigenous groups. Examples are the French in France, Germans in Germany, etc., and also Native Indians in the Americas, Andalusians in Spain, etc. Secondary ethnic groups are those which have their origin in society different from the one in which they currently exist, as for example, the Italians, Germans, etc. in Canada or the United States.

They are, as it were, transplanted groups which share their cultural and historical background with the society from which they emigrated, but which do not depend any more on the original society for their existence. (ii) Folk-community and Nationality-community Ethnic Groups The distinction between the folk community and nationality as types of ethnic groups was originally drawn by IhorZielyk (1975). The basic principle of distinction here is cultural self-awareness. Nationality groups are those which are culturally highly self-aware. That is, their members share an image of themselves as a collectivity united by a distinct culture rather than by their kin or clan. An essential part of this image is a conception of history of the group as legacy. Organizational life of the ethnic community articulates this image in its normative systems. An ethnic group which is a folk community is one whose members are predominantly of peasant background. The community is little differentiated in social status. The character of social relationships among the members of the community is determined by kinship and close family friendships. The center of social organization is the religious institution, the church, around which develop other organizations and which exerts a pervasive influence on the whole community.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 145 (iii) Majority and Minority Ethnic Groups Sociologically, the concepts of majority and minority refer not to numbers but to power. Simply stated, the distinction is between those groups which have or have not power in society. Often the concept of ethnicity is confused with that of minority and all ethnic groups are seen as minorities. By this, the majority groups become ethnicity less and it becomes difficult to understand what culture of the general society is all about. Majority ethnic groups are those who determine the character of the society's basic institutions, especially the main political, economic, and cultural institutions. They determine the character of the norms of society as a whole, including the legal system. Their culture becomes the culture of the total society into which the minority ethnic groups assimilate. The minority groups may preserve their institutions and culture in larger or smaller degree or they may influence the character of the dominant institutions in larger or smaller degrees, but usually, the framework for intergroup processes is provided by the institutions deriving from the culture of the majority groups. The majority groups, because of their position of power, usually are at the top of the ethnic stratification system, and the status of other ethnic groups is assessed in relation to them. Much of the dynamics of interethnic relations derives from the structure of dominance and subordination involved in the majority-minority ethnic group relations. (iv) "Young" and "Old' Ethnic Groups A common confusion in the discourse on ethnicity is that of ethnicity and immigration. Ethnicity often is erroneously identified with immigrants, but immigrants make up only one type of ethnic groups. We can distinguish between 'young' groups, i.e., those made up predominantly of the first - the immigrant - generation, and whose second generation is either small in size or young in age. The 'old' groups are those already established in the larger society, i.e. they have at least a high proportion of adult second and adult third or consecutive generations. By this distinction, it is incorrect and misleading to speak of all ethnic groups as if they were immigrants. Members of the old, established ethnic groups usually do not like to be confused with immigrants. The issues which these two types of ethnic groups pose are different. The concerns of the young groups can be characterized as essentially the problems of adjustment to society at large, whereas those of the old groups, as interests of persistence. Among the old ethnic groups in Canada one can include the British, French, German, Scandinavian groups, Dutch, Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Jewish, Doukhobors, Mennonites, Indians, the Inuit, Blacks, except for those from the West Indies, Chinese, Japanese and others. Among the relatively young groups,

146 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 one can include the Greeks, Portuguese, various Latin American groups, East Indians, except for the Sikhs, and others. 9.8 Ethnic Unrest in India

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India has been a witness to rising ethnic tensions and

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conflicts in recent years. Many sociologists have, quite rightly, highlighted the problems encountered in the process of nation-building as a consequence of increasing ethnic problems.

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Kothari (1988) asserts that ethnic upsurges and "assertions of cultures" in India are the consequences of excesses of modernization and the homogenizing trend of modern states and of their technological/educational imperatives. In his words, ethnicity "is a response-including reaction – to the excesses

of the modern project of shaping the whole humanity (and its natural resource base)..." Such views are also echoed by scholars like Pandey (1990) and Oberoi (1994) who consider recent surge in ethnic assertions a consequence of modernity and that traditional India was free from such fixed identities. However, the noted scholar and Dalit activist Gail Omveldt (1990) criticizes such a romanticized view of traditional India. She holds that traditional India was not characterized by multiculturalism but by hierarchy which pervaded every aspect of social life. Some of the critical factors responsible for inflamed ethnicity in India are : ● India is a plural society.

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It is characterized by a large diversity in its population with multitudes of castes and several religious, linguistic, cultural and racial groups living here. Because of intense competition for scarce economic resources and the heightened consciousness among people of different groups to preserve their age-old cultures, India has always been vulnerable to assertions of ethnic identities. ● Lopsided economic development of the country because of which some groups feel that they have been marginalized and completely left behind in the process of development. This makes them highly susceptible to the politics of ethnicity. ● Representative parliamentary democracy in India where different ethnic groups (castes, religious groups, linguistic groups etc.) compete for political power by stressing on horizontal solidarity and consolidation of shared interests.

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Increasing politicization of caste and religion. Caste and religious identities are often whipped up by political leaders to mobilize people for their vested interests and

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petty political mileages. ● Fear among minorities (both linguistic and religious) that they might get assimilated into the dominant culture leading to the dilution of their cultural heritage. Hence, there is an increasing stress on ethnic identity to forge horizontal solidarity. Such feelings have also increased because of the process of globalization and cultural homogenization occurring everywhere. ●

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Intense feeling of alienation among the tribes of India because of faulty development policies, leading to forced displacement from their age-old inhabited land and forest, reducing them to abject poverty and destitute. 9.9

Summary Ethnicity relates to ascriptive identities like caste, language, religion, and region. India has a

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cultural, economic and social heterogeneity. The complex ethnic plurality is visible with ethnic groups varying in size, culture

and consciousness and no clear demarcation is present between different groups.

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Ethnic groups that use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well-being are engaged very often in a form of interest group politics.

The system is highly segmented and heterogeneous. However,

76%	MATCHING BLOCK 30/115	W

emergence of ethnicity all around primarily on cultural grounds has put the boundary of nation state under severe stress. Usually the quest for larger identity is emphasized as it also serves some political purposes. But at the same time, this emphasis on a large identity like nation ignores the reality of plural identities and their possible interplay and thus reverts back to the nation where religion, language become static categories of ethnic attributes. 9.10

Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) Define ethnicity. (ii) Define ethnic group. (iii) What is ethnic diversity ?
148 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (iv) What is ethno-nationalism ? (v) Give the racial classification of ethnic people according to various anthropologists. (vi) What is the etymological meaning of ethnicity? G-B (10 Marks each) (vii) On what factors does ethnicity rest? (viii) What is the etymological meaning of ethnicity? (ix) Write a note on ethnic unrest in India. (x) What are the types of ethnic groups? (xi) Discuss the factors on which ethnic identity in India develops. 9.11 Suggested Readings (i) Ali, Ershad (2019) : Ethnic Composition of Indian Population. (ii) Gabbert, Wolfgang (2006) : Concepts of Ethnicity : Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies; Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 85–103. (iii)

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NSOU ● GE-SO-11 149 MODULE – 03 KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE 149
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NSOU ● GE-SO-11 151 Unit - 10 ❑ Kinship and Marriage : Meaning and Types Structure 10.1 Objectives 10.2 Introduction 10.3 Definition of Kinship 10.4 Types of Kinship 10.4.1 Consanguineous Kinship 10.4.2 Affinal Kinship 10.4.3 Fictive Kinship 10.5 Kinship Network 10.6 Marriage 10.7 Definition of Marriage 10.8 Characteristics of Marriage 10.9 Forms of Marriage 10.10 Summary 10.11 Questions 10.12 Suggested Readings 10.1 Objectives ● To learn the definition and meaning of the kinship ● To learn the definition and meaning of the marriage ● To learn the various forms of kinship ● To learn about the kinship network ● To learn the various forms of marriage ● To develop an overall understanding about kinship and marriage and their relationship. 151

152 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 10.2 Introduction Kinship system represents one of the basic social institutions. Kinship is universal in nature and in most societies it plays a significant role in the process of socialization of individuals and the maintenance of group solidarity. It is supremely important in the primitive societies and extends its influence on almost all their activities- social, economic, political, and religious, etc. In the "pre-writing" societies that anthropologists have traditionally focused on, the status of individuals, the place in which they must live, such as, in some cases, their trade, are determined by membership in a kinship group. In other words, all social relations are conceived in the mode of kinship relations. In industrial societies, on the other hand, family relationships do not occupy such a predominant place. But eventually, it now appears that they continue to play an essential role in the lives of individuals. 10.3 Definition of Kinship The conception of 'kinship' is very much important in cultural anthropology. In simple societies, the kinship relations are so extensive, fundamental and influential that in effect they in themselves constitute the 'social system'. But in more complex societies kinship normally forms a fairly small part of the totality of the social relation which makes up the social system. Sociologist does not attach much importance for it except in their study of the sociology of kinship. Anthropologists, on the contrary, give more importance to this concept because kinship and family constitute the focal points in anthropological investigations. Kinship is basically culturally defined relationships between individuals who are commonly thought of as having family ties. Although usually thought of in terms of biology, much of kinship is actually culturally constructed. Kinship is the relationship by the bond of blood, marriage and includes kindred ones. It represents one of the basic social institutions. Kinship is universal and in most societies plays a significant role in the socialization of individuals and the maintenance of group solidarity. It is very important in primitive societies and extends its influence on almost all their activities.According to Robin Fox, in his book 'Kinship and Marriage', "
Kinship is simply the relations between 'kin' that is persons related by real, putative or fictive consanguinity". Abercrombie and others
in 'The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology' mentioned that "The social relationships
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deriving from blood ties (real and supposed) and marriage are collectively referred to as kinship".
In simple words,
the bond of blood or marriage which binds people together in group is called kinship.
Michel Verdon in his paper "Kinship, Marriage, and the Family: An Operational Approach" (1981,) regard these "anthropological" concepts (residence, descent, kinship, and so on) as "secondary" or "derivative" concepts. As, he reasoned, that they are derived from a more implicit, more fundamental notion of group. This is not to deny that, prior to their utilization for anthropological analysis, these notions were rooted in empirical and cultural experience. Certainly, "kinship" and "marriage" refer to something "out there" which has received diverse interpretation on different cultural surroundings. But the manner in which these commonsense notions, borrowed from the everyday language, have been redefined as "scientific concepts" for the comparative analysis of socio-cultural systems has been, he believe, directly determined by the analysts' representation of what groups are. A.R. Radcliffe Brown defines kinship as
a system of dynamic relations between person and person in a community, the behaviour of any two persons in any of these relations being regulated in some way and to a greater or less extent by social usage.
He assumed that, by definition, individuals are unique, idiosyncratic, and autonomous, and that their relations, or the very existence of sociability, were problematic, for a group or a society to exist, these unique and independent individuals must interact, and their interaction presupposes some standardization or patterning of behaviour (Radcliffe-Brown 1957). Like most functionalists, Radcliffe-Brown postulated that individual behaviour must be somewhat constrained or regulated (i.e., share a common element by reducing its idiosyncratic nature) for interpersonal relationships to take place and that this regulation is achieved through the action of "binding" or coercive mental representations- namely, norms, values, rights, duties, beliefs, and soon. Against this undifferentiated background of interpersonal ties, Radcliffe-Brown also sought a formula to conceptualise the discreteness of the corporate grouping which constitute society's internal subdivisions. Individual within a group interact, but they also formed groups with diverging loyalties which unites subsets of individuals but divide them from other subsets. In order to reconcile these two levels of interpersonal and group ties, he resorted to the Durkheimian distinction between solidarity and its jural expression. The standardization of behaviour found in interpersonal relationships is concretely expressed in specific rights and duties (Radcliffe-Brown [1935] 1952), and the rights and duties pertaining to the reciprocal

154 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 relations in a given relationship from identifiable "roles" a group may therefore be represented as a 'bounded" and interconnected set of social relations, which are crystallized in terms of roles. Against this general notion of group, kinship is presented as a fact of nature, a physiological fact, that is the fact of consanguinity, selectively emphasized by society and endowed by the latter with a set of norms or jural sanctions which make it binding on individuals. Once made binding or normative through "social recognition" or "institutional arrangement," kinship then operates to constrain and regulate behaviour in interpersonal relationships. By the same token, it also serves to define statuses, thereby functioning to give "kinship statuses"-bearers membership in the group. For Brown, kinship came to be represented both a) as a rule of group membership (often known as "descent" in this instance), and b) as a regulator of behaviour. The main challenge to the structural-functionalist model came from Levi-Strauss, who elaborated his model from the initial intuition that kinship statuses ought to be treated like symbols, not to be defined "substantively" with reference to themselves, but only through their relation to other statuses (Levi- Strauss 1945). A man, for instance, is not a "father" when studied with reference to himself, but only in relation to his child(ren). This notion was later extended to groups and Levi-Strauss postulated that groups gain their identity and reality only in relations to other groups, through exchange. Such an idea ran counter to all the established dogmas, if only because it appeared to do away with the elements of behaviour and their jural expression so crucial to the structural-functionalist credo. It provided a new concept of group which strove to be operational, in that a knowledge of the rules specifying the relation between groups should allow the analyst to infer the type of social structure. This innovation reverberated throughout his conceptualization of kinship, marriage and the family. Marriage, to Levi-Strauss, came to represent the main expression of the principle of exchange upon which social life rests because of alliance that it creates between exchanging units, an alliance which actually defines the very identity of these units or groups. Kinship is therefore a simply by-product of alliance and is geared at the outset to the maintenance and furtherance of alliance. As a result, the structural-functionalist "elementary family" lost its unique status of irreducible kinship group, to be replaced by the structuralist "atom of kinship", which included the mother's brother as a necessary representation of the principle of exchange. However, Levi-Strauss's model has not completely served its links with the behavioural and normative dimensions. Whereas Radcliffe-Brown located his mechanism in society at large, Levi-Strauss placed it in man's mind. Like Radcliffe-Brown, Levi-Strauss need the mind and rules shared by the group because he is addressing himself to the same fundamental problem, namely, the regulation of interpersonal behaviour.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 155 10.4 Types of Kinship The phenomenon of kinship can be classified as : ● Consanguineous kinship ● Affinal kinship and ● Fictive kinship. 10.4.1 Consanguineous Kinship Relation by the bond blood is called consanguineous kinship such as parents and their children and between children of same parents. The son, daughter, brother, sister, paternal uncle etc. are consanguineous kin. Each of these is related through blood. 10.4.2 Affinal Kinship Kinship due to marriage is called affinal kinship, as opposed to consanguinity. New relations are created when marriage takes place. Not only man establishes relationship with the girl and the members of her but also family members of both the man and the woman get bound among themselves. Kinship includes Agnates (sapindas, sagotras); cognates (from mother's side) and bandhus (atamabandhus, pitrubandhus, and matrubandhus). 10.4.3 Fictive Kinship Fictive kinships are belonged to those patterned on kin-like relations that are neither purely based upon blood nor marriage ties, in contrast to true kinship ties. The term fictive kinship has in the past been used to refer to those kinship ties that are fictive, in the sense of non-real. It is used to refer as chosen kin, fictive kin or voluntary kin. It includes god parents, informally adopted children, and close family friends etc. This emphasise the basic biological fact on which kinship system depends. Men and women indulge in sexual interaction and as a result bear children. This lead to blood ties between the individuals and the special terms are used to recognize this relationship, mother, father, and child. The relationship based on blood ties is called "consanguineous kinship", and the relatives of this kind are called "consanguineous
156 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 kin". On the contrary, the desire for reproduction gives rise to another kind of binding relationship. "This kind of bon, which arises out of a socially or legally defined marital relationship, is called affinal relationship", and the relatives relates themselves as "affinal kin". The affinal kins, husband and wife, are not related to one another through the bond of blood ties but through the marital ties. Additionally, kinship has got various ramifications. On the basis of nearness or distance, kins are classified into : (a) primary kins, (b) secondary kins, and (c) tertiary kins. Primary Kins. Every individual who belongs to a nuclear family finds his primary kins within the family.

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There are eight primary kins : husband-wife, father- son, mother-son, father-daughter, mother-daughter, younger brother-elder brother, younger sister-elder sister, and brother-sister. (b) Secondary Kins.

Outside the nuclear family the individual can have more or less thirty three types of secondary kins relatives, for example: Mother's brother, brother's wife, sister's husband, father's brother etc. (c) Tertiary Kins. Tertiary kins refer to the secondary kins of our primary kins, such as wife's brother's son, sister's husband's brother, and so on. Anthropologists have spoken almost of 151 tertiary kins. Descent. When a man died, he leaves something behind: a status or position in society, certain goods, lands, money, or something else. All these assets must pass to someone else, and all societies have developed specific rules about such transmission. Descent is the principle that governing the transmission of kinship: inheritance, that is transfer of property, and succession, that is transfer of functions, tends to follow the principle of descent. In other words,
descent refers to the social recognition of the biological relationship that exists between the individuals. The rules of descent refer to
the set of principles by which an individual traces his descent. There are three basic rules of descent : (a) patrilineal descent, (b) matrilineal descent, and (c) bilateral descent. (
a) Patrilineal Descent. According to this rule, descent is traced through the father's or male line. Here the descent criterion is restricted to males, and only descendants of a common ancestor
in
the male line will be recognised as kin. these are known as agnatic or patrilineal kin. (b) Matrilineal Descent. Here the descent of the individual istraced through the mother or female line exclusively. The descendants are called here uterine or matrilineal kin. These two modes of tracing the descent are called unilineal, that, they select one line only either the male or the female. These principles or rules are not necessarily mutually exclusive within
a society.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 157 (c) Bilateral Descent. This is a rule in which the descent is traced through both of these lines, the female line and also the male line for certain or other purposes. What is important here is that almost all kinship systems recognise 'bilateral' relationships, that is, relationships to both maternal and paternal kins. For example, some societies like the 'Yako' of Nigeria utilise matrilineal descent for some purposes and patrilineal descent for others. There exists a system of 'double unilineal descent' which is also known as 'double descent'. Lineage. "A lineage is a unilineal descent group in which membership may rest on patrilineal descent [patrilineage] or on matrilineal descent [matrilineage]". A lineage, thus, consists of descendants in only one line, either the father's or the mother's. These descendants knew their exact genealogical relationships and who recognise obligations to one another. A lineage is thus relatively smaller and more localised than the broad category of kinship groupings. Clan or Sib. "A clan is a unilineal descent group, the members of which may claim either patrilineal descent [patrician] or matrilineal descent [matrician] from a founder, but do not know the genealogicalities with the ancestor or ancestress" (Abercrombie and others : 66). 'A clan is a named unilineal descent group: that is, a body of persons claiming common descent from an ancestor (often mythical) and recruiting the children of either male or female members, but not both (Duncan Mitchell : 30). The ancestor or mythical ancestor, through whom the descent is claimed, may be human or non human like, animal, plant or even inanimate object. The "Gotra" group of Hindus represents a clan these clans are larger groups and are geographically more dispersed. The clans may have a common totemic name and common ritual taboos against eating or performing such things. Phratry. "A Phratry is a grouping of clans which are related by traditions of common descent" (Abercrombie and others : 219). Mythical ancestors are common in clans and phratries. The Phratry is larger than the clan and includes people scattered over relatively large areas among whom it not possible to trace relationship without bringing in a mythical common ancestor. Moieties. "Where the descent groups of a society are organized into two main divisions, these are known as moieties [halves]" (Abercrombie and others : 66). The term 'moieties' refers to the bisection of a tribe into two complementary social groups. Some scholars would restrict the term 'moiety' to 'exogamous' social divisions, while others use the term to mean any dual organization.

158 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 10.5 Kinship Network Human societies are not, however, simply groups of nuclear families with tenuous links to each other. The incest taboo forces each person to create links outside his/her family of origin, and because of this, a network of strong links is created in every society. There is an expansion of elementary kinship links. Thus, every individual belongs at least to two nuclear families : ● Family of orientation and ● Family of procreation Family of orientation is the one in which person was born and family of procreation, which he founded when he married. Kinship system arises from this universal reality of each individual belonging to two nuclear families. If people married within their nuclear family, there would be no kinship system. The principal of nuclear family and the incest taboo indicates that each person has a precise and particular relationship on the one hand and, on the other hand, that he must extend his relationships beyond this limited circle. The phenomenon of expansion gives rise to an increasingly complex network of relationships. Several "levels" of kinship can therefore be distinguished that combine in a virtual network of relationships that are called "kinship system" according to which individuals are attached to one another by a highly complex network of links with numerous branches. According to Murdock, there are several levels of kinship. The nuclear family that is almost universal in character, gives rise to a set of eight characteristic relationships : (i) The husband-wife relationship (ii) The father-son relationship (iii) The mother-daughter relationship (iv) The mother-son relationship (v) The father-daughter relationship (vi) The relationship between elder and younger brother (vii) The relationship between elder and younger sister (viii) The brother sister relationship.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 159 All these relationships are encountered in families with children in any society. But as any individual is not restricted to that family and must establish a second nuclear family, the family of procreation, that individual serves as a link between the family of origin and this new family. 10.6 Marriage The term kinship, in the broad sense, includes relatives on the one hand and affinity on the other. Two individuals are related when one is descended from another (e.g., a father and daughter) or when both are descended from a common ancestor (e.g., brothers and sisters, cousins). In the latter case, the relationship may be real, fictional or mythical (as for members of a tribe). This extended meaning of kinship does not distinguish between relation and affinity. Marriage is a fundamental social institution studied by anthropologists because it is usually through the marital union that alliances are for forged between groups and social solidarity is built up. Unlike an animal, a human child depends on adults for an extremely long period. This prolonged dependency explains the need for family organization. In all human societies, marriage is an institution of vital importance. Put simply, we can say that marriage is the union between a man and a woman to give children born of this woman a legitimate status. Depending on the society, a marriage may be monogamous or polygamous; in the latter case there is polygynous marriage and, much more rarely, polyandrous marriage. These concepts are not always adequate: in many societies, for example, polygyny is tolerated, even promoted, but it is nevertheless uncommon and it therefore becomes difficult to consider them polygamous societies. Marriage is one of the universal social institutions. It is established by the human society to control and regulate the sex life of man. It is closely connected with the institution of family. In fact, family and marriage are complementary to each other. As Gillin& Gillin have said, "Marriage is a socially approved way of establishing a family of procreation". As Westermarck has remarked, "Marriage is rooted in the family rather than the family in the marriage". Marriage is an institution of society which can have very different implications in different cultures. Its purposes, functions, and forms may differ from society to society, but it is present everywhere as an institution.
160 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 10.7 Definition of Marriage In almost all societies, marriage is understood as a legally and socially recognized sexual relationship. Depending on the society, marriage may religious or civil sanction. Westermarck (1891)

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defines marriage 'as a relation of one or more men to one or more women, which is recognized by custom or law, and involves rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of children born of it'.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Sociology (1994) defines it as, 'Marriage is traditionally conceived to be legally recognized relationship, between an adult male and female, that carries certain rights and obligations.' According to Anthony Giddens (1997) states, 'marriage can be defined as a socially recognized relationship and approved sexual union between an adult male and female that carries certain rights and obligations.' 1. Michel Verdon in his paper "Kinship, Marriage, and the Family: An Operational Approach" (1981,) defines "...marriage must be defined with reference to group formation, a task which requires first the identification of the activities in which 'married groups' are involved. The activity which has been almost universally acknowledged is the sexual one." Radcliffe-Brown (1935, 1952), structural-functionalist, conceptualized groups in terms of corporations which are differentiated from others and also internally organized in so far as the interaction of members is regulated, kinship came to be represented both (a) as a rule for group membership, and (b) as a regulator of behaviour. The family operated to generate kinship, to manufacture the glue which organizes these simple societies where on the basis of kinship ties, the family came to take a dominant position in structural-functional thinking; as a result, marriage was given a derivative importance, being completely subsumed under the family. For the structural-functionalists, marriage derives its significance from the unique position of the family, and it is defined in a teleological manner, with the family as its purpose. Since the latter institution serves for social placement, marriage appears as a means of legitimizing children. To Levi-Strauss (1945, 1949), again notwithstanding Radcliffe-Brown, marriage came to represent the main expression of the principle of exchange upon which social life rests because of the alliance that it creates between exchanging units, an alliance which actually defines the very identity of these units or groups. From this equation, Levi-Strauss inverted the common assumption that the purpose of marriage is to found

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 161 a family through the procreation of children, contending instead that the creation of families or the production of children is only accomplished for the purpose of marriage! If groups derive their reality and identity through exchange, they must keep the exchange going, and the only solution is to procreate. Consequently, groups reproduce themselves physically only with a mind to break even in the eternal game of exchange, which requires a bilateral gifts. Kinship is therefore a simple by-product of alliance and is geared at the outset to the maintenance and furtherance of the alliance. However, Levi-Strauss's model has not completely served its links with the behavioural and normative dimensions. Whereas Radcliffe-Brown located his mechanism in society at large, Levi-Strauss placed it in man's mind. Like Radcliffe-Brown, Levi-Strauss need the mind and rules shared by the group because he is addressing himself to the same fundamental problem, namely, the regulation of interpersonal behaviour. 10.8 Characteristics of Marriage (i) Universality Marriage is more or less a universal institution. It is found among the preliterate as well as literate peoples. It is enforced as a social rule in certain societies. Examples: In Japan, celibacy is publicly condemned. In Kerala, unmarried individuals are called 'half' persons. Among the Hindus, marriage is a sacrament which is regarded roughly as obligatory. (ii) Relationship between Man and Woman. Marriage is a union of a man and woman. It indicates relationship between one or more men to one or more women. Who should marry to whom? Why should one marry?- are the questions which represent social rules regarding marriage which differ significantly from place and time. (iii) Marriage as enduring bond. Marriage indicates a long lasting bond between the husband and wife. Hence it is not coextensive with sex life. It sanctioned the sexual intercourse within a society or it help to exclude any other sexual relationships which are son sanctioned by the society or custom. Marital relationship does not obtained solely on the basis of sexual satisfaction of the partners or the marital bond may endure without practicing sexual activities.

162 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (iv) Marriage as social approval. A union of man and woman becomes a marital bond only when the society gives its approval. When marriage is given the hallmark of social sanction, it becomes a legal contact. (v) Marriage as a civil or religious ceremony. Marriage gets its social recognition through some ceremony. This ceremony may have its own rites, rituals, customs, standardization etc. it means marriage has to be concluded in a public and solemn manner. Sometimes it receives as a sacrament the blessings of religion. Marriage among the Hindus regarded as both a civil performance and a ritual performance. (vi) Marriage as mutual obligation. Marriage imposes certain amount of rights and duties on both the partners. And both of these partners are required to support each other to upbringing their children and to survive the family. 10.9 Forms of Marriage Every society has certain forms of pairing arrangements to which we call marriage but remaining single or pairing without marriage (living together) is fast emerging as an acceptable form of lifestyle in the modern world. The trend towards maintaining an unmarried lifestyle is related to the growing economic independence of young people. The main forms of marriage are : (i) Monogamy It is a form marriage in which one man is married to one woman at a time. It allows one wife to have one husband till death and only divorce separates them apart. This form of marriage is the universally recognized form and is the predominant event in societies where other forms exist. This is the most widespread form of marriage found among the primitives as well as the civilized societies. It is practices among the tribes such as kadars, Santals, the Khasis, the Canella, the Hopi, the Iroquois, the Andaman Islanders etc. Monogamy seems to be relatively superior to other forms of marriage in reference to its universal practicability. Since there is one- to-one ratio in almost all the societies, only monogamy can provide marital opportunityn and satisfaction to all the individuals. This form is more economically

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 163 better suited as hypothetically, no one with ordinary income can think of practicing marriage other than monogamy. This type of marriage promotes comparatively better understanding of the actual conditions between the husband and wife. Because no form of marriage other than monogamy fail to produces the highest type of emotion and affectional relation between the partners. This form relatively more able to contribute to stable family and sexual life as there is no scope for sexual jealousy and sexual competitiveness. Moreover, since the husband and wife have better understanding, they can give greater attention to the upbringing and proper socialization of their children and there is a vital possibility of enjoying prestigious status of women. (ii) Polygamy Some cultures allow an individual to have more than one spouse at the same time. Having more than one marriage partner at a time is known as polygamy. It was practiced in most of the societies of the world but now the trend is towards monogamy. However, as anthropologist George Murdock (1959) found, 80% of societies had some type of polygamy. There are three basic forms of polygamy : (a) Polygyny It refers to plurality of wives or having more than one wife at the same time. In many societies, having several wives is a mark of prestige, distinction and status. It is very common among Muslims in Africa and in Middle East and Asia, the Eskimo tribes, Crow Indians, African Negroes, the Nagas, Gonds etc. Polygyny

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is of two types: First, Sororal Polygyny. It is a type of marriage in which

the wives are invariably the sisters. It is often calls as 'sororate'. The Latin word 'soror' stands for sister. When several sisters are simultaneously, or potentially the spouses of the same man, the practice is calls sororate. It is usually observed among the tribes which pay a high bride price. The death of the wife or her childlessness is compensated by supplying a new spouse who is generally the younger sister of the deceased woman. Second, Non-Sororal Polygyny as the term indicates is a type of marriage in which the wives are not related as sister. For social, economic, political and other reasons, both the types of marriage practiced by certain group of people. (b) Polyandry It is a type of marriage in which a woman can have several husbands (plurality of husband) or two or more husbands simultaneously. It is very rare form of 164 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 marriage. Wherever it is practiced, the co-husbands are usually brothers, either blood brothers or clan brothers and are of the same generation. The Todas (South India) and Khasa (North India) are the famous examples of polyandry. The polyandry is of two types: First, Fraternal Polyandry. When several brothers share the same wife, the practice can be called 'alelphic' or 'fraternal' polyandry. This practice of being mate, actual or potential, to one's husband's brother is called 'levirate'. It is prevalent among the Todas. Second, Non-Fraternal Polyandry. In this type of marriage the husbands need not have any close relationship prior to the marriage. The wife goes to spend some times with each husband. So long as a woman lives with one of her husbands, the others have no claim over her. Nair polyandry was of this type. No universal generalization can be made with regards to the causes of polyandry. However factors like scarcity of women or property, the desire to keep the property intact, heavy bride price, poverty and the sterility of men, etc. are favourable to propagate polyandry. (iii) Group Marriage It is one more type of polygamy, in which several or many men marry to several or many women. It is practiced in some indigenous societies. Theoretically group marriage means the marriage of two or more women with two or more men. But this arrangement is practically rare. Here the husbands are common husbands and wives are common wives. Children are regarded as children of the entire group as a whole. Children call men of such a group their fathers and all the women are their mothers. Some of the tribals in Australia, in India, Tibet etc. are believed to have practiced group marriage. Rules of Marriage. No society gives absolute freedom for its members to select their life partners. Even in societies where 'free marital choice' is allowed, the selection is not absolute but relative. Rules regarding who should marry to whom- always govern such a selection. Endogamy and exogamy are the two prime rules that condition marital choice. Endogamy is a rule of marriage in which the life partners are to be selected within the group. It is marriage that performed within the group. And the group may be caste, class, tribe, race, village, religious group etc. Thus, in this way we have respectively caste endogamy, sub-caste endogamy, class endogamy, tribe endogamy, race endogamy, village endogamy, religious endogamy and so on. For example, in caste endogamy, marriage has to take place within the caste group. Brahmin has to marry a Brahmin. Endogamy prohibits marriage outside the group. Even today intercaste marriage is not encouraged. Endogamy as a rule of marriage has its own advantages. It contributes to the group unity and solidarity. It keeps women happier

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 165 within their group. It helps to preserve the property within the group. It also safeguards the purity of the nature of group. Finally, it helps to keep under secret the strength and weakness of the group. It has its disadvantages also such as by limiting the choice of life partners, it often gives scope for certain evil practices like Polygyny, dowry system, bride price etc. it may also make its followers to develop hatred and contempt for other groups. The modern civilized people are more in favoured of exogamy than endogamy. Exogamy is almost the opposite of endogamy. It is a rule of marriage in which an individual has to marry outside his own groups. It actually prohibits marrying within the same group. The rule insists that the so-called blood relatives shall neither have marital connection nor sexual contact among themselves. Near relatives are not supposed to marry among themselves. But the degree of nearness may differ from community to community. Like marriage of cousins is allowed among Muslims. Exogamy assumes various forms in India such as Gotra Exogamy, where the Hindu practices of one-marrying outside one's own Gotra. Pravara Exogamy, where those who belongs to the same pravara (uttering the name of a common saint at religious functions) cannot marry among themselves. Village Exogamy, where many Indian tribes (Naga, Garo, Munda etc.) have the practice of marrying outside their village Pinda Exogamy, those who belong to the same 'pinda' or 'sapinda' cannot marry within themselves. 10.10 Summary Kinship ties are connections between individuals, established either through marriage or through the lines of descent that connect blood relatives (mothers, fathers, siblings, offspring, etc.). Marriage may be defined as a socially acknowledged and approved sexual union between two adult individuals. 10.11 Questions Model Questions (5 Marks each) (i) What do you mean by kinship ? Discuss the conceptual meaning of kinship. (ii) Explain in brief the various types of kinship. (iii) What is marriage ? Discuss the various forms of marriage. (iv) What are the basic types of marriage found in society ?

166 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (v) What is the basis of kinship network ? (vi) What is monogamy ? G-A (10 Marks each) (vii) Explain in brief about your understanding of marriage. (viii) Briefly elucidate the key characteristics of kinship. (ix) Briefly discuss about kinship network. (x) Explain in brief the salient features of marriage. 10.12 Suggested Readings (i) Al-Haj, Majid. (1995), Kinship and Modernization in Developing Societies : The Emergence of Instrumentalized Kinship, Journal of Comparative Family Studies, AUTUMN, Vol 26, No 3, pp. 311-328, University of Toronto Press. (ii) Deliege, Robert (2011). Anthropology of the Family and Kinship, PHI Learning Limited, New Delhi. (iii) Ganesh, Kamala. (2013). New Wine in Old Bottles ? Family and Kinship Studies in the Bombay School, Sociological Bulletin, May-August, Vol 62, No 2, pp. 288-310, Sage Publications, Inc. (iv) Goode William, J. (1998). The Family, Prentice Hall, New Delhi. (v) Haralambos, M. (1998). Sociology : Themes and Perspectives, OUP. (vi) Jayaram, N. (1998). Introductory Sociology, Macmillan India. (vii) Kibria, Nazli. (2006). Globalization and the Family, International Journal of Sociology of the Family, Vol 32, No 2 (Autumn). (viii) Madan, T. N. (2016). Family and Kinship : A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir, Oxford University Press. (ix) Ogburn, William F. (1935). Recent Changes in Marriage, American Journal of Sociology, Vol 41, No 3, November, pp. 285-298, The University of Chicago Press. (x) Oommen, T. K. & Venugopal, C.N. (1993). Sociology, Eastern Book Co.

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168 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Unit - 11 ❑ Changes in Kinship and Marriage : Nature and Factors Structure 11.1 Objectives 11.2 Introduction 11.3 Changes in Kinship 11.4 Nature of Changes in Kinship 11.5 Factors of Changes in Kinship 11.5.1 Modernization and Kinship System 11.5.2 Changes in the study of kinship Terminology 11.6 Changes in Marriage 11.7 Nature of changes in Marriage 11.8 Factors of changes in Marriage 11.9 Summary 11.10 Questions 11.11 Suggested Readings 11.1 Objectives ● To learn the nature of changes that happen in kinship system ● To learn about the factors that are responsible for the changes in kinship system ● To learn about the nature of changes of marriage that happen in recent times ● To learn the factors that are solely responsible for the changes that occurred in marriage system ● To develop a comparative understanding of the changes in both kinship system and marriage system 168

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 169 11.2 Introduction The process of change in the social structure is an inevitable universal social reality. The changes in the last few decades are so rapid and far reaching that many thinkers look upon this as a new era in human history. The very processes of industrialisation, urbanisation, and secularisation have brought about many socio- psychological changes in the attitudes and values of the people. The most striking one is the emancipation of women from their relatively traditional bound ethos challenging the institution of kinship, family and marriage. 11.3 Changes in Kinship System The distinction between sociology and anthropology in the West and their convergence and unification in Indian academia is reflected in the way family and kinship are taught and researched. In the history of the field in Euro-American academia, family and kinship were studied within separate disciplines. Family was a staple of sociology and kinship was a core constituent of social/cultural anthropology. Developing as it did in the wake of social transformations following the Industrial Revolution, sociology was not only seized of the unfolding changes in family structure and function, but the dominant Parsonian framework placed the nuclear family of the West as the best adapted model for the emerging new society. Kinship, on the other hand, was an important focus for anthropologists, because in the kind of societies they studied, kinship was a central organising principle, often encompassing and expressing the entire gamut of social relations. Sociology of family, considered a soft option (Barnes 1980 : 297), was a popular subject where common sense, public discourse, and sociology blended into a continuum. They shared common assumptions of the harmonious and consensual nuclear family, with a functional division of labour, which was a cushion for the individual against the harsh external world (see, for instance, Dube 1997, Ganesh and Risseeuw 1998 : 11-12). In contrast, anthropology of kinship was seen to be a hard sub discipline - kinship algebrain the famous words of Bronislaw Malinowski (1930:19), referring to the pre-occupation with kinship terminology. The work of Claude Lévi- Strauss was particularly influential in raising empirically grounded technical discussions to a sophisticated level of abstraction, where kinship was considered to code eternal principles fundamental to human survival. It became a highly specialised field with its own esoteric jargon, supping at the table of high theory.
170 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 The 1970s and early 1980s saw a crisis in kinship studies, mainly over the issue of whether there can at all exist a cross-culturally applicable definition of kinship based on marriage and procreation. The supposed universality of biology in determining kinship was questioned. The widely discussed demise of kinship was followed by a renewal (Varto 2010 : 83-84), but within the canvas of anthropology. While the other three components of the anthropological quadrivium - economics, politics, and religion - have, through the 1970s, seen considerable convergences between sociology and anthropology (Barnes 1980 : 297), what Michael G. Peletz termed the anthropological romance of kinship (1995 : 344), continued. Anthropology did not let go of kinship. A review of the field till the late 20th century (ibid. : 366- 67) shows how kinship in the sense of terminology and as a symbolic system has waned as a staple theme, but anthropological studies of kinship in terms of social relations among variably situated actors, within broader economic and political contexts, and in terms of historical transformations, have got strengthened. In contrast, in India, most scholars have written on family and kinship as a composite field. In Indian universities, wherever they have been taught as a separate course, they have been merged into a unity (Patel 2005 : 22). More commonly though, they are condensed into one or two topics and incorporated within courses like Sociology of Indian Society, Sociology of Gender, Sociology of Ageingand other appropriate courses. This reflects the dominant approach in Indian academia of keeping sociology and social and cultural anthropology together as one discipline, or at least as siblings in a joint family. G.S. Ghurye's own inclinations to fuse the two - given that he was sent to England by the University of Bombay to study sociology but chose to shift to anthropology under W. H. R. Rivers - no doubt played a role. But subsequent generations of influential scholars have also written extensively endorsing this position, which has widespread acceptance in India. Kinship is a structural
system of relationship in which individuals are bound to one another by
complex interlocking and ramifying ties. Radcliffe Brown insisted on the study of a kinship system as a field of rights and obligations and saw it as a part of the social structure. Man

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does not live alone in society. From birth till death he is surrounded by a number of people. Some of these people are his relatives, some are friends and some are neighbours while all others are strangers and unknown to him. He is bound to all those people who are related to him either on the basis of blood or marriage. The relations based on blood or marriage may be closed or NSOU ● GE-SO-11 171 distant. The bond of blood or marriage which binds people together in

a group is called kinship. 11.4 Nature of Changes in Kinship System One of the most important areas of social science is the study of the family as the basic social unit for reproduction, residence and economic life in nearly all societies. But family structures and family relationships (kinship system) do have different forms in different parts of the world. The phenomenon of kinship system is so dynamic in nature especially in reference to its nature of changes. Kinship system is changing all the time. The changes in important structural parts such as the forms of marriage, the rule of residence, the rule of descent and the types and composition of kin groups are usually slow i.e. they usually emerge clearly in the course of generations rather than days. According to Johnson, the faces behind such changes are of many inter-related kind- discovery, development or depletion of resources and the development and the spread of new methods of production, the growth of new patterns in the relationship of men in their productive activities, changes in the internal ordering of societies is so far as the use of force concerned and in the relation of one society to another in this respect, changes in the size, age and sex composition of population. These various factors do not necessarily move kinship structure in the same direction, some factors reinforce others, and some neutralized others. Any changes that take place in kinship structure are, therefore, the resultant of many other social changes. Changes in the kinship system : In earlier times, says Bruner (1955 : p. 849) in his recent study of kinship system among the Mandan-Hidatsa, both the Mandan-Hidatsa and the South-eastern tribes had a pure Crow type lineage system. After acculturative influence an American generational type kinship system is found among the two groups. In the Southeast the orderly and progressive shift in kinship type was characterized as a process of slow modification of the existing system due to adaptive responses to changing conditions. In Lone Hill, the lack of intermediate variations in kinship patterns suggests a rapid process of change caused by early socialization in those families in which there has been white intermarriage. Drawing upon the work of Spoehr (1947), the Schmitts (nd), Gough (1952), and Eggan (1941, 1950), as well as upon an analysis of his own material, Bruner (p. 845) concludes that there are two distinct processes involved in kinship change. The first process consists of the slow modification of a kinship system as evidenced by an orderly and
 progressive shift in type. The second process is a more radical change evidenced by an abrupt jump from one type of kinship system to another. The second process he illustrates with material from Lone Hill. One gathers from the context of the article that Bruner equates his material with that of Spoehr, etc., in that he sees both cases as involving a change in kinship system. This equation is not precisely correct. Spoeh's Southeast material illustrates an orderly and progressive change in kinship system due to the adaptive responses of the system to changing conditions. Bruner & # 39; s material, however, illustrates some individuals using an American type kinship system rather than a Crow type system due to early socialization in those families in which there has been white intermarriage. It is clear from the Mandan- Hidatsa material that there are two systems present and that individuals adjust to alternate kinship systems (p. 847). In cases such as the Southeast, where progressive changes in systems are involved, there need not be two systems present at any given point in time. Gough (p. 86) says, for example, that; analysis of the processes of change in a kinship system over a period of time fails to reveal discontinuity. The Nayar system has, over a period of two hundred years, changed from a very extreme form of matriliny into a system with only a weak tendency to matriliny; but the later system developed imperceptibly out of the earlier; Both individual and system change or adaptation may take place within the same society (Spoehr p. 198; Bruner p. 845), but the two types should be kept conceptually separate. In terms of a structural model of a changing system, an explanation of process within the scope of present research methodology means the description of changing social usages (and associated terminology) through time and the relation of this description to the particular adaptation of a society to its natural and social environments. 11.5 Factors of Changes in Kinship System Changes are taking place in kinship patterns due to the phenomenon of mobility under vocational or professional pressure and movements of groups due to expediency of commerce. Kinship patterns are changing and so is the case with affinity. In the past kinship was confined to caste, and the phenomenon of inter-caste marriage were discouraged. But at present time, inter-caste marriages are taking place. The number of inter-caste marriages is also increasing day to day. Due to the inter-caste marriages changes have taken place in affinal kinship. Thus the belong kins to different castes. In traditional societies, the concept of residence was very crucial. Considerably,

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 173 there were no marriages at too far distant places. But, comparatively, today the concept of distance has no meaning. Thus, one can have kinship at various places and in any castes. Thus, the phenomenon of kinship network is increasing not only in individual level but in terms of area also. As far as matrilineal society concern, the kinship relation is also undergoing change. If we consider the institution of Nayar families, it stands today radically altered. It retains only some of the superficial aspects of the matrilineal type of family system. The situation in rural Malabar is that in majority of Veedas (the dwelling place of small family) the practices of visiting husbands are still prevalent. Husbands do not only visit for a night as they used to, but stay for a longer period, at times, extending two or three days. Many husbands have been assigned important roles in the management of their wives' Vedas. The wives also go periodically to their husband's Vedas, either in the village or in the urban areas where the husbands gone for employment. Then they come in contact with the husband's lineage kin in their Tarwads. The standardisation of behavioural pattern towards the husband's close maternal kins is unknown in old Tarwad organization, is in the process of evolution on the lines of the one prevalent in the Tarwad. The changes that have taken place in matrilocality and matriliny are, however, not uniform in different regions. M. S. A. Rao has observed, as a whole the changes that have come about are neither uniform nor wholesale. They exhibit different shades of intentionalities in different regions. They are rapid in Travancore and slow in Malabar. Cochin occupies the middle position. We can conclude the discussion by mentioning the words of H.M. Johnson, "Kinship systems are changing all the times. The changes in important structural parts such as the form of marriage, the rule of residence, the rule of descent and the types and composition of kin groups are usually slow; that is, they usually emerge clearly in the course of generations rather than days or even years". As far as matrilineal society concern, the kinship relation is also undergoing change. If we consider the institution of Nayar families, it stands today radically altered. It retains only some of the superficial aspects of the matrilineal type of family system. The situation in rural Malabar is that in majority of Veedas (the dwelling place of small family) the practices of visiting husbands are still prevalent. Husbands do not only visit for a night as they used to, but stay for a longer period, at times, extending two or three days. Many husbands have been assigned important roles in the management of their wives' Vedas. The wives also go periodically to their husband's Vedas, either in the village or in the urban areas where the husbands

174 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 gone for employment. Then they come in contact with the husband's lineage kin in their Tarwads. The standardisation of behavioural pattern towards the husband's close maternal kins is unknown in old Tarwad organization, is in the process of evolution on the lines of the one prevalent in the Tarwad. The changes that have taken place in matrilocality and matriliny are, however, not uniform in different regions. M. S. A. Rao has observed, as a whole the changes that have come about are neither uniform nor wholesale. They exhibit different shades of intentionalities in different regions. They are rapid in Travancore and slow in Malabar. Cochin occupies the middle position. We can conclude the discussion by mentioning the words of H. M. Johnson, "Kinship systems are changing all the times. The changes in important structural parts such as the form of marriage, the rule of residence, the rule of descent and the types and composition of kin groups are usually slow; that is, they usually emerge clearly in the course of generations rather than days or even years". 11.5.1 Modernization and Kinship System Majid Al-Haj, in his study Kinship and Modernization in Developing Societies: The Emergence of Instrumentalized Kinship (1955) stated that the effect of modernization on kinship structure and the extended family in developing societies is a controversial issue. For a long time this field of research was dominated by the convergence approach which postulates that countries are industrialized, they increasingly resemble highly developed societies in their family, kinship ties and other basic institutional arrangements (Bernard, Mogney and Smith 1986 : 151). The social forces of modernization affect every known society, thus creating a remarkable phenomenon in the development of similar patterns of family behavior and values among much of the world's population, even if the family systems in different areas of the world move from very different starting points (Goode 1970 : 1). This argument is based on the conception that in the wake of a conspicuous modernization process, family-oriented traditional values are confronted with different Western hierarchies of values, which stress achieved rather than ascriptive elements, universalist rather than particularistic orientation and individualism rather than familism (see Madigan and Almonte 1977 : 797). Modernization and kinship systems are inimical to each other in many respects. Therefore, kinship structure is either a victim or a barrier of modernization (Inkeles and Smith 1974), since extended kinship relationships cannot be adapted to modern industrialized society. The need for social and geographical mobility necessitates the creation of a conjugal family independent of

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 175 kinship ties (Levy 1965). One of the main characteristics of this nuclear-conjugal family is the remoteness from affinal and blood relatives, including the extraction of mutual economic aid (Goode 1970 : 8). Therefore, all the relatively modern nations are non-kinship oriented (Levy 1965). 11.5.2 Changes in the study of kinship Terminology Thomas R. Trautmann, in his study India and the Study of KinshipTerminologies (2000) mentioned that Kinshipas an anthropological object, and anthropology as the observing subject of kinship, was mutually constituted in the middle of the nineteenth century. The constituting of kinship was not a creation from nothing, like divine creation; rather, in the manner of human creations, it came about as a gathering together into a new configuration of elements that had previously existed in a dispersed state. From the law, from ethnographies of missionaries, explorers and philosophical travellers, from the Classics and the Bible were drawn a variety of existing concepts - of patriarchy and matriarchy, forbidden degrees of marriage, rules of inheritance, and so forth - as material for the making of the new thing, kinship. The inventors of kinship - Lewis H. Morgan, J. F. McLennan, Henry Maine, Johann J. Bachofen, NumaD. Fustel de Coulanges - were thrown together through the making of this new object, collaborating in its production without really intending to, or even being aware that they were doing so (Trautmann 1987). In many ways the decisive contribution was that of L. H. Morgan, in his master work, the Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family (Morgan 1871), which conceptualized kinship as existing in the form of a limited number of systems that, as such, could be rigorously compared ; for by doing so he conceived an object for anthropology that was complex and required extensive study, creating at the same time an important part of the raison for a special discipline devoted to its study. Kinship terminologies were central to this conception of kinship, and thus to the creation of anthropology itself. Constituting kinship terminologies as objects of comparative study involved giving fully conscious recognition and formal expression to the terms we have learned as young children and which we use readily and without reflection. Because, the kinship terminology, like language itself, is both lodged in unconscious knowledge and yet fully available to consciousness for articulation in speech, because it is at once quotidian and occult, it takes a special effort to call into consciousness the relations of reciprocity among the terms that bind them together into a logically organized set. The formal recognition of kinship terminology as a

176 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 self-contained system did not come about by way of first lessons in ones own kinship terminology during childhood, nor through adult self- reflection, but by comparison with other terminologies and the apprehension of their difference. Let us briefly trace this moment of emergence. Morgan held that kinship terminologies are aspects of language that, because they are logically-ordered and hence more resistant to change, are more conservative than both the vocabulary and the grammar of a language, constituting for this reason ‘a new instrument for ethnology’, more powerful than the comparison of vocabularies and grammars in uncovering historic relations among peoples. Thus, in a paper called ‘System of Consanguinity of the Red Race’ delivered before the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1859, he wrote: “Language changes its vocabulary, not only, but also modifies its grammatical structure in the progress of ages ; thus eluding the inquiries which philologists have pressed it to answer ; but a system of relationships once matured, and brought into operation, is, in the nature of things, more unchangeable than language - not in the names employed as a vocabulary of relationships, for these are mutable, but in the ideas which underlie the system itself.” Morgan found the new anthropological object, which we call kinship terminology, deep in the heart of language. To understand the conditions under which it rose to consciousness we have to consider the role kinship terms had within the project of what we should like to call linguistic ethnology. In the eighteenth century, the European preoccupation with the intersection of languages and nations issued in a project of linguistic ethnology whereby the relations among nations were to be uncovered by determining the relations among languages, arranging them in a tree resembling an anthropological diagram of segmentary lineages. The method employed a simple-seeming tool: the vocabulary list, juxtaposing columns of words from various peoples whose historical relations would be revealed by the similarities of words across the rows. This device seems simple but in fact rested upon a rather complex theory about history and language, to the effect that there are certain words every language must have at the moment of its creation, and that these are the most durable and conservative core of the lexicon of a language. Kinship terms regularly feature in the list of words that make up the core vocabulary. Thus Leibniz, believing that nothing would throw greater light on the origins of nations than the collation of languages, called for the collection of Pater Nosters and glossaries, and drew up a vocabulary list for the purpose which seems to have served as a model for subsequent lists of this kind, the Desiderata circalinguas populorum(Leibniz 1768). Leibniz’s list includes the

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 177 propinquitates, aetatesy, among whom we find the kinship terms pater mater, avus, filius, filia, frater, soror, patruus, maritus and uxor; other sub-lists are words for numbers, parts of the body, necessities, naturalia, and actions. Here the words of the kinship vocabulary remain a series within a series, having no special virtue of their own and being interchangeable with others of the series; so that the conceptualization and use of them is part and parcel of the more general program of linguistic ethnology. So long as kinship terms constituted items in a vocabulary list, however (and they remain so in Campbell), they were captives of an epistemology according to which words are the names of things, in a world of discrete object-types having comparable names in all languages. But once it was grasped that the things of kinship might be categorized under the names of kinship in very different ways from one society to another, one reached the threshold of the anthropological conception of kinship terminology as a system having a logic of its own, comparable to but different from other such terminologies and their logics; so that now the words of kinship were no longer in series with words for feet, nose and teeth, but constituted a bounded set to be compared with other such sets. This breakthrough understanding came about when Morgan confronted the strangeness of the Iroquois terminology, in which 'the father's brother is equally a father', and the mother's sister a mother, implicitly comparing his own kinship terminology - in which the father's brother is an uncle, and the mother's sister an aunt - with that of the Iroquois. An essential step in achieving this new sense of kinship consisting of systems that can be closely compared was to abandon the comparison of vocabulary items, i.e. the lexicon of kinship, in favor of examining the semantic patterning of the kinship set. Morgan tended to believe that similarity of semantic patterning indicated historical relationship even where the vocabulary of kinship is completely different, i.e. across language families. In this way, he believed, kinship could show historical relationships between languages whose vocabularies had so changed over time that they were no longer recognizably alike. Thus, kinship terminology was central to the consolidation of kinship as anthropological object. Because this object was a system or structure, all analysis of this anthropological object necessarily has an incipiently structural, if not a fully- blown structuralist, character; and it is to structural analysis that we owe most of the great advances in our knowledge of kinship. Lewis H. Morgan him-self, though the overall shape of his interpretation is evolutionist, clearly delimited the structure of

178 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 terminologies we call Iroquois, Crow, Omaha and Eskimo, providing in fact most of the tools of kinship analysis in use ever since. It is not an accident that the two golden ages of the study of kinship, and especially of the study of kinship terminology, had this structural or structuralist aspect – the first following W. H. R. Rivers's revival of Morgan (1914), and the second following the publication of Lévi- Strauss' great masterwork, Les structures élémentaires de la parenté (1949), fittingly dedicated to Morgan, and of Murdock's Social Structure (1949). Critiques of kinship as anthropological object have often had the analysis of kinship terminology in mind, as when Malinowski complained of 'kinship algebra' or (so as not to malign algebra, presumably) 'the bastard algebra of kinship'. Kinship terminology is no longer automatically included in what anthropologists call kinship, even tacitly. Nevertheless, it remains part of the invaluable ethnographic record which anthropology has made of worlds that have vanished. And some recent works, including the publication of the 1993 Maison Suger conference on kinship terminologies organized by Maurice Godelier (Godelier, Trautmann & amp; Tjon Sie Fat 1998), and Francis Zimmerman's book (1-993) that appeared the same year, Enquete sur la parenté, suggest that a revival of the study of kinship terminologies is in progress. 11.6 Changes in Marriage In recent times marriage has seemingly become less popular, more fragile and less of an exclusive setting for having children. We will discuss recent changes in marriage and marriage related issues such as cohabitation, divorce and re-marriage patterns. Robert Parke, JR. and Paul C. Glick in their study Prospective Changes in Marriage and the Family (1967) stated that there (in recent trends in marriage and family statistics) is a "...continued decline in the rate of teen-age marriage and rise in the average age of women at first marriage; reductions in the relative frequency of widowhood due to increasing similarity in the age of husbands and wives, as well as to improvements in survival rates; reductions in the relative frequency of divorce and separation due to rising incomes; and some continued decline in; the average size of households and families and major increases in the proportions of unmarried individuals who maintain their own households." They reviewed that in reference to recent trends in marriage and family statistics provides a basis for the following expectations, if one keeps in mind the foregoing qualifications :

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 179 (i) Persons now in their late twenties and their early thirties are more likely to marry at some time in their lives than any other group on record. (ii) The rate of teen-age marriage, which is now on the decline, will continue to go down for a while, and then level off. (iii) The relative oversupply of young women will tend to produce a further rise in the next ten years in the age at which women marry for the first time. (iv) The compression of marriages into a narrow age range will cause marriage and household formation to be somewhat more responsive than before to changes in the number of past births from which the marrying population comes. (v) Over and above any general decline in mortality, the declines in the difference between the ages of the husband and wife will reduce the frequency of widowhood and increase the proportion of couples who survive jointly to retirement age. (vi) Declines in the relative frequency of divorce and separation should result to the extent that there are reductions in poverty and general improvements in the socio economic status of the population. (vii) The small average size of modern families (in terms of related persons sharing the same living quarters) will not change very much, but the average number of adult members may come very close to a minimum size. Greater changes are likely to develop only if there are major changes in the average number of children in the home. (viii) Nearly all married couples now maintain their own households. In addition, there is a good prospect that within the next 20 years five out of every six aged individuals not in institutions will keep house on their own, and more than half the adult individuals of other ages will do so. In closing, it is acknowledged that here and there the observations presented have gone a step or two beyond the projections. Furthermore, the future patterns could actually veer off in new directions not anticipated in the projections. However, there is reason to expect that further development of the program for preparing marriage and family projections, and improvements in the data available, will make it possible to reduce the area of uncertainty and to provide prompt corrections of future readings so as to bring them in line with current developments.
180 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 11.7 Nature of Changes in Marriage The central theme of our understanding towards the nature of changes in marriage is one of diversity. We try to document varieties of diversity in men's, women's and children's experiences of family and marriage- over time, across cultures and especially today. We describe a variety of perspectives that provide different lenses on the question of why people marry and the consequences of those choices for parents, the children, and the society at large. We also present evidence suggestive of continuing and potentially increasing diversity of those experiences and consequences into the future. The changes in the marriage system may be analysed in following areas. (i) Changes in the Aims of Marriage The main objective of Hindu marriage was Dharma. Although Karma or sex was one of the aims of Hindu Marriage, it was the least desirable aim. In recent times, the order of aims of marriage has undergone change as, sex has become primary and Dharma has become least important aim to marriage. (ii) Change in the Process of Mate Selection As far as the selection of the bride and bridegroom concerned it was the prerogative of the parents or the guardians. This tradition of selecting the marriage partner for son or daughter continued till the end of 19th century. In the post- independent India, the tendency of selecting one's own partner has remarkably increased. At present, the younger generation is not very much in favour of parental choice in matter of selection of marriage partners. (iii) Changes in the Rules of Endogamy and Exogamy There have been considerable visible evidences of change in the matter of rules of endogamy and exogamy. The rules of Varna, caste, and sub-caste are endogamy while Gotra and Pravara are categorised as exogamy have been banned by legislations. Now one do not find any sort of restriction in cross-cousin marriages and the number of incidences are gradually increasing under such circumstances such as the Hindu Marriage Disabilities Removal Act (1964), the Special Marriage Act (1954), the Hindu Marriage Act (1955) etc. (iv) The Age at Marriage In course of time, the child marriage became the taboo of marriage in India. In
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 181 the 20 th century, the Child Marriage Restraint Act, popularly known as Sharada Act

89%	MATCHING BLOCK 38/115	W

prescribed the minimum age of marriage at 14 years for girls and 18 years for boys.

Thereafter,the Indian Parliament raised the age of marriage 18 for the girls and 21 for the boys and any case that come below the prescribed age has been made a cognisable offence. (v) Changes in the Rites of Marriage Conventionally, Hindu marriage is a religious sacrament and the Hindu marriage can take place only through the performance of certain rights and rituals. But now the situation is being changed as marriage is monitored and performed strictly by the civil courts. As a result, the sacred nature of rites and rituals has been gradually diminished to a considerable extent. (vi) Change in the Stability of Marriage In the orthodox Hindu society, the concept of divorce is less considerable phenomenon. The hindrance on divorce made the institution of family and marriage stable and enduring. But due to the enactment of marriage and family legislations and many other inter-related factors the divorce rate in India has been steadily increasing. 11.8 Factors of Changes in Marriage Factors that are supposed to be responsible for the changes in marriage are as following: (i) Second Demographic Transition Family forms are becoming increasingly diverse. Some demographers have characterised the dramatic changes in family structure and behaviour over the past forty years as the "second demographic transition" (Lesthaeghe 1995). These changes includes delays in marriage and increases in divorce, non-marital childbearing, and cohabitation. These changes have not occurred equally for all groups, however. The retreat from marriage and increases in non-marital childbearing are concentrated among racial and ethnic minorities and the less educated, and these differences in marriage outcomes have contributed to the increase in inequality over the last thirty years (Mclanahan 2004) (ii) Spending Less of Being Married There has been considerable debate about whether individuals are tending forgo

 marriage altogether, or whether due to increase in the age of marriage and in the likelihood of divorce they are just spending less of their life cycle being married. Data clearly shows that both men and women remain single for a longer period of time. In the 2005 the median age of marriage in the United State was 27 for men and 25 for women. The age at marriage has increase substantially since the 1950s, when half of women married during their teen years. At the end of 19th century, the age of marriage was closer to what is today; in 1890 the median age of marriage was 22 for women and 26 for men. (iii) Marriage Delayed/Avoided The continuing debate sheds some light on the question of whether marriage is delayed or avoided. The figure shows that the proportion of white and black women who were ever married by age 45-50 by educational level over time. The top panel shows that marriage propensities have increased for white women. Since 1950s, the likelihood of ever marring remain almost constant for those with less than a high school education, but this likelihood increased for white women with more education (by about 6% for women with some college.) In contrast the lower panel shows that marriage propensities decreased substantially over time for black women of all educational level. The decline was largest for black women less than a college education (from 96% to 62%), but there were still a 10-point decline in marriage probabilities for black women with some college. As several studies on this issue trying to emphasize that over and time the phenomenon of marriage has become increasingly selective of those with higher socio-economical status. (iv) Increasing Divorce Rates The increase in divorce rate is another factor contributing to the decline in marriage. The substantial increase began in the late 1960s, but aggregate divorce rates have been fairly flat since 1980, with a small decline in recent years. Divorce propensities also reflect the divide between high and low socio- economic groups. The likelihood of divorce has fallen slightly for non-Hispanic whites but has continued to rise for black (Bramlett and Mosher 2002). It also shows that remarriage rates have fallen over time. Again remarriage rates have fallen faster for black than for whites (Bramlett and Mosher 2002). (v) Non-marital Childbirth The delay in marriage has not been matched by a similar delay in fertility,

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 183 especially for black women and those with lower education. Essentially marriage and childbearing are less closely connected now than in the past, resulting in an increasing number of births outside of marriage. This behaviour has been the focus of much debate by policy makers and pundits alike. In 2005, almost 7 in 10 black children and about 1 in 4 white non-Hispanic children were born to non-married parents. The reason rise in non-marital childbearing began in 1960s, and the percentage of births that are non-marital has almost quadrupled since 1970. (vi) Non-marital Cohabitation Another change in family structure has been the rise of non-marital cohabitation. Estimates based on the 2000 U.S. census show that there are nearly 5.5 million cohabiting couples in the U.S. today, which represents a more than 1000 percent increase since 1970. It is estimated that about 40% of cohabiting households including children (Fields and Casper 2001; Simmons and O'Connell 2003). Indeed, evidence from the National Survey of Family Growth estimates that 40% of non- marital births to unmarried cohabiting couples (Chandra.et al. 2005). (vii) Diverse Life Course Individuals are experiences diversity across the life course. Today many men and women spent their life course in various family structures, moving back and forth between being single, cohabiting, married, remarriage, divorced and widowed. (viii) Impact of Social Change Overall the trends and changes described to highlight the considerable diversities in experiences of marriage and indicate that there remain many unanswered questions about contemporary marriage and family life. This mix of reviews and of theory and the literature, and empirical data gives our readers both breadth and depth into the multitude of issues and perspectives that mark contemporary research on marriage and family. Thorton also describes social changes in the western world, including industrialization, increasing wages for women, and the development of the birth control pill, that have contributed to the decline in marriage. (ix) Single-Parent Family Over the past forty years the parent of all children living in single-parent households has increased gradually. Although there is considerable diversity in the prevalence and experiences of single-parent families across different social, ethnic and educational groups, and there is also diversity in the route through which the current phenomenon occurs. The studies shows that children who live in single-
184 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 parent household have worse outcomes that those who living with two biological married parents, though there is less consensus about the mechanisms that lead to these outcomes. (x) Single-Mother Family This further leads to the phenomenon of single-mother family household. Comparatively there is a considerable different and diverse outcome for children living in two family types that have never had a structure transition: stable married-biological parent and stable single-mother families. (xi) Step-Parent Family Now considerably the next question comes of step-parent families, especially with the view of comparative outcomes for adolescents in step-parent families with those in single-parent families. Here the major emphasis goes on whether the step- parent family is formed through cohabitation or through marriage and whether step- parent family is preceded by a divorce or by a non-marital birth. 11.9 Summary We can conclude that the future of marriage, both in terms of the ontological meaning that marriage has and the practical knowledge that could have in people's lives, become dynamic. Steven Nock accounts that as marriage has become less universal, it has also become more selective of individuals with higher education and other socially valued characteristics. According to him, as marriage rates decline, "the symbolic importance of marriage increases". 11.10 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) What is divorce ? (ii) What is cohabitation ? (iii) What are rites of marriage ? (iv) When did Hindu Marriage Act passed ? (v) Mention some functional changes of kinship system.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 185 (vi) Point out some structural changes in present kinship system. (vii) Evaluate the contemporary status of marriage system. G-B (10 Marks each) (viii) Discuss the major factors of changes in kinship system. (ix) Explain in detail the nature of changes that taken place in kinship system. (x) Explain the factors that solely responsible for changes in marriage system. (xi) What are the factors of changes in marriage system ? (xii) What are the changes occurred in the nature of marriage system ? 11.11 Suggested Readings (i) Al-Haj, Majid. (1995), Kinship and Modernization in Developing Societies : The Emergence of Instrumentalized Kinship, Journal of Comparative Family Studies, AUTUMN, Vol 26, No 3, pp. 311-328, University of Toronto Press. (ii) Deliege, Robert (2011). Anthropology of the Family and Kinship, PHI Learning Limited, New Delhi. (iii) Ganesh, Kamala. (2013). New Wine in Old Bottles ? Family and Kinship Studies in the Bombay School, Sociological Bulletin, May-August, Vol 62, No 2, pp. 288-310, Sage Publications, Inc. (iv) Goode William, J. (1998). The Family, Prentice Hall, New Delhi. (v) Haralambos, M. (1998). Sociology : Themes and Perspectives, OUP. (vi) Jayaram, N. (1998). Introductory Sociology, Macmillan India. (vii) Kibria, Nazli. (2006). Globalization and the Family, International Journal of Sociology of the Family, Vol 32, No 2 (Autumn). (viii) Madan, T. N. (2016). Family and Kinship : A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir, Oxford University Press. (ix) Ogburn, William F. (1935). Recent Changes in Marriage, American Journal of Sociology, Vol 41, No 3, November, pp. 285-298, The University of Chicago Press. (x) Oommen, T. K. & Venugopal, C. N. (1993). Sociology, Eastern Book Co.

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NSOU ● GE-SO-11 187 Unit - 12 ❑ Relevance of Marriage Family and Kinship Today Structure 12.1 Objectives 12.2 Introduction 12.3 Importance of Family in Modern Society 12.4 Importance of Kinship in Contemporary Society 12.5 Relevance of Kinship in Modernizing Societies 12.6 Structure and Function of Kinship 12.7 Relevance of Marriage in Recent time 12.8 Summary 12.9 Questions 12.10 Suggested Readings 12.1 Objectives ● To learn about the role of family in our society ● To learn about the necessity of kinship ties in our changing scenario ● To learn about the present condition of marriage in contemporary society ● To develop a worldview about the present necessity and importance of social institutions in human society in general. 12.2 Introduction Life has changed so much for most of us in the modern world. With the advancement of technology, changing cultural norms, new priorities and forms of communication fuelled by the internet, it's natural to wonder what the importance of 187
188 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 family is. Is it a dying institution that has no place in modern life? Well, of course not. Family just a relevant as it ever was if not more. No matter how much life changes in the future, it will probably continue to be need in one form or another. 12.3 Importance of Family in Modern Society The traditional definition of "family" entitled one man and one woman who were married, and their children. A grand-parent might live with and be a part of the family, too. In the 1950s, the ideal family was a father, a mother, and two offspring. The current definition is somewhat open and inclusive. A family might be two parents of any gender, married or not. Some people even have a family with more than three parents. The child may have been born to one of the parents, both parents, or adopted. As modern family puts pressure on all of us, the benefits of living in a family are more important than ever such as : (i) Family Meet Basic Needs The basic social unit called the family is tasked with meeting the basic needs of those family members who can't provide for themselves. This includes minors, the elderly and disabled, or simply those who can't afford to live by themselves. Basic needs such as food, water, shelter, and clean air are accessible when one or more members can provide things for the whole family. (ii) Financial Security A well-functioning family provide financial security for everyone living in the household. First, members who can work contribute at least a part of their earnings to help the family meet everyone's needs and wants. On the other hand, the family combines resources to pay bills and manage their money to ensure that financial necessities are always taken care of. (iii) Built-in Support System When family members are under stress, someone close to them is most likely to see the symptoms that they are struggling with. People may hide their problems with others, but their family most often already understand. In such a situation, all close members may not support economically but can physiologically and psychologically.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 189 (iv) Provides Support when one is Ill Family potentially helps solve all these problems and can make sure that food, water, rest, and medical care is provided. Society may not have physiologically to do anything to take care of a person's basic needs because a family already has that covered. (v) Community Benefits The community benefits when the family relieves it of the burden of supporting members of that family. Healthy family produce people who make positive contributions to the community too. It is basically the process of socialization of that family of their members that solely responsible for a better or worst society as a whole. Significance of Family in Globalizing World: The idea of globalization is a central paradigm of our time, informing the work of a wide range of groups and interests, from scholars to economic development workers to human rights activists. In a much- cited passage, social theorist Anthony Giddens (1990) defines globalization as intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice-versa. For some, the primary feature of globalization is, deterritorialization; (Scholte :2000). On the one hand, as exemplified by the McDonaldization thesis, globalization is associated with cultural homogenization, and the dominance of a commodity-driven, Western-imposed world culture. In reviewing theories of globalization, Kibria, in her study. Globalization and the Family (2006), was struck by the fact that the family is relatively invisible and very much a secondary focus of concern in these discussions. For the most part, the family is understood as a recipient of globalization—a sphere that is acted on by globalizing forces. To put it in positivist terms, globalization in this scheme is the independent variable and the family is the dependent variable. She discussed globalization and family as separate and distinct rather than as deeply inte wined features of the social world. For her the family is quite often the shock absorber of globalization. Whether it through a strategy of labor migration by mothers or the redefinition of household boundaries, families respond to the economic and other dislocations of globalization in a variety of ways, striving to ensure the survival of members. These strategies are not simply

190 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 responses to globalization but also constitute it, shaping its emerging scope and character. As a critical mediating structure of globalization, she mentioned, the family is also the site of sense making; a place where family members, through their interactions with each other, give meaning to the changes taking shape around them. The family is, thus, an integral part of the cultural dynamics of globalization. Andrews notes the critical role played by children in how families cope with the dislocations of war and conflict. Children serve as cultural nodes for these families, serving to maintain a sense of cultural continuity and tradition for them. Srinivas, on the other hand give emphasis on packaged food consumption among middle class Indian families in Bangalore, India and in Boston, United States and describes how food consumption in these families is grounded in a larger project of asserting and maintaining authentic Indian-ness in the face of the cultural challenges of globalization. Menjivar, Thai and territorialization in Eckstein all offer the opportunity to reflect on the dynamics of de- relation to the family. Menjivar describes the complex diversity of family forms that emerge among Guatemalan and Salvadoran immigrants in response to U.S. immigration laws and the environment created by them. In a study of Vietnamese immigrant men, Thai explores the question of what motivates these men to remit money to family members in Vietnam. All these scholars are nothing but trying to affirm the value and importance of a renewed focus on family in globalization studies. 12.4 Importance of Kinship in Contemporary Society Why kinship is so important? Because, in all human societies, biological relationships are basic categories that allow humans to identify and order their social relations. Everywhere, indeed, individuals are sired by their fathers and are born of their mothers. Therefore, these basic biological relationships offer us ready-made categories to differentiate ourselves from each other. While all animals, too, result from a male and a female, the key point here is that human societies consciously recognize and explicitly use these categories to define their biological relationships. As a result of this uniqueness, some contrast biological relationships with social relationships and affirm that only the latter concern the ethnologist. For example, Southwold explain that if a term in a native language means "biological father", it
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 191 is applied very often, and simultaneously, to a number of other individuals, such as the father's brothers (Southwold 1977). According to these authors, it is as if these social relations had nothing to do with biological relationships. Gellner corrected this view by showing that social relationships studied under the level of kinship relationships derived directly from biological relationships (Gellner, 1988). It is biological relationships that provide the material basis upon which human societies have built their system kinship. People consider such relationships in different ways. For Americans, kinship is primarily a relationship of blood and this consanguinity cannot be altered: it creates a certain consubstantiality, a mystical identity that cannot be terminated (Schneider). When purely fictitious kinship ties are established, they do not contradict the biological relationships but take it as a model. In the Peruvian Altiplano, each individual is assigned a number of godfathers and godmothers. These are often ritually connected people who can bring one prestige or simply expand one's network of social relations. A relationship of comradeship (compadrazgo) develops between the godparents and the parents of the child. Such a relationship does not in any way eliminate the existing social distance. Yet, a marriage relationship is impossible between a person and the child of his/her godparents. It is considered "the greatest insult that one can offer to God" (Christinat, 1989). 12.5 Relevance of Kinship in Modernizing Societies Majid Al-Haj, in his study Kinship and Modernization in Developing Societies: The Emergence of Instrumentalized Kinship (1955) stated that recent evidence from developing societies in the Third World suggests the need for a serious reconsideration of the aforementioned convergence approach. Studies conducted in these societies indicate that despite the modernization process they experienced in different fields, some of the so-called traditional systems have continued to exist. In several societies the kinship system has been reconstructed and has adapted to the changing environment (Ekong 1986; Al-Haj 1989). Furthermore, radical modernization has strengthened, rather than weakened, the traditional system. In many cases kinship groups have become vitally important for social and political recruitment (see Talmon-Gerber 1966; Ramu 1986). The study of kinship in rural India indicates that the kinship system has been

192 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 well integrated in the modern system (Ishwaran 1965). The introduction of a modern political system in Indian villages, based on elections rather than inheritance, opened the way for groups that hitherto had been placed at the periphery to compete for control of the power system (Ishwaran, 1965). The vitality of the kinship structure is also evident in Indian urban areas (see Ramu 1986). Based on a study conducted on entrepreneurship in an Indian city, Ramu indicated that the most successful entrepreneurs were those who were able to restructure their family and kinship networks effectively and use them as a resource for economic success (Ramu 1986 : 176). The kinship group is reported to have a significant role in Bengali society in terms of social and religious activities (Aziz 1979). The effect of the kinship group even extends beyond the village, whether through marriages with other lineages or with kinsmen distantly related. With a wider circle of kinsmen, a family can enhance its social and economic power (Aziz 1979 : 127). Evidence from Jamaica and Guyana also indicates a strong kinship continuity. In these societies kinship has constituted the major bond for sustaining human relations between the different classes and racial groups (Smith 1988 : 184). The integration of the kinship structure in the development process is noticeable in Middle Eastern societies. Based on a wide review of several studies conducted on parallel cousin marriages (FBD), Holy (1989) indicates that this type of marriage still exists and manifests the continuity of kinship ties. A study conducted on adolescence in a Moroccan town points out that Moroccan families are closely tied in large networks. The penetration of technology in many developing societies has ultimately increased, rather than weakened, the kinship effect. An interesting example is given by Mogey and Bachmann (1986), who examined the effect of introducing a modem irrigation system on the kinship structure in Senegal. They concluded that exchanges between children and parents, on the one hand, and between parents or children and in-laws and uncles, on the other, have increased as a result of the innovation (Mogey and Bachmann 1986 : 240). The urbanization process experienced by many developing countries, which was usually coupled with a rapid process of geographic movement from rural areas to urban centers, has not resulted in the disappearance of kinship ties. On the contrary, in many cases the kinship system was reconstructed and kin relationships were reshaped in order to meet the new needs that arose from the

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 193 processes of movement, settlement and adjustment to the new setting (Abu-Lughod 1961; Goldscheider 1987 : 683). Despite the disruption of the kinship structure as a result of internal and international migration, there is salient evidence that in many cases the kinship system was eventually revived in the place of destination (see, for example, Lomnitz and Peretz-Lizaur 1984; Schuster 1987). This occurred either by the recreation of the kinship group in the place of destination or through close contacts with distant relatives, including the continuity of economic and social exchange. Based on a study of a shanty town and upper-class households in Mexico City, Lomintz and Peretz-Lizaur (1984) reported that the kinship group was recreated in the shanty town right after migration by a chain movement of relatives who sought to join their families. The upper class in Mexico City has established even stronger relationships and norms of cooperation and developed an intense social, ritual and economic exchange (Lomintz& Peretz-Lizaur1984 : 191). Kinship networks have proved to be vitally important in the absorption of traditional Jewish immigrants in Israel (Talmon- Gerber 1966 : 97). The reconstruction of the kinship group helped the new immigrants to adapt to the new environment, socially as well as economically (Talmon-Gerber 1966). The reconstruction of the original community and the kinship group was indicated by Abu-Lughod (1961) as an important feature of the settlement and adjustment of rural migrants to Cairo. Migrants from particular villages concentrated within small subsections of the city, forming social networks and sharing not only a common past but also a similar and often simultaneous history of adaptation to the city (Abu-Lughod 1961 : 25). The recreation of the kinship structure is also obvious among immigrants moving from developing to Western countries, whether through voluntary or involuntary migration. A study conducted by Sweet (1980) to trace Druze immigrants from a Lebanese village to a Canadian city indicated considerable continuity. The Lebanese village continued to flourish in a Western Canadian city in both ideology and practice. By recreating the previous structure of kinship and community, immigrants enhanced their economic and social security (Sweet 1980 : 50). Several studies have shown a considerable continuity of the kinship network among the Vietnamese refugees in the U.S., despite the disruption of the kinship system as a result of the war and the exodus (Haines 1988; Dunning and Greenbaum

194 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 1982). The intrinsic structure of the Vietnamese kinship provided useful strategic resources for dealing with the new needs and for facilitating the resettlement and the adjustment of the refugees (Haines 1988 : 11). After the process of resettlement, the kinship group was redefined the Vietnamese refugees to include family members and other members of the community bound by actual or even fictive relationships (Haines et al. 1981). A similar phenomenon can be found among the Palestinian refugees in Arab countries. Kinship and original community were preserved in many cases by camp and non-camp refugees, who continued to be community oriented and family oriented, despite the displacement and movement they had experienced. Outside this life style, Palestinian refugees may feel isolated and without a frame of reference which may give meaning to their existence (Barakat 1973 : 151). In his study of the Palestinian community in Kuwait, Ghabra (1987) indicated that networks based on kinship and hometown have been created among the Palestinians and have become vital to diaspora survival. Through reciprocal relationships and intensive contact, these networks play important social, political and economic tasks (Ghabra 1987). The reformation of the kinship structure among the Palestinian internal refugees in Israel is of special interest : a new relationship began to emerge between the community of origin and the kinship group. Kinship affiliation was replaced by affiliation with the community of origin (for example, refugees who came from the village of Mear are called Meari, attached to the community of origin rather than the kinship name). Thus the relationship among persons who belonged to the same original village became similar to the kinship group solidarity. The redefinition of the kinship group in a broader way was aimed at creating a wider social group, which has been used by the refugees for competition over the local political and economic resources. In addition, it has become a major unit in the marriage market and expanded the pool of mate selection (Al-Haj 1986, 1988b). Apart from voluntary factors, the continuity of the kinship structure in developing societies may be interpreted in the light of socio-economic constraints imposed by the wider society, or the failure of the formal systems to deal with rising needs that accompany the development process (Schuster 1987; Goode 1970:130). It may also be the result of explicit or implicit encouragement by the state or the ambiguity of the criteria used for the allocation of resources and promotion in the socio-economic ladder (see, for
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 195 example, Pena 1984; Schaefer and Davis 1989; Khuri 1976). Pena (1984) indicated in his study of a region in southern Mexico that & quot; the political process- the distribution of power, the upholding of order- is not carried out exclusively by impersonal state apparatuses. Instead the state resorts to personal links to manifest itself. Thus kinship becomes overwhelmingly important : Property and citizenship rights are transmitted by kinship (Pena 1984 : 205). In this sense, kinship is used for tactical means for the mobilization of power and the promotion of personal interests (Pena 1984; Bloch 1971). Similar examples can be found elsewhere in other developing societies. In Moroccan society, for example, informal connections still play a major role in the allocation of resources and in competition in the labor market. In this case relatives are the best means to achieve the desired connections (Schaefer and Davis 1989). Family relationships are sometimes enhanced legally by the state, which provides a solid basis for kinship solidarity. For example, the Indian inheritance law and income tax structure clearly favor family partnerships and therefore allow the joint family to maintain economic cooperation and social solidarity, despite the political and socio- economic changes (Ramu 1986 : 181). In some cases, even if no formal policy exists regarding kinship and other informal systems, the failure of the state apparatus to meet the rising needs of its citizens paves the way for large networks to fill the gap. Therefore, kinship groups are used to solve problems that go beyond the capacity of the single family (see Goode 1970). A good example can be derived from Zambian society, where the absence of an adequate state welfare system increased the importance of the kinship group as a source of services and social security (Schuster 1987 : 365, 382). It should be mentioned that along with the continuity of the structure and functioning of the kinship system in developing societies, there have been significant changes in its characteristics and the basis of its organization. Many students of kinship in contemporary developing societies have suggested a pragmatic approach for an understanding of the complexity of change and continuity in the kinship structure (see ??? 1986; Bernard et al. 1986). Some referred to kinship as a pragmatic association rather than a traditional group (Cohen 1970). Others spoke about modified kinship to indicate the adaptability of kinship to changing circumstances (Chekki 1974).

196 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 12.6 Structure and Function of Kinship There is an internal logic to kinship terminologies. The kin terms tend to be semantic categories first of all; from a limited vocabulary, they can identify dozens, even hundreds of subjects. Some of these categories are very broad; for example, the maternal uncle, the most significant ally, is named by a term that can apply to many individuals, that is, all men of one's mother's generation who belongs to one's group. They thus rely on rules of extension that ultimately stem from the principal of structural unity of siblings. All members of a group fall into the same category: thus, all the brothers of an uncle are my uncle. The terms are, therefore, united in a relationship of interdependence and this is why we speak of the "internal structure" of a terminology. Often, traditional societies cannot conceive of social relationships outside the family; everyone around them must therefore be classified in one way or another. Thus, anthropologists themselves are assigned a kinship term, often "brother" or "sister" by members of their generation, or "uncle" or "aunt" by the children. A kinship terminology thus shapes the world of a population. It reflects the world, but it also organizes it because, as Jamous puts it, kinship terms are not just a manner of speaking they are also a manner of behaviour. Additionally, all terminologies are not necessarily meaningful and their peculiarities do not necessarily reveal the basic elements of social structure. In some cases, two individuals are can be designated by the same term and the same term can covers extremely diverse persons. 12.7 Relevance of Marriage in Recent time The current trends indicate that marriage in the future will be less central as the defining event in the life than course of adults than it is in the present. Marriage will increasingly compete with cohabitation as an alternative form of intimate family life, and increasing number of adults will live alone. The overall number of fraction of adults who are currently married will decline. Here we will explain, in view of the account, how these trends may elevate the importance of marriage, family and kinship in present day.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 197 (i) Marriage as Social Institution Marriage is a socially recognized institution because conventional expectations are associated with it, such as customary ways to be a good husband or wife. Society expects husbands and wives to do thing differently from when they were not married. A kind of informally formal responsibilities and obligations in voluntarily are fall upon both of these partners. By getting married, partners announce to each other's that they are ready to accept the obligations and responsibilities to be faithful. It is comparatively more difficult for a married than for an unmarried person to break such promises because they are parts of our laws, religion, rituals, and definitions of morality. Marriage should look like : ● Marriage is a free choice that builds on love. ● Marriage presumes individual maturity and in dependence. ● Marriage generally presumes hetero-sexuality, even in a regime permitting same-sex marriage. ● Men must provide support; working is not optional for husband, even if it is for wives. ● Married partners are sexually faithful to each other. ● Parenthood – married spouses are presumed to be become parents. Society itself enforces these ideals both formally and informally. The core of any social institution is agreement among members of society about the norms that govern people in acting that role. In marriage, this means that the institution consists of various beliefs and norms about what a married man or woman should and should not do. (ii) Symbolic Importance of Marriage Steven L. Nock notes that to the extent that fewer individuals are married at any point in time, the symbolic importance of marriage increases. The symbol of marriage has potentially important significance in the labour market. If marriage implies valuable traits about individuals, then these who are married may enjoy benefits that their unmarried counterparts do not.

198 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (iii) Marriage serves as Kind of Sorting As long as the alternatives to marriage (e.g., cohabitation, singleness etc.) grow in popularity, then marriage increasingly serves to sorting individuals based on the personal attributes associated with various living arrangements. We may conclude that men and women who marry each other likely to benefit by this. (iv) Marriage as kind of Signal Through the eyes of economic signalling theory, marriage can distinguishes the married from the other. By considering marriage as a sign of otherwise unknowable personal traits, we learn how it becomes matter to employers, the state, and others. If we consider, marriage as a social institution, offers a framework to identify the content of marital signal. This content, when perceived by others, is the value of marriage. The outcome is that, that is why the married people are treated differently than their unmarried counterparts. (v) Marriage as Distinctive Status Marriage rates have been declining for several decades and for many reasons such as later age of marriage, high unwed birth rates, increasing events of cohabitation, high divorce rates etc. Regardless of the reasons marriage is delayed, disrupted or foregone, the result is that being marries is an increasingly distinctive status because a growing fraction of people are not. (vi) Marriage as Beneficial Factor Marriage has been argued to produce benefits for individuals in at least three basic ways (Becker 1981; Becker, Landes, and Michael 1977). First, there are wholly external factors that influence the value of marriage regardless of the particular individuals involved. These have their source completely outside the particular relationship of two people. Every married couple enjoys such benefits like, state assign different obligations on the basis of marital status. Secondly, there are marriage-specific benefits and possible costs that develop in a relationship over time. One obvious example is the division of tasks that arises in most married households. To the extent that marriage contributes to the development of such specialization, efficiencies arise. Finally, there are partner-specific benefits that depend on the particular individual and her/his spouse for their value. For

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 199 example, sensitivities, tastes, habits, and hobbies are developed over the course of time in a marriage. These unique partner specific features of the relationship depend on the particular combination of personalities involved. (vii) Marriage as Distinct Relationship Marriage generates benefits in various ways that cohabitation cannot. While often similar in terms of the ongoing relationship, the crucial distinctiveness is in its methodological ways of how people enter and exit into a relationship. Importantly, the two differ in reference to whether entry and exit are governed by rituals, rules, and social recognition or not. (viii) Marriage as Public Act Virtually all marriages are formed through a public act involving the mutual exchange of promises before an official authorized to conduct marriages. Entry into a marriage requires a license and some form of procedures. At present, marriages begin with a public ceremony of some type. The costly marriage ceremony has been shown to be an indicator of conformity to conventional marriage and social norms (Kalmijn 2004). The ceremony itself is very crucial as after the wedding, there will be little question about the new status of the couple: they are husband and wife. To all, the practicing of this ritual is significant in making a social and legal recognition of change of status. (ix) Marriage as kind of Identity Beyond its public significance, rituals contribute to the creation of an identity or a sense of presence with something larger than the individual (Durkheim 1915; Gluckman&Gluckman 1977). Wedding ceremonies, anniversaries, or other ceremonies tech individuals that "this is the way our family is" (Wolin & Bennett 1984). To the extent the collective sense of identity is important to individuals, an incentive to maintain it is created. (x) Divorce as Legal Domestic Regulation Nevertheless, the rate of divorce is too high at present, divorce is the most obvious legal distinction between marriage and cohabitation. It is also the most important differences by itself. In law, divorce is the most crucial component of regulation of domestic relations. Divorce laws are a legal form of insurance that

200 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 safeguards the interests of children and the adults involved (Scott 2000). By getting married, each partner consents to important limits on their future behaviours and claims on some sort of property. There are rules about property distribution, claims on retirement benefits and the value of less tangible property such as professional degrees. There are also rules about future support requiring the valuation of compensatory payments, 'spouse support' etc. This cannot be said about the cohabitational events. 12.8 Summary We can conclude that if comparable social norms emerge, then cohabitation would be indistinguishable from marriage. In that case marriage would become less important. The current evident shows that the legal changes are happening much slower than the behavioural changes. A tendency to cohabiting is growing more popular, while legal effort to regulate it is developing much slower. And there is little to suggest that social norms are developing about cohabiting relationships. For the foreseeable future, therefore, we should expect to see marriage grow in importance of the increase in cohabitation. 12.9 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) What is family of procreation ? (ii) What is family of orientation ? (iii) What are community benefits of family ? (iv) What is socialization ? (v) Do you thinkthere is any justification of getting conventional marriage in modern times ? (vi) Point out the interconnectedness of family and marriage. (vii) Explain your opinion about the validity of family importance in such ever- changing human society.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 201 G-B (10 Marks each) (viii) Evaluate your conceptual clarity about the necessity of maintaining kinship ties in such a diverse life course. (ix) Why marriage is still important to maintain social solidarity ? (x) Explain briefly about the importance of kinship ties in modern society. (xi) What is the relationship between marriage and kinship system ? 12.10 Suggested Readings (i) Al-Haj, Majid. (1995), Kinship and Modernization in Developing Societies : The Emergence of Instrumentalized Kinship, Journal of Comparative Family Studies, AUTUMN, Vol 26, No 3, pp. 311-328, University of Toronto Press. (ii) Deliege, Robert (2011). Anthropology of the Family and Kinship, PHI Learning Limited, New Delhi. (iii) Ganesh, Kamala. (2013). New Wine in Old Bottles ? Family and Kinship Studies in the Bombay School, Sociological Bulletin, May-August, Vol 62, No 2, pp. 288-310, Sage Publications, Inc. (iv) Goode William, J. (1998). The Family, Prentice Hall, New Delhi. (v) Haralambos, M. (1998). Sociology: Themes and Perspectives, OUP. (vi) Jayaram, N. (1998). Introductory Sociology, Macmillan India. (vii) Kibria, Nazli. (2006). Globalization and the Family, International Journal of Sociology of the Family, Vol 32, No 2 (Autumn). (viii) Madan, T. N. (2016). Family and Kinship : A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir, Oxford University Press. (ix) Ogburn, William F. (1935). Recent Changes in Marriage, American Journal of Sociology, Vol 41, No 3, November, pp. 285-298, The University of Chicago Press. (x) Oommen, T. K. & Venugopal, C.N. (1993). Sociology, Eastern Book Co.

202 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (xi) Rao, C. N. (Ed.). Sociology : Principles of Sociology with an Introduction to Sociological Thought, S. Chand, New Delhi. (xii) Robert Parke, Jr. and Paul C, Glick. (1967). Prospective Changes in Marriage and the Family, The Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol 29, No 2, May, pp. 249-256, National Council on Family Relations. (xiii) Romney, A. Kimball and Metzger, Duane. (1956), On the Processes of Change in Kinship Terminology, American Anthropologist, Jan, Vol 58, No 3, pp. 551-554, Wiley. (xiv) Trautmann, Thomas R. (2000), India and the Study of Kinship Terminologies, L'Homme, Apr-Sep., No 154/155, pp. 559-571, EHESS. (xv) Uberio, Patricia (Ed.). (1994). Family, Kinship and Marriage in India, Oxford University Press. (xvi) Verdon, Michel. (1981). Kinship, Marriage, and the Family : An Operational Approach, American Journal of Sociology, Vol 86, No 4, January.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 203 MODULE – 04 SOC IAL STRATIFICATION IN INDIA 203

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Unit - 13 ❑ Varna, Caste and Jati : Changing Dimensions Structure 13.1 Objectives 13.2 Introduction 13.3 Essential Features of Varna 13.4 Varna and Social Organisation 13.5 Essential Features of Caste 13.6 Theories of the origin of Caste 13.7 Merits and Demerits of Castes 13.8 Caste Relations and Village unity 13.9 Dominant Caste 13.10 Caste and Varna 13.11 Caste system and its changing dimension 13.12 Summary 13.13 Questions 13.14 Suggested Readings 13.1 Objectives ● To understand the caste system, its meaning and characteristics ● To identify the difference between jati and varna and caste and class ● To explain the jajmani system and the dominant caste 13.2 Introduction Varna and Caste, both are the foundation of ancient Hindu social structure as well as the major forms of social stratification in ancient Indian society. As Dube 205
206 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (2001: 5 – 6) has observed that Indian history has experienced a long encounter between Aryans and non-Aryans (earlier inhabitants of the land). Aryans were basically racist as they regarded themselves superior and maintained distance from the earlier inhabitants of India.

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Aryans were divided into three groups – the Rajanya (Warriors and the aristocracy), the Brahman (priests) and the Vaishya (Cultivators).

Shudras were the fourth varna who were outside the Aryan group. The word 'Caste' is of the Spanish and Portuguese origin. The Spanish word 'Caste' means lineage or race. The word 'Caste' is derived from the Latin word 'Castus' which means pure. The term caste was not used in Indian situation till the 17th century. It was first used by the Portuguese to denote Indian situation of endogamous groups which in Sanskrit were called 'Jatis' (Rao 2004 : 190 ; Bhattacharyya 2014 : 338). Ghurye (2000 : 176) has mentioned that, "Later on the word Jati is specialized to denote caste, which in a group, the membership of which is acquired by birth. The word Jati etymologically means 'something into which one is born'. It is occasionally used by good ancient authorities as equivalent to Varna." The villagers throughout India, maintain their primary identity as the members of a particular group to which their parents and other relatives belong. Each person is a member of this group by virtue of his birth into it and he will marry within it. The people of each endogenous group follow certain types of behaviour and they have a specialized occupation. According to their occupation the group is ranked in the local hierarchy. Members of one group keep distance from those of other group especially lower groups. The term 'Jati' is used for the endogenous group. This word is very common in several languages of northern India. By definition, Jati is an endogenous, hereditary social group. Each member of a Jati is expected to act according as his Jati attributes and enjoys the Status of his Jati in the social hierarchy of a village locality in India. Everyone is a member of his village and of his Jati (Mandelbaum 1989 : 13–15). 13.3 Essential Features of Varna An Indian carries several identities such as religion, place of residence, family name, jati, gotra, kula, varna and so on. According to Dube (2001 : 48), "In the Hindu social system, Varna is only a reference category : it is not a functioning unit of social structure, and only refers broadly to the ascribed status of different Jatis. It is also a classificatory device. Several Jatis with similar ascribed ritual status are clustered together in four groups namely Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Sudra and
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 207 hierarchically ranked. These four groups are four Varnas. Varna categories have limited uses in social system. They provide a rough and ready indicator of ascribed status, specialized functions in some areas of social life and expectations of standards of behaviour and conduct. Hindu mythological stories narrate that the Brahman has

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been born from the mouth of the creator, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaishya from the thighs and the Sudra from the feet.

This is a symbolic representation of the rank and functions of the four Varnas. The head, the arms, the thighs and the feet are ranked as descending order in a human body. The Brahmans enjoy highest position and the functions of acquiring and disseminating knowledge and performing sacrifices are associated with them. The Kshatriyas are in second position in Varna hierarchy and their assigned functions are military, administration and government. The Vaishyas are in third position in Varna - ladder and are involved in agriculture, trade and commerce. Finally the Sudras, ranked the lowest, serve all the dwijas or higher three castes through their crafts and labour (ibid : 50 – 51). Another point of view believes that the word 'Varna' denotes the Aryans and the Non-Aryans referring to their fair and dark complexion respectively as the word 'Varna' means colour. Later these two classes have come to be regularly described as Varnas. Four different colours are assigned to the four classes by which their members are distinguished. The colour associated with the Brahmins is white, with the Kshatriyas is red, with the Vaishyas is yellow and black is with the Sudras. Some sociologists believe that colour distinction is associated with race while others opined that the colour has a ritual significance not racial. In vedic period Varna was not in hierarchical order. It was the division of labour in society. In Brahmanic period (230 B.C to 700 A.D.), the four Varnas were arranged hierarchically with the Brahmins are at the top and the Sudras are at the bottom. It is to be mentioned here that only two Varnas are mentioned in the Rigveda – Aryavarna and Dasavarna. In Rigveda, the description of the division of society is found into three orders namely Brahma (priests), Kshatra (warriors) and Vis (common people). There is no mention of fourth group or Sudras (Ahuja 2006 : 232 – 233). 13.4 Varna and Social Organisation The first three categories of Varna system namely Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya belong to upper three levels in varna hierarchy and are considered as 'Dwija' or 'twice-born' group. In addition to biological birth they are believed to have been

208 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 born second time after initiation ceremony or Upanayan which permits them to wear the sacred thread. They are now entitled to go through the sacred books. But the fourth groups, the Sudras, are neither entitled to the initiation rites, nor twice-born status (ibid : 6; Kuppuswamy 1984 : 173). The philosophic doctrine of ancient India identified three 'gunas' or inherent qualities of human beings. These 'gunas' were 'satta', 'rajas' and 'tamas'. 'Satta' was characterized by noble thoughts and deeds, goodness and virtue, truth and wisdom while 'rajas' was characterized by high-living and luxury, passion, and some indul- gence, pride, and Valour. The last 'guna', 'tamas' was characterized by coarseness and dullness, over-indulgence without taste, the capacity to carryout heavy work without much imagination. 'Satta' qualities were attached with brahmans, 'rajas' were attached with Kshatriyas and vaishyas, and the last quality 'tamas' were attached with sudras (Dube 2001 : 51). Kuppuswamy (1984 : 171-172) has mentioned that the entire Hindu social organization is based on two fundamental concept – one is natural endowment of man and the other is nurture and upbringing of man. Natural endowment fixes the position of man in society namely Varna dharma. Dharma indicates duties. Each varna has its separate duties and distinctive ways of life. The dharma of men of high birth is not same for the men of low birth. The dharma of the student is not same for the old man (Kar 2009 : 132). Men have to perform 'Ashrama Dharma' during their phase of upbringing 'Ashrama Dharma' refers to four stages of life – 'Brahmacharya' or student stage – men acquire knowledge and prepare themselves for future duties; 'Gruhastha Ashrama' or householder stage – men fulfil their economic obligations towards their families and enjoy married life; 'Vanprastha Ashram'- by giving up their household duties men enjoy retired life into a forest hermitage; 'Sanyasa Ashrama'- is the last stage of life when men devote themselves fully to achieve ultimate aim of 'moksha' or liberation. In second stage of ashrama dharma, people take occupation according to their jati within Varna structure. Varna dharma and Ashram dharma are jointly mentioned as 'Varna Ashrama Vyavastha' which is recognised as the foundation of Indian social organization (Kuppuswamy 1984 : 172). In short, it can be said that upper three varnas – Brahman, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas – are the elites of society. Brahmans devote themselves to study, teaching and the performance of sacrificial rites and constitute the intellectual elite. The rulers and warriors of olden days, the Kshatriyas, are statesmen the and politician modern of times. These groups may be called as political elite. Vaishyas

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 209 may be recognized as economic elite. The fourth group or Sudras comprises the working class (Kuppuswamy1984 : 172). But the fourth group are not involved in non- polluting occupations. Society needs various functions from priesthood to scaveng- ing. Outside the four-fold vertical varna structure, a group of people live in society who are known as 'Antyaja'. Their ethnic status is very low and their occupations are so degraded and polluting that any physical contact with them is prohibited for the twice-born and the Shudra. These 'Antyajas' are also known as 'Avarna' and 'Pancham' as they do not belong to four- fold varna structure (Dube 2001 : 6, 49; Kuppuswamy 1984 : 175). The untouchables comprise a number of distinct groups who form the strata of Hindu society and are mentioned as untouchables by the higher caste lowest Hindus throughout centuries. They are called differently in different parts of the country – such as outcastes, untouchables, pariahs, panchamas, avarnas, antyajas, atishudras, namashudras etc. Their social disabilities are specific, severe and numer- ous. Their touch, shadow and

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even voice are considered by the caste Hindus to be polluting. They

are forbidden to keep certain animals, to use certain metals for ornaments, are obliged

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to wear a particular type of dress and are forced to live dirty and unhygienic in the outskirts of

villages and towns. They are prohibited to enter any public places like schools, temples etc. and to use any sources of drinking water. As they are illiterate, all public services including police and military forces are closed to them. Naturally they are born as untouchables, live as untouchables and also die as untouchables. This situation has been continued till 1950. The Indian constitution adopted in 1950 has totally abolished untouchability (Keer 2005 : 1–2). The caste system is one of the basic pillars of Indian social structure. Castes are also found in some other parts of the world such as Ancient Egypt, Rome, Japan, Burma, Persia. At present, some countries Burma, Somali, have such systems resembling caste system. But caste system in India has some specific characteristics which are not common in other parts of the world (Rao 2004 : 189). 13.5 Essential Features of Caste Main characteristics of caste system are as follows – (i) Segmental Division of Society The caste group is not a homogeneous group. The membership of any caste
210 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 group is determined by birth and the status of any person depends on his luck of being born in that particular caste group. In other words, in a caste-based society, a person enjoys ascribed status. A caste group has its own council i.e. 'Caste Panchayat' which controls the conducts and guides the morals of its members. According to Ghurye (ibid : 3) it is not clear as to how does the caste-panchayat manage their affairs but in the case of Brahmins of Southern India, an epigraphic record shows that if any occasion arises then a special meeting of the members of the

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caste is convened. Some of the offences dealt with are : (a) eating, drinking or having similar dealings with those persons where such social intercourse is forbid- den; (b) keeping a woman of another caste

as concubine; (c) adultery with a married woman; (d) fornication ; (e)

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refusing to maintain a wife ; (f) non-payment of debt ; (g) petty assault ; (h) breaches of the customs of the trade peculiar to the caste ; (i) encroaching on another's clientele, and raising or lowering prices ; (j) killing cow or other forbidden animals ; (k) insulting a Brahmin ; (l) defying the customs of the caste regarding feasts, etc. during marriage and other ceremonies. It

is to be noted here that some of the offences in the above list are usually dealt by the state in its Judicial capacity. Hence, caste is such a group with separate arrangement which tries to show justice to its members. The punishments which are decided in caste-council are as follows: (a) out- casting (either temporary or permanent); (b) fines ; (c) feasts to be given to the caste men; (d) Corporal punishment (e) sometimes religious expiation. In caste-bound society, caste-feeling supersedes community-feeling and people owe moral alle- giances to their castes first. Further, each caste has its own way of life, customs, traditions, practices and rituals, informal rules, regulations and procedures. Many of the castes have their special deities. The customs related to marriage and death vary widely among different castes. Caste-feelings and cultural differences among the castes bring out the segmental division of society (ibid : 4–5 ; Rao 2004 : 191). (ii) Hierarchy One of the principal characteristics of the caste-group is a hierarchical order in social scale, Normally Brahmin varna group stands in upper positions than the castes of other varna categories. But there is no uniformity regarding the hierarchical position amongst the caste groups. It varies from region to region and even from locality to locality. In Bisipara village, the washer men are ranked among the clean caste groups, but in a neighbouring territory, in the same district of Orissa, they are regarded as untouchable (Ghurye 2000 : 6 ; Mandelbaum 1989 : 330).

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 211 (iii) Restrictions on Feeding and Social Intercourse There are minute rules regarding the acceptance of food and drink from other castes. But there are great diversity in this matter all over India. In Hindustan proper, castes are divided into five groups; first, the twice-born castes; second, those castes who are allowed to provide 'Pakka' food to twice-born castes; third, those castes who are not allowed to provide any kind of food except water; fourth, castes of this group are not untouchable but twice-born castes do not accept water from this group; fifth, all untouchable castes belong to this group (Ghurye 2000 : 7). The position of untouchable caste is varied from one place to another. The rules are more rigid in South India than North India. "In the Maratha country, the shadow of an untouchable is sufficient, if it falls on a member of a higher caste to pollute him" (Ghurye 2000 : 9). In Madras, especially in Malabar, certain castes always maintain a stated distance between themselves and the other higher castes. Similarly in Kerala, a Tiyan maintains a distance of thirty-six steps between himself and a Brahmin while a Pulyan has to maintain a distance of ninety-six paces. Rules are also varied in respect of caste hierarchy.

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In Bengal, castes are divided into two main groups – the Brahmins and the Shudras. Further the Shudras are divided into four main sub-

groups. The fourth group is 'Asprishya – Shudras.' People belonging to this group are

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so impure as to pollute even the Ganges water. Hence their contact must always be avoided.

Low caste-men are not allowed to draw water from the wells used by the higher castes. Certain low caste-men are not allowed to enter the courtyard of the great temples. They are compelled to live by themselves on the outskirts of villages (ibid : 8–10). (
iv)

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Civil and Religious Disabilities and Privileges of the Different Sections Segregation of castes in villages are the mark of civil privileges and disabilities and it has prevailed in a

definite form.

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In Maratha, Telugu, Kanarese regions, only the impure castes are segregated and live on the

outskirts of villages. In some parts of Gujrat, castes have distinct quarters of the town or village. Different quarters are occupied by separate castes in the Tamil and Malayalam or sometimes the village is divided into three parts – (a) occupied by the Brahmins or the dominant castes of the village (b) allotted to the Shudras and (c) reserved for the Panchams or untouchables.

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In southern India certain parts of the town or village are inaccessible to certain castes.

Ghurye (2000 : 11) has maintained that, "

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It is recorded that under the rule of the Marathas and the Peshwas, the Mahars and the Mangs were not allowed within the gates of Poona after 3 p.m. and before 9

a.m. because before nine and after three
212 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 their

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bodies cast too long a shadow, which falling on a member of the higher castes- especially Brahmin – defiles him. "

Further he has mentioned (ibid : 11 – 15) lots of examples, all over India, where untouchables are debarred from their natural rights. On the other hand, there are some instances where lower castes also protest the entry of higher castes especially Brahmins in their quarters. For example, Paraiyant, who are not allowed to enter the Brahmin quarters, will not allow Brahmins to pass through their street. Similarly, Brahmins in Mysore cannot pass through the Holeya (Untouchables) quarters of a village. (v) Lack of Unrestricted Choice of Occupation Occupations are heredity in caste-ridden society. Some occupations are regarded superior and sacred and some occupations are considered as degrading and inferior. Each caste has its own specific occupations and caste members are expected to continue the same occupations. Priesthood, teaching etc. are prestigious professions and the Brahmins involve themselves in these occupations. No non-Brahmin is allowed to be a priest. No caste allows its members to be a priest. No caste allows its members to accept any degrading or impure tasks. Ghurye (ibid : 16) has opined that "

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It was not only the moral restraint and the social check of one's caste-fellows that acted as a restraint on the choice of one's occupations, but also the restrictions put by other castes, which did not allow members other than those of their own castes to follow their callings."

Some occupations are considered degrading such as washing clothes, barbering, pottery etc. Some occupations are considered as impure such as shoe-making, curing hides, scavenging etc. Some occupations are open to all caste such as agriculture, trade, labouring in the field, doing military service etc. (vi) Restrictions on Marriage Caste groups are divided into different sub-caste groups and each of these sub- caste groups is an endogamous group. Endogamy is such a rule of marriage when a man has to marry a woman within his own group. Some sociologists believe that endogamy is the essence of the caste system. Exception of this rule of endogamy is seen in some places of India. In some parts of Punjab (Specially in hills) Hyper gamy is practised; i.e. a boy from upper caste can marry a girl from lower caste. Inter-caste marriage is allowed in some of the artisan castes of Malabar. But there are lots of examples where endogamy is strictly maintained specially amongst the Brahmins (ibid : 18).
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 213 13.6 Theories of the Origin of Caste Sociologists are not in consensus regarding the question of the origin of caste. Scholars have established their theories regarding it. One of these theories is occupational theory. According to this theory, the castes have originated in different occupations. Where any particular group follows hereditary occupation then it evolves into a caste in course of time. Further, this theory is connected with the idea of purity and impurity. People who perform pure or better and respectable tasks are regarded as superior. People who are engaged in impure or low grade occupations are considered inferior (Rao 2004 : 195–196). Several sociologists have criticised occupational theory. This theory on the one hand cannot explain the differences in social status of various castes who follow some occupation and also ignores the racial and religious factors in the formation of caste system, on the other. Further, some sociologists believe that, the status of castes depends on the degree of purity of blood and the extent of isolation maintained by the groups, not on the superiority or the inferiority of occupations. In fact, it is wrong to consider occupation as the only factor of the birth of caste system (ibid : 196). Another theory of the origin of caste system is racial theory. The main argument of this theory is that racial differences are the main cause of the emergence of caste system. This theory has been presented by eminent anthropologists. Ghurye (2000 : 172) has mentioned that the Aryans, who have come to India from outside, are fair complexioned with prominent noses. They have defeated the original inhabitants of India or natives. These natives are dark in complexion with snub nose. The Aryans do not allow non-Aryans to participate in their religious activities and also keep distance from any type of social communication. As a result, caste system has gradually been emerged. The racial theory has also been criticized. This theory cannot explain the practice of untouchability. According to racial theory, Brahminical influence plays a vital role in the emergence of caste system. But the Brahminical influence is not uniformly found in all the places. Further it is very much dominant in few areas while it is virtually absent in a few other areas. Racial theory highlights on racial factor only and ignores other important factors (Rao : 2004 : 197). The functional theory of social stratification states that any form of stratification has its own function in society. As a form of social stratification caste fulfils certain functions. British ethnographer Hutton (1961, cited in Ahuja 2006 : 283-284) has

214 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 mentioned the functions of caste from three points view : (i) from the point of view of an individual, (ii)

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from the point of view of caste as a unit, (iii) from the point of view of

society at large. Caste provides an individual a fixed social status in society. One's choice in marriage, selection of friends, food-habits, family-customs, rituals, practices are determined by caste. Caste also provides occupational and social security. In the time of crisis and difficulties, members of a caste always support their fellows. Each caste has its own culture i.e. its own norms, values, beliefs, practices, way of life etc. which it wants to preserve and to transmit to the next generation. Caste also transmits the specialized skills, knowledge, those are closely associated with the hereditary occupations of the caste. Caste is the basis of Hindu social organisation. The main functions of the caste towards the society are – (a) Caste provides the basis of social order. In traditional Indian society, members always try to identify themselves with caste system. Caste system has provided a mutual support. Further caste system is also an established system of division of labour. Different tasks of society are assigned to different castes. Max Weber (1968, cited in Ritzer 2000 : 231) has focused on property, power and prestige as three bases of social stratification. Prestige differences generate status group in society. Society ascribe honour on some people, either propertied or property less, and these people form status group. The caste group in India is an example of status group. 13.7 Merits and Demerits of Castes Several sociologists have mentioned that Indian caste-system has its own merits and demerits, Rao (2004 : 210 – 213) has pointed out following merits and demerits of caste system – On the basis of division of occupation, caste represents the harmonious division of society. As occupations are hereditary in caste-based society, each caste provides necessary training and guidance for its members to continue caste-based occupation. Occupational skills and knowledge are imparted to younger generation in an informal manner. People get occupational security in caste-based society. Members of a caste support each-other in times of crises. Castes have specific ways of lives. The new born babies of the castes are socialized in accordance with caste rules, practices and customs. The customs, practices, rituals, ceremonies, festivals in Hindu society varied and are preserved through the practices of different castes. Caste
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 215 regulates its members' socio-economic as well as moral life. Some noble qualities such as mutual co-operation, sacrifice service etc. are encouraged by caste group. Along with these merits, caste system also has some demerits. Perhaps the most disgusting demerit of caste is untouchability. It is unjust and inhuman. Caste system encourages caste members to be more loyal to their caste than nation. Thus it prevents to develop national consciousness among the people. Sometimes members of different castes are involved in conflict with the members of other castes. Caste- conflict may hamper social unity and progress. Castes put limitations on occupa- tional choice. Talents of low-caste people are suppressed by caste system. Develop- ment of individual personality is curbed by caste system. Finally, domination of the upper castes encourages lower caste people to get converted into other religions like Islam or Christianity. 13.8 Caste Relations and Village Unity Indian villages all through the periods in history have maintained unity and it is believed that the fabric of village life consists of caste and kin groups (Doshi and Jain 2004 : 79). In traditional Indian villages caste system has always played an important role in village social system and in economic system as well. Village economic system is regulated through jajmani system which is based on caste relations. It is also an inter-familial relationship. In traditional India, each caste has a specific occupation. Members of a village exchange services between themselves. Originally the term jajmani refers to the client for whom a Brahmin priest performs rituals but later this term has been used to refer a patron or a recipient of specialized services or goods. Generally, a high caste, land owing family receives goods / services from various castes like carpenters blacksmiths, washer men, barbers, sweepers etc. Servicing castes are paid in cash or kind (grain fodder, milk or milk products clothes etc.). Servicing castes receive extra payment or gift in any ceremonial occasions of jajman's house and time of harvest or receive loan or donation from jajmans if they are in needs (Ahuja 2006: 322 – 324; Mandelbaum 1989: 161 – 169) 13.9 Dominant Caste M. N. Srinivas, a renowned sociologist, has studied Rampura Village which is not far away from the city Mysore in the state of Karnataka. Another concept of caste that is 'dominant caste' has emerged from his study. Srinivas (1976, cited in Doshi
216 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 and Jain 2004 : 72) has defined the concept of dominant caste in 1955 as – a caste that occupies a high position in caste hierarchy and also wields economic and political power. According to him, even in the traditional society, the caste which has acquired economic and political power is also able to improve its ritual status. He (ibid :73) has revised his definition in 1966 and has stated that, to be a dominant caste,
it should own a sizeable amount of the arable land locally available, must have strength

in numbers and should occupy a high place in the local hierarchy. On the basis of the above definition, some characteristics of the dominant caste are found. Firstly, size of land indicates class position. Larger amount of land and adequate irrigation facilities increase agricultural income. Larger land owing caste provides jobs to landless or marginal peasants. Like Srinivas, Y. Singh (1994, cited in Doshi and Jain 2004 : 74) has mentioned that superior economic status is the basic determinant of dominant caste. Brahmins and Okkaliga are dominant castes in the South Indian villages. Rajputs in Uttar Pradesh and Gujrat control major portion of the land and the degree of dominance of those castes in respective villages are high. It has been found that Lingayat and Okkaliga in Mysore villages; Reddy and Kamma in Andhra Pradesh; Gounder, Padayachi and Mudaliar in Tamilnadu; Nayar in Kerala; Maratha in Maharashtra; Patidar in Gujratl Rajput, Jat, Giyar, Ahir are dominant castes in North India. These castes have also acquired the benefits of modern education and hold different jobs in urban areas. With strong economic position they have also captured political power in Panchayati Raj system. Second, high rank in caste hierarchy is a mark of dominance. Traditionally, it has been found that land-owing castes belong to higher position in caste-ladder and they capture political power too. But the situation has been changing as the reservations in favour of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, woman have put new attribute to the concept of dominance (Doshi and Jain 2004 : 75). Third, the numerical strength of a caste becomes an important factor of dominance because number of votes select a candidate in election. Sometimes dominance of one caste extends to other villages (ibid : 75). A number of criticisms are linked with the idea of dominant caste at least as posed by Srinivas. Land reforms, such as land ceiling and abolition of Jamindari and Jagirdari, have ceased the 'land-holding' to be a determinant factor of dominant- caste. Now-a-days political power is more important determinant factor than land-holding. Thus, numerical support becomes more important than land-holding and numerical strength of a caste takes place in size of land-holding. But some sociologists hold that some castes (like Lodha or Pasi) are numerically largest caste

 in a village but not a dominant caste. Authority and importance are attached with some upper castes in Indian social system. However, after a long period of independence and due to several changes in society, some politically dominant groups have started to exercise influence on the villagers (ibid : 76 – 79). 13.10 Caste and Varna Varna and Caste – both are important systems in traditional Hindu social structure. But very often one is used interchangeably to mean the other. Though there are some similarities between Varna and Caste, such as both the systems are hierarchical in nature and consist of social division of labour, the distinction between the two is also very important in sociology. The main differences between the two are noted below : (a) The hierarchical base of Varna model is same in all over India. There is no variation between one region and another. But caste-hierarchy is not same in all parts of India. One clean occupation may be unclean in another part of India. In fact caste position varies from one region to another (Srinivas 1998 : 3). (b) There are only four varnas viz. Brahman, Khastriya, Vaishya and Sudra. Untouchables are excluded from Varna model. They are regarded as 'Pancham' (or Fifth) in varna model. But castes are innumerable. It is difficult to say the exact number of castes in existing India. It is estimated that there are more than 4,000 castes and sub-castes in India. Untouchables are an integral part of the caste system.

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They perform certain essential tasks in village. They are village servants, messengers, sweepers and beat drum at village festivals (

ibid : 3 – 4; Rao 2004 : 216). (c) Caste system is based on birth i.e.; membership of caste is determined on the basis of the birth of a person. Varna system is based on occupations. Membership in the varna system is based on one's "guna" which indicates profession. So varna system is open system while caste system is closed system. In other words, varnasystem is less rigid and caste-system is more rigid. In the RigVeda, only two varnas have been mentioned – Aryavarna and Dasavarna and there is a description of the division of society into three orders – Brahma, Kshatra and vis. There are no restrictions regarding matrimonial alliances or commensal or any type of social relations. Society

218 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 has passed from the Vedic age to the Brahminial age and varnas are arranged hierarchically (Rao 2004 : 217 ; Ahuja 2006 : 233). (d) According to Karve (1961, cited in Pramanick 1994 : 30 – 31), there are two basic groups in Hindu social structure – Varna and Jati. Jati organisation did exist in India before the advent of the Aryans while varna organisation was associated with the Aryans. Later, varna and caste were interwoven together and formed a elaborate ranking system. Each varna has a number of castes hierarchically arranged. As caste structure differs in regard to internal rank differentiation from one region to another, then it exists micro-structure of Indian society. On the other hand, the varna model has the appearance of a macro-structural phenomenon (Singh 1996 : 162). Further Varna system has the sanction of the religion. Lord Krishna says in Bhagavadgita (Chapter XIV, Sloka 13, cited in Rao 2004 : 217) that He himself had created the four varnas. On the contrary, caste system does not have the sanction of religion (Rao 2004 : 217) (e) Kothari (1995 : 11-12) has opined that varna has a neat and logical structure. In contrast, jati is characteristically ambiguous and has several meanings those indicates various aspects – doctrinal, territorial, economic and occupational, ritual and associational – federal (political). It is difficult to describe caste by any single set of attributes. 13.11 Caste System and its Changing Dimension The caste system, as it exists in India, has been developed through centuries. Scholars have divided Indian history into four periods. These four periods are – ancient period, medieval period, British period and post-independence period (Ahuja 2006 : 269). Ancient period of Indian history includes Vedic period, Brahminical period, Maurya period, post Maurya period, period of Harsh Vardhana. In Rig-Vedic period varna group was prominent and it was not hereditary but flexible. There are some scholars who believe that caste system was developed in Rig-Vedic period and was not flexible. The end of Rig-Vedic period is popularly known as Brahminical period. The hierarchical system of four varnas was firmly established and caste distinctions become prominent in this stage. In Maurya period, caste system was not allowed to develop as a rigid institution. In post-Maurya period and in Gupta period, Brahminism as well as caste rigidity got its strength (ibid : 269-273).
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 219 Medieval period consists of Rajput period (700 – 1200 AD) and Islamic period (1200 – 1757 AD). In Rajput period Indian social system remained unchanged with its rigid caste system. In Islamic period, caste rigidity was continued. Muslim rulers tried to convert people to Islam. Some saints like Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanyadev preached Bhakti cult which denounced caste system. A good number of people accepted them but caste system itself remained rigid (ibid : 273–275). In India, British era was started from 1774 A.D. when Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor General of India. Some legislative measures were taken by the British Government. They transferred the judicial powers of the caste councils to the civil and the criminal courts. Further some acts like caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850, Widow Remarriage Act of 1856, the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1860, the special Marriage Act of 1872 attacked the caste system. Some social reformers in British period also attacked caste-system. The Brahmo Samaj Movement founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1820 and developed by Devendranath Tagore and Keshav Chandra Sen advocated universal brotherhood of men. They were against caste divisions. Likewise,Prarthana Sabha movement in 1849 in Maharashtra raised voice against caste barriers. The Arya Samaj founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati in 1875 protested caste restrictions. The Ramakrishna Mission, synthesizer of all religions, believed in the abolition of caste system (Rao 2004 : 201 ; Ahuja 2006 : 276). With the advent of British rule, new industries, occupations, employment opportunities salary-based service system have been established in India. As a result, traditional caste-based occupation came to be changed. New industries destroyed the old crafts and household industries. New communication system helped trade and commerce. Jajmani system i.e., interdependence of different castes started to be declined. Industrialization led to urbanization which released the commensal taboos. In post – independence period, besides industrialization and urbanization, some important factors such as modern education, new laws, growth of market economy, socio-religious reform movements played vital role for relaxation of caste rigidity (Rao 2004: 203 205; Ahuja 2006: 279 – 282). 13.12 Summary Caste is a special form of social stratification found in India. It is characterized by its segmental division, hierarchy, endogamy, fixity on occupation, cultural difference, concept of purity and pollution, ascribed status and absence of vertical
220 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 mobility. Caste is religious in nature while class is economic. The dependence among the castes have been given the name of ‘
Jajmani System’, under which
each group within a village is expected to give certain standardised services to the other castes.

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The concept of dominant caste given by M.N. Srinivas is

that caste which is not only numerically higher but also has a greater political and economic hold over other castes. 13.13 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) What do you mean by 'stratification'? (ii) Define Caste and Varna? (iii) What do you mean by 'Four-Varna'? (iv) What is 'Avarna'? (v) Write a note on 'Varna-Ashrama Vyavastha' (vi) What do you mean by Jajmani system'? (vii) Write a note on dominant caste. (viii) Differentiate between Caste and Varna. (ix) How do sociologists explain the origin of caste? (x) Explain the Hindu social structure in ancient India. G-B (10 Marks each) (xi) Discuss the features of Varna. (xii) Explain the merits and demerits of caste-system. (xiii) Explain the functional approach of caste system. (xiv) Describe the features of caste system. (xv) Write a note on changing dimensions of caste-system. 13.14 Suggested Readings (i) Ahuja, Ram. (2006) : Indian Social System, Jaipur : Rawat Publication.
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222 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Unit - 14 ❑ Bourgeoise, Working Class and Middle Classes Structure 14.1 Objectives 14.2 Introduction 14.3 The Concept of Class 14.4 Class : Marxian Concept 14.5 Class : Weber's analysis 14.6 Emergence of Indian Bourgeoisie 14.7 Working class in India 14.8 Condition of the Workers 14.9 Middle Class 14.10 Summary 14.11 Questions 14.12 Suggested Readings 14.1 Objectives ● To understand concepts like Bourgeoise, Working class and Middle class ● To understand class structure that is prevalent today ● To assess the implications of class structure in everyday life 14.2 Introduction For Marx, the analysis of social class, class structures and changes in those structures are key to understanding capitalism and other social systems or modes of production. In the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels comment that the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. (Bottomore, p. 75) 222

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 223 Analysis of class divisions and struggles is especially important in developing an understanding of the nature of capitalism. For Marx, classes are defined and structured by the relations concerning (i) work and labour and (ii) ownership or possession of property and the means of production. These economic factors more fully govern social relationships in capitalism than they did in earlier societies. While earlier societies contained various strata or groupings which might be considered classes, these may have been strata or elites that were not based solely on economic factors – e.g., priesthood, knights, or military elite. 2.1 14.3 The Concept of Class Societies are divided into various hierarchical groups. One of these hierarchical groups is class which is different from caste. Bourgeoisie, working class and middle class are such categories which belong to social class. Social class is a category or group of persons having a definite status in society. The relative position of the class in social scale arises from the degree of prestige attached to the status. Thus the prestige of ruling class is superior to that of non-ruling class. Power, wealth etc. are important criteria for the enjoyment of higher prestige in society. More specifically, an individual's class is not given at birth; it is some part achieved. Class depends on economic differences between groups or individuals that is inequalities in the possession of material resources. In other words, wealth denotes class position. It is not established by religious provisions unlike castes in Indian society. In class-based society, mobility is more flexible than other types of stratification system. There are no formal restrictions on intermarriage between people of different classes (Gisbert 2004 : 367; Giddens 2001 : 282-283). Generally it is believed that caste and class are polar opposite to each other. Caste is considered a feature of a traditional society like India which is a system based on ascription. In contrast, class is considered a feature of industrially advanced achievement-based western society. In class-based society, an individual has freedom to move up in the social hierarchy (Sharma 2002 : 55). Caste and class – are two phenomena of social stratification which offer many features common in respect of origin, development and function. Some scholars like MacIver and Page (2006 : 348 – 349) do not define class strictly in the economic sense. They have included 'status' with class and call it social class. According to them a portion of a community differs from the rest on the basis of social status. Social intercourse is limited by the distinctions between higher and lower. Occupational distinctions, income level,

224 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 distinctions of birth, race and education are associated with social status. They have also mentioned that the identification of social class with economic division is sociologically inadequate. Sharma (2002 : 80) has opined that caste and class are not polar opposites. In fact both are inseparable parts of India's social formation. Beteille's (cited in Kuppuswamy1984 : 348) study has revealed that class hierarchy is positively correlated with caste hierarchy. Landowners are largely Brahmins. The tenants are the middle caste non-Brahmins and the agricultural labourers are the lower castes, the Harijans. As village economy is based on agriculture, the ownership of land gives rise to an agrarian class structure. Landowners mainly belong to upper class; middle class consists of the tenants who take the land on lease for cultivation from the landlords; lower class comprises of landless labourers who are employed on a daily wage basis by the landlords or the tenants. Besides, there are artisans and service castes in the traditional villages. They have formed middle class or lower middle class. After independence the class structure in villages has been greatly modified by legislation and market forces. The land tenure legislation has provided security to the tenant. As a result non-Brahmin tenants have become powerful. Further the land- ceilings in1961 is a severe blow to the landowners (Kuppuswamy1984 : 348 – 349). Modern formation of agrarian class structure was a result of British rule in India. Pre-British India did not experience the private ownership on arable land (Desai 1982 : 9). The British introduced a different type of economic and administrative system in India. Land came under private ownership. New social classes namely 'Zamindars', 'tenants', 'intermediaries' were grew. New land revenue system gradually led to the commercialization of agriculture (ibid : 38-43). New social classes as industrialists and proletariats were also emerged during British rule (ibid: 175). Focused on Europe, during Middle Ages feudal lords or landed gentry were at the top of class-structure and serfs were at the bottom level. Between these two classes, there were soldiers, artisans and so on. Artisans plied their trade for the others. The artisans and the small tradesmen became powerful in towns during eleventh century. These towns were not controlled by the land lords. These townsmen organised themselves under guilds. There were also lawyers, doctors, financiers (mostly Jews) who constituted high class in towns. The bourgeoisie of the 18th and the 19th centuries were the direct successor of the town's workers and artisans. These bourgeoisie fought for political rights and succeeded in the French Revolution (1789). In England, the bourgeoisie gained similar position of respectability through a series of parliamentary reforms. But simultaneously a powerful change took place in England and Europe which caused the emergence of two distinct classes in

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 225 society. That powerful change was 'Industrial Revolution' and the two distinct classes were the 'Bourgeoisie' and the 'Proletariat' (Gisbert2004 : 370). 14.4 Class : Marxian Concept The words 'Bourgeoisie' and 'Proletariat' are frequently used by the German thinkers Marx and Engels (cited in Mclellan1980 : 44-45). Marx's famous work The Communist Manifesto is divided into four sections. The first section depicts a history of class-based society where the victory of proletariats over the bourgeoisie is inevitable. The second section describes the position of communists among the proletariats, rejects the objections of bourgeoisie against communists and then characterises the communist revolution, the measures to be taken by the victorious proletariats and the nature of future communist society. The third section contains the criticisms against other types of socialism, reactionaries, petty-bourgeois and utopian socialists. The fourth section describes the communist tactics towards oppositions and finishes with an appeal to unite proletariats. The entire book has described the struggle of oppressed against their oppressors. Marx and Engels (cited in ibid) have opined that the class antagonism has been simplified in present age. Two hostile camps are now facing each other – bourgeoisie and proletariat. The bourgeoisie is originated in feudal society; is helped by the market economy and modern industry; imposes its domination on society. Bourgeoisie needs continuous improvement of technologies of means of production for its survival. Marx and Engels (cited in ibid : 46) have described the revolutionary nature of the proletariat. They have to go through several stages. Their first aim is to restore the vanished status of workmen in the middle ages. They will begin to form trade unions as they grow in number and finally their class struggle will become political struggle. The lower strata of the middle class – the small trades' people, shopkeepers, retired tradesmen, handicraftsmen, peasants – all these sink gradually into proletariat. Proletariats are organised themselves as a class for the fight against bourgeoisie. Class of proletariat becomes a means of revolution. Like proletariats bourgeoisie also form class by force of circumstances. Their class is an organised power to oppress others. In capitalist society, bourgeoisie are the owners of means of production, employers of proletariats or wage labourers. In contrast proletariats have no means of production and they live by selling their labour (ibid : 48). Marx (cited in ibid : 179-181) has also used the term 'class' to refer petty- bourgeoisie and

226 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 peasants. He has also noticed the advent of new middle class who are constantly growing in number for increased use of machinery and the multiplication of service industries. There are some other groups in society such as farm-labourers, intelligentsia and so on. Marx has applied the term proletariat to the industrial workers in capitalist society, but sometimes he says that proletariat comprises the vast majority of people in capitalist society. Another intermediate group is found in society. This group is intelligentsia. Marx (cited in ibid) has referred them as the 'ideological representatives and spokesmen' of the bourgeoisie. These intelligentsia are also the paid wage- labourers of the bourgeoisie though they are different from that of the proletariats. Thus class-structure is a complex system. Lower middle-class, middle-class, upper- middle-class are separate class. Similarly, industrial capitalists, finance capitalists, business capitalists form different classes. There is also a group of people in society who have actually no historical role to play. They have no definite trade, no home. All types of criminals, vagabonds are included in this group. This group is called lumpen proletariats. 14.5 Class : Weber's Analysis Like Marx, Weber (cited in Haralambos 2005 : 44-45) defines class in terms of economic criterion. According to him class refers to a group of individuals who share similar position in a market economy i.e. they receive similar economic rewards. In other words, similar class situation shares similar life chances. It means one's economic position creates chances of obtaining desirable goods from market such as good quality housing and other things. Weber also argues that the major class division is between those who own the forces of production and those who do not. Thus, those have enough property, are able to enjoy better life-chances. Various skills and services in a given society have different market values. In capitalist society, managers, administrators and professionals are paid relatively high salaries due to the demand of their services. Weber distinguishes class groupings in capitalist society in following ways : (i) The propertied upper class, (ii) The property less white-collar workers, (iii) The petty bourgeoisie, (iv) The manual working class. Weber (ibid) differs from Marxian concept of class in following ways : - firstly,

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 227 he has added skill of the property less people in the formation of class. Thus ownership of property and skill of the people are significant in the formation of class. Secondly, he does not support the polarization of class. According to him white collar 'middle-class' expands rather than contracts. Rational bureaucratic administration includes large numbers of administrators and clerical staff. Thirdly he rejects the Marxian view of proletarian revolution. Finally, Weber does not believe that political power is derived from economic power. He argues that class forms one possible basis of power and the distribution of power in society is not necessarily linked to the distribution of class inequalities. 14.6 Emergence of Indian Bourgeoisie Emergence of Indian Bourgeoisie was not alike with the emergence of European Bourgeoisie. When Industrial Revolution took place in England and other countries in Europe, India served to quicken the process of Industrial Revolution to its master country. At the same time the traditional economic pattern of India was disintegrating. Industrial Revolution had two aspects – technical and social. The technical aspects indicated the introduction of machinery and social aspects indicated the emergence of capitalism that is the emergence of bourgeoisie and proletariat. But the development of capitalism in India was a belated process (Sen 1997 : 1–3). The establishment of railways in India during the middle of 19th century, created a condition for the growth of modern industries in India. Cotton mills, a few jute mills and coal mines were the main industries between the years of 1850 and 1855. During 1880, it was estimated that there were 56 cotton mills and 56 coal mines in India. The number of cotton mills increased to 144 in 1894 – 95. The number of coal mines were 123 and jute mills were 29 in the same year. The 'Swadeshi' movement in 1905 gave an impetus to the expansion of Indian industries. In 1913-14, the number of cotton mills rose to 264 and jute mills to 64. Some new industries were established during the years between 1890 and 1914. Those new industries were petroleum, manganese, mica and saltpetre, rice mills, timber mills, engineering and railway workshops, iron and brass industries and so on. Import of foreign goods declined during the war of 1914-18. Indian Industries developed during this phase to meet the demands of war requirements. But above all the rate of growth of Indian industries was insufficient in spite of above development. But that industrialization played a significant role in the life of the Indians. Industrialization made the Indian economy more unified and organized. It gave an impetus for the development of new social classes including bourgeoisie and proletariat (Desai 1982 : 103–124).
228 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 The rise and development of the Indian bourgeoisie were related with the expansion of trade, commerce, industry and banking in India. It is to be noted here that the Europeans were also engaged in trade, industry and banking in India. They formed their own organisations either separately or with the Indians according to the nature of economic enterprise. The first European Chamber of Commerce was established at Calcutta in 1834 and at Bombay and Madras in 1836. The first Indian Chamber of Commerce, 'The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce' was started in 1887. The Indian Merchants' Chamber was founded in Bombay in 1907. The Marwari Chamber of Commerce was started at Calcutta in 1900 and the South Indian Chamber of Commerce at Madras in 1909. All these organisations aimed to protect the interests of Indian businessmen. The conflict of interests between the Indian and the European commercial classes was the main cause for the formation of separate organisations of the Indian Commercial classes. The Europeans got favour of the British government in the sphere of trade while the Indian businessmen faced undue restrictions on them. For instance, the British businessmen occupied favourable position in coasted shipping in the country. With the establishment of modern industries, a group of Indian industrialists emerged in society. Like the British businessmen, the British industrialists also got favour of the British government. After 1880, a good number of modern industries developed in India and the industrial bourgeoisie grew in strength. They were conscious regarding their position. They founded a number of organizations to protect their interests and put their demands. The Bombay Mill owners' Association was founded in 1875 and was followed by the Indian Tea Association in 1881; the Indian Jute Mills Association in 1884; the Ahmedabad Mill owners' Association in 1891; the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in 1927; the Employers Federation of Southern India in 1920; the All-India Organization of Industrial Employers in 1933; the Employers' Federation of India in 1933 and so on. Thus during the period of British rule, a new class that was the class of modern commercial, industrial and financial bourgeoisie was developed in India (ibid : 200-206). 14.7 Working class in India In Europe, capitalism developed over the ruins of feudalism; but India had different experience. The British established modern industries in India and introduction of railways was an important event in the process of formation of modern capitalist state. Modern working class in India emerged with the introduction

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 229 of railways. Hundreds of workers were engaged in railway building. Along with railways, coal mining industry was quickly expanded. Railways and shipping lines were the effective means of communication. A number of mercantile enterprises grew to import manufactured goods and to export raw materials. As some new materials needed initial processing before export, enterprises like packing houses, cotton pressing and ginning establishment, rice mills, flour fills etc. were developed. All these industries helped to bring up Indian working class. Meanwhile plantation farming also developed intensively. Contact labourers were engaged in these plantation forms. Their condition was slightly better than slaves. But they were also a part of Indian work-force. Jute industries in Bengal and cotton industries in Maharashtra (Bombay) flourished. Thousands of workers were employed in those industries who increased the numerical strength of Indian work-force. Gradually, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras became the main areas of British investments and these cities also became the centres where Indian labourers developed as an organized class (Sen 1997 : 21-24). In Europe, the artisans and craftsmen were dispossessed of their profession when large scale industries were established, because they could not compete with large manufacturing enterprises. Those artisans and craftsmen were absorbed as labourers in those modern industries. But in India, traditional handicrafts and cottage industries were destroyed in colonial interest. But unlike Europe, modern industries did not grow up in India. Dispossessed artisans and craftsmen were compelled to depend on agriculture as agricultural labourers. A small number of them entered into railways and other industries as industrial workers. But there was a gap of two or three generations that separated destruction of traditional cottage industries and partial replacement by modern industries. Those dispossessed artisans and handicraftsmen lost their age-old technical skill when they entered in the modern industries. They were unskilled and tied with various superstitious habits and customs of agricultural life. They were the subjects of caste-group, racialism and religious superstition of Indian social life. All these factors caused a positive hindrance to develop modern outlook and political consciousness among the Indian workers (ibid : 25 – 27). According to Sen (ibid : 27) not only among Indian workers, these characteristics were common among the workers of colonies and semi-colonies. Further they were severely exploited by the British and Indian bourgeoisie. British recruited workers from among the ruined craftsmen and the poorest strata in the villages. They fixed wages in rural standards which were much below the cost of labour. Indian bourgeoisie exploited their religious beliefs. Indian bourgeoisie
230 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 preached reformist ideology, propagated superstitious ideas in the name of Indian tradition and tried to keep Indian working class off the revolutionary struggle. India is a country of diversity. Industrial workers have come from various background of language, culture, religious beliefs, social customs and so on. Mass migration among workers and their settlement in different environment have arisen certain peculiar problems in the formation of the Indian working class and its movement. Migration of workers is a reflection of the growth of capitalism in the country. This migration is an indicator of the process of forming a stable labour market. Some middlemen become active in labour recruitment process in India. They are called by varieties of names in different parts of the country such as jobber, sirdar, mistri, mukaddam, choudhri and so on. The role of these middlemen are very important regarding the context of labour supply in industries. The managerial functions in majority of the industries are performed by the Europeans. Under these circumstances, some sort of communication gap arises between the employers and the labourers. European employers have to depend on these jobbers or middlemen. Sometimes these jobbers manipulate the situation by creating artificial scarcity. On the other hand, the labourers are also exploited by these jobbers. They can hardly avoid the 'dasturi' (commissions) of the jobbers. Workers are often indebted to the jobbers to avoid starvation. It is another source for the jobbers to squeeze workers in terms of interest. Further religions and caste heterogeneity is typical among the Indian proletariats. Uneven development of capitalism in India causes concentration of workers in certain places. Calcutta, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Madras and a few other places are the centres where proletariats are concentrated (Sen 1997: 28- 31; Basu 1993: 44-67). 14.8 Condition of the Workers Workers maintain their livelihoods by selling their labour. The Capitalists increase their profits by exploiting the workers. To achieve their goals, capitalists depend on certain devices. At first they lengthen the working day. Secondly, they reduce the wages at subsistence level. Further the machines reduce the demand of skilled labourer and hence its price. Thirdly, capitalists make profit by recruiting women, teenagers and children in cheap rate. These groups are more obedient and less capable of resistance. These are the general trends which are applicable to all countries wherever the factory system exists. Naturally India is also included in these trends. Unlike Europe, the first generation of Indian factory workers appear from the

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 231 distressed and dispossessed section of the village people. It can be said that probably the hungriest sections of the people have come in industry. It is also found that majority of the workers belong to the lower castes. Obviously, a good number of them are Tanti or weavers who are totally robbed of their hereditary means of livelihood. Considerable number of workers are also distressed Muslims. Some female workers are included among the industrial workers. Majority of them are widow (Basu 1993: 37-39). In Bengal coal mines, Bauris (very low social rank), Santhals (a tribe) and other people of lower caste rank joined in labour force. It was also true in case of immigrant labourers in the coalfields. Another interesting feature of jute mill in Bengal was that Bengali workers were gradually replaced by the workers of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa. Bilaspuri and Madrasi were also found among workers in Bengal. Not only the cases of jute-mills, other industries of Bengal like cotton mills, paper-mills, docks, pottery-works were dominated by the immigrant workers. Different views came out to explain this situation. One view said that Bengal demanded more agricultural labourers due to its high fertility. Agricultural wages were relatively attractive and such Bengalis were reluctant to undergo the hardship of factory work. Another view opined that Bengalis were not able to work long hours in the factories as they were physically weak. Some scholars explained that mill-owners preferred non-Bengali workers as non-Bengali workers were more submissive than the Bengalis. Bengali workers, coming from peasant stock, had a tradition of protest like Indigo rebellion (1860), Pabna rising (1873) and so. They were conscious and prone to protest against injustice and exploitation (ibid : 40-43). 2. Generally, it is assumed that Indian working class is primarily agriculturist. Majority of them work as agricultural labourers; they do not have own land. Sometimes they leave mill for a period of time, go back to village and live on their savings which they have earned in mills. Indian factory workers are simply village people. It is found difficult for them to adjust strict discipline of factory works. Workers have to adjust with long hours of strenuous works. They find for escape from factory environment and enjoy by occasional visits to their village home. It is a general trend among Indian factory workers that they are pushed from the villages not are pulled from the towns. Further they are irregular of their attendance, take frequent intervals of leave. This attitude may be explained as a reaction to the extreme hardship and monotony of their working condition (ibid 43-46). Fifteen to sixteen hours working at a stretch is very common practice during the early phase of industrialization in India.
232 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Official report of the Indian Factory Labour Commission (which was appointed in 1908) has revealed the above picture. Condition was worse in the ginning factories. Workers had to work seventeen and eighteen hours a day. Sometimes workers have to work twenty to twenty-two hours in a day in rice mills and flour mills. In printing presses men work twenty-two hours a day for seven consecutive days (Sen 1997: 35-36). Wage statistics reveal a great disparity in wages of different categories of the workers even belonging to the same industry. Children and women are exploited much more than the male workers. Several studies have revealed that the workers are very poorly paid. Majority of the mill-authorities pay weekly or fortnightly. Monthly payment is also made by some mills. Long interval between payments often causes them immense hardship. Workers hardly enjoy their full earnings of the period they worked for. It is a common practice that a portion of the wages are withheld; that as they are paid on the pay day not the wages earned upto that day but upto some previous date. As a result, Indian factory workers have to bear a huge burden of debt. Workers have to borrow money to meet any extra expenditure like marriage, funeral or the time of prolonged illness. Further the housing condition of the workers are very poor. The workers who have come from the villages are compelled to live in slums near by the mills which are not fit for human habitation. These overcrowded dwellings are very harmful for the workers' health. Many of the workers suffer from various diseases. In course of time, some mill owners (obviously large mill owners) have realised building coolie lines will be profitable in the sense that they will demand best labour. But colie lines are insufficient to meet the demand and workers have to pay for these coolie lines. To the mill owners, workers are just means of production. Mill owners ignore the measures for the safety of the workers. Workers of different factories including mines face horrible accidents which cause the loss of their body-parts even lives (Basu 1993: 64-77). It is found that in all sorts of terms (wages, working hours, housing and other conditions of service). Indian workers have reached in extreme point of terrible condition (Sen 1997: 43). Inhuman condition of the workers needed legal safeguard in favour of themselves. But the Factory Acts which were implemented in first phase were helpful to the employers. For example, The Employers' and Workers' (Disputes) Act was passed in 1860. It was implemented first in Bombay and then rest of the country. This Act empowered the employers to fine or imprison the workers on charges of insubordination. Colonial interests were important for the enactment of Indian Factories Acts (ibid : 43-46). The hard condition of life led the workers towards working class movement though class consciousness among the workers developed

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 233 much later than the intelligentsia, educated middle class and the bourgeoisie (Desai 1982 : 208). According to Sen (1977 : 66) the Indian working class movement might be divided into four phases. The first phase (1850 – 1900) was the commencement of the working class movement; the second phase (1901-1914) was the formative process of the trade unions; the third phase (1915-1947) was the phase of developing consciousness, organized trade union and political movement of the working class. During this phase workers along with economic struggles, marched forward with the political perspectives of national liberation. Fourth phase began after independence. Independent India accepted socialist orientation for the common good of all. Some legal safeguards were taken for the benefit of the labourers. Some of these legal safe guards were prohibition of child labour, the fixing and implementation of a minimum wage, equal pay for equal work, provisions for sanitation, health and safety at work and so on (Breman,1999 : 29-30).
14.9 Middle Class Historically, the bourgeoisie comprises the middle-class because they stand in middle that is between the land-owning class and the working class. With the industrial revolution, the bourgeoisie becomes the industrialist and the ruling class of great financiers. A new class emerges between the bourgeoisie and working class. This new class is known as middle-class who are identified by Marx as petty bourgeoisie. The small traders, independent small businessman, the self-employed professional, independent artisan – all these groups are known as middle-class. Within the enterprise, a new group emerges between the employers and workers. They are socially marked as salaried employees and establish their social character in their own consciousness. Some scholars have identified this group as 'new middle class'. Nineteenth and twentieth century have experienced the tremendous growth of salaried employees. Rapid growth of capitalism, expansion of big business, continuous economic development, expansion of bureaucratic activities, rise of modern 'service state' cause the rapid growth of salaried employees that is middle-class. This middle-class has become a topic of scholarly discussion. German left-wing writers have regarded these salaried employees as simply a "white-collar proletariat" whose tendency is towards the adoption of working-class attitudes. Some sociologists conceive this middle-class as a factor of social solidarity who act as a balancing group between the employers and workers. Some scholars believe that these middle- class people will be crushed between the capitalist class and the industrial proletariat.
234 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Another group of scholars has assumed that the future world will be a world of bureaucracy as the number of salaried employees increases rapidly (Bell 1974: 69- 72). A group of persons appeared in Indian society with the introduction of English There was a basic difference between the emergence of new middle class in Western Europe and the emergence of new middle class in India (Kuppuswamy 1984: 362). During 17th century a group of persons emerged as a commercial middle-class. They served Europeans. Some of them were petty clerks, some of them were interpreters while others were Cashiers. Another group of persons namely contractors travelled one

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part of the country to another to make purchases for the European trading companies.

Culturally, these group of Persons were quasi-westernized. They required specialized training, professional skill in trade and commerce, education, rational- managerial administration for modern business and so on. Perhaps these

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commercial middlemen were probably the earliest groups to come in contact with the western cultural pattern. This cultural pattern of westernization continued to expand in India throughout the 18th Century.

In the early part of 19th century

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new generation of middle-class professional groups and groups of social reformers emerged. Western education contributed to the growth of this class.

A group of people were involved in writing poems, novels, drama and so on. They followed models and ideologies of the English literature. All these people belonged to middle class (Singh 2004 : 88- 90). education. They were known as intelligentsia.

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Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his group were the first group of

Indian intelligentsias. They followed modern as well as western rationalism, democratic doctrines and spirit. In the first decades of 19th Century, the number of educated Indians was small. The British government established many schools, colleges, universities and also private schools were established. As a result, a big class of educated Indians emerged in the second half of 19th century. They joined in various clerical and teaching posts. Simultaneously, they increased the body of Indian intelligentsia. Further, English education caused the emergence of some other persons like lawyers, doctors, technicians, professors, journalists, state servants, clerks and so on. All these persons constituted middle- class. These middle-class as well as intelligentsia played important role to form

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a modern nation. They organised various progressive social and religious reform movements in the country.

A group of political elites emerged among these middle- class. They brought ideas of nationalism and freedom. They were the pioneers to spread the ideas of nationalism among the wider sections of Indians. Further great
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 235 scientists, poets, historians, philosophers, economists, sociologists emerged among these middle-class. They were the makers of modern

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India. Outstanding members of Indian intelligentsia founded the first national political organization of the Indian people

in 1885. These groups of Indian intelligentsias were backed up by the Indian bourgeoisie. Thus, the important political organization "Indian National Congress" was formed and the elites of the intelligentsia became its first leaders (Desai 1982: 196-199; Singh 2004: 81). The intelligentsia organized and led the all types of progressive movements in India. They studied the history of peasant movements and the movements of trade unions in other countries. Then they organized and led the peasants and workers of India. It should be mentioned here that the Indian national movement (in all its phases) was led by the intelligentsia though ideology, methodology and programme were different. During the liberal phase, the nationalist movement was led by liberal intellectuals like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, S. Banerjee and others. During its militant phase, the movement was guided by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose and others. Even the terrorist activities were initiated and led by educated middle-class youths. When nationalist movement turned into mass movement in 20th century, then its credit also went to these English educated Indian intelligentsia (Desai 1982: 197-198). The democratic liberalism and rationalism transformed the cultural pattern of individuals in India. But there were regional variations. The middle class emerged in Bengal, Bombay and Madras provinces at first during British period. There were also communal variations. The Hindu and Christian converts accepted new education and become the members of new middle class at first. Muslims were late in taking up to modern education and stood behind which was one of the chief sources of communal trouble in India. Similarly, among the Hindus, upper castes were the first group of English educated persons. As a result, lower castes failed to raise their status as middle-class. The non-Brahmin leaders realised that by virtue of their education Brahmins monopolized administrative services. So, they claimed reservation of admissions to schools and colleges and also for employment in the administrative services (Kuppuswamy1984: 362). After independence India has accepted reservation for some backward groups. The significant feature is that after more than a century since the emergence of the middle-class in India, middle-class is largely composed of administrative, professional and the clerical people. Finally, a large number of women have entered into the middle-class occupations such as teachers, nurses, telephone operators, sales assistants and others (ibid: 363-364).

236 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 14.10 Summary The working class, which is the product of capitalist relations of production, came into being with the industrial revolution and subsequent industrialisation in England in particular and Europe in general. In this relation of production, unlike other epochs, they did not own anything except the labour, which they sold for survival. At the other spectrum, there were capitalists who not only owned all the means of production but also appropriated all the surplus generated out of these relations of production. The working class at the conceptual level seems to be fairly simple, but if one tries to define it, the problem magnifies. The reason is that this is not a homogeneous entity. Rather it is a complex, contradictory and constantly changing entity. Another reason is that the concept of 'class-consciousness', is very slippery with regard to the working class. The consequence of this is that it is often proclaimed that either the working class is shrinking in size or everybody except a few at the top are working class. However, the fact is that working class is a distinct entity, with characteristics of its own. In India, the situation is much more complex because of several reasons like (a) the forced intrusion of British capital in India (b) simultaneous existence of multiple relations of production and (c) never ending identification of working mass with primordial features such as caste, religion and other ethnic divisions of the society. The coming into being and consolidation of the working class in the world as well as in India, has been affected by local and international events of both economic and political nature. So, for carrying out further studies on the working class, these peculiarities have to be taken into account. 14.11 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) What do you mean by bourgeoisie? (ii) Who are proletariats? (iii) Define middle-class. (iv) What do you mean by 'new middle-class? (v) Discuss the roll of 'jobbers' in Indian industries.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 237 (vi) Write a note on exploitation of Indian workers. (vii) Describe the Weber's view on class. (viii) Describe the role of intelligentsia in Indian society. (ix) 'Indian workers are primarily agriculturist' – explain the view. G-B (10 Marks each) (x) Write a note on the emergence of bourgeoisie and proletariat. (xi) How do Marx and Engels explain bourgeoisie, proletariat, and middle class? (xii) Write a note on Indian bourgeoisie. (xiii) Write a note on Indian middle class. (xiv) Write a note on Indian working class. 14.12 Suggested Readings (i) Basu, Deepika. (1993) : The working Class in Bengal; Formative Years, Calcutta : K. P. Bagchi and Company. (ii) Bell, Daniel. (1974): The Coming of Post-Industrial Society : A Venture in Social Forecasting, New Delhi : Arnold Heineman Publishers. (iii)

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NSOU ● GE-SO-11 239 Unit - 15 ❑ Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes Structure 15.1 Objectives 15.2 Introduction 15.3 Scheduled Castes: Concept 15.4 Problems of Scheduled Castes 15.5 Abolition of Untouchability and Welfare Measures 15.6 Scheduled Tribes 15.6.1 Tribes : Definition 15.6.2 Tribes : Racial Connotation 15.6.3 Distribution of Tribes 15.6.4 Tribe : Broad Characteristics 15.6.5 Tribe and Caste 15.6.6 Scheduled Tribe 15.7 Problems of Scheduled Tribes 15.8 Welfare Programme 15.9 Approaches 15.10 Other Backward Classes 15.10.1 Other Backward Classes : Basic Concept 15.10.2 Kaka Kalelkar Commission 15.10.3 Mandal Commission 15.11 Summary 15.12 Questions 15.13 Suggested Readings 239

240 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 15.1 Objectives ● To understand the concepts of Scheduled Castes, Tribes and Other Backward Classes ● To examine their present day condition and status in society ● To learn about the reservation policies initiated by Government of India ● To assess the implications and challenges faced by them in everyday life 15.2 Introduction Scheduled castes are those castes/races in the country that suffer from extreme social, educational and economic backwardness arising out of age-old practice of untouchability and certain others on account of lack of infrastructure facilities and geographical isolation, and who need special consideration for safeguarding their interests and for their accelerated socio-economic development. These communities were notified as Scheduled Castes as per provisions contained in Clause 1 of Article 341 of the Constitution. 15.3 Scheduled Castes : Concept The term 'Scheduled Castes' denotes some castes who belong to the lowest rung in caste ladder. Caste group is the most basic form of Hindu social structure. It is closely connected with the Hindu Philosophy. Caste membership is acquired through birth. One's food habit, dress, occupation, education, family, marriage, morals, manners – everything is regulated by caste rules. Notion of purity and pollution pervades over all aspects of Hindu social life including food, dress, occupation and so on. Each caste occupies a particular rank in the hierarchy of castes. Some castes are superior in terms of their occupations and life-style while others are inferior. There are untouchable castes at the bottom in caste ladder. These groups are associated with unclean occupations such as scavenging and so on and are believed be to polluting. Further, the Hindu society is divided on the basis of 'varna' category. Varna group is divided into four on the basis of division of labour in society. These untouchables are outside of four fold varna group as their occupations are so lower
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 241 graded that they are not included in varna group. They are also untouchable by higher caste-Hindus. Mahatma Gandhi, through his weekly 'The Harijan' and his 'Harijan Sevak Sangh' and other organisations has tried to designate these untouchable groups as 'Harijan', meaning 'Children of God'. Men belonging to these groups are often described as 'Dalit'. Some scholars have mentioned that these untouchables are also known as 'broken men' or 'outcastes.' Untouchables are described by the British as 'depressed classes.' Census of 1931 has classified them as exterior caste.' The term 'Scheduled Caste' is coined by the Simon Commission in 1935. This commission has prescribed thirteen tests for including a caste in the scheduled list. Some main tests are : ● Whether the caste pollutes high castes by its touch or proximity. ● Whether the caste is denied entry into temples. ● Whether the caste is denied use of public places like schools, wells etc. ● Whether the caste is prohibited priestly service by the Brahmins. ● Whether the caste is refused by the servicing castes like barbers, washermen, tailors etc. ● Whether the caste is refused by the caste Hindus to accept water. ● Whether a well-educated member of the caste gets equal treatment from the high caste-men in ordinary social intercourse. The constitution of the Republic of India has accepted the term 'Scheduled Castes' to denote these people of the lowest strata in society. Some important castes are included in Scheduled Caste list. Some of these Scheduled Castes are – Chuhra, Bhangi, Chamar, Dom, Pasi, Raigar, Mochi, Rajbanshi, Shanan, Thiyan, Paraiyan, Dosadh, Kori and so on. (Sharma 2008: 185 – 187; Dube 2001: 49; Ghurye 2000: 306 – 307; Ahuja 2006 : 364–365). 'Dharma' and 'Karma' – these two notions are invariably associated with the Hindu-Caste organisation. Here 'dharma' refers to duty. It is obligatory for each caste, higher or lower, to perform his hereditary occupation and to follow the norms associated with his caste in relation to other castes. The theory of 'Karma' makes a man to believe that his caste position (that is birth in higher or lower strata) depends on his good or bad deeds of his previous birth. Therefore, he cannot go against his

242 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 ascribed position. He can improve his future by performing his 'dharma' i.e. his assigned duties under the caste system. These two notions have made the caste system stagnant. The Brahmans, who belong to top rank in caste-hierarchy, are the rule-makers and prescribers of norms. The prescribed rules and norms for untouchable groups are generally very cruel and humiliating. They have to live on the outskirts of towns and villages (Sharma 2008 : 185–186). Restrictions are imposed on lowest groups of people since the later Vedic age though types of restrictions are varied from time to time and place to place. In some parts of South India, untouchables are not allowed to enter cities when their shadows become long as their shadows may pollute the upper caste people. They are forbidden to use public wells, to enter temples. There are separate drinking water wells for them in the villages. Some exterior castes like Adi-Dravidas are not allowed to wear ornaments of gold and silver; not allowed to cover upper portion of the bodies; not allowed to use umbrellas and sandals; not allowed to have their hair cropped; not allowed to use other than earthen ware vessels in their houses. Further, women are not allowed to use flowers or saffron paste. Violation of these prohibition has led to violent reaction of upper castes against Harijan. Huts, granaries, property of the Harijans have been destroyed. Further the position of depressed castes is not same in all states. In Madhya Pradesh, the same caste has different social rights and disabilities in different districts. Discrimination against depressed castes becomes strong when depressed castes are numerically small. When they are numerically strong then they face comparatively less restrictions. (Ahuja 2006 : 366–367; Srinivas 1998 : 15–16). 15.4 Problems of Scheduled Castes For centuries scheduled castes have been suffering from various social, religious, economic, political and other disabilities. They are socially deprived in many ways: (i) In caste hierarchy scheduled castes have occupied lowest status. They are considered as 'low' and untouchable. Probably two reasons have made them untouchable. First, they are engaged in lowest kinds of occupations such as scavenging, leather work, removal of the carrion etc. Second, they are beef-eater which is a crime to caste-Hindus. Hence, their touch is considered to be polluting for the caste-Hindus. (ii) From the ancient times, people of exterior castes are forbidden from education. Sanskrit education is denied to them. Public schools and other
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 243 educational institutions were closed for them for a long time. Even today majority of them are not literate. (iii) For a long time, the untouchable castes are not allowed to use public places such as temples, hostels, hotels, schools, hospitals, lecture halls and so on. They are denied to avail civic facilities like village wells and ponds. They are forced to live on outskirts of the towns and villages. In South India, restrictions are imposed on building pattern of houses, types of dress and patterns of their ornament (Rao 2003: 640). Harijans have suffered religiously - (i) they are forbidden to listen or chant the Vedic mantras which are considered to be purer. They are permitted to use the Upanishadic mantras (ii) The Brahmins refuse to perform their priestly services in favour of Harijans. Harijans are not allowed to enter temples in many places (ibid: 605). Harijans are economically exploited by the caste Hindus - (i) For a long time they are the low-paid workers and some of them continue to suffer as bonded labourers (ii) For centuries Harijans have no right of property ownership. It means they are not allowed to have land and business of their own. Recently, Harijans have got property rights. But propertied people are less among them. Majority of them are land-less labourer. (iii) Harijans have limited choice of occupation. Traditionally are they forced to engage in inferior occupations such as curing hides, removing the human wastes, sweeping, scavenging, oil grinding, tanning, shoe-making, leather-works, carrying the dead animals and so on (ibid). Harijans have political disabilities too. In traditional India, they are prohibited to hold public posts. Normally they do not participate in any political matters in traditional India. During the British period they have acquired voting rights for the first time. After independence they have got equal political opportunities with caste Hindus (ibid). 15.5 Abolition of Untouchability and Welfare Measures For centuries, people of depressed classes have faced a great problem i.e. untouchability. Though religious leaders of different ages have tried to remove untouchability still it continues to date. In ancient times Mahavira and Lord Buddha preached against untouchability. Later many thinkers as well as social reformers like Kabirdas, Sant Tukaram, Ramdas, Tulsidas, Guru Nanak, Sri Chaitanya have advocated for removal of caste distinctions and untouchability. During the British rule in the 19th and 20th centuries, a number of social reformers like Iswara Chandra Vidya
244 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Sagar, Jyoti Rao Phule, political leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, B.R. Ambedkar, religious leaders like Swami Vivekananda have played important roles for the removal of untouchability. Finally, after independence, the Constitution of India has abolished untouchability. Article 17 of the Constitution of India
states that "

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untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law" (Rao 2003: 606). Further the constitution of

India has prescribed protection and safeguards for the Scheduled Castes along with Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes. Some important measures in favour of people of backward sections are: religious institutions of public character are open to all sections of people; all Indian citizens including Scheduled Castes can move freely; removal of restrictions on access to shops, restaurants, wells, tanks, roads etc.; Scheduled Castes are given rights of property, rights of admission to educational institutions. The constitution has also permitted the state to make 15 percent reservation for Scheduled Castes in services and educational institutions; to set-up separate departments and advisory councils to promote their welfare and safeguard their interests; to arrange special representation in the Lok Sabha and the VidhanSabhas. Special attention has been given in the Five- year plans for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes. Some centrally sponsored schemes are launched for the welfare of the people of backward sections. These are : (i) coaching and training for various competitive examinations in order to improve the representation of them in various services; (ii) post-matric scholarship for providing financial assistance for higher education; (iii) construction of hostels for providing residential facilities to Schedule Caste boys and girls studying in schools, colleges and universities; (iv) financial assistance to reputed social science research institutions for research in development and problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes; (v) providing text books to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes, students of medical and engineering courses; and (vi) scholarships and passage grants for higher education in abroad (Ahuja 2006 : 369-371). During the sixth Five-year plan (1980 – 1985), a comprehensive three-pronged strategy has been evolved for the development of the Scheduled Castes. This is a combination of three scheme : (i) Special Component Plans (SCPs) of the central ministries and state governments; (ii) Special Central Assistance (SCA) for Scheduled Castes of the states and (iii) Scheduled Caste Development Corporations (SCDCs) in the states (ibid: 373).
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 245 Untouchability is so deep-rooted in Indian society that it is still continuing. Several studies have revealed that scheduled caste students are segregated from the caste Hindus. They have separate benches in class rooms, separate rooms in hostels (Ahuja 2006 : 368). Further the reports of the National Commission on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes show that the number of crimes against scheduled castes have increased in every year. Women are the victims of rape by upper caste men. Men are exploited by upper castes by usurping their lands, giving them low wages, using them as bonded labour and so on. Governments (both Central and States) have taken several measures to protect the people of weaker sections such as helping the scheduled castes in getting possession of lands belonging to them or allotted to them; the police have been instructed to take quick action for the cases against scheduled castes; Special Scheduled Caste cells have been set-up for the welfare of scheduled castes and so on (Ahuja 2009 : 170-171). Article 46 of the constitution of India has provided special care for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. But several studies have revealed that there is a well-recognised hierarchy among the scheduled castes based on degrees of defilement and pollution. They are aware of their separate identity, and at the same time they are conscious regarding their common status of scheduled castes. They have elites within their ranks. These elites are educated, economically better-off and become the members of the parliament, state assemblies, panchayets. They are aware of the welfare measures taken by the governments and enjoy those facilities. These elite groups are not the victims of ill-treatment and atrocities by the upper castes. Several states in India like Bihar, Maharashtra have experienced caste-riots. Scholars have opined that these caste contradictions are due to inherent class contradictions in the caste system (Sharma 2008 : 190-192). 15.6 Scheduled Tribes 15.6.1 Tribes : Definition Tribes are very important social category in Indian society. But the term 'tribe' is not defined in the constitution of India. In fact, no satisfactory definition is found anywhere. A number of groups are still in primitive stage in social development and are referred as primitives, adivasis, aboriginals, jungle people, original inhabitants of India and so on. The term 'tribe' is used by the colonial administrators and is
246 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 accepted by all which denotes early settlers of our country. They are also identified as Asura, Rakhasa, Non-Aryans and so on. Dictionary defines 'Tribe is a group of people in primitive stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding them as having a common ancestor. "Tribes are a simple homogeneous group with their distinctive cultural traits. They do not belong to the Varna or Caste model. Indian constitution has mentioned some groups of people as 'Weaker Section' because in various ways those people are unable to compete with stronger sections of the Indians. Some of these groups of 'weaker section' are tribes (Rao 2004 : 342 – 343); Manna et al 2018: 57 – 65; Rao 2003 : 616). 15.6.2 Tribes : Racial Connotation Some anthropologists have opined that six major racial elements are found in Indian – population. These are

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Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid, Mediterranean, Western Brachycephals, and Nordic. The first three are the older

residents in India and are confined to small pockets. Kadar, Irula, Paniyan of South-India, Onge and Andamanese of Andaman Islands belong to the Negrito characteristics. Some people of Negrito traits are found in western coast of India. Perhaps they have come with the Arab traders. Majority of the tribes in middle of Indian belong to the group of Proto-Australoid. They are described by the Indo-Aryans as Anas, Dasa, Dasyee and Nishad – all are derogatory terms. Tribes in the Himalayan region and north-east of India are of Mongoloid stock. Mongoloid features are also found in the non-tribal population of the eastern states of Assam, West-Bengal, Manipur and Tripura. Other three races have arrived later. The Nordics (Indo-Aryans) make profound impact in Indian society. They are 'racists' in the sense that they regard themselves superior. Though Indian society has become diverse with the assimilation of different ethnic culture, some earlier inhabitants of India refuse to be absorbed in the main stream and have chosen to move to inaccessible forests and hills. Their isolation continues for centuries (Dube 2001 : 2–7). 15.6.3 Distribution of Tribes The tribes of India are spread all over the country. From the point of view of geographical distribution of tribes, India is divided into four major zones – namely, the Himalayan Region, Middle India, Western India and Southern India. Details are given below.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 247 Name of the Zones Name of the States Name of the major tribes 1. The Himalayan Region Jammu and Kashmir, Bhot, Gujjar, Gaddi, Himachal Pradesh, Tharus, Mizo, Garo, Terai of Uttar Pradesh, Khasi, Nagas, Assam, Meghalaya, Mao, Tripuri Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura 2. Middle India Region West Bengal, Bihar, Santhal, Munda, Oraon, Orissa Ho, Khand, Gond 3. Western India Region Rajasthan, Madhya Meena, Garasia, Bhil, Pradesh, Gujrat, Dubla, Dhodia, Koli, Maharashtra Mahadeo, Kokna 4. Southern India Region Andhra Pradesh, Gond, Koya, Konda, Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Dova, Naikada, Marati, Kerala, Andaman and Irula, Toda, Pulayan, Nicobar Islands Paniyan [Source : Ahuja 1999 : 275] 15.6.4 Tribe : Broad Characteristics Pramanick (1994 : 55) and Ahuja (1999 : 276) have mentioned some broad characteristics of the tribal communities : (i) they live in relatively isolated areas; (ii) they maintain a separate identity in terms of their cultural ethos such as language, institutions, beliefs, customs etc.; (iii) they have their own social as well as political organization; (iv) their social organization is non-hierarchic and undifferentiated; (v) they have a low-level of techno-economic development; and (vi) they practice endogamy. Further they are economically backward. The main source of their livelihood are agriculture and gathering of forest products. They do not cultivate for profit. Main
248 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 portion of their earnings are spent in social or religious ceremonies. They are exploited by forest contractors and money lenders. 15.6.5 Tribe and Caste Several scholars have discussed the relationship between tribe and caste on the basis of different criteria. On the basis of religion, it is said that tribes are basically animists. The main characteristics of animism is the belief in spirit. All objects, animate or inanimate, are inhabited by spirits. Men can be possessed or influenced by spirits and magic. On the other hand, the religion of caste group is Hinduism. The main characteristics of Hinduism are – dharma, bhakti, karma and rebirth. But the Hindus especially the lower caste Hindus believe in spirits, ghosts, magic and so on. Similarly tribal groups also worship Hindu gods and goddesses, celebrate Hindu festivals and fairs, practice Hindu customs and rituals. Though tribes live in isolated regions, some of them live in plains. Caste Hindus live in plains but some lower caste people live in fringe areas and are isolated from higher caste Hindus. It is said that the tribes are less civilized than caste groups. But economic backwardness is also found among caste groups. Thus, the difference between tribe and caste is not very clear (Ahuja 1999: 277–278). Bose (1996 : 180) has opined that "Culture, ... Flows from a politically and economically dominant group to a subservient one. In social matters too, the former occupies a higher status in contrast to the latter. "For ages, tribes remain undisturbed in their own habitations i.e, in forests and hills. Situation has changed during British rule. Tribes are uprooted from their natural habitations and have become the part of one political union. Tribe-Caste interaction and acculturation have changed their original culture. A good number of tribes have accepted Hindu religion. But all of them are not fully incorporated in the Hindu social structure. Some tribes like Bhils and Bhumij have been incorporated in the Hindu social order and have accepted caste structure. Some tribal groups like Santhals, Oraon, Munda, Gonds have adopted the ethos, symbols and world-view of Hindus but not included themselves in the caste frame. Some tribes (tribes of Arunachal Pradesh) are indifferent towards Hindu social order while some tribes (Miozo, Naga) have negative views regarding Hindu social structure. Bulk of the tribal population have connected themselves with Hindus, a sizeable portion of them have accepted Christianity, a few of them are attached with Buddhism and Muslims (Ahuja 1999 : 275).
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 249 15.6.6 Scheduled Tribe In post-independent India, Government has taken certain special measures for the upliftment of the people of backward section. Obviously, tribes are included in this back ward section. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar,

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the chairman of the drafting committee of the Indian constitution,

prefers the term of 'Scheduled Tribe'. Though the constitution has not defined tribe, but the Article 366(25) of the Constitution says that "Scheduled Tribes are the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities which the Indian President may specify by public notification under Article 342 (1)" (Rao 2004 : 373). According to Pramanick (1994 : 68) 'backwardness' is the only criteria in scheduling the names of some tribes in the constitution. He has mentioned three reasons to support his view: (a) the words "parts of or groups within tribes" indicate that not only the tribes are regarded as units, even parts of them may be included or excluded from the schedule; (b) some communities who are traditionally regarded as tribe may be left out of the schedule; and (c) some communities who are not regarded as tribe may be included in the schedule. For example, the Muslim inhabitants of Lackshadweep and all the native inhabitants of the Kinnaur of Himachal Pradesh have been classified as scheduled tribes. 15.7 Problems of Scheduled Tribes Rao (2004 : 356–358) has specified some problems which are faced by the tribes or scheduled tribes of India. One of these problems is geographic isolation. They live in unapproachable physical areas such as hills, deep valleys, dense forests. Developmental projects undertaken by the Government remain out of reach of the tribes. Tribes have their own culture which is an obstacle of assimilation into mainstream. Some tribes such as Konds in Orissa maintain their traditional language, dress and housing pattern even after adopting Hinduism (Pramanick 1994 : 75). Botia women (in Uttar Pradesh) had high status and enjoyed considerable freedom in their own tribal culture. But after adoption of Hinduism (or process of sanskritization) their (Botia women) position has declined (Rao 2004 : 357). Tribes are economically poorest people in India. Majority of them belong to below poverty line. They are exploited by the Zamindars, landlords, money lenders forest contractors,

 police and so on. They are emotionally attached to the forests. But their natural rights of use of forest have been restricted. A sizeable portion of land of tribal areas has been legally transferred to non-tribals. Tribal literacy rate is very low. Due to illiteracy and ignorance, tribals are not aware of modern concept of health and sanitation. They are often reluctant to avail modern medicine. As a result, good number of them become victims of diseases. In short tribals have faced several problems such as indebtedness, bondage, unemployment, poverty, exploitation and so on. Several uprisings of the tribals have also taken place in different periods of time. Scholars have classified these movements into four groups – (i) Reactionary, (ii) conservative, (iii) revisionary, (iv) Revolutionary. After independence tribal movements may be classified into three groups. These are : (a) movements due to exploitation of outsiders; (b) movements due to economic deprivation; (c) movements due to separatist tendencies. Scholars believe, among these movements, separatist movements in North-East India (e.g. Naga revolution from 1948 to 1972) are a threat in national integration (Ahuja 1999 : 282–284; Pramanick 1994 : 80). 15.8 Welfare Programme It has been found that scheduled tribes are backward in every sphere of life. After independence several measures are taken to improve the condition of the scheduled tribes. 'Panchseel' or five principles are initiated in the interests of the tribes. These are – (i) encouraging tribal's own traditional arts and culture, (ii) respecting tribals rights on land and forest, (iii) avoiding over administering of the tribal areas, (iv) training for tribal leaders for administrative and developmental activities and (v) Judging results on the basis of the quality of human character evolved not on the basis of money spent (Ahuja 1999 : 289). The constitution of India prescribes protection and safeguards for scheduled tribes along with other weaker sections. The main safeguards are abolition of untouchability, protection from social injustice and various forms of exploitation, removal of restrictions on access to public like roads, public tanks etc., giving them rights to enter religious places, rights to take admission in educational institutions and so on. Further, constitution has assured their representation in the parliament and state legislative assembly; set up separate departments and advisory councils; promoted their welfare

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 251 and safeguard their interests; permitted reservation for them in service. A commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been set up for the interests of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This commission has been renamed as National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This commission consists of a chairman and eleven members (Ahuja 2009 : 158) State governments have separate departments to look after the welfare measures for tribes. Welfare for tribes has been given special attention in five-year plans. In five-years plans, some special programme has been taken for the tribes. The aim of those programmes are : (1) to increase the productivity in agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, cottage and small-scale industries, (2) rehabilitation of the bonded labour, (3) education and training programmes and special developmental programmes for women and children (Ahuja 1999: 289). Some important schemes for scheduled tribes are : (a) coaching and training for various competitive examinations like IAS, IPS etc. ; (b) launching vocational training and education facilities in tribal areas; (c) Construction of hotels for providing residential facilities to scheduled tribe girls who are studying in schools, colleges and universities; (d) financial assistance to reputed social science research institutions for research in development and problems of scheduled tribes; (e) providing post-matric scholarship to scheduled tribe students for their higher education; (f) providing text-books to scheduled tribe students of medical or engineering courses; (g) scholarships and passage grants for higher education abroad and so on. Further 7.5% seats are reserved for scheduled tribes in service and educational institutions. This limit has been exceeded in some states in North-Eastern region. In government services, some facilities are given to scheduled tribes such as relaxation of age limit, relaxation in standards of suitability, relaxation of the qualification and experience in promotion along with special quotas (ibid : 159–160) 15.9 Approaches Scholars have used several approaches to study tribal communities. The anthropological approach believes the ultimate integration of the tribes into the mainstream of Indian life as a desirable goal but it insists on ease and caution in planning for the tribes though, Verrier Elwin has advocated keeping tribals in isolation. Social service approach and religious approach indicate the views of social

252 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 workers and missionaries respectively. These approaches try to bring integration by a spirit of service and religious faith respectively. The political approach refers to the emergence of various complicating factors such as new consciousness and solidarity among the tribes spread of national political parties and their cumulative impact on the behaviour pattern of the tribes etc. After independence, tribal problems have become politicized and political elites have become very active regarding tribal problems (Pramanick 1994 : 74; Ahuja 1999 : 282–292). Referring on MLA's public speech Pramanick (1994 : 63) has opined that the government of India has provided various welfare programmes and the financial assistance schemes to the tribes. These programmes have created a vested interest among the tribes to retain their tribal identity. 15.10 Other Backward Classes 15.10.1 Other Backward Classes : Basic Concept The term 'Backward Classes' is used to refer the weaker sections of society, especially scheduled castes (SCs), scheduled tribes (STs) and other backward classes (OBCs). There are some groups of people who are above the untouchables and below the twice-born castes ritually, socially, culturally and economically. Some social thinkers believe that these groups belong to the 'Shudra' varna in four-fold varna division in society. They are also a lower rung in caste hierarchy and comprises the 'Other Backward Classes'. They form the intermediate agricultural and functionary (clean) castes. In India, the higher castes have traditionally large landholdings, the lower castes work as land-less agricultural labourers. In terms of actual cultivation, the intermediate castes are the principal agricultural castes. They cultivate land as tenants. On the basis of caste rank and economic status, this group of people are highly differentiated. The well-off OBCs are known as 'upper backward and the poor OBCs are known as 'lower or most backward'. They need special protection and help for their upliftment. Generally, it is perceived that the backward classes are backward in terms of education, government services, professions, business and so on but there is no all-India index of backwardness. Both central government and state government can appoint commissions to investigate the conditions of the backward classes (Sharma 2008 : 212-213).

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 253 15.10.2 Kaka Kalelkar Commission The President of India has appointed a Backward Classes Commission in January, 1953, under the chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar. The commission has taken two years to complete its work and has prepared a list of 2,399 castes and communities. The commission has determined the backwardness on the basis of (i) low social position in the caste hierarchy, (ii) lack of educational progress, (iii) inadequate representation in government service and (iv)

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inadequate representation in the field of trade, commerce and industry.

It is to be noted here the caste is taken as the key factor in making a list of backward classes. But the government of India has rejected the recommendation of the commission and the state governments are asked to conduct surveys to identify the members of the backward classes and then to provide them with reasonable facilities. The states are further advised to determine backward classes by using economic scale rather than going by castes. A number of states have classified backward groups on the basis of occupation and income. In 1966, the government of Andhra Pradesh has decided to use 'family' for classifying backward groups. As states are left free to decide their own backward groups, several castes and groups in different states even belonging to economically and socially upper strata have become active for their inclusion in the category of backward classes. Dominant castes are also able to strike a political bargain for being classified as backward classes (ibid: 215-218). 15.10.3 Mandal Commission In 1977, the Government of India have appointed a Backward Classes Commission under the chairmanship of B. P. Mandal, a Member of Parliament. The terms of reference of the Mandal Commission are : ● to determine the criteria for backward classes; ● to recommend steps to be taken for the advancement of the backward classes; ● to examine the desirability or

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making provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of backward

classes; and ● to present a report and recommendations of their investigation of backwardness. The Mandal Commission has used three indicators for identifying a specific caste or class as backward. These indicators are social, educational and economic.
254 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 The commission has observed that in India, the caste group is also an indicator of class. According to the Mandal Commission report, the backward classes, including the non-Hindu castes and excluding the SCs and STs, constitute 52 percent of India's population. The commission has recommended reservation of 27 percent of jobs and educational facilities for these 52 percent people. The commission has suggested following steps – "(1) The reservation of 27 per cent jobs be made

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for those who do not qualify on the basis of merit. (2) The reservation of 27 per cent be made for promotions at all levels. (3) The reserved quota, if unfilled, should be carried forward for a period

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years and de-reserved thereafter. (4) Age relaxation for the backward classes should be the same as it is in the case of

the SCs and the STs. (5)

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A roster system should be prepared for the backward classes on the pattern of the one done for the SCs and the STs (6) The principle of reservation should be made applicable to all the public sector undertakings, banks, private undertakings, receiving grants

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the central and state governments, universities and colleges, (7) The government should make the necessary legal provisions for implementing these recommendations." (

Sharma 2008; 221-222). In August, 1990, the Government of India have declared the acceptance of the recommendation of Mandal Commission and have invited country-wide agitation and criticism. Being afraid of unemployed, several numbers of youths have protested the government's decision through self-immolations. Several scholars have criticized the recommendations of Mandal Commission. The main arguments against the report of Mandal Commission are given below : (i) 'Backwardness' is defined on the basis of caste only. Special provisions should be made for all poor irrespective of castes. Mandal commission has ignored class. (ii) The criteria used by Mandal Commission to determine social, educational and economic backwardness are whimsical and politically motivated, not scientific. (iii) Commission has used the data of 1931 census as the listing of castes in census are discontinued after 1931. But industrialization, urbanization, educational growth, land reform (after independence) has altered the social, educational and economic status of various castes. (iv) Further, there is also a methodological fallacy. Sampling procedure used for field survey was defective. (Sharma 2008 : 221-222; Ahuja 2009 : 173-180).

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 255 The report of Mandal Commission has been referred to the Supreme Court. The court has accepted the 27 percent reservation, though it has given certain directions for change in this policy. Some of these directions are – creamy layer of backward classes should be excluded, armed forces and sensitive higher civilian posts should not be included in reservation, reservation is made only for original appointments not for promotion, reservation quota should not go beyond 50 percent and so on. Further the Supreme Court has given same additional directions to the central government regarding inclusion and exclusion of the backward classes. Finally, it is to be stated that the reservation policy is abused in many ways. As a result, social scientists are divided regarding the question of reservation. Reservation policy has led to the emergence of the elite class among the backward sections of people. These elites are more concerned regarding the benefits of reservation (Ahuja 2009 : 182-183). 15.11 Summary India is the hub of tribal population in the world. The tribal world in India remained comparatively placid till the advent of the British. The colonial system bore harshly on the tribal communities who were formed out of isolation and relatively intact social mechanism of control, they revolted more often than not and much more brutally than to the rest of the community counting Indian peasants. Colonial rule differs basically from pre-modern forms of administration in one important respect. Before the attainment of Independence, the great debate about the future of Indian tribes centred round the dual concepts of isolation and assimilation. The British government broadly followed the model of indirect rule in its colonies, dependencies and protectorates. Since Independence several plans and programmes have been implemented for overall upliftment of the Scheduled Tribes but the achievements so far made by them in the field of economy are not encouraging. In order to understand their present wretched condition, we should look back to the historical past and follow it up in a sequential order. After Independence, the Government realized that the backwardness of the tribal group would have an adverse effect on Indian society. Developmental strategies were therefore formulated intending to bring the tribals closer to the mainstream of society, so that they eventually became a part of it. In addition, a closer look into the geographical and cultural matrix of West Bengal shows that the colonial parameters

256 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 for categorization and definition of tribes based on characteristics for instance primitive traits, distinct culture, backwardness, geographical isolation, etc., have in most cases either served their purposes or have become redundant with the passage of time. During the pre-independence period tribals subsiding in forests, hills and even on the plains were secluded from the mainstream of national life. Their status was unsatisfactory due to the policy of ignorance and exploitation followed by the administration. The architects of the Indian constitution gave special emphasis regarding the tribal problems, keeping in view the nation's commitment to equality and social justice as cherished in the Preamble of the Constitution. The Indian Government took various extensive welfare schemes for securing the comforts of the tribal people and their socio-economic upliftment. Embedded in the Indian Constitution are several articles that have the object of promoting and safeguarding the comforts of the Scheduled Tribes. As the problems of the tribals are unique, it is essential that they are actively involved in both the planning and implementation of welfare programmes which the government undertakes for their benefit. Both total and sectoral evaluation should be undertaken in this respect. We must always remember that though the Government policies and programmes have helped to advance the standard of living of STs, one third of the tribals are still backward. Tribal communities linger to be vulnerable till date, not only for the reason that they are poor, and illiterate in comparison to the general inhabitants but also because they are to convey and deal with the residual society. A little step in bureaucratic programmes can do little to offset the pauperisation, exploitation and crumbling of tribal communities. As a result of this, the tribals continue to suffer from a number of problems and issues which require immediate attention of the Government. Violation of civil and political rights, land estrangement, dislodgment and false hearing for repossessing minor forest produce are only some of these. As India's flourishing economy necessitates more resources, the indigenous peoples are continued to be seized, ensuing a robust sagacity of isolation amid them and further exacerbating social skirmishes. The laws meant at shielding indigenous peoples from frequent inadequacies but their execution is far-flung from pleasing. India has an elongated past of indigenous people fighting their rights.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 257 15.12 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) What is meant by 'Harijan'? (ii) Define tribes. (iii) What do you mean by Scheduled Tribes? (iv) Who are other backward classes? (v) What do you mean by scheduled caste? (vi) Mention the geographical location of tribes in India. (vii) Discuss the relationship between tribe and caste. (viii) Write a note on reservation policy regarding other backward classes. (ix) What do you know about Kaka Kalelkar Commission? G-B (10 Marks each) (x) Mention the characteristic of tribes. (xi) Mention some approaches for the study of tribal community. (xii) Mention the problems of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and other backward classes. (xiii) Mention the welfare measures

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in favour of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and other backward classes. (

xiv) Write a note on Mandal Commission. 15.13 Suggested Readings (i)

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Ahuja, Ram. (1999) : Society in India : Concepts, Theories and Recent Trends, Jaipur : Rawat Publications. (ii) Ahuja, Ram. (2006) :

Indian Social System, Jaipur : Rawat Publication. (iii) Ahuja, Ram. (2009) : Social Problems in India, Jaipur : Rawat Publication. (iv) Bose, Nirmal Kumar. (1996) : The Structure of Hindu Society, Hyderabad : Orient Longman
258 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (v) Dube, S. C. (2001) : Indian Society, New Delhi : National Book Trust,

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India. (vi) Ghurye, G.S. (2000) : Caste and Race in India, Bombay : Popular Prakashan. (

vii) Manna, Samita. (2018) : "Bias-Free Motherhood from Male-Female Differences : A study on Few Tribes in Paschim Midnapore, West Bengal". (viii) Samita Manna, Soumyajit Patra and Sujit Roy (eds) Sociology of Motherhood and Beyond : Roots and Rejuvenaation, Kolkata : Levant Books. PP 57-66 (ix) Pramanick Swapan. (1994) : Sociology of G.S. Ghurey, Jaipur : Rawat Publication. (x) Sharma, K. L. (2008) : Indian Social Structure and Change, Jaipur : Rawat Publication. (xi) Srinivas, M. N. (1998) : Social Change in Modern India. Hyderabad (A.P.) : Orient Longman. (xii) Rao, C. N. Shankar (2003) : Sociology : Primary Principles, New Delhi : S. Chand and Company Ltd. (xiii) Rao, C. N. Shankar (2004) : Sociology of Indian Society, New Delhi : S. Chand and Company Ltd.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 259 Unit - 16 ❑ Religious Minorities and Ethnic Groups : Issues and Problems Structure 16.1 Objectives 16.2 Introduction 16.3 Definition 16.4 Features 16.5 Ethnic group 16.6 Muslims 16.7 Christians in India 16.8 Anglo – Indians 16.9 Sikhism 16.10 Buddhism 16.11 Jainism 16.12 Other Religions and Ethnic Groups 16.13 Welfare measures for the Minorities 16.14 Summary 16.15 Questions 16.16 Suggested Readings 16.1 Objectives ● Understand the difference between religious minority community and ethnicity. ● Define a majority group (dominant group). 259

260 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 ● Define a minority group (subordinate group) ● To understand other Religions and Ethnic Groups ● To learn about the welfare measures for the Minorities 16.2 Introduction India—like many other countries in the world—is home to a diverse set of religious and ethnic groups. On most days and in most places, members of these diverse groups enjoy their basic civil and political rights, and freedom to pursue their beliefs. But unfortunately, that is not always the case. Tensions do exist, and for varying reasons, sometimes these tensions devolve into violence. Tensions may be aggravated by struggles over access to limited resources, particularly land, or by political rivalries. Sometimes localized incidents—street fights, local crime—can escalate. 16.3 Definition The people of a given society are categorized on the basis of several factors such as race, religion, language, cultural traits and so on. Indian society is also composed of different types of people. Different types of racial, religious, ethnic groups have brought diversity in India. Religion is a system of beliefs, practices, rituals and symbols which entails some forms of worship or obedience to divine power. Religion unites those people who share common beliefs, rituals and practices. There are eleven world religions. Eight major religions are found in India – Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, Zaroastrianism and Jewism. Among these, Hinduism is the dominant religion in India and all other religions are considered as minority groups in India. Tribes have close affinity with the Hindus. A sizeable portion of the tribes have converted into Christianity and some of them have accepted Islam. Majority of them preferred to retain their tribal identity. Each major religion is further divided into several sub-groups. The census of 1961 has listed seven religious categories in India. These are – Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs and other religions. The census of 2011 has followed the same pattern. Details are given below :

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 261 Sl. No. Religion Population in percentage 1. Hinduism 79.80 2. Islam 14.23 3. Christianity 2.30 4. Sikhism 1.72 5. Buddhism 0.70 6. Jainism 0.37 7. Zaroastrianism Not counted 8. Religion not specified 0.9 The above list shows that the majority of Indian population belong to the Hinduism. Five religions (Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism, Jainism) together constitute only 19.32% people. In other words, a group of people numerically large is dominating while others are small in number. The constitution of India has used the term minority in articles – 29 to 30 and 350A – 350B. Article 30 has mentioned two categories of minority – religious and linguistic. But no definition is given in constitution. Dictionary meaning of the word is smaller number or a part. Generally, it means a small group of people who differ from majority others in terms of race, religion, language and so on. (Abraham 2009: 135; Dube 2001 : 1; Sharma 2008 : 13; www.wikipedia.org 16.07.19, 13: 30; www.google.com, 26.07.19; 11:30). The term 'minority group' is widely used in social world. But the term is frequently used in a non-literal way-which indicates group's subordinate position within society. They may be numerically majority or minority. In the United States, blacks are minority in numerically and sociologically. But in South Africa, blacks are majority but they are being suffered by discrimination and unequal treatment by a small group of whites. Minority groups have a feeling of inequality because of their distinct physical or cultural characteristics. In India, the government have distinguished between 'minorities' and 'weaker sections.' Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains and Zoroastrians are religious minorities. Dalits, tribes, backward classes are weaker sections. Traditional rules of caste system maintain distance between castes. For centuries lower castes are forced to do menial and unclean works. They are

262 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 denied civil rights. Thus, minority groups experience disadvantage. Their culture, language, religious beliefs are separate from dominant groups. The National Commission for Minorities Act 1992 describes minorities as a community notified by Central Government. – Section 2(7). In October 1993, the government of India have declared Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Parsis (Zoroastrian) as minorities. Jains have appealed to the Supreme Court for similar recognition. But Supreme Court has not issued any direction. In a later ruling, another bench of Supreme Court has declared Jains as minority (Bal Vidya case 2006) (Abraham 2009: 136; Giddens 2001, 248; www.google.com, 26.07.19; 11:30). 16.4 Features Scholars have mentioned some features of minority groups. These are : ● Minority groups are suffering from discrimination and they remain subordinate; ● The physical and cultural traits of minority groups keep them apart from dominant groups; ● They share a collective identity and common burden; ● Generally, they are eager to marry within their own group; ● They share social rules which are imposed on them (www.wikipedia.org, 16.07.19, 13 : 30). 16.5 Ethnic Group Ethnic group is also a category of people who are identified with a distinct cultural tradition, Ethnic groups are distinguished from each other on the basis of religion, language, history of ancestry (real or imagined). In India, Punjabis, Muslims, Christians and Andamanese tribes are separate groups. Simultaneously they are also religious group, lingual group, caste, tribe and so on. But ethnicity emphasises on culture. Here is to be mentioned that Muslims are the largest religious minority in India (Abraham 2009 : 135, Giddens 2001 : 246; www.wikipedia.org. 16.07.19, 13 : 30). The term ethnocentrism is related with ethnicity. Ethnocentrism

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 263 is a tendency of man to consider his culture superior to all others. The man judges other cultures in terms of his own culture or values. Ethnocentrism is found everywhere though it varies in degree of intensity. A man becomes ethnocentric because of his habits. A man has specific way of living in respect of food consumption, forms of recreation, pattern of worship, economic activities and so on. The habits of others may seem odd, inferior or undesirable to him. An individual becomes ethnocentric because of lack of understanding of situation of others. A custom which is common to the Indians may be seen with curiosity, surprise and even horror in United States. Similarly, rituals of one regions group may be curious to another religious group. One may become ethnocentric due to his personal inadequacies. He may use ethnocentrism as a defence against his inadequacies. Some individuals may have feelings of either superiority or inferiority which make them ethnocentric and less tolerant of others. Ethnocentrism has some effects – (i) it promotes loyalty to the group though sometimes it becomes blind loyalty to the members of the group; (ii) it makes greater conformity within the group; (iii) it causes resistance to change and strengthens the status quo; (iv) it resists assimilation of groups or individuals and (v) also resists to develop inter-cultural relationships (Chitambar 2002 : 101-102). 16.6 Muslims In the second decade of the eighth century, Muslims came to India and settled here. They practised their religion freely. A large number of local Hindu population were converted to Islam. The Islamic message of equality attracted a large number of Hindus of oppressed castes. The earliest Muslim preachers were close to Hindu masses. They maintained simple style of living and had attitude of tolerance towards Hindus. The converts of new faith could not give up their ancestral beliefs and practices, their occupational hierarchy and their caste consciousness (Dube 2001: 21 – 22; Momin 1977 : 242 – 243). After the death of Prophet Muhammad, the Muslims are divided into two groups – Shias and Sunnis. The cause of this division is a dispute of searching spiritual head of Islam. There are no racial or occupational factors as found in Hindu caste-based society. Caste system among Hindus is characterized by certain basic features such as endogamy, occupational specialization,

264 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 status hierarchy, belief in purity and pollution and so on. Indian Muslims are also affected by the features of caste. They have some distinctive characteristics. They bear the traits of both Islamic great tradition and the local or little traditions of the places where they live in. The concept of society in Islam is based on equality. The Quran does not allow any kind of inequality in its social order. But Hindu social structure is based on caste system which is absolutely a hierarchical division of society. As most of the Indian Muslims are converted, they have accepted caste in their new social structure. In most parts of India, the Muslim society is characterized on the basis of some occupation specific endogamous jatis. Beside the division of Shia and Sunni, Indian Muslims are also divided into three other groups – Ashraf, Azlab and Arzal. Saiyeds, Sheikhs, Pathans and a few others belong to the Ashraf group who are regarded as noble-born. Momins (weavers), Mansooris (cotton cleaners), Ibrahims (barbers) etc. belong to the Azlab groups who are considered as low-born. Arzals are regarded the lowest of all. They are like untouchables among Hindus. They are not allowed to enter mosques, to use public graveyards. All these groups prefer endogamy (Ahuja 2006 : 147; Momin: 1977 : 243; Chatterjee 2019 : 139). According to Mandelbaum (1989 : 550), the Muslims of the bottom level are engaged in scavenging, sweeping and other menial tasks. They are generally Hindu converts who maintain their former occupations, poverty and disabilities. They are treated same way as their untouchable Hindu counterparts. The socio-political scenario of India had been changed after a century of immigration of Arab traders. India came under Muslim rule for centuries. Some Muslim rulers like Akbar tried to build bridges between the various communities of India while some of them did discriminatory practices by imposing additional taxes like Jijyah (poll tax), Kharaj (tax on land and property) and so on. Above all, considerable interchanges were found between the Hindus and the Muslims in the fields of art, architecture, philosophy and religion. In India, Islam got some distinctive characteristics that might be called 'Indo-Islamic' tradition. The impression of syncretism was present in the style of art, music, literature, and architecture. (Dube 2001 : 25; Momin 1977 : 244). But this view was criticized by some sociologists. According to these sociologists, Hindu and Islam – both cultures are opposite to each other and syncretism was not possible. Muslims were always eager to maintain their separate identities. They were primarily Muslims and then Indians. Thus, they were

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 265 'Muslim Indians' not Indian Muslims. India came under British rule in the middle of eighteenth century. Muslims lost their centuries–old political domination and became frustrated. The relationship between Hindus and Muslims came under strain when the British adopted the policy of 'divide and rule' after the 'first war of Independence' in 1857. As a result, India experienced a number of communal riots before and after independence (Ahuja 2009 : 122; Pramanick 1994 : 195-197). In 1947, India was divided into two parts - India and Pakistan. This situation was simultaneously a victory and defeat for the Muslims. The Muslims who remained in India were stigmatized as disloyal to this country. A psychological gap between the Muslims and the other communities was created in India. A feeling of insecurity among the Indian Muslims had emerged which was reflected in their political posture (Kothari 1995 : 234). Partition of the country has brought distrust between the Hindus and the Muslims. Communal violence has created a feeling of insecurity among the religious minorities and ethnic groups. Several events after independence have created tension among the minority groups. All religious minority groups are protected by the Constitution of India which provides justice, tolerance, equality and freedom. But sometimes religious fundamentalism becomes strong and brings intolerance among different religious groups and also causes communalism. Communalism is an ideology which states that society is divided into religious communities whose interests differ and are opposed to each other. The antagonism practised by the people of one community against the people of other community is called communalism. Communalism may be practised several ways such as political communalism, religious communalism, economic communalism (Ahuja 2009 : 119- 120). Oommen (cited in Ahuja 2009 : 121) has suggested six dimension of communalism namely assimilationist, welfarist, retreatist, retaliatory, separatist and secessionist. The last one is that communalism when a religious community wants a separate political identity on the basis of their religion and demands separate state. A militant section of muslims demand independent Kashmir, a section of Sikhs demand independent Khalistan. Separatist group wants separate territorial state within country to maintain their own cultural specifically. Retaliatory communalism attempts to harm, hurt or injure the members of other religious communities. These three categories of communalism create social as well as political problems. They are also harmful to national unity.
266 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Muslims have emerged as the largest religious minority group in India. Census 2011 shows that 172 million Muslims live in India. It is 14.23% of total Indian population. They are majority in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and Lakshadweep. There are some states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam and Kerala where Muslims live in high concentration (www.wikipedia. org 16.07.19 : 13 : 39). In the early 1980s, a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Gopal Singh was set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs to enquire into social and economic conditions of the Indian minorities. The committee found Muslims as backward. After two decades, again a committee was set up under the chairmanship of Justice Rajinder Sachar to enquire into the socio-economic conditions of Muslims. According to Sachar Committee Report Muslims in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam and West Bengal were the poorest sections of the population along with Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. Muslims lag behind the national average poverty ratio. They are identified as backward in terms of education, health, income, physical quality of life and low representation in public services. According to census of 2011, West Bengal has 27.01% Muslim population. It has high share of population in the district of Murshidabad (66.26%). Muslims of West Bengal are divided into two constitutional categories – General Muslims and OBC Muslims. OBC Muslims are categorized into two groups – 'Category – A' and 'Category – B'. 'Category – A' indicates 'More Backward' sections and 'Category – B' recommends those people who are relatively backward. As per the notification No. 6309 – BCW/MR – 84 / 10 dated on 24-09- 2010, total 116 groups of Muslim communities have been declared as OBCs. Among these groups 74 are declared as 'More Backward' (Chatterjee 2019: 134-136). 16.7 Christians in India Indian society is very old and has been enriched by different cultures and religions. Both Christianity and Islam have great impact on the texture of Indian society and are considered as organic parts of it not as alien elements. Christianity is the third largest religion in India. According to the census of 2011 2.3% people of India are Christians. They are majority in three states of north-east India namely Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya. There are a good number of Christians in Kerala and Goa. It is believed that St Thomas (A. D. 50) and St. Barthomomew (the same period) have brought Christianity in India. A sizeable number of people in

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 267 Kerala, Malabar, Kalyan (near Bombay), Punjab have accepted Christianity. In sixteenth century, with the arrival of Portuguese, Christianity has got an impetus of its success (Dube 2001 : 17-18; www.wikipedia.org. 16.07.19, 13 : 30). The Portuguese were very conscious regarding their position. To protect their nobility, they avoided inferior castes. They attempted to convert kings and upper caste Hindus. Goa had become a Christian settlement with many churches and clergymen. De Menzes, Archbishop of Goa, tried to remove Hindu influence on the early Christians of Malabar. But Roberto de Nobili, the Italian Jesuit, landed in Goa in 1605 lived like a Hindu ascetic. He dressed in saffron robes and maintained the rules of ritual purity in his food and social contacts. He communicated with the people of remote areas in regional dialects. He was a master in the language of Sanskrit and discussed with the Brahmins in that language. To facilitate the rapid spread of Christianity, Nobili was keen to convert from the top of Hindus. Further he avoided the Christians of lower caste origins. By the end of seventeenth century a good number of Christian people were found in India. Thus, India experienced with Christianity long before the arrival of the British. The later development of Christianity in India was found with the association of the Church with foreign powers – the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British and the French (ibid: 19 – 20). Srinivas (1998: 50) has mentioned that though India was known to European Christian missionaries long before the advent of the British in India, the entry of the European missionaries during the early period of the rule of the East India Company was not allowed. This was changed in 1813 when the British parliament permitted them to enter the country under a new system of licensing. As a result, the entire sub-continent became open to missionary activities without any hindrance. During British rule mass conversion to Christianity took place in several pockets in India. Major portions of the tribes of the north-eastern states of India converted to Christianity. A sizeable portion of tribes in Chotanagpur accepted Christianity. Christianity flourished in Kerala and TamilNadu. They were the saviours to the members of depressed castes (Dube 2001 : 20; Ahuja 2009 : 163; Sharma 2008 : 13). But the deep-rooted beliefs could not be eradicated merely through the act of conversions. New converts had to continue their jati-occupations for the maintenance of their livelihood. They had to keep contact with their neighbours. As a result, new converts were the victims of the Hindu caste rigidity. Even in late twentieth century
268 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 the Bishops of TamilNadu admitted in their annual meeting that "the Scheduled Caste Christians, even after conversion, continue to suffer from extreme social, educational and economic backwardness arising out of the traditional practice of untouchability." (Dube 2001 : 60). In South India, Christians from untouchable castes were segregated both in their settlements and in the Church. Their colonies were situated at distance from main settlement and no civic amenities were provided. Any procession (marriage or funeral) of low caste Christians was not allowed to pass through the main settlement. They had to receive holy sacraments during baptism, confirmation and marriage at last. High castes converts identified themselves as Brahman Christians or Nayar Christians. The sufferings of Scheduled Caste Christians continued. A sizeable portion of Indian Christians were socially discriminated. Nadars of TamilNadu were untouchable and suffered for centuries. European missionaries extended their humanitarian activities among these Nadars and the first Nadar conversions were made in the early 19th century. A good number of Nadars were converted into Christianity. As a defiled caste, Nadars suffered from severe social disabilities. They saw Christian missionaries as their protectors. With the help of missionaries Nadars were able to improve their economic condition. Gradually after a long struggle they were also able to improve their social condition (Kothari 1995: 101). Thus, converts have acquired higher socio-economic status than non- converts (Sharma 2002 : 178). Though missionaries were the protectors of exterior castes yet a distance emerged between the mainstream of Indian population and European missionaries. Perhaps the association of missionaries with European rulers caused that distance from the mainstream of Indian society (Dube 2001: 20). Further converts were also unable to mingle with mainstream. After independence, the government of India launched several measures for minorities and weaker sections. These were an impetus for the tribes including converts to retain their own ethnic identities (Sharma 2002: 178). 16.8 Anglo – Indians A new ethnic group namely Anglo-Indian has emerged out of the bond of Europeans and Indians. Anglo-Indians are racially mixed community, born out of the relationships between European fathers and Indian mothers. It is estimated that this community has taken shape with the Portuguese invasion in India i.e., from 1493

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 269 A.D. and followed by Dutch and English invasion in India. In the middle of nineteenth century, Anglo-Indians have been formed as a community of mixed blood; in other words, Anglo-Indians are Eurasians. They live in different parts of India and a good number of people belonging to this group live in Kolkata (Sen 2017: 160). The Anglo-Indian community always supported British during colonial period but the British considered them as indigenous people. When the leaders of this community realized that the British would not accept them as members of their own folk, then they started to demand for a home land. Migration was common among this group. After independence, mass exodus took place in different times and 1970s was that decade of last mass exodus from India to other countries specially Australia, Canada and United Kingdom (ibid : 159–160). Anglo-Indians have emerged as an ethnic minority in India during the last three decades of Indian freedom struggle against the British and the first three decades after independence. Sen (ibid) has mentioned them as a docile community. From the very beginning Anglo-Indians are willing to connect themselves with the British. India is a multi-cultural society. Anglo-Indians have been living with the other communities (majority or minority) in India for a long time, but they seem to be ignorant of cultural practices of their neighbours. There are lots of evidence which show that they follow British social and cultural life-style. They are not eager to follow non-Anglo-Indians cultural pattern. Further, throughout their existence in India, they are also indifferent towards Indian culture, history, politics and so on. They put little efforts to understand the religious and philosophical traditions of India. All these factors are again significant markers to maintain them marginal – ethnic identity. 16.9 Sikhism Sikhism has developed in North India as a distinct religion in fifteenth century. Sikhism has taken elements both from Hinduism and Islam. Guru Nanak (1469 – 1539), the preacher of Sikhism, advocates some disciplines for each individual to reach the final goal. Nanak has discarded the external practices and observances of traditional forms of religion. He strongly rejects fasting (Vrata), superstitions, idol worship and so on. According to census of 2011, 20.8 million Sikhs live in India. They are majority in the state of Punjab which is believed their spiritual home. There
270 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 are also significant number of Sikhs in neighbouring states of Chandigarh, Delhi and Hariyana. Sikhism is a synthesizing religion which emphasizes equalitarianism. But casteism is present is Sikhism. Lower-caste members who have adopted

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Sikhism are known as Mazhabis. They live in separate hamlets.

They are not addressed with the common honorific title 'Sardar'. But they can join in prayer in Gurudwaras (Sikh temple) and the Langar (serving of food to all in the temple precinct). Their touch is not considered polluting. But majority of them are still endogamous group. The Jat, the Kshatriya, the Brahman and the artisan castes practice endogamy and maintain their separate identity. Here is to be noted that girls of lower jatis may be accepted by the higher jatis but they are not eager to marry their own girls to the males of lower jatis. Perhaps gender imbalance is the main cause of such practice. (Dube 2001 : 17-32; Bhattacharyya 1989 : 17; www.wikipedia.org. 16.07.19: 13: 30). 16.10 Buddhism Buddhism was preached by Gautama Buddha during 6th – 5th century B.C. (Thapar 1996: 39). Buddha taught for 45 years through conversions, lectures and parables. His method of teaching was unique. Accompanied by his disciples he moved around cities and villages and preached his doctrines. He taught four noble truths. These truths are – (i) existence of sorrow; (ii) cause of sorrow; (iii) sorrow can be ceased (iv) there is way to attain bliss and desires. Further he advised five moral code of conduct – "(i) to abstain from killing; (ii) to abstain from stealing; (iii) to abstain from sensual misconduct; (iv) to abstain from lying and (v) to abstain from intoxication." He was against the institution of caste. He was frequently asked regarding the purity of castes and always replied that all castes were equally pure. Social distinctions were based on types of work in society but position could not be an indicator of purity or impurity. Buddha was in favour of the equality of all before the law and he showed greater liberty towards women than the Hindu tradition. He permitted women to become nuns. He preached his doctrine in simple language. It was economic. No money is required to be spent to be honest and virtual. Above all the personality of Buddha was also responsible for the spread of Buddhism. Buddhist Sanghas were helpful to spread Buddhism. In the early days of Buddhism, Buddhist

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 271 monks led a holy life. The Buddhist monasteries were the centres of education. Further Buddhism received royal patronage under Asoka, Kanishka, and Harsha. These kings played important role in the spread of Buddhism. As a result, not only in India, Buddhismbecame popular in countries outside India. These countries were Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Champa, China, Japan, Siam and some other states in central Asia. In India the people who were tired of the complicated rituals of Hinduism, welcomed Buddhism. Specially Vaishyas and the Sudras faced pride of the Brahmins. The practice of Hinduism became costly. People had to spend lots of money to perform several rituals in Hinduism. To perform this religion (Buddhism) no priest or any intermediary is required. Their division of Buddhism were based on doctrinal differences, not on the gradation of society. Here is to be noted that Buddhism was divided into two parts – Mahayana and Hinayana (Mahajan 2017 : 140-147; Dube 2001 : 32; Thapar 1996 25; www.wikipedia.org. 16.07.19: 13 : 30). In course of time Buddhism gradually declined in India though a large number of Buddhists live in other Asian countries. One important cause of the decline of Buddhism was the decline of Buddhist monasteries or Sanghas. Monks and nuns became corrupted and lost respect from common people. Buddhism also lost royal patronage. The Gupta rulers were the patrons of Brahminic Hinduism. The new Brahminism also incorporated the good points of Buddhism. During the time from eighth century to twelfth century Buddhism could not achieve royal patronage. Muslim invasion also began to take place. Buddhism further lost its foothold during Muslim period (Mahajan 2017 : 149-150). Buddhism flourished in India when the Hindu society had lost its former glory. But with the revival of Vedic Hinduism, spread of Islam and Christianity, Buddhism lost its hold in India and confined only to a few pockets. It was revived by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar was a member of Mahars of Maharashtra. The Mahars were untouchables due to their defiled works and faced severe discrimination. Ambedkar was highly educated. His education enabled him to talk in modern political terms and also won him the respect and administration of his caste. He fought against social discrimination through political channel. He found in 'Buddhism' ways which offered release from Hindu concepts and a high moral standard but had no political overtones. With his thousands of followers, he accepted Buddhism. They were popularly known as neo-Buddhist.
272 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Now-a-days around 8.5 million Buddhist live in India. A significant number of Buddhists live in Maharashtra. They are neo-Buddhist (Kothari : 37-48). 16.11 Jainism Another important religion in India is Jainism which is contemporary of Buddhism. Its followers are now numerically small. There are two main sects among Jains – Digamber and (Unclothed) and Shwetamber (white robed). Untouchability is not practised among them and inter-dining is allowed but they have a good number of endogamous jatis. The founder of Jainism is Rishabha who is succeeded by twenty-three 'Tirthankars' or Prophet of Jainism. Parsvanath is the twenty-third Tirthankara. He has criticized the Vedas, Vedic gods and castes. His main teachings are – truth, non-violence, non-stealing and non-accumulation. Mahavira is the last Tirthankara. He does not believe in the existence of God. He has advocated for right faith, right knowledge and right actions. Jainism puts stress on non-violence. At present Jains are mainly concentrated in Gujrat, Karnatak, Maharashtra and Rajasthan (Mahajan 2017 : 132-134; Dube 2001 : 32-33; www.wikipedia.org. 16.07.19 : 13 : 30). The preachers of both religions were prince. They had no connection with priestly families. Both the religions put stress on right conduct and right knowledge, not on religious ceremonies. They opposed castes, animal sacrifice and emphasized on 'Karma' i.e., the cumulative effect of one's actions in former life. They taught in the language of common people. People of lower strata in terms of castes attracted and adopted Buddhism and Jainism. Both of the religion opposed Brahmanical orthodoxy. In early stages Buddhism became popular among the emergent commercial classes. Jainism was also popular among them. Non-violence was the central focus of Buddhist and Jaina religions. Finally both religions found their earliest supporters amongst the republican tribes (Mahajan 2017: 151; Thapar 1996 : 25, 48). 16.12 Other Religions and Ethnic Groups There is another small community in India namely 'Parsi' who

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have played an important role in India's industrial development. They		

have arrived in western coast of India in eighth century from Persia. They have adopted the life style of the

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 273 mercantile communities for their religious rites. Hereditary priests marry among themselves. According to census 2001, Parsis comprises 0.006% population in India. They have high concentration near Mumbai. Jewish faith is also present in India. They are very small in number and have concentrated only in two settlements – Cochin (in Kerala) and Maharashtra. Cochin Jews are divided into two groups – white Jews and black Jews. Their relationship is like caste relationship among the Hindus. White Jews do not marry or dine with black Jews. They enjoy some – privileges. Another settlement of the Jews is in Maharashtra. These groups are known as 'Bene Israel' (Hebrew term) which means sons of Israel. For centuries in the Konkan villages, they are called 'Shanwar Telis' for oil-pressing is their main occupation. They are treated like Hindu Telis but they observe some Jewish dietary regulations and festivals. They have white and black divisions; prohibition on inter-marriage and inter-dinning. But all of them worship in same synagogues. Many of them have migrated to Bombay as jati-like restrictions are less there (Dube 2001 : 33-34; Kar 2009 : 153). 16.13 Welfare Measures for the Minorities For centuries India is a multi-religious country. After independence, the government of India have decided to protect the interests of minorities and recognize their rights to conserve their religions and cultures. Article 14 of the constitution of India ensures equality of all citizens of India. Article 15 says that, "

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The state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex

and place of birth or any of them." Further, Article 29 and 30 of the constitution of India protects the rights of minorities. The National Commission for Minorities has been set-up under the act in 1993. The main functions of the commission are : (i) to evaluate the progress of minorities; (ii) monitoring the usefulness of safeguards provided by "constitution and laws enacted by the Parliament and other states legislatures; (iii) to recommend for the implementation of safeguards provided by the constitution and laws; (iv) to look into the complaints of minorities regarding deprivation of rights and 274 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 safeguards and take up such matters to the appropriate authorities; (v) to conduct studies for the evaluation of the condition of the minorities; (vi) to suggest appropriate measures for the safe-guard of minorities; (vii) to prepare on any matter related to the minorities and so on. 16.14 Summary Independent India has accepted socialist ideology i.e. the view of common good for all. People of all categories such as religious, racial, lingual, ethnic groups are accepted in India with their usual specialities. Further Indian Constitution has made special provisions for weaker sections of the people namely scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other Backward Classes. Religious minorities also enjoy the right to their beliefs and practices in India. 16.15 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) What do you mean by minority group? (ii) Is there any similarity between Jainism and Buddhism? (iii) Write a note on Anglo-Indians as an ethnic minority group. (iv) What is communalism? (v) What do you know about Jews? (vi) Write a note on Parsis? (vii) Write a note on Indian Christians. (viii) Write a note on Buddhists as a religious minority group. (ix) What do you know about Jains as a religious minority group? G-B (10 Marks each) (x) Mention the features of minority group. (xi) Write a note on Sikhs as a religious minority group.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 275 (xii) Differentiate between religious minority group and Ethnic minority group? (xiii) How does untouchability enter into minority groups? (xiv) Write a note on largest religious minority group in India. (xv) Mention the welfare measures for minority groups. 16.16 Suggested Readings (i) Abraham, Francis. (2009) : Contemporary Sociology : An Introduction to Concepts and Theories, New Delhi: Oxford University Press. (ii) Ahuja, Ram. (2006) : Indian Social System, Jaipur : Rawat Publication. (iii) Ahuja, Ram. (2009) : Social Problems in India, Jaipur : Rawat Publication. (iv) Chatterjee, Rajib (2019) : "Reservation Among the Muslims of West Bengal : Some Observation", Anthropos India, January – June, Vol 5 No.1, PP133- 147. (v) Chitambar, J. B (2002) : Introductory Rural Sociology, New Delhi : New Age International (P) Limited Publishers. (vi) Dube, S. C. (2001) : Indian Society, New Delhi : National Book Trust, India. (vii) Giddens, Anthony. (2001) : Sociology, UK : Polity. (viii) Hardgrave, Robert L. (1995): "Political Participation and Primordial Solidarity : The Nadars of Tamil Nadu" in Rajni Kothari(ed.) Castein Indian Politics, Hyderabad : Orient Longman. PP 96-120 (ix) Mahajan, V. D. (2017) : Ancient India, New Delhi : S. Chand and Co. Ltd. (x) Mandelbaum, David G. (1989) : Society in India, Bombay : Popular Prakashan. (xi) Momin, A. R. (1977) : "The Indo-Islamic Tradition", Sociological Bulletin, September, Vol 26 No 2, PP 242-257 (xii) Oommen, T. K. (1989) : The Hindustan Times, August 8, Delhi (xiii) Ray, Niharranjan (1989): "The Cocept of Sahaj in Guru Nanak's Theology and its Antecedents" in N. N. Bhattacharyy (ed.) Medieval Bhakti Movements

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Unit - 17 ❑ Social Mobility Structure 17.1 Objectives 17.2 Introduction 17.3 Social Mobility: Meaning and Definition 17.4 Social Mobility and Social Types 17.5 Features and Types of Social Mobility 17.5.1 Horizontal Mobility, Vertical Mobility and Lateral Mobility 17.5.2 Inter-generational Mobility and Intra-generational Mobility 17.5.3 Causes of Vertical Mobility 17.5.4 Structural Mobility and Circulation Mobility 17.5.5 Sponsored Mobility and Contest Mobility 17.6 Obstacles and Effects of Social Mobility 17.7 Studies on Social Mobility 17.8 Social Mobility and Women 17.9 Caste Mobility 17.10 Summary 17.11 Questions 17.12 Suggested Readings 17.1 Objectives ● Assess how different factors facilitate social mobility ● To understand social mobility and social types ● To understand the features and types of social mobility ● To understand the obstacles and Effects of Social Mobility ● To make a review on the studies on Social Mobility 279
280 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 ● To understand the impact of social Mobility on Women ● To understand the idea of caste mobility 17.2 Introduction Mobility stands for shift, change and movement. The change may be of a place or from one position to another. Further, change is value free i.e. it cannot be said that change is for good or bad. When we prefix 'social' along with mobility it would imply that people or individual occupying a social position, move to another position or status. In the social ladder this movement may be upward or downward or it may be inter-generational or intra-generational. In short, social mobility stands for change in the position of an individual or a group of individuals from one status to another. 17.3 Social Mobility : Meaning and Definition The study of mobility is an indispensable part of the study of social stratification. Social stratification indicates the inequalities between men in terms of property, power and prestige. In other words, society is divided into different strata on the basis of property, power and prestige. People of upper strata enjoy much honour in society. Mobility tells us the movement of people from one stratum to another. Thus, social mobility is the upward or downward movement of a person or a group of persons from one social position to another. As a result, an individual or a group may gain or lose wealth, power and prestige. For example, a poor man may become rich, a peon may become officer, a petty business man may become business tycoon and so on (Tumin 2003 : 132; Rao 2004 : 233; Abraham 2009 : 132). Thus, social mobility indicates a change in socio-economic position. A person's class status is determined originally by the class status of his parents. If that person gets different amount of education from that of his parents or moves into a different occupational group, or maintains a different style of life then he will be socially mobile. Mobility may occur collectively by a group of persons. Several sociologists, anthropologists have mentioned that some backward sections of people (castes and tribes) acquire mobility by imitating the customs, rituals and symbols of higher castes. This process is popularly known as 'sanskritization' which is an upward cultural mobility by a group of persons. (Bhattacharyya 2014 : 317). Further, mobility may take place without changing one's status or prestige. It is a movement within same level. In

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 281 short, social mobility is a movement of a man or a group of men within same level of social strata or different levels of social strata (Kar 2009 : 144). 17.4 Social Mobility and Social Types Based on the ease or difficulty of upward movement, society is divided into two parts – open society and closed society. There are some societies where the chance of mobility is very little, status is hereditary i.e., ascribed on the basis of birth. These types of societies are closed societies. For example, feudal societies are rigidly divided into three estates – peasants, clergy and aristocracy. In the Hindu caste system, caste membership is hereditary and in caste-based society, it is virtually impossible for a man to succeed by his own efforts. Here, in closed system, one's position is inherited and permanent. Closed systems are organized to perpetuate privilege and inequality. Structural barriers are created by customs or law, enforced by coercion to ensure the access to the higher classes or castes. In India, educational system in caste-based society, is segregated along caste lines which prohibits lower- level children from general education. Their (lower-level children) skills are curbed which in turn perpetuates their disadvantageous position. This barrier is legitimized by prevailing socio-cultural ideas and beliefs. Theories of genetic inferiority claim the existence of biological differences among the people. Members of certain groups acquire certain qualities at birth. Aristocracies usually claim the right to rule on the basis of a combination of biological (acquired by birth) and social (acquired through training) disparities. In medieval estate system, rulers sometimes declare divine support for their power. All these ideologies support the continuation of stable patterns of inequality. Closed systems are generally found in stable agricultural societies and tend to be threatened by the process of industrialization (Abraham 2009 : 132; Rothman 2011 : 222 – 223). In contrast, class-based society permits movement of people from one strata to another strata easily. This type of society is called open society. It is ideally admitted that in completely open society, there is no formal or ideological barriers in social mobility. On the basis of his or her own ability and efforts one can change his or her position in society. In other words, there is no necessary link between the class level occupied by parent and the ultimate class position of child. In all types of industrial societies, more openness is found than agricultural societies. Urbanization, industrialization, information technology increase opportunities for social mobility. In the early stages of industrialization, the most profound transformation is the shift from agriculture to manufacturing. Rural people are able to move to urban areas.
282 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Many property less rural farm workers have got a chance to improve their economic as well as social conditions by joining in relatively better-paid factories. Industrial systems tend towards openness. Formal education is an important factor for achieving occupational success (Rothman 2011 : 223). Sociologists are interested to study open societies. High moral and political values are attached to open societies. Majority of the western societies are open societies where the opportunity to succeed depends on one's talent. It is also a mark of good society. A society is deemed to be fair when achievement is based on merit, not on advantage of one's origin, skin-colour, religion, sex or any other such characteristics. All western societies officially approve equality of opportunity for all. But it does not mean the equality of situation or outcome. The equality of situation refers to the condition in which everyone receives equal amounts of the good things of life, irrespective of their talent, fitness and performance. It is possible that equal opportunity may lead to in equal situation in the same society at the same time. Natural talent and ability may cause inequality of situation or outcome even by receiving equal opportunity. Equal situation can be achieved by altering the reward structure through socialist ideology "

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from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

In modern welfare states, inequality is reduced by securing funds through taxation which are redistributed to the poor people (Tumin 2003 : 133). It is to be noted here that no society is absolutely closed system or open system. Compared to the estate and caste system, class system is relatively open. Social mobility is desirable, approved and possible easily in class-based society. Mobility is neither approved, nor desirable and also impossible for a person in caste- based society. If it occurs (though occurs rarely) then the unit of mobility is whole caste or sub-caste. But in case of open society, an individual or a family is able to acquire new status (Rothman 2011 : 223; Tumin 2003 : 47; Kar 2009 : 144). Sociologists are interested to study social mobility because the amount of mobility in a society is connected to a number of other social features such as the degree of political freedom; the level of economic productivity; the amount of violence in social relations; the rates of various kinds of criminal acts; the changes in the role of the school system; the quality of the networks of personal associations including friendship, community groups and even marriage patterns and so on. All these features in a society vary in accordance with the amount of mobility in the social system. Further some groups experience rapid social mobility while others do not. As a result, former groups are more beneficial than latter groups. And due to relative deprivation latter groups may show high rates of personality disorder

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 283 and other pathologies. This situation may bring serious and costly disorders in society. Because of these possible influences of mobility, sociologists are keen to study social mobility (Tumin 2003 : 133-134). 17.5 Features and Types of Social Mobility 17.5.1 Horizontal Mobility, Vertical Mobility and Lateral Mobility The movement can occur in any of three following directions – from lower to higher, from higher to lower or between two positions at the same level. The first two types of movement are known as vertical mobility while the third one is horizontal mobility. The opposite of vertical mobility is horizontal mobility. When a person moves from one occupation to another occupation but his status or income or prestige remains same then it is a horizontal mobility. In other words, it is an occupational change within same strata. For example, a person quits his job as an electrician and becomes a machinist. Both of these occupations need same amount of training, pay-level about the same, carry the same amount of prestige in connectivity. This type of occupational movement does not lead to the change in status or income. It is a horizontal mobility within a stratum. Sometimes individual or a group of persons move from one social group to another social group in some rank then it is a horizontal mobility. For example, movement of an individual or a group from the Baptist to the Methodist religion group; from citizenship of one country to another country; from one family to another family (through marriage) in same income level or same social strata or from one family to another family (through divorce or remarriage) in same economic level or social prestige and so on. In contrast first two types of movement are the example of vertical social mobility. But in first case, it is upward vertical social mobility and in second case, it is downward vertical social mobility. Lateral mobility as mentioned by Giddens (2009: 463) is often combined with vertical mobility. Lateral mobility is a geographical movement between towns or regions. For example, a person who is working in a company in Kolkata, is transferred to its another branch of Mumbai. Lateral mobility takes place here. If he is transferred on promotion to a higher position in the Mumbai branch then lateral mobility is associated with upward vertical mobility (Bhattacharyya 2014: 317). 17.5.2 Inter-generational Mobility and Intra-generational Mobility Vertical mobility is further divided into inter-generational vertical mobility and

284 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 intra-generational vertical mobility. Intergenerational vertical mobility involves a comparison between a parent's class position and his child's class position. If child's class position is higher than his parent's class position then it is inter-generational upward vertical mobility. For example, if the son of a blacksmith becomes an engineer. If child's class position is lower than his parent's class position then it is an intergenerational downward vertical mobility. If the son of a professional man involves in any lower graded job, then it will be intergenerational downward vertical mobility. In contrast, intra-generational vertical mobility refers to an individual's occupational changes or position in the course of his own life time. An individual may change his status through his own talent. If his status increases then it will be intra-generational upward vertical mobility. If a man fails to maintain his career which he has begun first and loses his position then it will be intra-generational downward vertical mobility (Abraham 2009 : 133; Tumin 2003 : 41). Bhattacharyya (2014 : 318) has opined that industrial societies are marked with rapid changes in occupational structure. Intergenerational upward movement is more prevalent than intergenerational downward movement in both developed and developing societies. But the studies of social mobility in the United States, Great Britain and other western countries have revealed that social mobility has occurred in limited range. Though there are fairly high levels of intergenerational mobility, majority of them are short-range mobility. It means mobility is between occupational positions quite close to one another. 'Long-range' mobility is not common. Downward mobility is less common than upward mobility, but it occurs both intra generationally and inter generationally. Like upward mobility downward mobility is also a widespread phenomenon. This type of mobility is often associated with psychological problems and anxieties when individuals become unable to sustain their previous life-style. When middle- aged persons lose their jobs, then it is different for them to find jobs in some level. They obtain work at lower level of income than before. During economic crisis (inflation), a general downturn in the average real earnings of people in middle level white collar jobs may occur. In such condition, people may not support the life-style aspirations they once did. Sometimes companies trim their work-forces. Further downward mobility is common in divorced or separated women with children (Giddens 2009 : 466). Rothman (2011 : 224) has opined that intergenerational mobility focuses on formal education and divides the process into three stages. The first stage indicates a connection between social class origins and educational attainments. There are some factors which influence educational success. The second stage is a link

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 285 between social origins, educational attainments and first job in labour market. The third stage indicates social origins in educational qualification, first job and their involvement in later job. This process is known as 'status attainment model' which has begun in 1960s and establishes the impact of parental class location on their children's accomplishment. First group researchers regarding this issue have established empirical relationships among the basic variables in the process. Next generation researchers have added cognitive (ability measures) and social psychological factors (mobility aspirations) to the process. Contemporary researchers have focussed on the institution arrangements that influence progress through educational systems and careers. Rothman (ibid) has admitted that 'status attainment model' is an oversimplification but, he opines, it is a useful starting point for understanding intergenerational continuity and mobility. Rothman (ibid) has presented 'status attainment model' through a diagram. "The model shows that in the first stage of the process, parental social class origins directly influence children's aspirations, academic ability, and level of educational attainment. Academic ability and aspirations have an independent impact on educational progress. In the second stage, social origins and years of education are directly correlated with the level of the first job. The third stage focuses on the second generation's later jobs, which are correlated with social origins, levels of education, and the level of the earlier job." 17.5.3 Causes of Vertical Mobility It has been found that vertical mobility is present in all types of societies in different forms. Kar (2009 : 145) has opined that vertical mobility is an inherent trait of all stratified societies. Different types of causes are associated with vertical mobility. Some of these causes are explained here. (i) There are some societies where upper positions are filled for a definite period. After the expiry of the term, new persons are recruited in those posts. If those posts are open to people of all strata, then there is a chance of vertical mobility. (ii) People belonging to different social strata carry specific criteria. Some people of lower strata have a tendency to emulate the ways of life of those people who belong to upper strata. After certain period of time, the people of lower strata can manage the membership of upper strata. One of such examples is the process of sanskritization in the Hindu caste-based society. (iii) Low birth rate among people of upper strata is generally found. In such a
286 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 situation, a 'social vacuum' may be created. People of lower strata can get chance for upward movement because vacant posts are filled with those people. (iv) Sometimes people are unable to perform the functions of their social stratum. This may be caused by the dissimilarity between parents and children in terms of capacity. As a result, down-ward movement is found. Sometimes persons undergo profound changes in course of their lives owing to physical or mental sickness, some accidents and so on. Such people may lose their ability to perform according to their family status. (v) Another cause of vertical mobility is continuous change in the environment especially socio-cultural environment. Changes in socio-cultural environment may create favourable conditions for some people or can create unfavourable conditions for some people. A popular singer may be rejected. Changes in attitude or awareness or public tastes may flourish certain types of businesses or may cause opposite result. In such cases one businessman may get opportunity for upward movement or one may skid from his position. So, it can be said that dynamism in socio-cultural life is sufficient to produce vertical mobility within any group (Kar 2009 : 145). 17.5.4 Structural Mobility and Circulation Mobility Another point of view has divided social mobility into two parts – structural mobility and circulation mobility. These types of mobility arise due to changes in the division of labour and labour supply. These changes bring new opportunities to some people who did not have such opportunities before. Structural mobility is referred as forced mobility. This type of mobility has occurred by forcefully. The structural changes in the economic system of production and distribution. Shifts in the economic system may close opportunities for some and may open it to others. Structural mobility also takes place when changes occur in the number of people in particular categories; for example, the changed ratio of blue to white collar jobs. Such changes may come from a number of sources including economic expansion and growth that make manual labour obsolete; differences in birth rates between levels of workers (for example the professional group may not have enough children to replace itself); changes in death rates and rates of immigration affect the number of people seeking jobs and available for jobs. Further expansion of high-skilled technical based upper middle-class occupations create new opportunities for upward mobility for the better-educated children of lower middle-class or working-class people. This type of mobility is also referred to as structural mobility. On the other

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 287 hand, circulation mobility is also referred as true mobility. Some kinds of opportunities are opened to some kinds of people who did not have such opportunities before, in a particular social system. Major factors here are laws which reduce discrimination against members of racial, religious and sex groups. New educational opportunities and skills, new attitudes make some people able to take such jobs which were barred to their ancestors because of prejudice or lack of opportunities. Circulation mobility encourages people to acquire the higher position and to enjoy the higher prestige and pay (Tumin 2003 : 138 – 139; Rothman 2011 : 226). 17.5.5 Sponsored Mobility and Contest Mobility Social mobility is further divided into sponsored mobility and contested mobility. Sponsored mobility is a form of mobility where the positions of elites are filled by the persons of established elites' groups or their agents. In other words, these elite posts are not open to all. Individual ability or efforts are not considered here. One's family background is more vital here. In contrast, in the case of contest mobility, elite positions are open to all and can be achieved by individual's ability and efforts. In case of sponsored mobility, schools and higher educational institutions play important role in selection process. Certain types of schools have limited seats with high fees. Sons and daughters of former pupils are preferred for admission. Students of these schools get greater opportunities when they try to get job. Along with their qualifications three other factors are very crucial her. These factors are – (I) Schools or other higher educational institutions perhaps have a common background among those who are selected and those who select; (II) family background and (III) personal contacts. In case of contest mobility, these three factors do not work. (Bhattacharyya 2014 : 319-320). Sponsored mobility and contest mobility – both systems are found in western industrial societies. According to Bhattacharyya (ibid: 320) these two forms of mobility are very important because they indicate the restrictions in mobility in open societies. Professional and high administrative posts are filled by the people of upper strata. Majority of the businessman in Britain and in the United States are the sons of businessmen. Thus, levels of mobility are low compared to ideals of opportunity. In all societies, people remain close to the level of their own families. Some people experience vertical mobility but this is due to the result of changes in the occupational structure, not because of high level of equality of opportunity. It has also been found that intra-generational mobility is generally achieved through promotion at work and this increasingly depends on educational qualifications. Intergenerational mobility is mainly achieved through educational qualification. Thus, education becomes the main route of upward social Mobility.

288 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Further, marriage may become a route of mobility. People may achieve upward mobility through marrying a partner from a higher social class. It is mainly women who achieve upward vertical mobility through marriage. But this type of marriages is not common. Generally, people like to marry within their own social class. A small number of people find sports or other entertainment as a route for upward mobility (ibid: 321). 17.6 Obstacles and Effects of Social Mobility A number of obstacles to social mobility in industrial societies are also present. Some of these obstacles are discussed below – (i) The socio-economic system is shaped like a pyramid; i.e., the number of posts at top rank is very few. So only a few persons can hold the posts of higher rank. (ii) Studies have revealed that class membership of an individual is established through heredity. Persons who belong to the top ranks, have come from professional or affluent family backgrounds. Wealthy people hardly begin with nothing. (iii) Studies in America has also revealed that white-collar parents are more affluent than blue-collar parents. They can provide their children with better education and other needs. As a result, children of upper strata are able to achieve similar level jobs. On the other hand lower graded manual workers are less able to facilitate the mobility of their children (Rothman 2011 : 226). This situation is true in case of many countries including India. Children coming from lower strata face a number of obstacles to success in education. It means that they do not do as well as their ability. The chances of upward mobility are thus restricted. Wealthy people can provide their children best available education and this leads them towards good jobs. (iv) Upper middle-class elite jobs are another obstacle. Judges and top civil servants are recruited almost from people who have gone through very expensive schooling and then elite Universities. Children of poor families cannot afford such schooling and are denied the chance of getting these elite jobs. (v) Women face much obstacle in achieving upward mobility because of several factors which make hindrance to compete in the labour market on equal terms with men (Bhattacharyya 2014 : 321). Effects of Social Mobility – Finally it is to be stated that vertical mobility heightens the consciousness of the differences. There are some people who belong to the lower strata have a strong desire to improve their condition while the people belonging to the upper strata, bear a feeling of sinking the social hierarchy. Intensive vertical mobility facilitates an increase of the intellectual progress, open mindedness, versatility of behaviour and so on. On the other hand, it also facilitates an increase

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 289 in mental strain, superficially, scepticism and so on. Vertical mobility may diminish intimacy in relationships, may increase social isolation, loneliness and restlessness, spirit of individualism antagonism and so on (Bhattacharyya 2014 : 324). 17.7 Studies on Social Mobility The amount of vertical mobility in a society is an indicator of the degree of its 'open-ness' where talented individuals of lower strata can move up the socio- economic ladder. In this respect social mobility is an important political issue, especially for those states who have accepted liberal vision of equality of opportunity for all citizens. A good number of studies on social mobility have been carried on in several countries. An important study of America has revealed that majority of the subjects of upward mobility are men. So, lack of gender balance is found in this field. Upward occupational mobility is common though downward movement is also present both within the careers of individuals and intergenerational. Downward mobility is much less common than upward mobility. It has been found that white- collar and professional jobs have grown much more rapidly than blue-collar jobs. The sons of blue-collar workers have got a chance to move into white-collar positions. Education and training are two important factors for upward social mobility in industrial societies. As a whole, upward social mobility maintains social stability as well as integration (Giddens 2009 : 463-464). Another study of social mobility has analysed data from nine industrialized societies – Britain, France, West Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Japan, Denmark, Italy, and the United States. This study has focused on mobility of men from blue- collar to white-collar jobs. It has been found that total vertical mobility across the blue-collar or white-collar line is thirty percent in the United States while in other countries, it varies between twenty-seven and thirty one percent. The conclusion of this study is that all the industrialized countries experience similar changes in respect of the expansion of white-collar jobs. Some social scientists argue regarding this study that significant differences between the countries may come out if more attention is given to downward social mobility (ibid : 465). Most studies of social mobility have focussed on objective dimensions of mobility – that is how much mobility exists in which directions and for what parts of the population. Another study has focussed on different approach – that is subjective feelings about changing class positions. Both the positive and negative views have come out from this study. Some people have opined that social mobility produces a sense of disequilibrium and isolation while others have expressed an

290 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 optimistic view regarding graded process of adaption to a new class (ibid : 465-466). A number of studies regarding social mobility have also been done in Britain. Britain is not an open society. Studies have shown that majority of the mobility are upward mobility and are concentrated at the middle levels of the class structure. Mobility among men is higher than that of women. Further, mobility among men is higher than the mobility in the previous period. The main reason for this is that the occupational system had become more egalitarian. It has also been found from the studies that two- thirds of the sons of unskilled or semi-skilled manual workers keep themselves in manual occupations. Despite higher rates of absolute social mobility, relative chances for mobility among different segments of the population in Britain remain highly unequal. The occupational structure in Britain has been changed. Number of blue- collar occupations are decreased. Later studies (studies in 1980s) have shown that about a third of people in higher white-collar or professional jobs are from blue- collar backgrounds. Both intragenerational and intergenerational mobility are found here. Again, the sale is still biased against women (Giddens 2009 : 466-467). 17.8 Social Mobility and Women Sociologists are also interested to study mobility among women. In higher education, females are out-numbering males. Naturally some questions may arise here – Are long-standing gender-inequalities in society relaxed? Are the chances of mobility of women guided by the family and social background? It has been found that both for male and female family background and class of origin play important role. Individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds have a greater tendency to remain there. As a whole, women are experiencing much greater opportunity than their counterparts in the previous generation. Middle class women, as like as their male peers, go to universities and absorb in jobs after graduation. This trend indicates greater equality and heightens women's self-esteem. Though women's chances of entering good careers are improving some obstacles are still prevalent. Male managers and employers have a belief that 'women are not really interested in careers'. After marriage, women may leave work force. Domestic works and child- care activities are great obstacles in women's career. Men are less interested to share domestic works and child-care (ibid : 468-469). Tumin (2003: 146) has mentioned that in majority of the family's wives earn less than their husbands. Three factors play important role here – (a) direct discrimination against women, (b) lack of equal opportunity for married women, (c) norms force women to take account of non-income aspects of their jobs. These

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 291 inferences are supported by the fact that the earnings of single women are greater than married women. But number of children have no influence on the occupational status of women. There is a popular belief that the physical attractiveness of women helps them to secure high standing job. But studies have shown that this is not true in the marriages of women of higher social rank. Educational level is more influential than physical attractiveness or social origin. It has also been found that education and first job become important in determining final job. If women have achieved educational parity with men, they still remain in lower occupational and income levels. Further sometimes women may achieve upward mobility through marriage but women experience downward mobility resulting from breakdown of families through death of husband, divorce or abandonment (Rothman 2011: 227). Bhattacharyya (2014: 319) has remarked that "As compared with men, women have far poorer chances of upward mobility but greater chances of downward mobility." 17.9 Caste Mobility In India, caste system is a social reality. A caste system is such a system where individual's rank, right obligation are ascribed on the basis of birth into a particular group. Generally, it is believed that caste-system is a closed system where vertical mobility is strictly restricted. But it is not so rigid as is generally assumed. Vertical mobility is also found in caste-based societies. Generally, it is believed that traditional caste-based Indian society is relatively static which is exclusded from social mobility. But in reality, mobility is found in different ways. One of these ways is mobility through warfare. It is an age-old practice (Bhattacharyya 2014 : 322; Ahuja 1999 : 58). In ancient India, rulers were Kshatriyas. But there were some rulers of peasants who after capturing territory established a kingdom. These peasant conquerors claimed Kshatriya status and rose from their caste-rank into Kshatriya-rank. Kolenda (1997, cited in Ahuja 1999 : 58) has opined that before the British rule, the most effective way to rise in

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the caste-system was by the acquisition of territory either through conquest

of land or through capturing of empty land. Shivaji's caste rank (Maratha) was considered as Sudra. But he established his own empire and went through a religious rite of transition into Kshatriyahood. Along with Shivaji's rise in Varna status, his caste members (Marathas) also claimed Kshatriya rank (Ahuja 1999: 58). Caste-groups also raise their caste-rank by serving Hindu or non-Hindu rulers. For example, Patidars of Gujrat, a peasant group of Sudra varna, supported the Maratha descendants of Shivaji, the Gaekwads, who ruled Central Gujrat.
292 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Gradually they established their small regimes by claiming as Kshatriyas. Another example of rise in caste through service to rulers is that of Kayasthas. Kayasthas were a low caste group in the twelfth century. They were professional letter writers before the invention of printing, copied the writings and kept records. They made themselves useful to the Moghuls and then to the British rulers. In nineteenth century, the Kayasthas in Northern India are considered as twice-born categories though they still remain in Sudra category in East Bengal. Here, the unit of mobility is not caste or Jati but the family, or a group of families. This type of upward mobility may lead to the formation of a new Jati or caste (Ahuja 1999 : 58-59). During British rule, Jati identity was recorded in census (from 1891 to 1931). Many caste-groups tried to improve their caste-rank by registering themselves as members of the twice-born varnas. Claimant groups offered evidence from myths and history. District committees were set-up to evaluate the claims. Some of those claims were sustained while majority of those claims were rejected (ibid:59). Singh (2004 : 54) mentioned that, some castes continuously attempted to claim higher caste position in censuses between 1911 and 1931. If in one census, a caste group claimed the status of Vaishya, in next census, its claim would be the status of Kshatriya and in next it would be Brahmin. These claims were so irksome to the administration that at the 1941 census and there after the column of caste was eliminated from the census schedule. Caste mobility also occurred through the process of sanskritization and westernization. A low caste was able to improve its caste rank through the process of sanskritization. Low caste members adopted the customs, rituals, rites and beliefs of and higher caste in locality and after a generation or two they claimed the status of that higher caste. Thus, it was obviously an upward vertical mobility as well as cultured mobility. During British rule in India, some factors such as industrialization, occupational mobility, developed means of communication, western technology, modern education, giving up evil customs and social practices played important role to make sanskritization possible. Along with sanskritization the process of westernization also made social mobility possible. Westernization helped to change One's ideology, values, cultures and so on (Ahuja 1999 : 60-61). Sometimes several castes like Mahars of Maharashtra, Nadars of Tamilnadu have used politics for ameliorating their social condition (Ahuja 1999 : 61). 17.10 Summary Thus, social mobility is the movement of individuals, families, households, or

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 293 other categories of people within or between social strata in a society. It is a change in social status relative to one's current social location within a given society. This movement occurs between layers or tiers in an open system of social stratification. Open stratification systems are those in which at least some value is given to achieve status characteristics in a society. The movement can be in a downward or upward direction. Markers for social mobility, such as education and class, are used to predict, discuss, and learn more about an individual or a group's mobility in society. 17.11 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) Define Social Mobility. (ii) What do you mean by horizontal mobility? (iii) What is vertical mobility? (iv) How do you explain 'status attainment model'? (v) What is structural mobility? (vi) Mention different types of social mobility. (vii) Write a note on Gender Mobility. (viii) Explain inter-generational mobility and intra-generational mobility. (ix) Write an essay on caste mobility. G-B (10 Marks each) (x) Explain closed society and open society. (xi) Mention the causes of vertical mobility? (xii) Differentiate between horizontal mobility and vertical mobility? (xiii) How does mobility bring changes in society? (xiv) Write a note on studies of social mobility. 17.12 Suggested Readings (i) Abraham, M Francis. (2009) : Contemporary Sociology : An Introduction to Concepts and Theories, New Delhi : Oxford University Press
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NSOU ● GE-SO-11 295 Unit - 18 ❑ Sanskritization Structure 18.1 Objectives 18.2 Introduction 18.3 Sanskritization – The Concept 18.4 Brahminization vs. Sanskritization 18.5 Sanskritization – Caste Position and Rituals 18.6 Sanskritization – Some Barriers 18.7 Features of Sanskritization 18.8 Sanskritization among Tribes and Scheduled Castes 18.9 Sanskritization and its Negative Aspects 18.10 De-Sanskritization and Re-Sanskritization 18.11 Summary 18.12 Questions 18.13 Suggested Readings 18.1 Objectives In the current unit, the student will gain knowledge on the following topics : ● An idea about Sanskritization ● Differences between Brahminization and Sanskritization ● The locally dominant caste ● A comparison of Sanskritization and Westernization 18.2 Introduction In sociology, Sanskritisation (Indian and British English) or Sanskritization (Oxford and American English), is the process by which caste or tribes placed lower 295

296 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 in the caste hierarchy seek upward mobility by emulating the rituals and practices of the dominant or upper castes. It is a process similar to "passing" in sociological terms. This term was made popular by Indian sociologist M. N. Srinivas in the 1950s. In a broader sense, also called Brahmanization, it is a historical process in which various local Indian religious traditions become aligned to and absorbed within the Brahmanical tradition, creating the pan-Indian tradition of Hinduism. 18.3 Sanskritization – The Concept Caste system, in theory, is a closed system; that means no one can change his caste identity which he has acquired by birth. But in practice some movement has been found within caste-system. 'Sanskritization' helps to explain the changes within caste-system in the traditional social structure of India. The term 'Sanskritization' has been conceived by M.N Srinivas when he studied religion and society among Coorgs in Mysore in the state of Karnataka in south India. People of lower castes, in order to raise their position in the caste hierarchy, adopt some customs, rituals, ideologies, life-style of the Brahmins and give-up some of their own habits such as meat eating, consumption of liquor etc. which are considered impure by the higher castes. After a period of time, a generation or two, people who imitate Brahmins claim higher positions in caste-hierarchy. It is an upward group mobility not individual. Initially this process was defined as 'Brahminization'. Later on, the term 'Sanskritization' has come to denote this process of mobility. (Doshi and Jain 2004 : 81-82; Singh 2004 : 5; Srinivas 1998: 6-7). 18.4 Brahminization and Sanskritization Srinivas (1998: 7) has admitted that, he has emphasized on Brahminical model of Sanskritization specially derived from Kannada, Tamil and Telegu Brahmins and has ignored the other models, viz. Kshatriya, Vaishya, Sudra and even Brahmin castes of other regions. In addition to Brahminical model, Pocock (1955, cited in ibid) has pointed to the existence of Kshatriya model. According to Pocock (ibid), Kings (or Kshatriyas) along with the Brahmins, are also superior group to the Vaishya and Shudra varna. Sometimes they become dominant political power in some areas and also become local dominant non-Brahmin caste of that area. Kshatriya model of sanskritization is followed in those areas. Srinivas (1998 : 7-8) has mentioned that not only the kingly model but the other models (locally dominant
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 297 castes) of varna group are also followed. It has been found that the relative prestige and rank of different varnas vary with time and place. In many areas life-style of any non-Brahmin group is either equal or higher than that of the Brahmin groups; in those areas, people who wish to improve their position may follow the patterns of life-style of those dominant non-Brahmin castes. Even the life-style of the merchant and peasant are considered as models in localities where these groups are dominant. Sanskritization is a broader concept than Brahminization. It is a general tendency among the lower castes to imitate the cultural ways of higher castes. These higher castes may be non-Brahmins; they may be Kshatriyas, Jats, Vaisyas, Rajputs etc. Hence, the term 'Brahminization' does not explain all these processes and different terms in different cases have to be used. Further there are no uniform characteristics among the Brahmins. Though, by and large, Brahmins are vegetarians, some of them like Kashmiris, Bengalees, Saraswath Brahmins are non-vegetarians. Some Brahmin groups are more sanskritized in their style of life than others. Brahmins in some areas such as Punjab, parts of western Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan have a low secular status. Some Brahmin groups in Gujrat (e.g., Tapodhan) Bengal and Mysore are considered as ritually low. (Srinivas 1998 : 8). If the term 'Brahminization' is to be used then it should be specified which particular Brahmin group is meant. Further, the reference groups of sanskritization are not always Brahmins. Srinivas (1998 : 6) has mentioned that,

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Harijan castes in Mysore do not accept cooked food and drinking water from the Smiths.

Smiths claim themselves as 'Vishwakarma Brahmins'. Though their claim is not accepted by others and even untouchables, they

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are certainly one of the touchable castes and therefore superior to Harijan.

Similarly, Maraka Brahmins, who are certainly Brahmins, are not accepted by Okkaligas (peasants), Kurupas (Shepherds) and others. However, the ways of life of Lingayats, who are not Brahmins but claim as equal to Brahmins, are adopted by some low castes. So, the term Brahminization is not enough for explaining the process of cultural and social mobility (Ahuja 2006 : 354; Rao 2003 : 310). 18.5 Sanskritization : Caste Position and Rituals The Brahmins constitute the top of the Varna hierarchy and enjoy a respectable position in the caste system. They are also expected to conform to ideal norms of Hinduism. The castes who belong to lower level in caste-ladder especially untouchables are tolerated some kind of deviation. Thus, the higher position in caste-structure is

298 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 associated with high expectations of conformity to ideal Hindu norms. But the ideal code of conduct in Hindu religion varies from time to time. For example, in Vedic period, the Brahmins took Soma (liquor), offered animal sacrifice to gods, ate beef. All these have become prohibited for Brahmins in later period. Thus, what was culturally accepted (Sanskritic) in Vedic period, became taboo in later period (Singh 2004 : 6). Through the process of sanskritization Hindu low-caste groups

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or tribes or other groups change their customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in direction of a high twice-born caste. The

first three groups of varna model i.e. Brahmin, Khastriya, Vaisya are considered as 'twice-born' caste or dwija as they are entitled to put sacred thread at the ceremony of 'upanayana' which is interpreted as second birth. Only the members of these three varnas are entitled to perform Vedic rituals. Among these twice-born varnas, the Brahmins are regarded as better models of Sanskritization than the others. The cultural content of each varna varies from one area to another and also from one period of time to another. The diversity is generally greater at lower levels of the varna hierarchy than the highest group (Srinivas 1998 : 6–8). Further, Srinivas (1998 : 9) has mentioned that there are some castes belonging to the category of Shudra maintain highly sanskritized style of life whereas others are minimally sanskritized. But the dominant peasant castes, may be highly sanskritized or not, provide local models for imitation.

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A feature of rural life in different parts of India is the existence of dominant

caste. In traditional society, a

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dominant caste should own a large amount of arable land locally available, must occupy a high place in the local

caste hierarchy and should have strength of numbers. Dominance of one caste may be changed in time and sometimes there may be more than one dominant castes in a village. In British India, western education, job in administration and urban based income have become the important factors for dominance. In independent India, introduction of adult franchise and Panchayati raj (local self – government at village level) have given a new sense of self-respect and power to low castes who enjoy reservation of seats in all elected bodies from the village to the Union Parliament. The long-term implications of these changes are important in this respect that a particular caste group with its numerical strength can sway the local balance of power. In traditional society, a small number of people belonging to a high caste and having a large quantity of arable land can enjoy authority over the entire village. Later, in many parts of rural India power has been transferred to the hands of numerically large, land owning peasant castes (Srinivas 1998 : 10).

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 299 In rural India, dominance is not purely a local matter. Sometimes a caste group enjoys dominance regionally. In such a situation dominant caste group in a village finds that it has to reckon with the lesser caste group in the village which is a dominant caste group in the region. Further, vast improvement in communication has contributed to the decline in prestige of purely local styles of living. It is now a general trend to borrow urban style of living. The long-term effect of this process is a decrease in cultural diversity and an increase in uniformly. It is to be noted here that land ownership is a crucial factor in establishing dominance. In traditional India, the bulk of the arable land is concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of big owners and a large number of people either own very little land or no at land all. Landowner generally come from higher castes and enjoy power over bulk of the poor villagers. Along with power land ownership confers prestige and it is found in traditional India that all walks of life tend to invest in land (Srinivas 1998: 11- 12). There are ample examples in rural areas that land owning castes enjoy power over other castes even over ritually superior cases. In some places of Punjab, land owning Jats look down upon the Brahmins as their servants. In Madhopur village in the eastern Uttar Pradesh, the dominant castes Thakurs do not accept cooked food from the Brahmins except their gurus or religious teaches. In Rampura village in Mysore, a Brahmin priest needs to be accompanied by someone from dominant pleasant caste to perform his ritual duties. So, there are some areas in rural India where ritual rank is less power than economic rank. In contrary, the Brahmins of some areas refuse cooked food from other castes even if they are economically powerful. An economically powerful Gujrati Bania does not enter the kitchen where his Brahmin cook works (ibid :13). Various models of Sanskritization are found in rural India. Local dominant castes become the model for this cultural transmission. If a Brahmin or Lingayat becomes locally dominant then Brahminical model of Sanskritization is followed. If Rajput or Bania becomes dominant then Kshatriya or Vaishya model is followed.

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Each locally dominant caste has its own conception of Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaishya models.

According to Srinivas (1998 : 13-14), two distinct tendencies are associated with caste groups. Each caste group is dominated by local moral and religious norm. Multiple cultures are associated with castes. Some beliefs, ideas, practices are followed by one caste group while other groups do not follow the same. Generally, it is determined by hereditary occupations which they follow. A peasant group talks about agricultural skill, its importance and difficulty and patience 300 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 required and so on. Similarly, artisans or any other serving castes show some attitude towards their hereditary occupations. The second tendency inherent within caste system is the imitation of the life-style of higher castes. Elaborately speaking, one local section of a caste imitates another local section of caste. It is to be noted here that imitation is not of any particular caste or higher caste. Model of imitation is from any higher caste. Local village system is independent of wider Indian system. Ideal behaviour may be derived from the sources of great Traditions like pilgrimages or religious doctrines. The process of Sanskritization is neither smooth nor automatic. The leaders of dominant caste watch the value system of the village. They ignore minor changes in the ritual and style of life of low castes, but when the members of low caste refuse to perform their caste-bound service then they (leaders of dominant caste) take action against them. If the process of Sanskritization hampers the economic interest of any caste, then the elders of dominant caste interfere in that process. But this does not hold good in the case of agriculture and trading in some goods which are deemed to be open occupations. 18.6 Sanskritization : Some Barriers When any low caste group follows any important symbols or rituals then they face strong opposition even punishment from dominant high caste group. The members of dominant castes are also concerned regarding the imitation of customs of upper castes by the lower castes. They ignore the minor changes in style of life of lower castes. But if occupational changes disturb the village solidarity as well as social system then they look into the matter. If lower castes refuse to perform their traditional duties or imitate any important symbols of higher castes then they are punished severely by the higher castes. Some incidents may be described here for instance. Once a low caste man in a village of Gujrat dressed like a Patidar (high caste) and carried his hookah like a Patidar. He was caught, beaten and ordered "never to try to look like a Patidar again." In 1936, the Noniyas (low caste of salt makers) of Senapur village in eastern Uttar Pradesh wore sacred threads. They were also beaten by their Kshatriya landlords and their sacred threads were torn off. A collective fine was imposed on them. Their attempt was direct and it was a public challenge. Later, the Noniyas wore sacred thread quietly and on an individual basis. Similarly, Ahirs (cowherds) of North India donned the sacred thread and claimed Kshatriya status.

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In North Bihar, the high caste Rajputs and Bhumihar Brahmins

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 301 prevented them which in turn led to violence and resort to the law courts. In 1930 the Kallar (a dominant caste) in the district of Ramnad (in the extreme south of India) imposed eight prohibitions on Harijans. When Harijans disregarded the order of Kallars then their huts were fired, granaries and property were destroyed (Srinivas 1998: 14-16). Similarly, in the first half of the twentieth century the Mahars of Maharashtra (Kothari 1995: 35) faced strong opposition when they claimed equal rights with caste Hindus and attempted to enter in three temples. Nadars (low caste) of Tamilnadu suffered severe social disabilities as a defiled caste. During the first of nineteenth century Nadar women were motivated by Christian missionaries and dressed like Nair (high caste) women which caused a wide spread riot in Christian areas in South India (ibid : 101-102). 18.7 Features of Sanskritization The concept of sanskritization has emerged in 1952. Sociologists and social anthropologists have shown their interest regarding this issue. It is agreed that the concept of sanskritization is useful to analyse changes among villagers, especially in respect of cultural changes. Some basic features of Sanskritization are given below : (i) Sanskritization is a cultural paradigm – Culture consists of ideas, beliefs, traditions, rituals, practices and so on. When lower castes or non-caste groups change their own ways of life and imitate upper castes then it is a change of their cultural life. (ii) Sanskritization is generally an

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upward mobility for the caste. But mobility may take place without sanskritization. However, the mobility associated within sanskritization directs only in positional changes in the system. It does not lead to any structural changes in

society. (iii) Unit of mobility is group, not individual or family. (iv) Sanskritization is a change directed to twice-born castes. There are more than one models for sanskritization. A particular group may imitate Brahmins as their model of change while in another village, they may follow Kshatriya or Vaishya model. Sanskritization is thus an endogenous source of social change during those periods of relatively closed Hindu social system. (v) From social-psychological point of view, sanskritization is a motivation toward 'anticipatory socialization' to

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the culture of a higher group in the hope of gaining its status in future. 302

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (vi) Sanskritization has two connotations – 'historical specific' and contextual specific'. In 'historical specific' sense, sanskritization indicates social mobility in different periods of history of caste-based Indian society. In contextual specific sense, the process of sanskritization varies from region to region, time to time depending on factors internal as well as external to the context. In many places lower castes imitate Kshatriyas; at other places, tribes imitate caste-Hindus; in a few exceptional cases, caste Hindus even higher castes imitate tribal ways of life (tribalization). In a few villages where Muslims are dominant group, Muslim culture is followed. (vii) The local dominant caste or group become the model for sanskritization. The concept of sanskritization is thus integrated with economic and political domination. But there is a gap between ritual rank of one caste and its political-economic position. The domination of political and economic field does not mean the highest ritual rank in locality. Further,

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each locally dominant caste has its own conception of Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaishya models.

Thus, the context of sanskritization differs not only in each model but also within the same model from region to region. (viii) Impurity or the gap between pure and impure can be removed or reduced through the process of sanskritization. (ix) The values of Sanskrit literature like 'karma', 'dharma', 'moksha', etc. are also adopted through the process of sanskritization. (x) Both sacred and secular elements of culture are associated with sanskritization. Lower castes imitate rituals and sacred customs of upper castes. Further they imitate consumption patterns also

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such as betel-chewing, wearing gold ornaments, shoes and other forms of dresses. (

xi) Lower castes have a tendency to improve their status in caste hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism. (xii) Sanskritization is not an 'one-way' process. The lower castes take the rituals from higher castes and the higher castes even Brahmins also worship their deities (or local deities) along with the gods of all India Hinduism. (xiii) Some factors like occupational mobility, developed communication. Modern education and modern technology are conducive to Sanskritization. The British rule in India has provided a favourable condition for Sanskritization. (xiv) Sanskritization is a corporate activity which attacks hierarchy. It is therefore a process towards 'general levelling of culture.'
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 303 (xv) Dominant castes are also aware of the movements of sanskritizing castes. They take defensive mechanisms and maintain or create more status- distinctions than before which are generally beyond the reach of sanskritizing caste. 18.8 Sanskritization among Tribes and Scheduled Castes According to Pramanick (1994 : 61-62) the process of caste formation among the tribes has been reported by scholars in different ways such as Hinduization, Aryanization, Sanskritization, Tribe-Caste continuum and so on. Ghurye (1963, cited in Pramanick1994 : 57–58) considers tribals as 'backward Hindus.' To support his view Ghurye has presented ample data from the tribal communities of central India. According to GhuryeKatauris, Bhuiyas, Oraons, Khonds, Gonds, Korkus, Baigas, Kols, Bhils, Halbas, Bhuiyas etc. have substantially adopted Hinduism as their religion. In Bastar region, the main tribes participate in the Dussahara festival which is marked as a festival of Hindus. Srinivas (1998 : 7) has mentioned that the process of sanskritization is also found among tribes. Ghurye (1963, cited in Pramanick 1994 : 58) believes that the economic motivation plays an important impetus for the adoption of Hinduism. After adoption of Hindu religion, tribes can join in specialized types of caste-occupations which are in demand in society. Here is to be mentioned that Ghurye (ibid : 71) is also aware of the fact that the tribes of eastern region are culturally so different that his general conclusions regarding tribe-caste relationship are not applied to them. Similarly, Bose (1996 : 170) has opined "fact of economic affiliation to Hindu society may explain why the Juangs look upon Hindu culture as superior to their own." Here is to be mentioned that the process, which is widely described as 'sanskritization', is discussed by Bose (1996 : 168–181) as "The Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption". Bose has studied three

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tribes of Orissa – the Juangs, the Savaras and the Pauri Bhuiyas.

The Juangs are originally hunters, food gathers and jhum cultivators. The state has restricted hunting and that type of cultivation for the preservation of forests. The Juangs have been forced to adopt wet cultivation in the valleys between the hills. They work with bamboo and sell baskets, wicker-boxes etc. and start to earn money. Thus, they have been tagged to the larger body of Hindu society. In the matter of manufacture of bamboo articles, the Juangs enjoy monopoly because no other caste joins in that occupation from a fear of losing its own social position. Further, Bose (ibid : 33 – 35) has noticed that the Juangs have same specific patterns of rituals which are clear indicators of brahminical culture such as the bath, the fast, the use of turmeric and sun-dried rice etc. On the other hand, some practices

304 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 such as the sacrifice of cocks, worship of their own deities Burambura and Buramburi, absence of a separate category of priest bear the marks of their autonomous folk culture or tribal culture. The Oraons and Mundas of Chotanagpur have a strong inclination towards Hindu religion and ideas (ibid : 170). Ahuja (1999 : 290-291) has mentioned that the process of acculturation is found among many tribes in different states. One of the examples of acculturation is Sabaras (tribe) in Ghorabar village in Orissa. The sabaras have discarded egalitarianism and accepted caste system. They are hierarchically divided into four segments on the basis of occupational distribution. Four divisions are like four 'varnas' in Hindu religion. These four segments are – hunting and fighting, worshipping, cultivation and dancing and singing respectively. In varna system, worshipping occupies first position but among the Sabaras, it occupies second place. Further, purity and pollution are absent among the Sabaras unlike caste system. They are divided into sub-groups like Hindu sub-caste groups. Each sabara sub-group has its own panchayat. Each sub-division of the Sabaras claims descent from three Sabaras who figure in Ramayana and Mahabharat. Hindu culture is prominent in the marriage customs of Sabaras. They have been accepted as 'caste' in the village not as tribe and have been assigned the occupation of wood-cutting. The model followed by the Sabaras for mobility is Vaishya not Brahminic. Ahuja (ibid) prefers the term acculturation to sanskritization. Pramanick (1994 : 59) has mentioned that, "The conferences of Social Workers and Anthropologists held in Calcutta in 1948 estimated that of the total 25 million tribes living in India, 20 million live in the plains and are assimilated with the rest of the people." This process of assimilation is not continued. The British rulers do not like the process of assimilation and have tried to check it. This is obviously helpful to their colonial interest. The colonial rulers, by separating tribals from non-tribals, have fulfilled their commercial and business interests. The British rulers have exploited the natural resources with the help of cheap labour provided by the tribes. They have tried to keep separate tribal areas so that tribes can act as human reservoir to meet the demands of European commercial interest. But this separation between tribals and non-tribals is detrimental to national integration (Pramanick 1994 : 64–66). Shasmal (Pramanick and Manna 2006 : 172-179) has noticed the Bauris, one of the large scheduled castes of West Bengal. In West Bengal, Bauris are mainly agricultural labourers while in lower Orissa, they are a basket-making caste. The caste-rank of the Bauris is so low that they do not have fixed barber or Brahmin to perform their socio-religious ceremonies. The religious beliefs and practices of the Bauris do not differ much from the upper caste Hindus. They worship the goddess NSOU ● GE-SO-11 305 Durga, Saraswati; celebrate festivals of colours, Rathjatra (Sacred Chariot) drawing ceremony) etc. Along with the upper caste Hindus. According to Shasmal (ibid : 179) though Bauris bear some traits of aboriginals, the process of sanskritization have upgraded their position. Mahars are the original inhabitants of Maharashtra and are found almost in every village of Maharashtra. Mahars' hereditary duties are village watchman, sweeping the village roads, carrying death notices and messages to other villages, bringing fuel to the burning ground, removing the carcasses of dead cattle of the village. They have fixed duties in religious matters. They belong to the untouchable category. Public places like temples, schools etc. are closed to them. Some restrictions on clothing and ornaments are imposed on them. Their role in village festival is specified. Everything is the indicator of their low status. British rule has brought several socio-economic changes in India. Mahars, like many other castes, have got a chance to improve their condition. Here is to be noted that, Mahars have a record from the time of Shivaji as guards in the hill forts and soldiers in the artillery. Thus,Mahars have an old record of military connection which help them to put a claim of Kshatriya status. Joining in military is surely an outlet to the Mahars from their hereditary occupations. Their service in military continues in British period also. Zelliot (Kothari 1995 : 34-35) has mentioned that throughout the first period of the 20th century, numerous efforts including the practices of higher caste rituals (sanskritization) are made by Mahars for improving their caste status. Ultimately, they have become a strong united group under the leadership of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (ibid : 37). The Nadars of Tamilnadu suffered socially and economically for a long time. As a ritually impure caste Nadars were forbidden to enter into Hindu temples, to use wells for caste-Hindus, to carry an umbrella, to wear shoes and golden ornaments, to milk cows, to walk in certain streets, to approach a Brahmin within twenty-four paces and so on. Women were imposed more restrictions. In early 19th century, European missionary's activities helped Nadars and a good number of Nadars were able to improve their economic conditions. Nadars gradually disassociated themselves from community's traditional occupation. During the latter part of the 19th century, the Nadars began to sanskritise their ways of life. Many of the Nadars men cropped their hair like the Brahmins, put on sacred threads, became vegetarians, named their children after the new sanskritic gods. Some Brahmin priests were found to provide their services to the wealthy Nadar temples and caste-ceremonies. Newly advanced Nadar claimed high Kshatriya status (ibid : 99-104).

306 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 18.9 Sanskritization and its Negative Aspects The people of lower castes accept the customs and habits of higher castes (though the process of sanskritization). Some practices and habits of higher castes are considered good and functional in respect of present rational standard and are imitated by lower caste groups. But there are also some practices among higher castes which are not good; even those are degrading and dysfunctional according to modern rational standard. In the process of sanskritization, lower caste groups also accept those degrading customs and habits. For example, generally people of lower castes are more liberal in the spheres of marriage, sex and attitude towards women. They permit divorce and widow remarriage. On the other hand, Brahmins regard marriage indissoluble, prevent widows from remarriage and expect that widows shall maintain restrained ways of life. When a low caste group achieves higher rank in the process of sanskritization or its ways become more sanskritised, it adopts the marriage code of Brahmins. Further, a high caste Hindu wife is expected to treat her husband as deity. She is expected to perform a number of vratas (religious fasts) for the welfare of her husband and other members of her family. Lower caste groups also accept these practices. Sanskritization thus brings harshness towards women. It is a blind and irrational imitation of the customs, practices, habits and values of higher castes, especially Brahmins (Ahuja 1999 : 470-471). Theoretically, sanskritization represents the cultural changes of the little as well as the great tradition. But majority of the empirical observations indicate that the process of sanskritization is mainly confined to little tradition only. So sanskritization though wider in scope remains restricted to a few castes in a specific region as castes vary from region to region. Any movement of sanskritization among the potters in any particular region does not mean that the movement will spread among the potters at national level. The concept of Sanskritization is limited within ritual-cultural sphere. In terms of social stratification, Sanskritization considers only caste hierarchy that is a ritual-cultural hierarchy. If does not explain other types of hierarchies in society. Further, Sanskritization is only an analytical tool in the context of group mobility and particularly with reference to dominant castes. It cannot help to understand mobility at the level of individual or the level of family. Srivastava (cited in Sharma 2002 : 203-204) has opined that the progressive family becomes a strong reference group for mobility. He has mentioned that the koiris of Barigaon do not imitate the behaviour patterns of the dominant caste chhatris but imitate the behaviour patterns of their own caste from a nearby village. There is no dominant NSOU ● GE-SO-11 307 caste in the village Asalpur and the Raigars imitate the Raigars who live in Ahmedabad. Here 'city-culture' becomes prominent instead of religious adaptations (Doshi and Jain 2004 : 87; Sharma 2002 : 200-203) It is to be stated that Sanskritization explains only socio-cultural mobility in a very limited way. The lower caste people adopt the cultural practices of upper caste groups and these practices no longer remain the symbols of status for the upper castes. Sanskritization is the positional changes within the caste system and not of the system. In the present situation, on the one hand dominant castes change their strategies for the perpetuation of their dominance (Sharma 2008: 327-328), and on the other hand, some castes like Jatavas of Agra find Sanskritization no longer attractive and have decided to politicise themselves to extract greater dividends (ibid: 218). In modern India, the concept of dominant caste becomes gradually irrelevant. The concept of ritual hierarchy is replaced by professional status and party association. In developed villages, dominant caste is no longer considered as reference model for Sanskritization. Some American scholars have applied reference group theory to analyse social change in India. Doshi and Jain (2004 : 88-89) have opined that reference group theory is more comprehensive than dominant caste theory. The process of Sanskritization, at least as depicted by Srinivas (1998 : 1-48), explains social mobility as well as social change only in Indian context where caste system exists. It is not applicable to other societies. Sanskritization does not explain the adoption of non-sanskritic tradition. (Ahuja 1999 : 61). Urge of Sanskritization sometimes produces psychological strains. If any group, especially very small community, does not succeed to raise its status after a long period of attempt, then their status necessarily creates an insecure and unsettled position in society. This is really a frustrating and painful situation for that group. In spite of this psychological cost, the process of Sanskritization always present in Hindu Society (Kothari 1995 : 12-13). As the process of Sanskritization is neither smooth nor automatic, it creates tensions, contradictions and inter-class hostility in society, manifestly or latently. It does not reduce economic inequalities nor it challenges caste hierarchy and dominant castes. Sanskritization does not fit for political analysis of the village community (Sharma 2002 : 58). In contemporary India, democratisation has become a new political as well as social value. So, the hierarchical transformation of lower castes through the process of Sanskritization is becoming weak. Youths belonging to lower castes have started to believe that they have their own dignity, they have legitimate rights-nobody can deny that. So they do not need to follow higher castes (Doshi and Jain 2004 : 89).

308 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 18.10 De-Sanskritization and Re-Sanskritization It has been observed that new social situation and value system have changed the model of sanskritization. In Gujrat, Kolis and Patidars imitated Rajputs (Kshatriya). But now they prefer to imitate business model (Vaishya). Some years ago, a man of Baria (lower caste) was victimized as he tried to imitate the style of Patidar castes. But now-a-days such emulation is ignored. Another pattern of sanskritization is found now-a-days. In Uttar Pradesh Koris refuse to accept water from others even from the Brahmins. They consider Brahmins less pure than themselves. Many other lower castes reject some models of the great tradition in their process of Sanskritization; such process of deliberate reaction against Sanskritization is called De-Sanskritization. De-Sanskritization may be a reflection of anti-Brahmin movements in South India and an expression of politicization (Singh 2004 : 55-57). Last process of Sanskritization may be called re-Sanskritization. A westernized or modernized group discards many of the cultural symbols of modernization such as dress, spoken language, food habits, style of living and accepts traditional sanskritic symbols and beliefs. Before independence, the Rajputs of eastern Uttar Pradesh were identified with the western culture and ideologies. But after independence they deliberately accept orthodox Hindu culture (ibid : 56). 18.11 Summary The social aspect of Sanskritization is much more important from the view point of change. The low caste individuals are inclined towards Sanskritization because in

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that way they can elevate their social status and get higher

status in caste hierarchy. Economic betterment and Sanskritization is another related issue. The lower caste people have given up un-cleaned occupation to raise their economic status because clean trades are a symbol of social light. Sanskritization also can be observed in the religious field. Like Brahmins many of the lower castes people

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put on sacred thread. They also go to their temple regularly and perform Arti and Bhajan. They have

left prohibited food and un-cleaned occupation. Even they have specialised in performing ceremonies like Brahmins. The living patterns of lower castes have also Sanskritized. Like higher caste they also get Pucca houses built for them. Now they sit along with the

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higher caste on the cots without any fear or hesitation. They also keep their houses clean

and put on dresses like higher castes.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 309 18.12 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) What do you mean by sanskritization? (ii) What is Brahminization? (iii) Are tribes eager to become sanskritized in present situation? (iv) How does sanskritizationproduce psychological strain? (v) Does sanskritization occur autometically? (vi) How do dominant castes influence the process of sanskritization? (vii) How do Scheduled Castes become sanskritized? (viii) Mention some barriers in the process of sanskritization. (ix) Examine the negative aspects of sanskritization. G-B (10 Marks each) (x) What is meant by de-sanskritization and re-sanskritization? (xi) Differentiate between Brahminization and sanskritization? (xii) Write a note on the process of sanskritization among the tribes. (xiii) Mention the features of sanskritization. (xiv) Write a critical note on sanskritization. 18.13 Suggested Readings (i)

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310 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (vi) Hardgrave, Robert L. Jr. (1995) : "Political Participation and Principal Solidarity : The Nadars of Tamilnad" in Rajni Kothari (ed.) Caste in Indian Politics, Hyderabad : Orient Longman. PP 96-120. (vii) Kothari, Rajni (1995) : "Introduction" in Rajni Kothari (ed.) Caste in Indian Politics, Hyderabad (AP) : Orient Longman. PP 3-26 (viii) Pocock, D. F. (1955) : "The Movement of Castes" in Man, May 1955, PP 71-72. (ix) Pramanick Swapan. (1994) : Sociology of G.S. Ghurey, Jaipur : Rawat Publication (x) Rao, C. N. Shankar (2003) : Sociology : Primary Principles, New Delhi : S. Chand and Company Ltd. (xi)

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Jaipur : Rawat Publications. (xiii) Shasmal, Kartik Chandra. (2006) : "The Bauris of West Bengal : A Socio- Economic Study" in Swapan Kumar Pramanick and Samita Manna (eds.) Exploration in Anthropology : P. K. Bhowmick and His Collaborative Reasearch Works, West Bengal : The Institute of Social Research and Applied Anthropology. PP 172-179 (xiv) Singh, Yogendra (2004) : Modernization of Indian Tradition, Jaipur : Rawat Publication. (xv) Srinivas, M. N. (1998) : Social Change in Modern India. Hyderabad (A.P.) : Orient Longman. (xvi) Srivastava, Sahab Lal (1969) : "The Concept of Sanskritization : A Re- evaluation", Economic and Political Weekly, Vol 4, No. 16, April 19, PP 695-698. (xvii) Zelliot, Eleanor. (1995) : "Learning the use of Political Means : The Mahars of Maharashtra" in Rajni Kothari (ed.) Caste in Indian Politics, Hyderabad : Orient Longman. PP 27-65.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 311 Unit - 19 ❑ Urbanization Structure 19.1 Objectives 19.2 Introduction 19.3 Urbanization: Definition 19.4 Prerequisites of Urbanization 19.5 Difference between Rural and Urban areas 19.6 Characteristics of Urban Community 19.7 Urbanization in India 19.8 Urban Evolution 19.9 Urbanization and Theories 19.10 Urbanization and Social Change 19.11 Summary 19.12 Questions 19.13 Suggested Readings 19.1 Objectives ● To introduce various socio-economic theories which explain process of urbanization and its outcomes. ● To create an understanding about the organization of space in terms of land uses at the city level ● To understand the hierarchical arrangements of urban settlement 19.2 Introduction Urbanization (or urbanisation) refers to the population shift from rural to urban areas, the corresponding decrease in the proportion of people living in rural areas, and the ways in which societies adapt to this change. It is predominantly the process 311

312 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 by which towns and cities are formed and become larger as more people begin living and working in central areas. Although the two concepts are sometimes used interchangeably, urbanization should be distinguished from urban growth. Whereas urbanization refers to the proportion of the total national population living in areas classified as urban, urban growth strictly refers to the absolute number of people living in those areas. It is predicted that by 2050 about 64% of the developing world and 86% of the developed world will be urbanized. That is equivalent to approximately 3 billion urbanites by 2050, much of which will occur in Africa and Asia. Notably, the United Nations has also recently projected that nearly all global population growth from 2017 to 2030 will be by cities, with about 1.1 billion new urbanites over the next 10 years. 19.3 Urbanization : Definition Urbanization denotes excessive growth of cities. It is a part of developmental process though it varies from society to society. In backward societies, process of urbanization is slow but in developing countries, the process of urbanization becomes gradually faster. Newly established industries and other commercial developments create various types of jobs. As a result, a large section of population concentrates in urban areas. A number of terms such as city, community or urban- community, urbanism, urban areas, urbanisation are used by the urban sociologists. Urbanization is a continuous and universal process in all types of developed and developing countries. Men create city – it is a product of men and their achievement. It is a centre of any civilised society. "Civilization means the city and the city means civilization." By becoming a member of a city, a man becomes citizen. A city is regarded as an epitome of culture. As a manufactured environment culture surrounds the city man. A city is described as an environment of bricks, steel, mortar and cement. Bridges, tunnels, streets, subway platforms, monuments and buildings have detached a city from a village (Rao 2004 : 440-441). The term 'urban' is popularly used but it is defined in various ways by the urban sociologists. They have used different criteria to define the concept urban and also a community as urban. Urban community life represents the city-life. City is not only a collection of individuals. City is a state of mind, a body of customs, an organised attitudes and sentiments. It is a geographic area inhabited by closely settled population whose occupations are non-agriculture. Some urban sociologists have

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 313 defined city as a place with a minimum of ten thousand population. The 1991 census has defined a city or urban place on the basis of following criteria. (i) An urban area must have minimum five thousand people. (ii) At least 75% male workers remain engaged in non-agricultural occupation. (iii) Density of population must be minimum one thousand per square mile. (iv)

All places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area
are also regarded as urban area. The definition of urban area is varied from countries to countries. For example, in Japan, Urban areas are considered as a place having minimum 30,000 inhabitants. In U.S.A., this number is 3,500; in Netherlands and Holland, this number is 20,000 and the number is just 2000 in Austria, Germany and France. So the size of population is not important for a definition of urban area. The important aspects of urban area are the characteristics of its inhabitants. Urban area is marked by heterogeneous population, complex division of labour, impersonal secondary relations, dependence on formal social control, predominance of non-agricultural occupations, formalised system of local government and so on (ibid : 441-445). Kar (2009: 86) has mentioned that the definitions of urbanization have indicated three dimensions of urbanization. These are - (i) the process of urbanization gradually includes its country sides. In other words, country sides are acquiring physical characteristics of urban areas. (ii) Urbanization is a process of population concentration. (iii) Urbanization is a process of changing of behaviour patterns. To define urban areas, the United Nations have applied five main criteria. These are (i) Population size; (ii) Local self-government; (iii) Certain urban characteristics such as public water supply, electricity, sewerage, police station, hospital, market, educational institutions, courts of law, local means of transport and so on; (iv) certain administrative functions; and (v) Predominant economic activity that is majority of the people in urban area must be engaged in non-agricultural occupations (Kuppuswamy1984 : 338). 19.4 Prerequisites of Urbanization Urbanization is a process of creating and developing urban communities. Urban community is characterized by a dominance of commercial, industrial and service occupations. Extensive division of labour and its corresponding social complexity;
314 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 high density of population; development of coordination etc. are some basic features of urban community. Dasgupta (2011: 197-198) has mentioned that urban communities are originated from rural communities and some strategic features of rural communities become the important prerequisites of the growth of urban communities as well as urbanization. (i) Agriculture and Domestication of Animals The most important and fundamental rural contribution for the growth of towns is to provide food. In details, increasing efficiency in food production, favourable geographic condition and a developed technical competence in raising crops are the essential pre-conditions of urban communities. Surplus of food allows extension of trade and commerce. (ii) Improvements in tools, weapons and technical methods Surplus food production leads to the development of other occupations to meet the demand of other practical purposes such as pottery making, weaving, melting of metals and their fabrication into other instruments and so on. Perfection of military weapons is particularly important because defence of the community was an important concern of early urban experience. (iii) Complex social Organization The two main features of rural community are – (a) primary, personal relationships and (b) powerful kinship organization. But urbanization inherently involves larger social aggregations, cultural differences within populations, problems of coordinating a variety of activities, resolving inevitable disputes and controversies etc. The kin or familial organization of rural society is succeeded by civil organization in urban society. Civil organization provides a clear-cut public, community wide form of coordination and control. A central, universally applicable and legitimate control system is developed. Gradually city becomes prominent and visible. 19.5 Difference between Rural and Urban Areas For centuries, rural and urban areas have been recognised for human habitation. The two are dependent on each other, especially in the field of economy. There are also a lot of difference between them in terms of occupation, style of life, social relations and cultural ethos. But the distinction is very prominent in case of social environment. In urban areas, many aspects of natural environment are modified or

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 315 eliminated for the purpose of community living. But the distinction between rural and urban communities is always changing. In fact rural community stands in one end and the big metropolis at the other end. There are many types of cities between two ends. Generally, city is relatively dense. Major portions of the these population maintain their livelihood from non-agricultural activities and depend on the rural communities for food and agro-products (Bhattacharyya 2014 : 236). Following are the important criteria for distinguishing the urban social world from the rural social world (Desai 1997 : 10-12; Rao 2004 : 456-457; Sharma 2002 : 114-116). (i) Occupational Differences Majority of the urban community are involved in non-agricultural occupation while in rural society, majority of the rural community are involved in agriculture. People of urban area engaged in manufacturing, mechanical pursuits, trade, commerce various professional job like lawyer, doctor, teaching and so on. (ii) Environmental Differences Urban community is isolated from nature. Man-made environment dominates over nature. Rural community has direct and close relation with nature. (iii) Difference in the Size of Community Urbanity and size of community are positively correlated. In the same country and at the same time, the size of urban community is much larger than the rural community. (iv) Differences in the Density of the Population In comparison with rural area, the density of population is higher in urban area in same country and at the same period. (v) Differences in Social Stratification Pattern Distinct patterns of life-style are found in urban and rural areas. Rural areas are dominated by agrarian relations while urban areas are dominated by industrial relations. So urban-industrial social stratification is characterized by industrialists, working class and various professional groups. As a result urban-industrial social stratification consists of the following classes : (i) upper class; (ii) upper middle class; (iii) lower middle class and (iv) working class. These classes are formed on the basis of occupation and income.

316 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 (vi) Differences in the Social Mobility and in the Direction of Migration Occupation and other forms of social mobility are comparatively more intensive in urban areas. More people are migrated from rural to urban areas. Only at the time of social catastrophe (like war etc.), the migration from the city to country is greater than from the country to the city. (vii) Characteristics of the Population Compared to the rural populations, urban communities are more heterogeneous in the same country and at the same time rural communities are homogeneous in character. (viii) Differences in the System of Social Interaction Compared to rural people, urban community has wider area of interaction system. Secondary, impersonal, casual and short-lived relations; standardized formality in relationship; greater complexity and superficiality dominate interactional pattern in urban areas. Personal and relatively durable relations; primary contacts, simplicity get importance in rural international pattern. (ix) Means of Social Control Generally, it is perceived that informal means of social control such as norms, customs, folkways and mores are sufficient to regulate rural people. But formal means of social control such as law, legislation, police and court are also needed with the informal means of social control to regulate urban people. (x) Nature of Families Families in rural areas are very influential and dominant institution. People are bound by the family-traditions. In urban areas, families are said to be unstable. In rural areas average size of household is larger than urban areas. Rural people are more conservative than urban people. They are less class-conscious. On the other hand, there is more class-conscious and class-conflict among urban people. In short, rural society is a simple in-group society while urban society is a complex multi- group society. (xi) Ideas of Career Finally, it is to be stated that women in rural areas are mostly tradition bound. They are not career-conscious. They are submissive and obedient. On the other hand, women in urban areas are career-conscious.

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 317 19.6 Characteristics of Urban Community (i) Urban community is characterized by secondary relations that is face-to-face, friendly, intimate relations are not present among urban communities. People rarely take personal interests in others' concerns. Even the neighbours are unknown to each other. Urban people are motivated by personal interests. Formal relationships dominate over informal relationships (ii) Informal means of social control such as norms, customs, traditions, religion are not effective in cities. Formal means of social control such as law, police and court play greater role to control human behaviours. People are more individualistic in their attitude. (iii) Urban society is heterogeneous in character. Urban people differ significantly from each other. Their ways of thinking, behaving, acting habits, morals, occupations, religious beliefs and practices, food and dress-habits are different from each other (iv) Large-scale division of labour and specialization are found in cities . As a result, occupational divisions are greater in urban areas which cause different kinds of workers and occupational groups such as skilled, unskilled, semiskilled workers; technicians; white-collar workers of different levels; different types of businessmen, administrators and politicians; artists and so on. Work is divided among people on the basis of talents, efficiency, opportunities, age, sex, interests etc. (v) In urban areas, an individual's position is determined by his or her achievements, not on birth. Intense social mobility, that is the movement of people from one social status to another, is found in urban areas. (vi)Varieties in types of urban population have provided a solid ground for the emergence of voluntary associations. People become the members of a number of associations, which are called secondary groups, in order to fulfil their interests. (vii) Heterogeneous characteristics of a city make the inhabitants of city to develop a spirit of tolerance. Urban dwellers have to adjust different types of cultures which cause greater degree of tolerance. The spirit of tolerance gives the strength of unity in diversity to the life in a city. Distinction between private and public is sharp in the lives of city. City regulates public behaviour and ignores private aspects (Rao 2004 : 442–444). Some scholars have mentioned some other characteristics of a city which are actually negative aspects of urban community. Cities are places of heterogeneous communities unlike villages. Diversity in cultures, religions and professions are common in cities. Feeling of 'one-ness' is not found among city dwellers. This feeling is also absent among the members of family. Members of same family may become the members of separate clubs and association. Impact of western cultures
318 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 is greater in urban areas. As a result, incidence of pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships are more prevalent in urban areas. Different types of crimes such as smuggling, fraudulence, kidnapping, sexual abuse, murder, rape etc. are much noticed in urban areas. Social dis-organisation, marital problems, are very common in almost all cities. Ahuja (2009 : 296 – 305) has mentioned that some problems such as housing and slums; crowding; water supply and drainage; transportation and traffic; power shortage; sanitation and pollution; different types of crime are associated with urbanization. Some factors like migration, industrial growth, defective town planning are responsible for urban-problems. These problems may be overcome through proper planning and systematic development of urban centres. 19.7 Urbanization in India It is a very popular statement that India is a land of villages but India has a long tradition of urban living since ancient times. Archaeological discoveries have shown that India is equated with the world's oldest urban civilizations that is the Indus Valley civilization. Nearly 5000 years back, Indian people have built a city civilization which extends from Ropar in Haryana in the north to Rangpur in Kathiawar in the South and up to Baluchistan in the West. The two main cities of this civilization are Harappa and Mohanjodaro which are now in Sindh (Pakistan). The other important sites of this civilization are Kot Diji (Sindh, Pakistan), Kalibangan (Rajasthan), Ropar (Punjab, India), Lothal (Gujrat). Lothal is also important as port-town. Cities of indus-valley civilization were well-planned with drainage and sewerage. There were wide streets with large brick-built houses. Each house consisted of a number of rooms, courtyard, bathroom (Dube 2001 : 4; Kuppuswamy 1984 : 335-336). It is estimated that for a thousand of years after the Aryan invasion, India has not developed any city. Except it, the urban tradition of India is continued. There are several types of urban centres in ancient India-political capitals; military towns; manufacturing and trading towns of various sizes (large one is known as nagar, commercial parts by rivers or the sea is known as pattan, small size trading centres called kheta); educational and intellectual centres like Nalanda, Taxila, and many others; major temple towns and centres of pilgrimage like Mathura, Brindaban, Dwarika, Puri, Rameshwaram, Haridwar, Prayag, Varanasi, Gaya, Tirupathi and so on. Different ruling dynasties have developed the capitals of their kingdoms. They have built new forts and also renovated old forts. Followers of all major religions of India such as Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and Sikhism have

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 319 built their temples mosque or church for worship and pilgrimage. Several scholars like Kautilya, Vatsayana and travellers like Magasthanese have described cities and the life-style of the men of cities. Muslim rulers have built the great cities of Agra, Delhi, Lahore in the North and Golkonda, Bijapur, Hyderabad, Srirangapatnam in the South. Further, in medieval period, a number of small or big towns have become famous for their handicrafts and trade; for example,Dacea for fine muslins, Murshidabad for silk, Krishnanagar for clay modelling, Golkonda for diamond and jewellery, Agra for perfumes and marble works. During British regime, some cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and New-Delhi have become important for administration and also for centres of learning and socio-political activities. After independence, some old cities have been extended and some new cities have been established. Some cities such as Rourkela, Durgapur, Bhilai, Chittaranjan, Sindri, Vishakpatnam etc. have come to be known as industrial cities. Some cities like Haldia, Paradeep, Tuticorin have been developed as port cities. Cities like Faridabad, Rajpur, Nilokheri, Kalyani, and others have been developed to rehabilitate the refugees who came from Pakistan during partition. Some cities have been developed as capital of different states such as Chandigarh, Bhopal, Bhuvaneshwar, Hyderabad and so on. Some cities have become centres of attraction due to the vast employment opportunities such as Mumbai, Chennai, Kolkata, Kanpur, Pune, Dhanbad, Bangalore, Ahmedabad and so on (Dube 2001 : 96; Kuppuswamy 1984 : 336; Rao 2004 : 446- 447). According to census figures 10.5 percent people lived in urban areas in 1901 and 1911. It went up to 12 percent in 1931. Since then, there was a steady growth in urban population. It went up to 14 percent in 1941, 17 percent in 1951, 18 percent in 1961, 20 percent in 1971 and 23.3 percent in 1981. Industrial development and changing attitude of middle-class people were the causes of rapid growth of urban population. Though the size of urban population has increased the number of towns has decreased in 1961. It is due to the new attempt of definition. In India, after 1961, cities are divided into four parts on the basis of population size. These are – Class I. Metropolitan Cities : Urban areas with 10 lakh and above population. Class II. Big Cities : Urban areas with population between 50,000 and 1 lakh. Class III. Large Towns : Urban areas with population between 20,000 and 50,000. Class IV. Small Towns : Urban areas with population between 5,000 and 20,000.

320 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Because of this new definition of town, many towns have lost their status of town. Now the total number of towns in India is 7935. (Kuppuswamy 1984 : 337; Dube 2001 : 97; Rao 2004 : 445, Google.Com, 22.06.2019, 21:15). 19.8 Urban Evolution The theory of urban sociology has experienced a rough, discontinuous evolution of urban development. This evolution is not inevitable but a reflection of increasing social complexity. This complexity emerges from a specific socio-cultural conditions of given historical periods and from particular geographic factors. The evolution of urban development is divided into three parts – the first urban wave : 4500 B.C. – 500 A.D. The Second urban wave : 1000 A.D. - 1800 A.D. And the third urban wave: 1800 A.D. onwards (Dasgupta 2011 : 199-203) (i) The First Urban Wave : 4500 B.C. – 500 A.D Gordon Childe (cited in Dasgupta 2011: 200-201) believes that the first urban society was developed in Neolithic period on the Afro-Eurasian land. The earliest urban centres appeared in the favourable environments of semitropical river valleys of Tigris, Euphrates, Nile, Ganges and Yangtze. Surplus agricultural production was the prime factor of transformation of rural society into urban society. The most striking features of cities during this phase were - defence, worship and commerce. Merchants became prominent and some industries like textile, pottery, metal working and the production of alloys such as copper, the crafts of jewel working, furniture making, construction (public buildings and temples) were developed. The final contribution of first urban wave was the emergence of complex diversified arts - those are sculpture, architecture, painting and decoration, music, drama, dance and literary forms like dialogue, comedy, tragedy, verse and so on. In India, this phase was witnessed during the period of Indus-valley civilization. It was estimated that this civilization originated around 2500 B.C., flourished by 2300 B.C. and declined around 1700 B.C. Extensive excavations proved that this civilization was enriched by different ethnic streams such as Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Alpine, Mongoloid and so on. Several animals like the humped bull, the buffalo, the camel, the elephant had evidently been domesticated. Hinterlands of this urban areas grew cotton and vast quantities of cereals which were stored in the spacious granaries built in the cities. Many people were engaged in profitable commercial activities within the country and also outside of the country. Many of

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 321 them were rich and used ornaments of gold, silver, precious stones etc. Arts and crafts were also flourished during that time. People worshipped lord Shiva and Mother Goddess. Historians opined that the foundations of Indian civilization were laid during this phase (Dube 2001 : 4-5). (ii) The Second Urban Wave : 1000 – 1800 A.D. With the emergence of new political and economic consciousness, the second urban wave started in the latter part of tenth century. The new city which was primarily a European phenomenon was principally organized in terms of six criteria – economic features, rise of the bourgeois, the urban legal innovations, the University, ecological structure and the stratification of art. The three significant economic development during this phase were (a) improvement in agricultural methods; (b) expanded trade in manufactured goods (cloth in particular) and promoted development of basic handicraft industries; (c) wide-ranging trade transformed barter economics into money economics. Merchants started to demand political safeguards and by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they became a respected and powerful middle class. Gradually, cities became independent from feudal regulations and restrictions. Legal system became strong. Institutions (Universities) for higher and specialized education were established. Universities met the increasing demand of civil professional services. During this phase, population started to increase. Congestion led to emergence of urban slum problems. The arts of first urban wave were in general a public enterprise in which most of the citizens could participate. The arts were the expressions of dominant religious activities. In latter part of second urban wave arts came under the control of private enterprises (Dasgupta 2011: 201-202). (iii) Third and Current Urban Wave : 1800 AD to the Present The economic and political success of urban communities in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries led to further social changes that indicated the emergence of the modern urban region. Four important features of third as well as current urban waves are – expansion and separation of industrial units, Cooperative capitals, the urban-national axis and ecological complexities. Large scale heavy industries were established in this phase and workplace was separated from home. Joint stock companies, Banks, Corporations etc. played an important role for the development of urban-economy. It was found that with the rise of modern urban features, city became the centre of wealth. Gradually city became an arena of competitive power groups and the new locus of politics. New modern class structure developed with the consequence of technological and economic developments with the expansion of
322 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 urban region, differentiated central commercial administrative area, residential districts and numerous retail areas were established. Further, arts, recreation, education developed and different types of deviant behaviours like crime, gambling, drug addiction, prostitution etc. arose within urban set up (Dasgupta 2011 : 202 – 203). 19.9 Urbanization and Theories Theory means a set of propositions about relationships between facts. Urban theories consist of essential features of the urban environment. Some urban theories such as theories of contrast focus on comparisons between rural nature and urban nature. Redfield (cited in Dasgupta 2011 : 204-207) has focused on folk culture and urban culture. His study on four different areas in Yucatan peninsula of Mexico has revealed the significant contrasts between a folk and an urban culture. He has studied a tribal village (Tusik), a peasant village (Chankom), a town (Dizitas) and a large city (Merida). It has been found that the peasant village as compared with the tribal village; the town as compared with the peasant village; the city compared as with town are less isolated; more heterogeneous, characterized by a more complex division of labour, have a more complete developed money economy have professional specialists who are more secular and less sacred, have less organized kinship system and less effective in social control, less religious, allow greater degree of freedom. Three main features are prominent in urban society – cultural diversity, increase in secularization and greater degree of individualization. The homogenous nature of folk society that is "the same kind of people are doing the same kind of thing" creates an unambiguous, monolithic social structure. With the growth of urban society, this homogeneous character of people is replaced by heterogeneous character. As a result, conflict and disorganization are the inevitable marks of urban culture. Urban culture is also dominated by secular values. Secularism is such a factor which causes to lessen the importance of religion in society. Rational and practical judgements get importance in urban society. Further urbanization and individualization have positive correlation. Urban people enjoy more individuality than rural people. The extended families of rural areas become small and nuclear in urban areas. Finally, it is to be stated that this theory is not only the theory of contrast but also an indication of evolutionary changes. Later, some scholars have criticised Redfield from different perspective but Redfield has pointed out some important features of urban areas (ibid). Emile Durkheim (cited in Ritzer 2000 : 186), a French sociologist, has developed a model of contrasting types – mechanical solidarity and organic

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 323 solidarity. Mechanical solidarity, found in typical primitive society, refers to social bonds which are constructed on the basis of resemblances. Common beliefs, customs, rituals, symbols are the basic criteria of these resemblances. Such solidarity is mechanical because the people who participate in it (living in traditional society) are almost identical in major respects and are united almost automatically. In contrast, organic solidarity, a feature of heterogeneous society, describes a social order that is based on differences among people. Like the organs of a body, people depend more on one another to fulfil their needs. This type of solidarity depends on complex division of labour in which people engage in different types of occupations and depend on others to meet their basic demands. In other words, people of different categories perform varieties of tasks to fulfil society's needs and they are interdependent upon one another. Tonnies (cited in Kar 2009 : 80-81) has talked about two kinds of group- Gemeinschaft (found in village) and Gesellschaft (found in town). Tonnies has used the term Gemeinschaft to describe the rural areas and its habitants. Social life is characterized by intimate, private relationships. Members are found by common language and tradition. They recognize common goods – common evils; common friends – common enemies; carry a sense of 'we-ness' and 'our-ness'. In contrast Gesellschaft indicates a totally different style of life. By its very nature Gesellschaft allows people to become more self-centered. Sense of 'we-ness' is declined, people become more rational and more calculating. In Gesellschaft, the natural social institutions of kinship, neighbourhood and friendship are predominant; in Gesellschaft, all these forms of associations tend to decline. In Gesellschaft, each person is known in terms of a particular role and service provided such as teacher, butcher and so on. Along with theories of contrast, theories of deduction are frequently used to explain urban society. Louis Wirth, George Simmel are the main proposers of this theory. Writh's (cited in Dasgupta 2011 : 208) remarkable proposition 'urbanism as a way of life' has emphasized on three assumptions from which other propositions are deduced: size, density and heterogeneity. Urban characteristics are based on these three basic criteria. The first two are mainly ecological characteristics and the third one is sociological. Size, the principal ecological characteristic of the city, is the indicator of large number of populations which includes a wide range of individual variation in status and ethnic heritage. Urban social situations weaken the kinship bond and neighbourhood bond. The limitation in personal interaction leads to segmentation of social contacts and less intimacy. In term, urbanity increases superficiality, anonymity and the transitory characteristics. Density, another
324 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 characteristic of city, intensifies the need of specialization and differentiation of occupations. Heterogeneity destroys the narrow divisions of groups and introduces a more complex pattern of social stratification. The contact between people of different backgrounds leads to sophistication and cosmopolitanism which are considered the typical of urbanity. Heterogeneity also leads to greater mobility both geographical and social. Heterogeneity also produces a certain amount of social levelling. This levelling is accomplished by means of the standardization of consumer goods, beliefs, social intercourse and so on. Another proposer of deductive theory is George Simmel (1964, cited in Macionis and Parrillo 2011 : 125-126). According to him, compared with rural society, urban society demands greater punctuality and exactness from urban residents. If an individual wants to survive in city, he or she needs to be more rational and precise and less impulsive. Urban people are sophisticated and intellectual. Rationality is associated with advanced economic division of labour which requires a universal means of exchange. Money performs that vital task. He believes that money is the base of development of metropolis. 19.10 Urbanization and Social Change Rao's (1992 : 487-509) study has revealed that the process of urbanisation leads to certain changes in society. These changes depend on several factors such as attitude of people who live at near-by villages, relationship between town and its surrounding villages, the location of the city, type of the city and so on. There are some villages in which a good number of people work in far-off cities even in overseas cities. They live there and visit natal villages occasionally. But they send money regularly to their families and invest their earnings in building houses within the village. In such villages, urban employment itself becomes a symbol of higher social prestige. Further, the city where an emigrant is employed and the nature of his job become additional criteria of status-differentiation. Rao (1992 : 488) has mentioned that a good number of people from the villages of Gujrat are engaged in jobs in different cities of Africa and Britain. They have built fashionable houses in their natal villages; invested money on land and industry; donated money for library, establishment of educational institutions and trusts. Villagers feel urban impact though villages are not physically situated near the cities. The second type of urban impact is seen in those villages which are close to an industrial town. If any industrial town, like Bhilai, comes up in the midst of villages
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 325 then some villages are totally uprooted while the lands of others are

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partially acquired. Influx of immigrant workers stimulates a demand for houses and market inside the

villages and create some problems regarding relationships between the native residents and the immigrants. The growth of metropolitan cities accounts for the third type of urban impact on the surrounding villages. During the time of expansion, metropolitan city includes its surrounding villages, In general, these villagers seek urban employment. Some of them may involve dairy-farming, poultry keeping and so on. They may seek employment in the city and start commenting. They participate directly in the economic, political and social activities, and cultural life of the city (ibid : 488-490). 19.11 Summary Urbanization may improve environmental quality as a result of numerous reasons. For instance, urbanization upsurges income levels which instigates the eco- friendly services sector and increases demand for green and environmentally compliant products. Furthermore, urbanization improves environmental eminence through superior facilities and better-quality living standards in urban areas as compared to rural areas. Lastly, urbanization curbs pollution emissions by increasing R&D and innovations. In his book Whole Earth Discipline, Stewart Brand argues that the effects of urbanization are primarily positive for the environment. First, the birth rate of new urban dwellers falls immediately to replacement rate and keeps falling, reducing environmental stresses caused by population growth. Secondly, emigration from rural areas reduces destructive subsistence farming techniques, such as improperly implemented slash and burn agriculture. Alex Steffen also speaks of the environmental benefits of increasing the urbanization level in "Carbon Zero: Imagining Cities that can save the planet". However, existing infrastructure and city planning practices are not sustainable. In July 2013 a report issued by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs warned that with 2.4 billion more people by 2050, the amount of food produced will have to increase by 70%, straining food resources, especially in countries already facing food insecurity due to changing environmental conditions. The mix of changing environmental conditions and the growing population of urban regions, according to UN experts, will strain basic sanitation systems and health care, and potentially cause a humanitarian and environmental disaster.
326 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 19.12 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) What do you mean by urbanization ? (ii) What is urban evolution ? (iii) Define Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. (iv) What do you mean by current urban wave ? (v) Describe first urban wave ? (vi) What do you mean by current urban wave ? (vii) Describe the different types of urban centres in India. (viii) What is mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity ? (ix) Write a note on second urban wave. (x) Write a note on theory of deduction. G-B (10 Marks each) (xi) Describe the Indus Valley Civilization ? (xii) Describe the features of urban community. (xiii) Discuss the pre-requisites of urbanization. (xiv) Write a note on urban waves. (xv) Differentiate between rural and urban areas. (xvi) Discuss the theories of contrast. (xvii) Discuss the impact of urbanization on social change ? 19.13 Bibliography (i) Ahuja, Ram. (2009) : Social Problems in India, Jaipur : Rawat Publication. (ii) Bhattacharyya, D. C (2014) : Sociology, Kolkata : Vijoya Publishing House (iii) Childe, V. Gordon (1951) : Man Makes Himself, NewYork : New American Library
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328 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Unit - 20 ❑ Westernization Structure 20.1 Objectives 20.2 Introduction 20.3 Westernization : Origin and Concept 20.4 Phases of Westernization in India 20.5 Modernization 20.6 Process of Westernization in India 20.7 Westernization : Some features 20.8 Impact of Westernization on India during British Rule 20.9 Impact of Westernization in Indian Culture 20.10 Westernization and Sanskritization 20.11 Criticism 20.12 Summary 20.13 Questions 20.14 Suggested Readings 20.1 Objectives ● To understand the nature of social change in Indian society. ● Describe Hinduisation, Sanskritisation, Westernisation, Modernisation, Globalisation and Multiculturalism as social processes. ● Understand how these processes are responsible for social change in India. 20.2 Introduction Like Sanskritization, westernization is an important process of social change. It has taken place in India as a result of the British rule. The 150 years British rule 328
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produced some radical and lasting changes in Indian social set up. The Britishers brought with them new technology, knowledge, beliefs, values

and institutions. For example, the introduction of Printing Press by them are produced many changes in the life of the Indians. The concept 'Westernization' is easy to understand but difficult to "Explain. We can define. Westernization is a process or changing life style of the Indians towards the west. 20.3 Westernization : Origin and Concept The concept of Westernization is applied to indicate the certain changes in Indian society. M. N. Srinivas (1998 : 49) has

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used this term to describe the process of social and cultural mobility in traditional social structure of

India. He (ibid) has remarked

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that, "British rule produced radical and lasting changes in Indian society and culture.

It was unlike any previous period in Indian history as

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the British brought with them new technology, institutions, knowledge, beliefs and values." The

British have laid the foundation of modern state in the nineteenth century. In other words, modernization has taken place in India during British rule through the process of survey of land, settlement of revenue, establishment of schools, colleges, police, army, law-courts, new bureaucracy, development of communication like railways, post, and telegraph and so on. Newspapers have made people of different parts of India to realise that they have common bond. In fact, the colonial rule has integrated the different segments of Indian society (Srinivas 1998 : 49; Doshi and Jain 2004: 90). Some traditional customs such as suttee, female infanticide, human sacrifice, slavery have also been abolished during the first half of nineteenth century. All these changes are the result of British rule and Srinivas (ibid : 50) has used the term 'Westernization' to indicate the changes in a non-western country as a result of contact with a western one. Further, he (ibid : 51) has stated that westernization has brought fundamental changes in old institutions. In traditional India, only upper caste pupils can enter into schools and they are taught mostly traditional knowledge. Civil service and law courts are also similarly affected in traditional India. Westernization results the introduction of new schools and other institutions which are secular in character. In short, through the process of westernization a non-western country comes with the contact of western society and changes its technology, institutions, ideology and values. In India westernization is primarily meant the impact of British (Ahuja 2006 : 356-357).

330 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 20.4 Phases of Westernization in India The impact of west in India has been discussed in five phases. The first phase has experienced a hostile contact with the conquest of Alexander, though successive centuries experience a peaceful interchange in the field of trade and Commerce. The second phase has begun by the end of the fifteenth century when Vasco de Gama arrives in 1498 A.D. Within a few years the Portuguese have occupied Goa. But the effects of west during these phases are relatively restricted. The third phase begins with the arrival of the East India Company in the eighteenth century. The phase of British rule is very important for the expansion of western cultures in India. The fourth phase begins in the nineteenth century. The British has exploited India economically and has become active to expand western cultures in social field. The fifth and last phase had begun after independence (Ahuja 1999 : 476 – 477). Western culture has brought four types of changes in Indian society. These are eliminative changes, addictive changes, supportive changes and synthetic changes. The eliminative changes indicate those changes which have been abolished from Indian culture, such as abolition of 'suttee system' (widow burning). India has adopted certain cultural traits from the British such as introduction of divorce in the Hindu marriage system, giving share to the daughters of their fathers' property and so on. These changes are called addictive changes. Some changes have strengthened the values, beliefs or behaviour patterns which are still present in society. These values and beliefs are continued from pre-western era. These types of changes are supportive changes. The synthetic changes are created from existing culture and adopted culture. Some examples of these synthetic changes are emergence of residentially nuclear family but functionally joint family which continues to fulfil the social obligations towards parents and siblings. It is to be noted here some changes simultaneously may become supportive changes and eliminative changes. For example, introduction of textile industry. It contains supportive elements as it facilitates the production of cloth. But at the same time, it has eliminative character as it pushes back the traditional handloom and weaving industries. Finally, it is to be mentioned here that westernization has brought both positive (giving up evil social practices) and negative (communal disharmony) changes in Indian society (ibid : 478–479). 20.5 Modernization It is found that westernization has brought a good number of modern changes

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 331 and then it can be called modernization. Some sociologists like Singh (2004 : 12), Lerner (cited in Srinivas 1998 : 53) prefer to use the term modernization to westernization. Modernization may start in various aspects of social structure. The process of modernization is commonly approached in terms of economic development. It brings certain changes in traditional societies. For example, education is viewed as essential for all. Without mass education democracy cannot be successful or 'good for all' cannot be achieved. Land reform is sought as a matter of social justice. It is a system of income re-distribution rather than an increase in total income. Establishment of modern civil service is an important characteristic of modernization. A kind of administrative ethic can be established through civil service by choosing full-time personnel on the basis of merit. Further, modernization must be considered in terms of economic growth. The process of industrialization is closely related with modernization. "Industrialization means an extensive use of inanimate sources of power for economic production and all that entails by way of organization, transportation, communication and so on." Many underdeveloped areas, which are mainly based on agricultural production, consider industrialization as factory production of non-agricultural products. Later, industrialization includes mechanization of agriculture and of the ancillary services of transportation and communication. (Moore 1978 : 95-97). It is clear that modernization is that process of social change in which economic development is the principal component. Along with economic development modernization brings some changes such as secularisation of ideas, increase in geographical and social mobility, spread of scientific and technical education, transition from ascribed to achieved status, increase in material standards of living, high proportion of working face employed in secondary and tertiary level rather than primary level, high degree of urbanisation, high level of literacy, improvement in mass media, high expectancy rate of life and so on. In short, modernization brings certain changes in economic, political and cultural sphere. In economic field, modernization indicates the development of very high level of technology and systematic application of knowledge. In political sphere, modernization means democratization. In cultural sphere, modernization brings new values in respect of education, religion, personal outlook and so on (Ahuja 1999 : 481-482). Daniel Lerner (cited in Srinivas 1998 : 53) has considered the term modernization as appropriate. The term westernization is unsuitable for several reasons. It is a term of local label. He has found that educated people in the Middle East, which is Lerner's area of interest, reject U.S.A and accept

332 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 USSR. The model which is imitated by the countries of Middle East may not be a Western country but Russia, Turkey, Japan or India. They have a strong anti-colonial feeling. The hostile attitude towards west may be expressed in several areas of culture and social life. Srinivas (1998 : 53) has opined that "The allergy to westernization is the result of Middle Eastern ethnocentrism, expressed politically in extreme nationalism, psychologically in passionate xenophobia." According to him (ibid: 54) the term westernization is ethically neutral. It does not carry the implication of 'good' or 'bad' whereas modernization is normally used in the sense of good. But Singh (2004 : 12) believes that the term westernization is more value-loaded than modernization because it has a pejorative connotation. The term westernization is an indicator of former colonial domination on the countries of the East. 20.6 Process of Westernization in India It was found that, at the initial stage the process of westernization was localised and peripheral. It was confined to middle class people in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras which are now known as Kolkata, Mumbai and Chennai respectively. Educational institutions were concentrated around those cities and education

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was confined to the upper and middle-class urban people.

English education acquainted the Indians with western ideologies and values. Further, English education gave an impetus to the rise of social and cultural reformation movements. Westernization was not equally spread among all sections of people. The twice-born castes were the first among all to realise the trend of change and also took advantage of those new opportunities. In India, the process of westernization took place through three levels – primary, secondary and tertiary. At the primary level, a small group of people came into contact with western cultures and they were the first group of beneficiaries. At the secondary level, some group of people came into direct contact with the primary beneficiaries. The third level or tertiary level of westernization indicated to those people who were benefitted by the process of westernization indirectly. Weaker sections of India also came to contact with westernization through missionary activities. During British rule, Christian missionaries worked in different parts of India including backward and tribal areas. As a result, weaker sections of people got a sense of westernization (Sharma 2008 : 43; Doshi and Jain 2004 : 91; Abraham 2009 : 255). Westernization is closely related with urbanization and industrialization. In India, urbanization has brought certain changes in family structure (breakdown of the
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 333 joint families) and also in family relationships. Caste ties have been slackened. Certain changes have come in the fields of morality and religion. Though westernization also accelerates the above changes, urbanization and westernization are not same processes. It is to be mentioned here that the cities of pre-industrial era and the cities of post-industrial era are characteristically different. This is also true in case of western societies. But after the industrial revolution, number of cities has been increased. Simultaneously it is also found that urbanization and industrialization are positively correlated. Highly westernized groups are generally found in the big cities. Again, it is cautioned that urbanization and westernization are not same process. It may be possible that groups inhabiting in rural areas are westernized. Even in India, in some rural areas where commercial crops are grown, westernized groups are found. Westernized groups are also found in those villages which have a tradition of providing soldiers for the Indian army. (Rao 1992: 20-21; Srinivas 1998: 50) Rao(1992: 94) has remarked that "urbanization during British rule was characterized by features of westernization". Kuppuswamy (1984: 61-62) has mentioned the process of westernization in two areas of Bangalore – Cantonment area and City area. In Cantonment area people frequently come across British civil and military personnel. Indians of this area speak in English (with or without education), wear clothes of western style, consume alcohol and smoke. Another significant influence in this area is existence of a fairly large Anglo-Indian population. In contrast, Brahmins of the city area have learnt western education at the high school and college level. They have accepted western literature and science, but do not change their style in dress nor they adopt the habits of the British. Brahmins speak English more grammatically while the cantonment people speak English with the British accent and use their diction. The picture houses in cantonment area show only British films while Indian films are popular in city area. Restaurants of cantonment area serve bread, butter, cakes, biscuits and so on. They are more westernized in style while the restaurants of city area serve idli, dose, vade etc. in Karnatak style. There are bars in cantonment areas. Middle-class people of cantonment areas visit these bars to consume bear whisky etc. In city areas, only toddy and arrack shops are found in slum areas. Workers of city area visit those shops. In general, it is to be said that cantonment people are more westernized externally. Singer (cited in Ahuja 1999: 474) has studied the leading industries in Madras and has found a different process of change in the style of life and religious belief of lower and upper castes. There is a change in the practice of ritual pollution both

334 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 in the office and factory. Home and workplace – both are separated in terms of practising of ritual pollution and daily habits. In workplaces, different castes mix with each-other freely. They eat same hotels and restaurants, travel in same cars, participate same meeting and so on. Many upper caste Hindus even Brahmins are engaged in highly polluting works as per Hindu religion. They use western dress, speak English and follow western customs in the factories. At home, they use Indian clothes, speak in their local languages and practise Hindu rituals. This is what Singer recommends as 'compartmentalisation.' Another study in a village of eastern Uttar Pradesh has revealed that Sanskritization and westernization have taken place simultaneously. There are two main castes – a dominant caste of Thakurs and a large number of untouchable caste of Chamars. The Chamars attend local schools and have managed to raise their income. They have a trend to imitate their landlord's (Thakur's) ritual in the ceremonies of marriage and birth. On the other hand, a good number of Thakurs have migrated to the cities and have become industrial workers, clerks and teachers. They are westernized in respect of their dress, habits, manners and also in religious outlook (ibid: 473 - 474). 20.7 Westernization : Some Features Scholars have mentioned certain characteristics of westernization. Some of these important characteristics are given below. ● In Indian society, westernization is the result of British rule. ● Westernization is accelerated by the British as well as Christian Missionaries. ● Westernization is associated with certain values such as humanitarianism, equalitarianism, rationalism and so on. ● The term humanitarianism has a broad connotation which includes certain other values. One of these values is welfare of all human beings irrespective of caste, sex, age, religion, economic status etc. ● Another value which is associated with westernization is equalitarianism which stands for minimising inequality, (removal of poverty), liberty to all and so on. It is also a democratic value. ● Indians have accepted the scientific innovations of west. As a result, Indians are eager to improve their standard of living in terms of material welfare. ● The idea of secularization is associated with westernization.
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 335 ● Westernization causes a number of social reforms in India. ● Westernization is a process of changes of exogenous form in Indian society. ● Westernization has brought a number of socio-economic changes such as establishment of scientific-technological institutions, establishment of modern schools and colleges, rise of new political culture, development in communication system and so on. ● Western institutions such as banking system, public administration, military organisation, modern medicine, law etc. are introduced in India. ● Modern means of communication such as railways, bus, postal service, press, radio, television have affected the lives of Indians in various ways. ● Westernization becomes an important factor of upward social mobility. ● The term westernization has close association with some other terms such as modernization, urbanization, industrialization and so on. ● To some extent the process of westernization is accelerated by Sanskritization. In fact, these two processes are linked with each other. ● The nature of westernization in India is varied from region to region. ● Westernization is attached to macroscopic level at least as depicted by Srinivas. In other words, westernization brings cultural changes in macro- level. ● Westernization reduces rigidity of caste system. ● Westernization has brought a new 'great tradition of modernization.' ● Western educated people become conscious regarding their rights and freedom. In other words, western education has broadened the outlook of Indian people. ● The impact of westernization on traditional Indian institutions such as marriage, family, caste, religion is great. Westernization has affected the inter-personal and the inter-familial relationships of the Indians. ● A vibrant middle-class has emerged. ● Westernization causes to establish a strong feeling of nationalism. (Ahuja 1999 : 473-479; Beteille 1971 : 220; Doshi and Jain 2004 : 91-93; Kothari 1995 : 69; Sharma 2008 : 43-46; Singh 2004 : 9-27).

336 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 20.8 Impact of Westernization on India during British Rule In India, westernization is equated with British rule. A number of socio- economic changes have taken place in the fields of food habit, dress, education, technology, and patterns of behaviour and so on. Westernization is a multi-layered process of diffusion of western ideas, philosophy, system of laws, western ways of life and culture in Indian society. Western education and communication have accelerated the process of westernization. Western ideas have eroded the concept of purity and pollution in caste system – eating is no longer an act of ritual; vegetarianism is not necessarily a virtue. Traditional dresses are replaced by western fashions. Though caste system has been survived in India, ideas of equality, humanity, social justice, individual-dignity have been strengthened (Abraham 2009 : 255). As an ongoing process, westernization has a great impact on rural India. After independence, the government of India have given special attention for the development of villages. The people of rural areas are also accustomed with different types of modern means and come closer to westernization. Western values have a great impact in Indian society. India has experienced a number of social reforms. Age old social evils and practices such as sati, untouchability have become punishable offence by new laws. With the introduction of uniform law, science and technology Indian society has started to become modernized. Industrialization and urbanization have changed the traditional patterns of lives and have introduced modern economic system. These processes are also helpful to lessen age-old social evils like purity and pollution of caste-system. Westernization has also introduced bureaucratic administrative structure in India. Westernization has brought the value of secularism. This value is essential for India as India is a multi-religious country. Later it has been accepted in the Indian constitution. A synthesis especially between the elites of India and the elites of the west has occurred. Finally, westernization accelerates national and social awakening. Indian elites have borrowed several humanistic elements from the British and use those to create national feelings and political consciousness. (Doshi and Jain 2004 : 91-92; Sharma 2008 : 43-44). Beteille (1971: 191, 220) has conducted a village study in Sripuram of Tanjore District in South India. He has noticed that westernization has brought a certain number of changes within caste-structure. A general trend towards the contraction of structural distance between proximate segments of caste group is found. For example, marriages take place between two subdivisions of the Brihacharanam
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 337 segment; commensal relations are common between Smarthas and Shri Vaishnavas. In general westernization has also brought certain changes among Brahmins in their style of life in comparison with the past. Westernized Indians are

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varied from region to region; from one section of population to another. Some people may become westernized in their dress, diet, manners, speech and

by using of gadgets (specially electronics). On the other hand, some people acquire western science, knowledge and literature. Latter group are free from external features of westernization. Many Brahmins have accepted the dress and hair-style (tuff is replaced by cropped hair); send their children to westernized schools, use western gadgets but they do not accept the western diet or recreation patterns (Ahuja 2006 : 357). Westernization has created new status group in Indian society. It also accelerates the distinction between westernized and non-westernized group in Indian society. Structural changes are found in the fields of agriculture, industry and polity. 20.9 Impact of Westernization in Indian Culture Westernization has brought a new cultural tradition in India. India has got a taste of modern culture with the advent of the West. The impact of the Dutch and the French Culture is minimal but the British has emerged as a dominant power in India. The western impact on the Indian culture is therefore of British culture. With the advent of British rule, India has experienced some modern characteristics such as formal rationality, experimentation, codification, verification, rational-utilitarian orientation in behaviour and thought and so on. Westernization has encouraged the values of equality and universalism. Western cultures have provided new basis of social stratification which emphasise on achievement, not on ascription. Individual performances are encouraged in place of hereditary ascriptions. Gradually, the westernization has brought innovatory changes in the cultural pattern of India. Primarily a group of Indian intellectuals and scholars have accepted western cultures which in turn leads to emergence of a sub-cultural pattern. They also support its rapid expansion. Westernization is also spread in the area of dress, food, style of life and habits. This process is diffused both among the laymen and scholars, among the villagers and urban dwellers. Further, some forms of westernization have crossed local or regional boundaries, such as education, law, science and technology, new forms of politicization, urbanization, industrialization, new media for

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cultural transmission through press, printing and facilities of transport and communication (

Singh 2004 : 85 – 87).
338 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 The sub-cultural pattern of westernization has grown in stages. At first, a commercial middle-class emerges in the 18th century. Its social composition is

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different from region to region. In Calcutta, a most important centre of British influence in terms of politics and commerce, new middle-class has emerged mostly from the Banyan (merchant) caste. In Madras,

middle-class emerges from Brahmins and in Bombay from Parsis. The members of this class serve as middle men for the European traders. These commercial groups are partly westernized. They emulate some of the European customs and ways of living. One European has observed these middlemen flocking aboard the ship at Madras Presidency and has differentiated them from boatmen by describing them as "…. they were clad in a more stylish garb, with a head dress of calico-coiled turban, light vest and loose trousers. They all spoke English, offered their services for small wages, and waited on the passengers to execute their business" (ibid: 88-89). This type of middlemen who are also interpreters, are also present in Bengal. According to Singh (ibid: 89), this group is not westernized but quasi-westernized. Their jobs require specialized training and education, new professional skill in trade and commerce, ability of rational managerial administration for modern trade and commerce. Soon they transform into a new commercial middle class. They are very small in number but they play significant role in the process of westernization. They are the fore runners of westernization. A sub-culture of westernization is gradually established in India through them. In the early part of 19th

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century, new sub-cultures of westernization have begun to emerge. These are represented by the new generation of middle-class professional groups and social reformers.

A good number of western educational institutions are established by the government and missionaries. Though these educational institutions are concentrated in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay regions. Western values and ideologies are inculcated among the Indians. Along with this, expansion of Christianity accelerates the process of westernization. New educated groups have also adopted the habits and customs of Europeans. They have well-furnished houses. They like to consume wines. The impact of westernization is also found in literature. In Bengal, poets and novelists follow western style and ideologies. Similar influence is found among Tamil, Telegu and Marathi literatures. These literary works also play an important role to inculcate western values among Indian people. Role of social reformers also helps to change stagnant Indian society. They oppose age-old social evils of India (ibid: 89-92). Reform movements of Indians and the British legal system cause the abolition of Indian customs which are considered as a part of religion such as 'suttee' (widow burning). Further,
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 339 rationality and humanity have got importance with the expansion of westernization. British administration has introduced

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civil, penal and procedural laws which put an end to inequal laws of Hindu and Islamic jurisprudence.

According to the Hindu law in pre-British era, punishment varies on the basis of persons' cast. In Islamic law the evidence of non-Muslims is not admissible. Both Hindus and Muslims regard their codes as divine. On the other hand, British administration and Christian missionaries have fought against all types of inequalities like untouchability, institution of caste, low position of women, child marriage, polygamy and so on (Srinivas 1998 : 51-52). Srinivas (ibid : 52) has remarked that, "no alien government would have dared to declare the practice of untouchability in any form an offense or to enforce the right of Harijans to enter Hindu temples and draw water from upper caste wells in villages." British administration has controlled banditry, lawlessness, private armies and thugee (an institutionalized form of deception and killing). Thus, India has experienced a qualitative change through the process of westernization (Singh 2004 : 93). 20.10 Westernization and Sanskritization Westernization and sanskritization, both are the processes of cultural and social change in India.

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Sanskritization, a process by which low Hindu caste or tribal or other group

can change status, seems to

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have occurred throughout Indian history and still continues to occur. On the other hand, westernization has been introduced in Indian history during British rule and

is still continuing. After independence, the process of westernization has been quickened. Westernization is not confined within any particular section of the people. The impact of westernization, both in the number of people it affects and the ways in which it affects them, is steadily increasing. Sanskritization and westernization – both concepts are used by Srinivas (1998 : 1-94) to understand and to analyse the changes of Indian society. Both of them have become the part of cultural approach to study society. Sanskritization is found within the caste structure while westernization is observed beyond the caste structure. Through the process of Sanskritization, lower castes get the chances to be absorbed in the mainstream. Westernization offers modern way of life to all people. It is secular in character but Sanskritization takes place within Hindu religion. The gap between castes becomes narrowed through the process of Sanskritization while westernization may narrow the gap between castes or widen the gap or leave it as before. It depends on impact of westernization on upper and lower castes. Along with
340 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 Sanskritization westernization is also an important factor of upward social mobility (Srinivas 1998 : 1; Kothari 1995 : 23, 91; Doshi and Jain 2004 : 91; Ahuja 2006 : 400). Compared with Sanskritization, westernization is a simpler concept. The social changes take place during British period is known as westernization. Westernization and Sanskritization – both can go simultaneously. Sometimes westernization accelerates the process of Sanskritization. Modern means of communication such as postal facilities, railways, newspapers, media, and telecommunication are developed in British period. These modern means help people to communicate with each other. Caste members also can contact with each other easily. Religious pilgrimages, caste- meetings are more possible now than in the past. Westernization and Sanskritization have focused to analyse the cultural changes in society not structural changes. But a question may arise here – do they (Sanskritization and westernization) explain all types of major cultural changes in India ? Two concepts 'logical' and 'contextual' are used here to answer this question. In logical sense, Sanskritization and westernization – both are '

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truth asserting' concepts which oscillate between the logics of ideal- typical and nominal definitions of phenomena.

Their connotation is after all vague, especially when the discussion is shifted from one level of cultural reality to another; that is from historical specific to contextual specific. Sanskritization is not a single concept; it is a bundle of concepts. But it is to be remembered here that Sanskritization denotes a widespread cultural process (Singh 2004 : 9 – 10). Singh (ibid : 10-26) has also mentioned that Sanskritization and westernization – both are founded upon empirical observations and highlights some aspects of cultural changes. But both have failed to develop any theory of cultural change. Both the concepts are devoid of hypotheses and do not indicate true or false. It is to be said that both the processes may be clumsy or elegant, appropriate or inappropriate, effective or ineffective but not true or false. So as truth-asserting concepts they have appropriateness but theoretically they are loose terms. Now-a-days, some castes and some religious groups prefer to emphasize their own in-group identity through isolation and nativistic revivalism. Some of these movements are Dravidian identity in south, tribal identity in the eastern border of India, Muslim identity in Kashmir and so on. Both the term, westernization and Sanskritization are unable to explain these processes. Both the processes, Sanskritization and westernization, are connected with macroscopic level though Sanskritization also has some connection in micro level. Sanskritization
NSOU ● GE-SO-11 341 means a process of endogenous changes while westernization is a process of changes from an exogenous form. The basic changes in micro and macro structure of Indian society are taking place with the contact of west. The scientific and technological innovations bring changes in Indian social structures. Westernized group specially who live in urban areas follow western cultures. Brahmins who are westernized approve alcoholic drinks, non-vegetarian diets, widow re-marriage. These processes are acts of De-Sanskritization. People of lower castes consume alcohol and eat meat. In this sense, westernization is connected with De-Sanskritization (Rao 1992 : 386). 20.11 Criticism The process of westernization has been criticised on the following grounds. ● Westernization has an external character which fails to explain all types of Indian cultural changes. ● The term westernization has also complexity like Sanskritization Srinivas (1998 : 49) has equated the term westernization with the British impact in India. But after independence models of other countries specially Russia and America are followed. ● The term westernization has a pejorative connotation to the Indians and also to the people of some other states of Asia. This term indicates the former colonial domination on these Asian countries by the west. So, it is more value-loaded term than modernization. ● Westernization fails to build theory. ● Though some scholars have mentioned that humanitarianism is associated with westernization; there are some scholars who believe that westernization is a process of cultural and cognitive colonialism. ● Westernization accelerates conflict between the indigenous tradition and the western tradition. ● Now-a-days India is a part of globalization and India becomes the centre of global market and professional activities. ● Western values and ideals are based on the spirit of equality. The people who are inspired by the western values may demand a fair treatment. As the
342 NSOU ● GE-SO-11 benefits of westernization are mainly reached to the upper castes then it has also increased a feeling of deprivation among the lower castes. (Singh 2004 : 12; Sharma 2008 : 43-44; Pramanick 1944 : 41). 20.12 Summary Westernization has been a growing influence across the world in the last few centuries, with some thinkers assuming Westernization to be the equivalent of modernization, a way of thought that is often debated. The overall process of Westernization is often two-sided in that Western influences and interests themselves are joined with parts of the affected society, at minimum, to change towards a more Westernized society, with the putative goal of attaining a Western life or some aspects of it, while Western societies are themselves affected by this process and interaction with non-Western groups. Westernization can also be compared to acculturation and enculturation. Acculturation is “the process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between cultural groups and their individual members.” After contact, changes in cultural patterns are evident within one or both cultures. Specific to Westernization and the non-Western culture, foreign societies tend to adopt changes in their own social systems relative to Western ideology, lifestyle, and physical appearance, along with numerous other aspects, and shifts in culture patterns can be seen to take root as a community becomes acculturated to Western customs and characteristics – in other words, Westernized. Westernization can include Christianization, Americanization and Europeanization, with historical versions including Romanization, Hellenization, Francization, Russification and Germanization. The phenomenon of Westernization does not follow any one specific pattern across societies as the degree of adaption and fusion with Western customs will occur at varying magnitudes within different communities. Specifically, the extent to which domination, destruction, resistance, survival, adaptation or modification affect a native culture may differ following inter-ethnic contact. 20.13 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) (i) What do you mean by westernization?

NSOU ● GE-SO-11 343 (ii) What is modernization? (iii) Why does Srinivas prefer the term westernization? (iv) Why does Lerner prefer the term modernization? (v) What does Singer mean by compartmentalization? (vi) Mention the different phases of the process of westernization in India. (vii) Discuss the impact of westernization in Indian culture. (viii) Discuss the impact of westernization in Indian society. (ix) Mention the negative aspects of westernization. G-B (10 Marks each) (x) Mention the features of westernization. (xi) Write a note on modernization. (xii) Discuss the relationship between westernization and sanskritization. (xiii) Write a note on process of westernization in India. (xiv) Write a critical note on westernization. 20.14 Suggested Readings (i) Abraham, M. Francis. (2009) : Contemporary Sociology : An Introduction to Concepts and Theories, New Delhi : Oxford University Press (ii) Ahuja, Ram (1999) : Society in India, Jaipur : Rawat Publication. (iii) Ahuja, Ram (2006) : Indian Social System,

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Matching text As the text appears in the source.

1/115 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 15 WORDS **87%** **MATCHING TEXT** 15 WORDS

types the Negrito, the proto-Australoid, the Mongoloid, the Mediterranean, the Western Brachycephals, and the Nordic	types are - the Negrito, the Proto-Australoid the Mongoloid, the Mediterranean, the Western Brachycephaly and the Nordic. (

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

2/115 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 18 WORDS **83%** **MATCHING TEXT** 18 WORDS

a large body of people united by common descent, history, culture, or language, inhabiting a particular country or	a large body of people united by common history, culture or language inhabiting a particular territory or

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

3/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	43 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	43 WORDS

as ‘a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of parties entering the union and in the case of the children born of it’.

as “A relation of one or more men to one or more women, which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of children born of it.”

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

4/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

The term refers to a family system in which several generations live in one household.

The term extended family refers to a family system in which several generations of kin live in one household

W https://archive.mu.ac.in/myweb_test/SYBA%20Study%20Material/Socio-2-%20final(shashi)-Syba%20(Fi).pdf

5/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

joint family as ‘a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cook at one hearth, who hold property in common, who participate in common family worship and

joint family is a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common and who participate in common worship and

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

6/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

are related to each other as some particular type of kindred.’ Karve has defined the family in

are related to each other as some particular type of kindred. According Karve, the ancient Indian family in

W https://archive.mu.ac.in/myweb_test/SYBA%20Study%20Material/Socio-2-%20final(shashi)-Syba%20(Fi).pdf

7/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

we call that household joint family which has greater generation depth (

We call that household a joint family which has greater generation depth

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

8/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

family and the members of which are related to one another by property, income, mutual rights and obligations.’

family and the members of which are related to one another by property, income and mutual rights and obligations.”

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

9/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	93 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	93 WORDS

Ethnicity involves a feeling of consciousness among the members of an ethnic group of the existence of such shared characteristics. It also involves the process of mobilization of people along some common point of reference for presenting a united front to articulate their socio-economic or political interests. Ethnicity, thus, involves the process of interaction between two or more groups. Barthes (1969) says that the issue of the identification of social boundary is intrinsic to the concept of ethnicity. Each ethnic group draws a boundary to identify its own members and to distinguish the "we" group from other ethnic groups.

Ethnicity involves a feeling of consciousness among the members of an ethnic group of the existence of such shared characteristics. It also involves the process of mobilization of people along some common point of reference for presenting a united front to articulate their socio-economic or political interests. Ethnicity, thus, involves the process of interaction between two or more groups. Barthes (1969) says that the issue of the identification of social boundary is intrinsic to the concept of ethnicity. Each ethnic group draws a boundary to identify its own members and to distinguish the "we" group from other ethnic groups.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

10/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

which entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical types or customs or both.

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11/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	39 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	39 WORDS

Max Weber used the term ethnic group to connote those human collectivities which 'entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization or migration' (Weber, 1968).

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12/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Ethnicity is a social-psychological process which gives an individual a sense of belonging and identity.

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13/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

Dravidian Organization movement in the state of Tamil Nadu in South India in 1940s and 1950s

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14/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	54 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	54 WORDS

the adoption of Hindi as the national language by the government of India. The movement gave the call for the secession of Tamil Nadu from the union of India on the basis of identity centered on Tamil language. Because of intense linguistic feelings, many states were carved out based on languages by the State Reorganization Act of 1956.

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15/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

tribes are engaged in armed rebellion against the state, is a direct

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16/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

This entails the transformation of ethnic groups into nationalities and their demand

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

17/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

consequence of their oppression, displacement, poverty and anger against their cultural erosion under the onslaught of the dominant mainstream culture. (iv) Ethno-Nationalism

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18/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	35 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	35 WORDS

for autonomous governance or even secession as sovereign nation states. The secessionist movement in Kashmir, the Khalistan movement by Sikhs in Punjab in 1970s and 1980s for a separate homeland and the Naga movement in North-East India

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

19/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	79 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	79 WORDS

ethno-nationalism. (v) Regionalism Regionalism centers around three main factors: i) fear of being assimilated into the dominant culture and, hence, to preserve one's language and culture by demanding an autonomous state, ii) the skewed economic development of India where certain groups feel that they have been left behind despite being rich in resources in their regions and iii) nativistic tendencies – "sons of the soil" concept in which regional identity becomes the source of ethnic strife. Examples include the erstwhile Jharkhand movement in the state of

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20/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Bihar and Telangana movement in the state of Andhra Pradesh, the attack on South Indians in Mumbai in 1960s

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

21/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

India has been a witness to rising ethnic tensions and

India has been a witness to rising ethnic tensions and

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

22/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

conflicts in recent years. Many sociologists have, quite rightly, highlighted the problems encountered in the process of nation-building as a consequence of increasing ethnic problems.

conflicts in recent years. Many sociologists have, quite rightly, highlighted the problems encountered in the process of nation- building as a consequence of increasing ethnic problems.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

23/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	72 WORDS	82%	MATCHING TEXT	72 WORDS

Primary ethnic groups are those which exist in the same place in which historically they have been formed. They are indigenous groups. Examples are the French in France, Germans in Germany, etc., and also Native Indians in the Americas, Andalusians in Spain, etc. Secondary ethnic groups are those which have their origin in society different from the one in which they currently exist, as for example, the Italians, Germans, etc. in Canada or the United States.

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

24/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	111 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	111 WORDS

It is characterized by a large diversity in its population with multitudes of castes and several religious, linguistic, cultural and racial groups living here. Because of intense competition for scarce economic resources and the heightened consciousness among people of different groups to preserve their age-old cultures, India has always been vulnerable to assertions of ethnic identities. ● Lopsided economic development of the country because of which some groups feel that they have been marginalized and completely left behind in the process of development. This makes them highly susceptible to the politics of ethnicity. ● Representative parliamentary democracy in India where different ethnic groups (castes, religious groups, linguistic groups etc.) compete for political power by stressing on horizontal solidarity and consolidation of shared interests.

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W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

25/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

Increasing politicization of caste and religion. Caste and religious identities are often whipped up by political leaders to mobilize people for their vested interests and

Increasing politicization of caste and religion. Caste and religious identities are often whipped up by political leaders to mobilize people for their vested interests and

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

26/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	53 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	53 WORDS

petty political mileages. ● Fear among minorities (both linguistic and religious) that they might get assimilated into the dominant culture leading to the dilution of their cultural heritage. Hence, there is an increasing stress on ethnic identity to forge horizontal solidarity. Such feelings have also increased because of the process of globalization and cultural homogenization occurring everywhere. ●

petty political mileages 5. Fear among minorities (both linguistic and religious) that they might get assimilated into the dominant culture leading to the dilution of their cultural heritage. Hence, there is an increasing stress on ethnic identity to forge horizontal solidarity. Such feelings have also increased because of the process of globalization and cultural homogenization occurring everywhere.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

27/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

Intense feeling of alienation among the tribes of India because of faulty development policies, leading to forced displacement from their age-old inhabited land and forest, reducing them to abject poverty and destitute. 9.9

Intense feeling of alienation among the tribes of India because of faulty development policies, leading to forced displacement from their age-old inhabited land and forest, reducing them to abject poverty and destitute.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

28/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	61%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

cultural, economic and social heterogeneity. The complex ethnic plurality is visible with ethnic groups varying in size, culture

cultural economic and social heterogeneity. The complex ethnic plurality of our nation is a known fact. The ethnic groups vary in size, culture,

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

29/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

Ethnic groups that use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well-being are engaged very often in a form of interest group politics.

Ethnic groups that use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well-being etc. are engaged very often in a form of interest group politics.

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

30/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	68 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	68 WORDS

emergence of ethnicity all around primarily on cultural grounds has put the boundary of nation state under severe stress. Usually the quest for larger identity is emphasized as it also serves some political purposes. But at the same time, this emphasis on a large identity like nation ignores the reality of plural identities and their possible interplay and thus reverts back to the nation where religion, language become static categories of ethnic attributes. 9.10

emergence of ethnicity all round primarily on cultural counts has put the boundary of any nation- state under severe stress. Implicitly assuming the political boundary as something very sacred, the quest for larger identity is usually emphasised. No, doubt, this serves 86 some immediate political purpose (s). But at the same time, this emphasis on a large identity like nation ignores the reality of plural identities and their possible interplay and thus reverts back to the nation where religion, language etc. become static categories of ethnic attributes.

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

31/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	40 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	40 WORDS

Kothari (1988) asserts that ethnic upsurges and "assertions of cultures" in India are the consequences of excesses of modernization and the homogenizing trend of modern states and of their technological/educational imperatives. In his words, ethnicity "is a response-including reaction – to the excesses

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32/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

Isajiw, Wsevolod W. (1992); Definition And Dimensions Of Ethnicity : A Theoretical Framework : Challenges of Measuring an Ethnic World : Science, politics and reality :

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

33/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	9 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	9 WORDS

Joint Canada-United States Conference on the Measurement of Ethnicity,

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

34/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	50%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

There are eight primary kins : husband-wife, father- son, mother-son, father-daughter, mother-daughter, younger brother-elder brother, younger sister-elder sister, and brother-sister. (b) Secondary Kins.

there are eight such primary kins. They are husband-wife, father-son, mother-daughter, father-daughter, mother-son, younger- elder brothers, younger- elder sisters and sister-brother. there are secondary kins.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

35/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	43 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	43 WORDS

defines marriage 'as a relation of one or more men to one or more women, which is recognized by custom or law, and involves rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of children born of it'.

defines marriage as "A relation of one or more men to one or more women, which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of children born of it."

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

36/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

is of two types: First, Sororal Polygyny. It is a type of marriage in which

is of two types, such as, polygyny and polyandry. Polygyny: It is a type of marriage in which

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

37/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	85 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	85 WORDS

does not live alone in society. From birth till death he is surrounded by a number of people. Some of these people are his relatives, some are friends and some are neighbours while all others are strangers and unknown to him. He is bound to all those people who are related to him either on the basis of blood or marriage. The relations based on blood or marriage may be closed or NSOU ● GE-SO-11 171 distant. The bond of blood or marriage which binds people together in

does not live alone in society. From birth till death he is surrounded by a number of people. Some of these people are his relatives, some are friends, and some are neighbors' while all others are strangers and unknown to him. He is bound to all those people who are related to him either on the basis of blood or marriage. The relations based on blood or marriage may be close or distant. The bond of blood or marriage which binds people together in

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

38/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

prescribed the minimum age of marriage at 14 years for girls and 18 years for boys.

prescribed the minimum age of marriage as 18 years for girls and 20 years for boys.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/II%20Sem.%20-%20Socio%20-%20Indian%20Society%2 ...

39/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Aryans were divided into three groups – the Rajanya (Warriors and the aristocracy), the Brahman (priests) and the Vaishya (Cultivators).

Aryans were divided into three groups the Rajanya (warriors and 64 the aristocracy), the Brahman (priests), and the Vaishya (cultivators).

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

40/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Priya, Arya (2016) : Ethnicity in Post-Independent India: A Sociological Perspective on Its Causes and Manifestations : IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (

SA SYBA SOC PAPER - II.pdf (D111235031)

41/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

been born from the mouth of the creator, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaishya from the thighs and the Sudra from the feet.

been born from the mouth of the Supreme Being, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaishyas from the thighs and the Sudra from the feet

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

42/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

even voice are considered by the caste Hindus to be polluting. They

even voice were considered by the caste Hindus to be polluting. They

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

43/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	60%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

to wear a particular type of dress and are forced to live dirty and unhygienic in the outskirts of

to wear a particular type of dress and were forced to live in the outskirts of

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

44/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	53%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

caste is convened. Some of the offences dealt with are : (a) eating, drinking or having similar dealings with those persons where such social intercourse is forbid- den; (b) keeping a woman of another caste

caste is called the panchayat. Some of the offences dealt with by it are : a) eating, drinking or having similar dealings with a caste or sub – caste, with which such social intercourse is held to be forbidden, b) keeping as concubine a women of another caste,

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

45/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	65 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	65 WORDS

refusing to maintain a wife ; (f) non-payment of debt ; (g) petty assault ; (h) breaches of the customs of the trade peculiar to the caste ; (i) encroaching on another's clientele, and raising or lowering prices ; (j) killing cow or other forbidden animals ; (k) insulting a Brahmin ; (l) defying the customs of the caste regarding feasts, etc. during marriage and other ceremonies. It

refusing to maintain a wife, h) non – payment of debt, i) petty assaults, j) breaches of the customs of the trade peculiar to the caste, k) encroaching on another's clientele and raising or lowering prices, l) killing a cow or any other forbidden animal, m) insulting a Brahmin and n) defying the customs of the card regarding feasts etc. during marriage and other ceremonies. It

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

46/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	63%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

In Bengal, castes are divided into two main groups – the Brahmins and the Shudras. Further the Shudras are divided into four main sub-

In Bengal the castes are divided into two main groups: 1] the Brahmins, and 2] the Shudras. The second class is further divided into four sub-

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

47/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

so impure as to pollute even the Ganges water. Hence their contact must always be avoided.

so impure as to polluted even the Ganges water, and hence their contact must be avoided.

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

48/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	74%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

Civil and Religious Disabilities and Privileges of the Different Sections Segregation of castes in villages are the mark of civil privileges and disabilities and it has prevailed in a

Civil and Religious Disabilities and Privileges of the Different Sections : of Individual or of groups of castes in a village is the most obvious mark of civil privileges and disabilities and it has prevailed in a

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

49/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

In Maratha, Telugu, Kanarese regions, only the impure castes are segregated and live on the

in the Telugu and Kanarese regions, it is only the impure castes that are segregated and made to live on the

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

50/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

In southern India certain parts of the town or village are inaccessible to certain castes.

In southern India certain parts of the town or village are in accessible to certain castes.

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

51/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

It is recorded that under the rule of the Marathas and the Peshwas, the Mahars and the Mangs were not allowed within the gates of Poona after 3 p.m. and before 9

It is recorded that under the rule of the 83 Marathas and the Peshwas, the Mahars and Mangs were not allowed within the gates of Poona after 3 pm and before 9

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

52/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

bodies cast too long a shadow, which falling on a member of the higher castes- especially Brahmin – defiles him. "

bodies cast too long a shadow, which falling on a member of the higher castes especially a Brahmin – defiles him.

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

53/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	47 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	47 WORDS

It was not only the moral restraint and the social check of one's caste-fellows that acted as a restraint on the choice of one's occupations, but also the restrictions put by other castes, which did not allow members other than those of their own castes to follow their callings."

It was not only the moral restraint and the social check of one's caste fellows that acted as a restraint on the choice of one's occupation but also the restriction put by other castes which did not allow members other than those of their own caste to follow their callings.

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

54/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	61%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

from the point of view of caste as a unit, (iii) from the point of view of

from the point of vie of caste, just as they did from the point of view of

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

55/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

They perform certain essential tasks in village. They are village servants, messengers, sweepers and beat drum at village festivals (

They perform certain essential tasks in agriculture, often they are village servants, messengers and sweepers and they beat drum at village festivals

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

56/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

India. (v) Ghurye, G. S. (2000) : Caste and Race in India, Bombay : Popular Prakashan. (

India. 4.9 Ghurye G.S. 1969, Caste and Race in India Bombay, Popular Prakashan.

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

57/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

part of the country to another to make purchases for the European trading companies.

part of the country to another, to make purchases for the European trading companies.

W https://archive.mu.ac.in/myweb_test/SYBA%20Study%20Material/Socio-2-%20final(shashi)-Syba%20(Fi).pdf

58/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

commercial middlemen were probably the earliest groups to come in contact with the western cultural pattern. This cultural pattern of westernization continued to expand in India throughout the 18th Century.

Commercial middlemen were probably the earliest groups to come in contact with the western cultural pattern. This sub-culture of westernization continued to expand in India throughout the eighteenth century

W https://archive.mu.ac.in/myweb_test/SYBA%20Study%20Material/Socio-2-%20final(shashi)-Syba%20(Fi).pdf

59/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

new generation of middle-class professional groups and groups of social reformers emerged. Western education contributed to the growth of this class.

new generation of middle- class professional groups and groups of social reformers. Western educational institutions which contributed to the growth of this class

W https://archive.mu.ac.in/myweb_test/SYBA%20Study%20Material/Socio-2-%20final(shashi)-Syba%20(Fi).pdf

60/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his group were the first group of

Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his group constituted the first group of

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61/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

a modern nation. They organised various progressive social and religious reform movements in the country.

a modern nation and organized various progressive social-reform and religious-reform movements in the country.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

62/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	65%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

India. Outstanding members of Indian intelligentsia founded the first national political organization of the Indian people

India. Outstanding members of the Indian intelligentsia backed up by a commercial and incipient industrial bourgeoisie founded in 1885 the first national political organization of the Indian people,

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

63/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

The concept of dominant caste given by M.N. Srinivas is

SA Final Thesis.docx (D121855219)

64/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Desai, A.R. (1982) : Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Bombay : Popular Prakashan. (

Desai, A. R. (1966). Social Background of Indian Nationalism. Bombay : Popular Prakashan.

W https://archive.mu.ac.in/myweb_test/SYBA%20Study%20Material/Socio-2-%20final(shashi)-Syba%20(Fi).pdf

65/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	73%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid, Mediterranean, Western Brachycephals, and Nordic. The first three are the older

Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Monogoloid, Mediterranean, Western Brachyaphals, and Nordic. Of these, the first three are the older

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

66/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

the chairman of the drafting committee of the Indian constitution,

the chairman of the drafting committee of the Indian Constitution,

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

67/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

inadequate representation in the field of trade, commerce and industry.

Inadequate representation in the field of trade, commerce and industry.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

68/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

making provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of backward

making provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/II%20Sem.%20-%20Socio%20-%20Indian%20Society%2 ...

69/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	36 WORDS	82%	MATCHING TEXT	36 WORDS

for those who do not qualify on the basis of merit. (2) The reservation of 27 per cent be made for promotions at all levels. (3) The reserved quota, if unfilled, should be carried forward for a period

for those who do not qualify on the basis of merit 2. The reservation of 27% for promotions at all levels 3. The reserved quota, if unfilled, should be carried forward for a period

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

70/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

years and de-reserved thereafter. (4) Age relaxation for the backward classes should be the same as it is in the case of

years and de-reserved there after. 4. Age relaxation for the backward classes should be the same as it is in the cases of

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

71/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	41 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	41 WORDS

A roster system should be prepared for the backward classes on the pattern of the one done for the SCs and the STs (6) The principle of reservation should be made applicable to all the public sector undertakings, banks, private undertakings, receiving grants

A roster system should be prepared for the backward classes on the pattern of the one done for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. 6. The principle of reservation should be made applicable to all the public sector undertakings, banks, private undertaking receiving grants

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

72/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

the central and state governments, universities and colleges, (7) The government should make the necessary legal provisions for implementing these recommendations." (

the central and state governments, universities and colleges. 7. The government should make the necessary legal provisions for implementing these recommendations.

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

73/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

in favour of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and other backward classes. (

in favour of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes.

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/II%20Sem.%20-%20Socio%20-%20Indian%20Society%2 ...

74/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law" (Rao 2003: 606). Further the constitution of

SA chanpter three-origin and development of caste system.docx (D40662830)

75/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

India. (vi) Ghurye, G.S. (2000) : Caste and Race in India, Bombay : Popular Prakashan. (

India. 4.9 References Ghurye G.S. 1969, Caste and Race in India Bombay, Popular Prakashan.

W https://kipdf.com/development-of-society-in-india-an-overview_5ac9e8911723dd00365031a8.html

76/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

Sikhism are known as Mazhabis. They live in separate hamlets.

Sikhism are known as Mazhabis, they live in separate hamlets.

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

77/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

have played an important role in India's industrial development. They

have played an important role in India's industrial development. They

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

78/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

Ahuja, Ram. (1999) : Society in India : Concepts, Theories and Recent Trends, Jaipur : Rawat Publications. (ii) Ahuja, Ram. (2006) :

SA Final Thesis.docx (D121855219)

79/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

The state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex

SA chanpter three-origin and development of caste system.docx (D40662830)

80/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

81/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

the caste-system was by the acquisition of territory either through conquest

the caste status was by the acquisition of territory either through conquest

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/II%20Sem.%20-%20Socio%20-%20Indian%20Society%2 ...

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Sharma, K. L. (2002) : Social Stratification and Mobility, Jaipur : Rawat Publication. (xviii) Sharma, K. L. (2008) : Indian Social Structure and Change,

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83/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Ahuja, Ram. (1999): Society in India : Concepts, Theories and Recent Trends, Jaipur : Rawat Publications. (

SA Final Thesis.docx (D121855219)

84/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Harijan castes in Mysore do not accept cooked food and drinking water from the Smiths.

SA Social Change in Modern India.pdf (D67117255)

85/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

are certainly one of the touchable castes and therefore superior to Harijan.

SA Social Change in Modern India.pdf (D67117255)

86/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	67%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

dominant caste should own a large amount of arable land locally available, must occupy a high place in the local

dominant, it should own a sizeable amount of arable land locally available, have strength of number and occupy a high place in the local

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

87/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	65%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

or tribes or other groups change their customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in direction of a high twice-born caste. The

SA chanpter three-origin and development of caste system.docx (D40662830)

88/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

Each locally dominant caste has its own conception of Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaishya models.

each locally dominant caste has its own conception of Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaishya models"

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/II%20Sem.%20-%20Socio%20-%20Indian%20Society%2 ...

89/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

In North Bihar, the high caste Rajputs and Bhumihar Brahmins

in North 61 Bihar the high caste Rajputs and Bhumihar Brahmins

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

90/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

A feature of rural life in different parts of India is the existence of dominant

SA Social Change in Modern India.pdf (D67117255)

91/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	73%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

the culture of a higher group in the hope of gaining its status in future. 302

the culture of an immediate higher group by a lower group in the hope of gaining its status in future.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

92/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

each locally dominant caste has its own conception of Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaishya models.

each locally dominant caste has its own conception of Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaishya models"

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/II%20Sem.%20-%20Socio%20-%20Indian%20Society%2 ...

93/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

such as betel-chewing, wearing gold ornaments, shoes and other forms of dresses. (

such as betel chewing, the wearing of gold ornaments, shoes, and other forms of dresses

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

94/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

tribes of Orissa – the Juangs, the Savaras and the Pauri Bhuiyas.

tribes of Orissa – the Juangs, the Savaras and the Pauri Bhuiyas –

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/190353.pdf

95/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

that way they can elevate their social status and get higher

that way they can elevate their social status and get higher

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

96/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	58%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

put on sacred thread. They also go to their temple regularly and perform Arti and Bhajan. They have

put on sacred thread. They go to their temples regularly and perform Arti and Bhajan. They have

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

97/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

higher caste on the cots without any fear or hesitation. They also keep their houses clean

higher castes on the cots without is a sense of fear or hesitation. They also keep their houses clean.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

98/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	62%	MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS

upward mobility for the caste. But mobility may take place without sanskritization. However, the mobility associated within sanskritization directs only in positional changes in the system. It does not lead to any structural changes in

SA Ideologies and the Thoughts of Anthropologists on Tribes in Indian Historical and Political Anthr ... (D131354075)

99/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

partially acquired. Influx of immigrant workers stimulates a demand for houses and market inside the

partially acquired. They receive an influx of immigrant workers, which stimulates a demand for houses and a market inside the

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/II%20Sem.%20-%20Socio%20-%20Indian%20Society%2 ...

100/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	47%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

produced some radical and lasting changes in Indian social set up. The Britishers brought with them new technology, knowledge, beliefs, values

produced some radical and lasting changes in the Indian society and culture. Unlike any previous period in Indian history, the British brought with them new technology, institutions, knowledge, beliefs and values.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

101/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	79%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

used this term to describe the process of social and cultural mobility in traditional social structure of

used this term to describe the process of cultural mobility in the traditional social structure of

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/II%20Sem.%20-%20Socio%20-%20Indian%20Society%2 ...

102/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

Ahuja, Ram. (1999) : Society in India : Concepts, Theories and Recent Trends, Jaipur : Rawat Publications. (ii) Ahuja, Ram. (2006) :

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103/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

Sharma, K. L. (2002) : Social Stratification and Mobility, Jaipur : Rawat Publications. (xii) Sharma, K. L. (2008): Indian Social Structure and Change,

SA Final Thesis.docx (D121855219)

104/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

the British brought with them new technology, institutions, knowledge, beliefs and values." The

the British brought with them new technology, institutions, knowledge, beliefs and values. The

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

105/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

was confined to the upper and middle-class urban people.

was confined to the upper and middle class urban people.

W https://archive.mu.ac.in/myweb_test/SYBA%20Study%20Material/Socio-2-%20final(shashi)-Syba%20(Fi).pdf

106/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	68%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

varied from region to region; from one section of population to another. Some people may become westernized in their dress, diet, manners, speech and

varied from region to region and from one section of population to another. For instance, one group of people became westernized in their dress, diet, manners, speech, sports and

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

107/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

cultural transmission through press, printing and facilities of transport and communication (

cultural transmission through the press, printing and facilities of transport and communication.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

108/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	40%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

different from region to region. In Calcutta, a most important centre of British influence in terms of politics and commerce, new middle-class has emerged mostly from the Banyan (merchant) caste. In Madras,

different from region to region. In the Calcutta region, which during this period was the most important centre of British influence in politics and commerce being the seat of the company's govt., the new middle class come mostly from the banyan or sarkar caste. In madras

W https://archive.mu.ac.in/myweb_test/SYBA%20Study%20Material/Socio-2-%20final(shashi)-Syba%20(Fi).pdf

109/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	22 WORDS	60%	MATCHING TEXT	22 WORDS

century, new sub-cultures of westernization have begun to emerge. These are represented by the new generation of middle-class professional groups and social reformers.

century new sub-cultures of westernization began to emerge. These were represented by the new generation of middle- class professional groups and groups of social reformers.

W https://archive.mu.ac.in/myweb_test/SYBA%20Study%20Material/Socio-2-%20final(shashi)-Syba%20(Fi).pdf

110/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	67%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

civil, penal and procedural laws which put an end to inequal laws of Hindu and Islamic jurisprudence.

civil, penal and procedural laws which put an end to certain inequalities that were part of the Hindu and the Islamic jurisprudence.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

111/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Sanskritization, a process by which low Hindu caste or tribal or other group

Sanskritization as "process by which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group,

W http://sdeuoc.ac.in/sites/default/files/sde_videos/II%20Sem.%20-%20Socio%20-%20Indian%20Society%2 ...

112/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

that, “British rule produced radical and lasting changes in Indian society and culture.

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113/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

truth asserting’ concepts which oscillate between the logics of ideal- typical and nominal definitions of phenomena.

truth-asserting concept which oscillates between the logics of ideal-typical and nominal definitions of phenomena.

W https://ddceutkal.ac.in/Downloads/UG_SLM/Sociology/Core_2.pdf

114/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Jaipur : Rawat Publication. (iv) Beteille, Andre (1971) : Caste, Class and Power : Changing Patterns of Stratification in Tanjore Village,

Jaipur: Rawat Beteille, Andre (1966), Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village,

W https://www.distanceeducationju.in/pdf/P.G.%20SOCIOLOGY.pdf

115/115	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	54%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

have occurred throughout Indian history and still continues to occur. On the other hand, westernization has been introduced in Indian history during British rule and

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PREFACE In a bid to standardize higher education in the country, the University Grants Commission (UGC) has introduced Choice Based Credit System (CBCS) based on five types of courses viz. core, generic, discipline specific elective, ability and skill enhancement for graduate students of all programmes at Honours level. This brings in the semester pattern which finds efficacy in sync with credit system, credit transfer, comprehensive continuous assessments and a graded pattern of evaluation. The objective is to offer learners ample flexibility to choose from a wide gamut of courses, as also to provide them lateral mobility between various educational institutions in the country where they can carry their acquired credits. I am happy to note that the university has been recently accredited by National Assessment and Accreditation Council of India (NAAC) with grade "A". UGC (Open and Distance Learning Programmes and Online Programmes) Regulations, 2020 have mandated compliance with CBCS for U.G. programmes for all the HEIs in this mode. Welcoming this paradigm shift in higher education, Netaji Subhas Open University (NSOU) has resolved to adopt CBCS from the academic session 2021-22 at the Under Graduate Degree Programme level. The present syllabus, framed in the spirit of syllabi recommended by UGC, lays due stress on all aspects envisaged in the curricular framework of the apex body on higher education. It will be imparted to learners over the six semesters of the Programme. Self Learning Material (SLMs) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. From a logistic point of view, NSOU has embarked upon CBCS presently with SLMs in English / Bengali. Eventually, the English version SLMs will be translated into Bengali too, for the benefit of learners. As always, all of our teaching faculties contributed in this process. In addition to this we have also requisioned the services of best academics in each domain in preparation of the new SLMs. I am sure they will be of commendable academic support. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stakeholders who will participate in the teaching-learning based on these study materials. It has been a very challenging task well executed, and I congratulate all concerned in the preparation of these SLMs. I wish the venture a grand success. Professor (Dr.) Subha Sankar Sarkar Vice-Chancellor
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of population 38-52 Unit 4 ? Malthusian theories of population 53-66 Unit 5 ? Theory of optimum population 67-81 Unit 6 ? Marxist theory of population 82-91 Unit 7 ? Theory of Demographic transition 92-106

Module III : Population, Social Structure and Processes Unit 8 ? Population size and growth, Population explosion 107-125 Unit 9 ? Fertility and Reproduction: Determining factors 126-139 Module IV : Mortality, Morbidity and Health Unit 10 ? Mortality—Trends, Levels, and Determinants in India 140-157 Unit 11 ? Health, Sanitation, and Morbidity: Issues and problems 158-176 Course Title : Population and Society Course Code : GE-SO-21 Netaji Subhas Open University UG : Sociology (HSO)
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NSOU ? GE-SO-21 8 1.8 Conclusion 1.9 Summary 1.10 Questions 1.11 Suggested Readings 1.1 Objectives This course provides a comprehensive survey of the field of social demography the scientific study of population. The course begins by focusing on understanding the core social demographic variables (e.g., fertility, mortality, morbidity, migration), and how these variables influence population growth, composition, and structure. Population will be examined in relation to its sociological determinants and consequences. Upon successful completion of this module students will: ? Understand basic demographic measures ? Know how to choose among alternative demographic measures to describe a population ? Be able to identify alternative sources of demographic data In the latter part of the course, we will shift our attention to the relationship between population and issues such as urbanization, family change, population aging and health, economic growth, and the environment. 1.2 Introduction

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Demography is the statistical and mathematical study of the size, composition, and spatial distribution of human populations and

how these features change over time. Data are obtained from a census of the population and from registries: records of events like birth, deaths, migrations, marriages, divorces, diseases, and employment. To do this, there needs to be an understanding of how they are calculated and the questions they answer which are included in these four concepts: population change, standardization of population numbers, the demographic bookkeeping equation, and population composition. Demographic analysis can be applied to whole societies or to groups defined by is usually considered a field of sociology, though there are a criterion such as
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education, nationality, religion and ethnicity. Institutionally, demography is usually considered a field of sociology, though there are a number of independent demography departments. Formal demography limits its object of study to the measurement of population's processes, while the broader field of social demography population studies also analyze the relationships between economic, social, cultural, and biological processes influencing a population. 1.3

Meaning of Demography The word Demography is a combination of two Greek words, 'Demos' meaning people and 'Graphy' meaning science. Thus, demography is the science of people. In the middle of the 19th century in 1855, the word first used by French writer Achille Guillard. Even though, the term "population studies "is more popular, the word 'Demography' is under wider use these days. It is considered and important subject capable throwing light on the nature of population education. Since antiquity a number of thinkers have expressed their views on the level of economic development and the size of population. During the time of Confucius, many Chinese and Greek writers, and following them Aristotle, Plato and Kautilya have expressed their thoughts on the subject, population education is as old as human civilization.

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Writers like William Peterson, Hauser and Duncan consider "population studies" and "demography" to be different, according to them, "Demography" encompasses limited is spheres and it studies only the decisive factors of population growth,

whereas in Population Studies" besides the social, economic, geographical, political and biological aspects of population, their ensuing relationships are also studied. 1.4 Definition of Demography The term demography has been defined both in a narrow and broad sense. The Oxford Dictionary of Economics defines demography as "the study of the characteristics of human population". According to

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the United Nation multilingual demographic dictionary, "Demography is the scientific study of human populations primarily with respect to their size, their structure and their development".

According to Thomson and Lewis, “The population student is interested in population size
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composition and distribution and in changes in these aspects through time and causes of these changes”. According to

Frank Larimer, “In broad sense demography includes demographic analysis and population studies, A broad study of demography studies both qualitative and quantitative aspect of population”. According to Donald. J. Brogue, “ Demography is a statistical

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and mathematical study of the size composition spatial distribution of human population and of changes over time in this aspect through the operation of the five processes of fertility, mortality, marriage, migration and social mobility. Although it maintains continuous descriptive and comparative analysis of trends, in each of these processes and in its net result its long run goal is to develop

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a body of theory to explain the events that it charts and

compeers”. Broad definitions take into view not only the size composition and distribution of population and changes in them in the long run but also imply human migration and change in the status of population through education, employment, social status, etc. 1.5 Nature of Social Demography When the study of population was emerging as a discipline, Warren. S.Thompson in his book “Entitled Population Problems” described population studies as being concerned with the following questions related to three areas of study: i. What are the changes that are taking place in the size of population and how are these changes brought about? What is the significance of these changes from the standpoint of human welfare? ii. Where people and what are the changes taking place in their distribution in communities and in areas? iii. What kind of people are found in any given population group

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and how do those in one group differ from those in the

other? These questions clearly indicate that the study of population is concerned with its size on numbers, its structure and characteristics, its distribution and the changes taking place in it over a pert time

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is also implied in this description that the subject matter of population studies includes the study of fertility mortality migration and social mobility that is the components of change in the size, structure, characteristics, and distribution of population.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 11 Before delving any further into the details of the nature of population studies it is important at this juncture to have a broad understanding of the various concepts used in the description of the scope of population studies. One important area of study covers the components of population change for the factors responsible for change population. It must be understood that the population of any place at a specific time is a function of three types of events: births, deaths and migration. There are four ways in which the number of if in any area can under go change: i. Children may be born in that area ii. The inhabitants of that area may die iii. People from other areas move into that area iv. Inhabitants of that area may move out. These components of population change namely births, deaths and migration are identified as fertility, mortality, and migration respectively and known as demographic population variables because the size, growth, structure, and distribution of any population are determined by them. A study of any population is made through a study of these demography variables. It is important to understand at this stage the meaning of population structure and population characteristics. Population structure implies that age and sex structure of the population and population characteristics include such characteristics as marital status, literacy and educational status, labor force status, etc. Population characteristics, however, can and do change through "social mobility", that is true movements of individuals from one status to another, for example from "single" to "married" status, and also through fertility mortality and migration. The scope of population studies is quite wide.

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On the one hand, this subject is concerned with a quantitative study of the size, structure, characteristics and territorial distribution of human population and the changes occurring in them in the other hand; it is concerned with the study of the underlying causes of population phenomena. This student of population is engaged is describing and comparing the size, structure, characteristics and territorial distribution of population, and the changes occurring in it through the study of fertility, mortality, migration, and social mobility. He also attends to explain population phenomena and situations and the changes in them in the context of the biological, social, economic, and other setting. For instance, NSOU ? GE-SO-21 12 population phenomena take place in a social setting and cannot be studied in isolation. Hence, while describing comparing for explaining the determinants and consequences of population phenomena, social phenomena have to be taken into consideration. It can be seen that the study of population is multidisciplinary in nature, involving

and

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understanding of Biology, genetics, mathematics, statistics, economics, sociology, cultural anthropology, psychology, politics, geography, medicine, public health, ecology etc.

The multidisciplinary nature of population studies and its relationship with other science will be discussed later in this chapter, after this discussion the difference between "population studies" and "demography" and interesting the origin and development

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of population studies. The discipline of the study of human population is known by two terms: i. Population studies ii. Demography Population studies

can be understood easily as studies concerned with population, where demography can be explained by pointing out that it is derived from the Greek word demos meaning people and hence is the science of population. Though these terms are often used interchangeably,

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some scholars have tried to distinguish between "demographic analysis" and "population studies".

It is considered that, "demographic analysis is confined to

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study of the components of population variation and change", whereas population studies are concerned

not only with population variables but also with the relationships between population changes and other variables, social, economic, political, biological, genetic, geographical and the like. The term "demography" may be used in a narrow sense, as synonyms with "

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demographic analysis" or "formal demography", which is primarily concerned with quantitative relations among demographic phenomena in obstruction from their association with other phenomena. Democracy may also be concept in a broad sense to include,

in addition to the quantitative study of population

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the study of interrelationship between population and socio economic, cultural, and other variables.

Mini population scholars do not approve of creating search and artificial distinction between democracy and population studies. According to Larimer, "demography and limited to the nearly formal treatment of changes in fertility mortality and mobility would be in a position like that of a formal chemist observing the compression of Mercury with no information about associated changes in temperature of the
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 13 Constitution of the liquid. The concept of pure demography except as the skeleton of science is therefore and illusion. Any meaningful study of population, therefore, has to be interdisciplinary. 1.6 Scope of Social Demography The scope of demography is very wide. Includes the subject matter of demography is it a micro or macro study? Weather it is a science or art? These are vexed questions about the scope of demography about which there is no unanimity among writers on demography. The scope of social demography may be discussed under the following points. i. Size of population ii. Composition of population iii. Distribution of population iv. Fertility, mortality, and migration v. Labor force vi. Social demography vii. Population policy The discussion is as follows. 1.6.1 Size of Population Population studies are fundamentally study and the form of its size. The student of population study is interested in studying the size of population. The want to know the changes that are taking place in the size of population. Three important components should bear mind: a. Place: The population studies explain the population phenomena that take place situation and the changes in the contents of biological, social, economic setting. b. Size: May be affected because of higher or lower birth and death rates and migration factors. These components affect the size of the population. c. Time: The size and time do not remain the same the population changes from time to time and it depends on the socio-economic conditions.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 14 1.6.2 Composition of Population Composition of population includes the measurable characteristic of population of community in a country during the particular period. The characteristic of population age, sex, marital status, educational level, religion, caste, race, and health etc. Population study tries to find out the changes in the characteristic which influences on size and distribution of population because this characteristic generally changing. The population study not only studies the changing factors but also the variables responsible for the changes. 1.6.3 Distribution of Population The distribution of population generally studied according to geographical area. It includes percentage and density of population the factors affecting population distribution is geographical, social, and economic etc. It was studied by classification of residence includes rural and urban rural population, locality of residence inhabitance etc. Population study conducted the concerning levels and trends of population distribution. It tries to study density and the percentage causes and factors affecting the population. 1.6.4 Fertility, Mortality, and Migration The important field of birth rate, birth order, family size, sterility, and conception etc. Population studies influence of biological limits social norms upon fertility. It also studies the reproductive stand in addition to those physiological, social, and cultural factors affecting fertility, the interval between the successive work reproductive wastage etc. Another important field of studies is mortality it includes studies of sex, age pattern, causes of death level and trends of mortality and difference in mortality such as rural urban occupation etc. Migration it studies the general trends of migration movement place of origin and destination migration intervals and streams it was a studies differential migration as age sex, marital status and educational attainment and also national and international migration. 1.6.5 Labor Force Study is made of economically active population both employed and unemployed that is not economic league active such as homemakers' students and income recipients the basic measure of economic activity or labor force analysis include the NSOU ? GE-SO-21 15 labor force the age six specific labor force participation the standardized labor force participation rate etc. Besides and international employment and unemployment are undertaken. 1.6.6 Social Demography Social demography includes study of demographic aspect of social institution particularly family and marriage. The study of marriage includes marital status, age at marriage, time and trends, marriage frequency, marriage by religious group education level etc. It was a studies extent of window hood age by religion, duration of reunion, method of computation. 1.6.7 Population Policy The development of country today very much depends upon population policies, population policies include features of guiding principle of organizational structure and service and supplies educational motivation family planning target and family planning progress and achievement etc. The above discussion the nature and scope of demography include only the major and established areas. The scope of democracy has been constantly increasing; therefore, the new area of research and study is between explored. Thus, the scope is constantly widened. 1.7 Development of Population Studies in India The
current rapid growth of population in India is due to a marked decline in mortality, even before significant economic and social development. The future growth of India's population will depend largely upon the future prospects of the fertility decline.

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The birth rate in India has been lower in the urban areas compared to the rural areas. However, prior to 1965, it was essentially due to the age, sex, and marital status composition of the urban population. The lower marital fertility of urban women is a recent phenomenon, observed after 1965. The available evidence is clearly indicative of an inverse relationship between women's education and fertility. Development, which promotes urbanization and education, will have the effect of reducing marital fertility in India.

Through an overview of the various periods in India, the development of population studies in India may be traced. NSOU ? GE-SO-21 16 1.7.1 Pre-Independence Period In the ancient history of India, a few references are found to the collection of population data. Detailed description of how to conduct a population, economic and agricultural census is available in the

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Arthashastra, a treatise on policy attributed to Kautilya, the prime minister of Chandragupta

Maury, The Ain-I-Akabari, compiled by Abul Fazal during the reign of Akbar, contains comprehensive data of population industry, wealth, and characteristics of the population such attempts to collect data were, however, few and far between and are today of purely historical interest. 1.7.2 Census in British India

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Data on Population became available on a regular basis in India only after the establishment of the system of decennial census in 1872. The beginning of census

taking may therefore be considered as the starting point of population studies in India. Many of the earliest census reports have a heavy anthropological slant, for they were written by British administrators who were interested in getting a broad understanding of the unknown strange land they had colonized and the equally unknown strange people whose culture was totally different from their own. These administrators and scholars made a tremendous contribution to the development of population studies in India the British census actuaries contributed much studying the Indian age data and by constructing life tables based on the census data. This is a contribution not only to the development of population studies but also to the discipline of mathematics. Based on census report from 1872 to 1941, Kingsley Davis, the well-known demographic, produced his monumental work the population of India and Pakistan, which is valued even today for its contribution to the progress of population studies in India. 1.7.3 The Imperial Gazetteers While tracing the development of population studies in India; it will not be out of place to mention the Imperial Gazetteers, which content through an exhaustive account of India and her people. The Imperial Gazetteers where first published in 9 volumes appeared in 1882 and was entitled the Indian Empires. The first volume of the Imperial Gazetteers, intersection on public health and vital statistics, contents a discussion on such matters as nutrition, early marriages, birth rates, the relationship between marriage customs and birth dates, rural-urban

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 17 birth and death rates, differential in mortality, by sex, religion, rural-urban residence, infant mortality, causes of death, health conditions in the European and the native army, etc. It is interesting to note, as one looks back that these are precisely the topics who is sir today included in population studies. 1.7.4 The Role of the Intelligentsia While voluminous scholarly census reports and imperial Gazetteers were being prepared by foreign administrators, even if only for their own use, the Indian intelligence did not show any interest in the study of population till the late 1930s. One reason for this lack of interest was that the rate of population growth was not very high at that time and did not cause any serious concern. The other reason was the Nations preoccupation with the struggle for independence. P.K. Wattal may be considered as the pioneer in trying to focus the attention of Indian leaders and thinkers on the population problem in India, when he wrote about it in 1916. His pleas, however, went unheeded, for Indian leaders and thinkers where more concerned about political, social and educational problems than about the population problem. Both the press and public ware inclined to treat it more or less as a joke. In 1933, Wattle brought out new edition office work, Population Problem in India, incorporating the result of the 1931 census of India. In the late 1930s some interest in the study of the population of India was generated in the first Indian population conference was held in 1936 under the auspices of the University of Luck now, at which paper on the Future Growth of India's Population was presented and the need for birth control was discussed. The second world India conference on population and the First Family Hygiene Conference were jointly held in Bombay in 1938. Apart from discussing the social and medical aspect of birth control and human sexuality several other subjects related to population studies were covered. These included differential fertility, maternity and child welfare, infant mortality, housing and health, nutrition, morbidity, vital statistics, logistic law of growth of the Indian population, economic problems associated with population size and growth, such as population and unemployment poverty and population, optimum theory of population, sociology analysis and forecast population growth. This long list indicates the interest of Indian scholars in various aspect of the study of population and highlights their multidisciplinary approach to this study. Prior to Independence, however, the outstanding students of

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 18 population by the economists, and discussions of Indian population center Mile around the question of whether or not India was overpopulated moreover, authors during this period largely concentrated on relating India's population to the Nation's economic condition. The forecast that the Indian population would reach the 400 million mark by 1941 provoked Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee to write on Food Planning for Four Hundred million (1938). While emphasizing the need for agricultural development, Dr. Mukherjee also took many other relevant points into account. Face book followed by the publication of India's Teeming Millions (1939) by Professor Gyan Chand, in which the population problem was viewed from the economic point of view. A significant development in the population field took place in 1938 when the Indian national Congress set up subcommittee of the national planning committee under the chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to study the problem from the point of view of food supply nutrition social reform and employment and social welfare. 1.7.5 Government's Concern The Government of India, realizing the importance of population data, setup population data committee in 1944 under the chairmanship of W.M.Yeats with Sir Theodore Gregory, Professor P.C. Mahalanobis, Professor K.B. Madhava and Dr. K.C.K.E. Raja is its members. This comity adds special attention to the statistical problems arising out of the tabulation of the 1941 census data and recommended the use of sampling methods for the estimation of vital In 1946, the government of India appointed the Health Survey and Development Committee to study health conditions in India and to make recommendations for their improvement. This committee made shoes study of the activities in the field of population and recommended the appointment of a Registrar-General of Vital and Population Statistics. One of the important recommendations of this committee was that "the population problem should be the subject of continuous study". 1.7.6 Field Enquiries Professor P.C. Mahalanobis and the Indian statistical institute had by this time started taking a keen interest in population research. As early as 1937, Indian statistical institute collected data on fertility through field Enquiries. About 1945, The
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 19 All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, initiated several studies under the guidance of Dr. C. Chandra Sekhar an important field study undertaken by this Institute was the study of the productive patterns of 8000 women selected from the city of Calcutta and the surrounding rural areas. This is study attempted to analyze the effect of socio-economic conditions or reproductive patterns. The Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune, was another Institute which took interest in population studies. In 1942, Professor N.V.Sovani of this Institute published a study entitled The Population Problem in India: A Regional Approach. 1.7.7 Post-Independence Developments After independence, interest in population studies has been tremendous. Each decade is SIM to surface the previous on when the progress in the field of population studies is considered. The 1951 Census: the report of the first post-independence census taken in 1951 prepared by R.A. Gopalaswamy, the census commissioner departed considerably from the previous census reports in respect of the treatment of data. The report covered changes in the size and structure of the Indian population and underscored their implications for the level of living of the population. Foreseeing the dangers population growth, Gopalaswamy declared, "it is extremely important that the attention of the people should be focused on this factor of improvident maternity..."The occurrence of improvement maternity should evoke social disapproval as any other form of social indulgence". An important contribution of Gopalaswamy was the introduction of the rural-urban dichotomy in census tabulations. She was also responsible for emphasizing the economic aspect of population analysis. As the result of the 1951 census brought the population question into focus, political leaders, planets, and policymakers were alarmed by the high rate of growth of the population. The first five-year plan, therefore, considered the emerging population problem of India and its social and economic consequences and, in 1952, the National Family Planning Programme was launched. India thus achieved the distinction of being the first country in the world with a national family planning programmed. The adoption of this program gave fresh impetus to population studies and its various aspects. In addition to the 1951 Census of India, another study which focused attention on the implications of population growth in India, mall in the economic sphere, was the study of population growth and economic development in

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 20 India by Anstey J. Coaler and Edgar M. Hoover, two American demographers. This was the first systematic authoritative study to bring out the economic implications of different states of population growth in India. 1.7.8 The National Sample Survey The dearth of data on various social, economic and population aspect was keenly felt when the five years plans while being drafted. Reliable estimates of birth and death rates and rates of natural increase in the population why are not available because of the inheritance of the vital registration system. The Nationwide National Sample Survey System was, therefore, established in 1949 to meet this need and produce data for the evaluation up development plans. The National Sample Survey (NSS) started collecting data on birth and death rates and on the rates of population growth from its 14th around taken in 1958-59. It also collects data on differential fertility, family planning knowledge, attitude and practice for rural and urban areas, internal migration, and employment. 1.7.9 Early Field Survey An important population study successful carried out during 1952-53 Mysore population study, jointly sponsored by the United Nations and the government of India. This is study brought about various social and cultural factors affecting fertility in India. Equally important is the fact that this study has contributed to the development of population research in many ways and has served as a model for the many other fertility survey which followed. The field survey on fertility and mortality conducted by Professor V.M. Dandekar and Professor Kumudini Dandekar in Nasik, Satara and Kolaba districts also contributed to a better understanding of fertility behavior in India. 1.7.10 Demographic Centers The Central Family Planning Board, set up in 1956, appointed is subcommittee on demographic studies under the chairmanship of Dr.V.K.R.V. Rao. This subcommittee recommended the establishment of four demographic research center in different parts of the country where is studies might be conducted in fertility mortality and associated factors. As a result, the Demographic Training and Research Centre was established in Bombay in 1956,the demographic research center in Calcutta, Delhi, NSOU ? GE-SO-21 21 and Trivandrum in 1957; and the owner at David was established in 1960. At present there are in addition to the IIPS, fifteen Population Research Centers in different part of the country and four more centers have recently been sanctioned. 1.7.11 Demographic Research In 1959, the demographic Advisory Committee was appointed by the Ministry of Health, mainly to co-ordinate research on population. The Family Planning Communication Action Research Committeeman set up in 1960 to co-ordinate and promotes research in family planning communication and motivation. The two Committees were merged in 1967 to form the Demographic and Communication Action Research Committee which became defunct when its term expired on November 3, 1971. This committee was constituted on December 6, 1972, as the committee on socio economic studies on family planning to cover economic, sociological, educational, psychological, communicational, and demographic aspects of population growth and family planning. The 1961 Census of India provided wealth of data to students of demography, and a large number of reports and monographs, based on this data were published. In 1963, India hosted the first Asian Population Conference in New Delhi-an important event in the history of demographic research in India. The sample registration scheme initiated by the Registrar-General of India in 1964-65, was a step forward in solving the problem of obtaining reliable estimates of birth and death rates and rates of natural growth. The progress made by the system in obtaining reliable estimate has been quite promising. Indian demographics have also made important contribution to the methodology and technique of population analysis. Sum of these contributions may be listed as this stage. The formula developed by Chandrasekhar and deeming to estimate the missing event of birth from vital registration and retrospective survey are now widely used. Jain developed new techniques for evaluating and adjusting Indian is data. Zither 1961 Census of India provided wealth of data to students of demography, and a large number of reports and monographs, based on this data were published. In 1963, India hosted the first Asian Population Conference in New Delhi-an important event in the history of demographic research in India. The sample registration scheme initiated by the Registrar-General of India in 1964-65, was a step forward in solving the problem of obtaining reliable estimates of birth and death rates and rates of natural growth. The progress made by the system

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 22 in obtaining reliable estimate has been quite promising. Indian demographics have also made important contribution to the methodology and technique of population analysis. Sum of these contributions may be listed as this stage. The formula developed by Chandrasekhar and deeming to estimate the missing event of birth from vital registration and retrospective survey are now widely used. Jain developed new techniques for evaluating and adjusting Indian is data. Zachariah's contribution to the technique of analysis migration data collected through a Census well recognizes. Reel's method of estimating birth and death rates and rates of natural increase from the senses data has wide applicability. 1.8 Conclusion The word 'demography' is often used to refer to the study of population statistics. It not only studies population statistics but also the causes and consequences of population changes, dependent on birth and death rates which are influenced by social factors like age at marriage. These social factors form the subject matter of sociology. Demographers also study geographical variations and historical trends in their effort to develop population forecasts. Thus, demography is the scientific study of population in order to understand the social consequences of population. Pointing out the importance of demography, Kingsley Davis (1949) said, 'demography' is the essential basis for understanding the human society. He has demarcated the following functions of demography: to know the population of a particular area; to ascertain as to which factors are influencing the population of that particular area; to explain the factors relating to changes in population; and to study the population trends on the basis of the above three factors. 1.9 Summary
Demography

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is the scientific study of human populations, primarily with respect to their size, their structure, and their development.

According to Donald J. Brogue, "Demography is a statistical

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and mathematical study of the size, composition, special distribution of human population and of changes over time in this aspect through the operation of the five processes of fertility, mortality, marriage, migration, and social mobility. Although it maintains continuous descriptive and comparative analysis of trends, in each of these processes and in its net result, its long run goal is to develop

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a body of theory to explain the events that it charts and compares".

Demographic analysis can be applied to the whole societies, or two groups defined by

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is usually considered a field of sociology, though there are a number of independent demography

department. The word Demography is a combination of two Greek words "Demos" meaning people and "Graphy" meaning science. Demography is the science of people. Even though the term 'population studies' is more popular than the term demography. Thinkers

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like William Peterson, Hauser and Duncan think 'population studies and demography to be different. According to them demography studies only the factors of population growth whereas population studies

cover the social, economic, geo- graphical, political and biological aspects of populations, their ensuing relationships are also studied. The scope of demography is very wide. This scope may be discussed under the following points: 1) Size of population 2) Composition of population 3) Distribution of population 4) Fertility, mortality, and migration. 5) Labour force 6) Social demography 7) Population policy etc

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The future growth India's population will depend largely upon the future prosperity of the fertility decline. The birth rate in India has been

lowered in the urban areas compared to the rural areas. 1.10 Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. Define demography. ii. Define population studies. iii. State of the stages of development of population studies in India.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 24 G-B (10 Marks each) iv. What is the scope of social demography? v. What is the nature of social demography? 1.11 Suggested Readings i. https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/essay/demography-meaning-and-functions- of-demography/31392 ii. http://www.africapopulation.net/ips/uploads/Demography.pdf iii. https://www.nationalgeographic.org/encyclopedia/demography/#:~:text=Demography%20is%20the%20statistical%20study,populations%20over%20space%20and%20time.&text=Demography%20is%20useful%20for%20governments,economic%20trends%20related%20to%20population. iv. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demography v. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0047248478800384
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 25 Unit 2 ? Approaches to Study of Demography Structure 2.1 Objectives 2.2 Introduction 2.3 Uses of Demography 2.4 Demographic Perspective 2.5 Conclusion 2.6 Summary 2.7 Questions 2.8 Suggested Readings 2.1 Objectives In this unit, the learner will get an idea more of demography and how demographers treat the discipline of demography. The unit will further elaborate the uses of demography as well as the various perspectives of demography. 2.2 Introduction Demographers study population change across time and place, a strong emphasis on long range view population change. While tracing the development of population studies it has been appointed about that the founding father of this discipline, John Graunt, termed is empirical observations on mortality as "natural and political" observations. Does the mathematical biological and social character of demography was employed from the very beginning of the study of population. Graunt dedicated his observations to two persons: i. The President Royal Society of Philosophers as it relates to natural history and as it depends on Mathematics of my shop Arithmetic and ii. A member of the Privy Council as it relates to "Government and Trade". William Petty named the newly founded discipline, as "Political Arithmetic".
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 26 The historical development of population studies also suggests that scholars from different disciplines have contributed towards its development. Though its origins were in the natural and social sciences, it soon except maturity and emerged as separate a discipline it is therefore necessary to understand and appreciate relationship of population studies to other sciences and to appreciate its interdisciplinary character. Quantification is an important element in population studies, as population data available in discrete quantifiable form. The relationship of population studies with mathematics therefore resumes great importance. Study of population size, growth, structure, and components is entirely done with the help of mathematics. Population experts have attempted to build various mathematical models regarding population growth. Mathematics is thus and important tool in the study and understanding of population phenomena. Population studies also depend on statistics as a tool. It may be recalled that the development of statistics fostered the development of demography in the 19th and 20th centuries. The theory of probability has been extremely useful for and analysis of mortality. The actuarial science was useful in the preparation of life tables with a high degree of precision and sophistication mainly because of it use of the probability theory. Population studies and biology also closely related it must be remembered that population phenomena take place within the framework of physiology and that there are certain biological limits within which the variables of population change operate the study of fertility provides a good illustration of the relationship between population and biology. It is a biological determined fact that only females can give birth two children and that too only during a certain age span. Similarly, in the study of mortality, it is known that the age and six differentials are biologically determined. Population genetics have been an important area of specialization. The knowledge of reproduction, so necessary for the study of fertility is gained mainly from reproductive physiology. Effective regulation of fertility through improvement in contraceptive techniques has been the contribution of applied research workers in the field of reproductive physiology. It is also well known that advances in the medical sciences and the adoption of widespread public health measures have been responsible for declining mortality rates even in developing countries, irrespective of the level of development in this country.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 27 Till recently, population studies were generally regarded as a branch of sociology or economics, or 11, geography. Most of the variables and the theories which explain demographic phenomena originate in the social sciences the theory of demographic transition is based on an understanding of such other discipline as economics, sociology, political science, psychology, Anthropology, and geography. Many of the fertility theories are based on biology, sociology, and economics. The changes in the birthdates cannot be explained as independent phenomena. Rather, their explanations have to be shot in the changing economic, social, cultural, psychological, and political situation in which they occur. Similarly, the levels and trends in mortality related to social economic factors in recent times, another dimension has been added to the study of population demographic questions such as those related to fertility regulation, are examined with reference to humanistic issues such as human right and the status of women. Though it is possible to speak broadly of the interrelationship between population studies and the social science and the behavioral sciences considered together it would be useful to consider each of the social and behavioral sciences separately to understand their inter-relationships. Davis referred to the following areas of study which required a combination of demographic and sociological skills. i. Patil sees collection with attitudes and social institutions. ii. Population changes in relation to social and economic change. iii. The labor force with respect to population structure and social organization. iv. The family with regard to demographic behavior. International and internal migrations are to other areas of study mentioned by Davis where in knowledge of sociology and demography need to be combined. Even in the study of mortality, age and sex differentials, though biological in determined. Broom Selznick treats population as one of the nine principal elements of sociological analysis for the discussion of six special topics that is family, city, minorities, industrial sociology, political sociology, and criminal behavior. It, therefore, appears that along with social organizations, culture, socialization, primary groups, social stratification, associations, collective behavior and ecology, populations are important element in sociology analysis.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 28 Several questions connected with family planning and fertility regulation can be answered only when the reproductive behavior an individual is understood in the context of the social standards are cultural norms which influence and governed such behavior. For instance, some questions, which are often, asked what the family size norm in a community is. How is it determined? It is possible to modify this norm by stimulating plant change. Tiffin in the field of mortality utilization patterns of the health care services can be understood only when individual behavior is explode, and the relevant social norms are studied. Movement from rural to urban areas can also be studied only by understanding the motivation behind such migrations. The study of population is an important area of investigation in the field of economics specially since problems of economic development and development planning have come to the forefront in most developing countries in order to gain better understanding of the relationship between population trends and economic growth the following topics have emerged over the years and continue to occupy and important place, both in economics and population studies: population and development, manpower studies, the economics of fertility and comprehensive economic demographic models. It has been even claimed that the number and quality the population that can exist on the earth in the future will depend on among other factors, economic opportunities and economic organization. Population growth, size and distribution cannot be discussed rationally except in the context of economic growth or change. Population studies are usually interested in the geographical distribution of the population and its movement between rural and urban areas. Those geographers, who are interested in geography not only as an academic discipline but as a geography point of view to understand the world, point out that it is useful to know how the various issues facing the world—for instance, rapid growth of population , urbanization, race relations, etc. —assume different forms in different regions or contents. The interrelationship between population and law becomes clear when atoms is made to study what the present and the future laws of any country can do to solve the problem of overpopulation. Chandrasekhar has pointed out that, population laws may be defined as that body of law which relates directly or indirectly to the three basic demographic variables of fertility, mortality and migration and their various

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 29 components which in terms affect the more general problems of the size growth and distribution of the population. Population laws could therefore, related to public health and sanitation food preparation distribution and sale drugs and pharmaceuticals, clinics, hospitals and medical personnel, migration, marriage, fertility, child-care and all aspect of education and the role and status of women. The Indian medical termination of pregnancy act of 1972, which has made induced abortion fairly easy, is the illustration of how the law of the land can affect and important demographic variable, that is, fertility. 2.3 Uses of Demography Demographic analysis is used to address a wide variety of scientific and policy questions. Any field in which the number of people and their characteristics relate to utilization of a service, such as healthcare or public transport, use the result of demographic analysis. Demography is important for estimating Future school enrollment and for projecting demand for utilities and services, surcharge electricity and ridership on public transportation. In addition, in trying to understand the Dynamics causes of phenomena educational attainment there is variation in the outcomes of introduced by characteristics such as age, sex, education and racer ethnicity, demographic considerations and demographic analysis are important? Often, as a first step to understanding the causes and consequences of demographic phenomenon, it is important to actual on the magnitude of the phenomenon is the magnitude of change and characteristics age changes the view of the situation. Young males are more likely to commit violent crimes then women or older men. In order to understand whether the tendency to commit violent crimes has changed, it is necessary to adjust for changes in the age composition of the population. If the population has grown older, the violent crime rate will usually fall, even if the rates of criminal activity by age have not changed. 2.4 Demographic Perspective In this section first we discuss two different ways to think about population change. They are used to answer different kinds of questions.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 30 i. An Aggregate Approach: what are the components of population change (e.g. what are the roles of births, deaths, and migration in changes in population size)? This perspective deals with macro social demographic processes. It looks at how the levels of childbearing, mortality, and population movement result in the growth of decline of a population. This perspective is important for understanding when and where the population is increasing and declining. This perspective alerted the world to the future implications of high rates of population growth in the less developed region of the world in the 1960s and 1970s. Ravenous death high fertility (many more births than deaths) was the main reason for high population growth motivated the development of family planning programmed in the less developed region of the world. However, devising effective policies and programs to influence behavior than would lead to lower fertility depended micro behavioral approach that understood the reasons why women and couples wanted to limit the number of children they had in different circumstances. ii. A Causal or Micro-Behavioral Approach: what are the causal factors of behavioral mechanism that lead to the decisions that people make? What behavior do individuals added to implement their discussions? People make decision related to fertility and migration. Individual choice and behavior also affect the chance that a person will die. Researchers and policymakers need to understand why people have children in are there to motivate people in countries with a high rate of population growth to have fewer children. In some areas, the provision of effective essay to use contraceptives resulted in a rapid decline in the number of births. In other regions, the process of convincing women and couples to reduce their fertility was more complicated and required and in-depth understanding of their views of children and concerns about weather uh reductions in mortality in the past might be reversed in the future. Recently, several more developed countries have become very worried as their fertility rate has become so low that it can lead to population decline. Concerned with population decline has led to a theoretical and policy debate about why people have children that is somewhat different from the debate

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 31 when the concerned was a high rate of population growth. Is having a child a necessary part of being and adult women for an adult man? Are increased employment opportunities for women providing and alternative path to self- fulfillment that racing children provide in the past? Sociological and economic explanations orphan disagree about that policy would be most effective in maintaining or racing fertility in very low fertility settings. Behavior also influences mortality. Although people would prefer to live a longer rather than shorter life, increasingly behaviors, such as smoking, alcoholic consumption, and poor diet, affects the chances that people will die early. What motivates people to change from this unhealthy behavior to more healthy behavior? Discipline other than economics and sociology have not had as purposive an influence on Population thinking, although their influence has been substantial. Next, we discuss the perspective and influence of history, anthropology, political science, psychology, and statistics. a. Demographic Approach related to History Historical and anthropological perspective address the need to have sufficient cultural and historical understanding to know what things mean in a specific context. In terms of data analysis, cultural and historical understanding relates to the question of validity. When you have a particular indicator for measure, it is intended that it presents some underlying concept the major is valid if in fact it does represent the underlying concept. Black of cultural and historical understanding can lead to the choice of an invalid indicator, which means that the interpretation of the result can be wrong. For example, Buckley in a discussion of service conduct in Russia involving for any scholars refers to difficulties of translating concepts from one language in who is there will understood to another language in which the concept is not present or is uncommon. She noted that on survey studying depression translated “Do you sometimes feel blue?” Literally into Russian, the in Russian the world “blue “does not necessarily mean depressed and can refer to gay sexual notes that it has often been observed that people in Southeast Asia tends to be extremely eager to please interviewers and to give the desired answered. She argues
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 32 that this tendency is real, but that it can be overcome by the interviewer establishing a good report with the respondent and by careful instruction of survey questions so that there does not seem to be any preferred or “right” answer. There is a long tradition in historical demography of attempting to understand the life of ordinary people. History has been limited because orphan common people were not listed it and did not leave letters or diaries. In the 1960s, their emergence and interest of what was sometimes called studying story from the bottom up which focused on the lives of common people. Application of demography methods to religious and activity reports collected for other purposes, open using charts where is registers village listings, has a lot a great deal to be discovered about mortality and fertility conditions, as well as the household and family structure of people in the past. b. Demographic Approach related to Anthropology Population typically studied by anthropologist have sometimes din studied by demographers intending to make inferences about the demographic conditions experienced by populations that lived long in the past, such as hunters and book in this vein published in a series in historical demography. However, increasingly anthropologists have applied demographic approaches to studying mainstream anthropological questions. Since the 1970’s, there has been increasing awareness of the importance of anthropological and cultural perspective among demographers. Some of this was motivated by research in the Princeton European Fertility Project, which test the theory of Demographic Transition. And its assessment of historical fertility declines across Europe, there was substantial evidence that the geographical spread of the international imitation childbearing was more strongly related to the diffusion of various cultural you and practices then it was to the extent to which a local had become industrialized. These observations led demographers who wearer usually economists, sociologist to take consideration of the role of culture more seriously then had generally pinto previously. This

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 33 new awareness also leads to an increase in research that combined quantitative and qualitative methods, as demographers become aware that qualitative research is often necessary to understand demographic decision-making behavior. c. Demographic Approach related to Political Perspectives Much of demography is concerned with likely implications of alternative policies, something that immediately involves political considerations and political positions. Some political issues directly involved demographic considerations, including the US constitutional requirement that seeds in. House of Representatives be reallocated across States after is decennial census proportionate to the distribution of the US population across States. Political considerations can also lead to demography data not being collected. For example, Lebanon has not had a sensor since 1932, mainly because the Lebanese Parliament is allocated 50/50 between Christian and Muslims. It is clear that census would show that a substantial majority of the Lebanese population in Muslim. This result would almost certainly lead to calls for change in the composition of the Lebanese legislature, which would lead to political unrest. Sometimes, there are intense disagreements about the wisdom of efficacy of popular program or policies. These disagreements often reduced to different use of which groups are most deserving of government social programs support, which is a political or policy judgment. For example, Ben-Shalom and his colleagues concluded that social welfare programs in the United States have had only a modest effect on reduction of poverty because the favor the employed disabled and elderly, groups that are viewed as deserving. This programs less focus on the poorest segment of the population, even though the poorest segment has the worst health and the highest mortality. Politics also influences fertility related policies and program. For example, there has been a heated policy debate in the United States about sex education program for adolescents, which is focused on weather abstinence should be the only pregnancy prevention method discussed in schools or contraception
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 34 should also be included. These debates concern whether sex education that includes more than abstinence education promotes sexual activity and also include disagreements about the effectiveness of abstinence only programs. An area of demography that directly involves political considerations is international migration. Although most countries do little to limit immigration many countries, especially more developed countries, have strict rules about legal immigration. Illegal immigration has become an increasingly important issue of policy concern in many countries. There are also policy choices about hot the penalties and enforcement produce should be for undocumented immigrants. Thus, the causes of immigration are sometimes more strongly related to laws and policies rather than to incentives to immigrate from the origin country or references of potential international migrants. Thus, match of immigration is determined by the process by which immigration laws are passed, and issue of agenda setting and legislative dynamics that is studied by political scientists. d. Demographic Approach related to Psychological Perspectives Sometimes, psychologist has studied the personality or psychological consequences that result from demographic phenomena. The large proportion of only children resulted from China's fertility limitation one child policy. Also research on the psychological adjustment of older persons has become increasingly relevant in aging populations. And increasing part of research on health and mortality has focused on the role of psychological conditions such as stress or depression. e. Demographic Approach related to Statistical Perspective Advances in statistics and in computing have long important in demography analysis. Through the 1880 US census, result 28 tabulated by hand for the 1890 census, pinch key tabulating machine developed by Hollerith, first used which speed up and reduced the cost of sensors tabulation. The resulting company eventually became IBM. Advances in statistical method in combination with improvements in computing power, have continued to be important. Better sampling methods have

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 35 improved the value of surveys. Also, more powerful computing allowed multi-dimensional analysis of very large files, such a s individual data from sensors files this development have allowed researchers and policy analysts to answer increasingly complex questions using empirical data. Recent geographical locations have played increasing roles in demographic analysis this has been facilitated by advances in spatial statistical methods and in the availability of low-cost global positioning system (GPS) units show that the location of residences, School and health clinics can be used as variable to analyze the impact of proximity to healthcare, schools, stores, and water sources on outcomes such as infant and child mortality and use of contraception. For example, Szwarcwald and her colleagues used special analysis methods in a study of infant mortality in Rio de Janeiro to show that infant death from 1 to 11 months of age was related to the concentration of poverty in an area, even after the local poverty level had been taken into account. What research about role of geographical location addresses the role of neighborhood effects in health and other outcome? 2.5 Conclusion Demography is often defined as the scientific study of human populations or as the study of the growth and structure of human populations. Demography studies the size and characteristics of populations as well as the processes that lead to population change: fertility, mortality, and migration. Demography is used to help answer scientific and policy questions in a wide variety of areas. Demography can either focus on change in demographic mechanisms at an aggregate level, such as changes in the number of births or in the size of the population, or take a micro-behavioral approach, looking at factors related to the behavioral mechanisms and external influences that lead individuals or households to have a child, to die from a particular cause, or to move to another place. The demographic perspective has become very influential in many fields, including social statistics, the study of the labor force, research on organizations, and the study of marriage and the family. Population theories and policies have been developed over time in response to population phenomena that were seen as important, in need of explanation, or problematic.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 36 2.6 Summary Demography is an important concept. Demographers study population change across time and place. Its origin was in natural and social sciences, it soon except maturity and emerged as a separate discipline. Quantification is essential for population studies. Population studies and biology are closely related. Broom Schznick treats population as one of the nine principal elements of sociological analysis for the discussion of six topics that is family, city, minorities, industrial sociology, political sociology, and criminal behaviour. Population studies are usually interested in the geographical distribution of the population and its movement between rural and urban areas. The study of population trends an economic growth have come to the forefront in most developing countries. Prof. Chandrashekhar has pointed out that population laws may be defined as that body of law which relates directly or indirectly to the three basic demographic variables of fertility, mortality and migration and their various components. Besides economics and sociology, demographics approach is related to the perspective an influence of history, political science, psychology,anthropology, and statistics are also important. Among the Mercantile writers the most important are N. Machiavelli and Giovani Botero. Machiavelli was perhaps the first to view popula- tion from the modern angel by observing that excessive population would diminish through want and disease. In the sense that he saw the relationship between the population growth and resourses. For this reason, he may be considered one of the predecessors of Malthus. Giovani regarded a large population is a source of strength. 2.7 Questions Answer the following in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. What do you mean by demography? ii. What is the use of studying demography? iii. What are the two different ways to think about population change?

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 37 G-B (10 Marks each) iv. Discuss the influence of economics, history, anthropology, political science, psychology and statistics on demography. v. What is the relationship of population studies with mathematics? vi. State the interrelationship between population and law. 2.8 Suggested Readings i. https://www.pearsonhighered.com/assets/samplechapter/0/2/0/5/ 0205742033.pdf ii. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4465124/#:~:text= Demographic%20analysis%20seeks%20to%20understand,in%20fertility% 2C%20mortality%20and%20migration. iii. https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9780691186795-006/pdf iv. https://www.pnas.org/content/118/9/e2019536118 v. https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/12312442/ vi. https://www.suda.su.se/education/what-is-demography#:~:text=Demograph y%20is%20the%20study%20of,producing%20population%20stability% 20or%20change.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 38 Module II: Theories of Population Unit 3 ? Pre-malthusian Theories of Population Structure 3.1 Objectives 3.2 Introduction 3.3 Confucius and the Chinese Thinkers 3.4 Greek Thinkers 3.5 Roman Thought 3.6 The Mercantilist School 3.7 The Physiocratic School 3.8 Population, Choice, and the State 3.9 Conclusion 3.10 Summary 3.11 Questions 3.12 Suggested Readings 3.1 Objectives The traces of some ideas which have gained prominence in recent theoretical writing on population may be noticed in the writings of some ancient thinkers and philosophers. The current unit traces the development of population theories right from the contributions of Chinese Thinkers to that of Roman and Greek Thought. Emphasis is also laid on the population theories that arose with the Mercantilist School and the Physiocratic School. 3.2 Introduction Since the early age of civilization scholars and thinkers have concerned themselves with the question of

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population. The size and growth of population has been viewed as an important factor underlying the development of any country.

The different points of view is expressed by the scholars with respect to population phenomena
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 39 within the socio-economic, political context. In ancient times several statesman and thinkers applied their minds to

90% **MATCHING BLOCK 27/164** W

the question of the desirable size of population and the need for either encouraging or discouraging

population growth. The basis for such concern was mainly practical, covering military, political, social, and economic issues and usually led to the formulation of a specific public policy. These thinking cannot be e taken as any statement of a consistent population theory. In the real sense of the term a population theory can be considered to have emerged only in the 18th century when the great work of Thomas Robert Malthus was published. Although some thought was given to population issues in earlier periods. The traces of some ideas which have gained prominence in recent theoretical writing on population may be noticed in the writings of some ancient thinkers and philosophers. 3.3 Confucius and the Chinese Thinkers The great Chinese philosopher Confucius and those belonging to his school of thought as well as a few other Chinese thinkers had given some thought to the concept of optimum population as it related to agricultural land. They had also considered population growth in relation to the availability of resources and the possible checks on this growth. However, it must be pointed out that the doctrines of Confucius on marriage family and procreation were generally in favour of population increase (united nation p. 33-34). 3.4 Greek Thinkers The population theories and policies of the Greeks may best be understood with reference to their ideas.

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In the Greek scheme of political life, the individual was only a part of the state and had to play subordinate role to it.

This view was reflected in their thinking on various social institutions. In ancient Sparta marriage was considered as an institution created by the legal and political system to provide the state with inhabitants and citizens. The real purpose of marriage was therefore emphasized as being the production of children. Continual wars, which decrease the population size, demanded a constant supply of men. Therefore, all Spartans were compelled to get married.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 40 On the other hand, in Athens the rules concerning procreation were somewhat less rigid to Athenian customs and laws also encouraged frequent childbearing. However, it must be remembered that like the Spartans the Athenians were also interested in maintaining and improving the quality of the population from this it is obvious that the Greek were concerned about the size of the population

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more from the point of view of defense security and

governance than from that of economic resources. Great Greek philosopher Plato was more specific on this. When he stated

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that if the highest good was to be achieved the city state should have 5040 citizens

and land houses and property should be equally divided among them. It may be noted that Plato referred only to citizens and did not include women children and slabs in this ideal number of 5040. The total population of such an ideal city state was about 50000. The purpose of this choice of figure in Plato's planned state was simply aid in maintaining an equal division of property. Plato wanted the city state to be large enough to ensure economic self-sufficiency and military defense but small enough to permit a constitutional government. In a nutshell Plato's views on population as expressed in his Laws, were based upon his ideal of the city state rather than upon a broad view of human society (Eversley p.1-21,89-121,184-284). Aristotle was on the opinion that an excessive number of people would give rise to poverty and other social evils since it was not possible to increase land and property as rapidly as the size of the population. Aristotle even proposed limit on the number of children each couple should have (Canan p54). Therefore, we can say that the Greek were interested in maintaining population size which was appropriate for a city state. 3.5 Roman Thought The Romans viewed the question in the context of their idea of the state involving issues concerning conquest, power, and empire. Therefore, they needed and expanding population. The period of the Renaissance or the revival is known for the rapid changes which took place in several aspects of human life. The old feudal system collapsed, making way for capitalism. This period was also notable for the emergence of such
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 41 powerful states as England, France, Spain and Portugal. It was inevitable that all these changes should have some impact on the thinking on economy and population. 3.6 The Mercantilist School In the history of economic thought, mercantilism is considered to be a link between the mediaeval period and the modern period. Almost all the trading Nations adopted this economic policy of mercantilism with a view to increasing national wealth and power by encouraging exports of goods in return of gold. Such policies open resulted in rivalry between Nations give rise to rapid economic growth and full utilization of national resources. For an effective implementation of mercantile policy, the size of the population was an important asset. As stated by Eli Heckscher, "an almost frantic desire to increase population prevailed in all the countries" (Heckscher p. 158). The general opinion at that time was that birth rates should be increased for purposes of economic and political gains by the adoption of such measures as- a) placing various disabilities on celibates; b) encouraging marriages directly; c) encouraging fertility; d) making punishment for illegitimate births less severe our abolishing punishment entirely; and e) encouraging immigration and preventing emigration (Stangelandp. 123-137). Among the early mercantile writers the most important are Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527)and Giovanni Botero (1540-1617). Machiavelli was perhaps the first to view population from the modern angle by observing that excessive population would diminish through want and disease. In the sense that he saw the relationship between population growth and resources, he may be considered one of the predecessors of Malthus. Botero, an Italian citizen was also one of the first to study population phenomena in a broad scientific manner. Along with Machiavelli he may be considered one of the predecessors of Malthus. His work contained the basic thoughts of Malthusian doctrines. According to his thought a population after increasing for some time cannot continue to increase at the same rate; eat may grow slowly or may even start declining. In his opinion the limitation of the means of subsistence was the reason why population growth had to be limited. Though Botero was convinced that food for subsistence was necessary for any population,

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 42 he still regarded a large population is a source of strength for a country. (Stangeland p.92-93) 3.7 The Physiocratic School The physiocratic school of economic thought emerged in France about the middle of the 18th century. This school of thought was the expression of a reaction against the mercantilist ideas and politics. The mercantilist had neglected agriculture in their thought, on the other hand the basic assumption of the physiocratic school was that land was the source of all wealth and hence it was necessary to emphasize the importance of agriculture and internal tax reforms. As a reaction against mercantilist the physiocrats did not favor population increase at the cost of standards of living. They approved of such increase only if it was possible to expand agricultural production. Quesney (1694-1774), the founder of the physiocratic school maintained that a large population was desirable only if it could be made comfortable. Similarly, Mirabeau, Mercier de la Riviere and Cantillon, and other physiocrats gave same line of thought. (EncyclopaediaBritannica vol. P. 1031) 3.8 Population, Choice, and the State The essayists, historians, and jurists who gave us the first modern theories of the State usually had something to say about a large population as its foundation. This reference went beyond the role of numbers in immediate practical matters (war, labor, tax revenue) to the strength of states as an expression of natural (and, for most authors, divine) order. Two fundamental links between population and choice were noted. The first sense in which individual choice is crucial lies in those decisions by which people choose to band together-decisions that actually make a human aggregate not just a great higgledy-piggledy of people, but a self- governing population or society. Only where the natural rights of individuals were duly observed could people's diverse interests and energies be reconciled and become, literally, a "commonwealth." The various writers noted, how- ever, that individual freedom of choice is observed to greater or lesser extent in different states. The character and

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 43 identity of polities were determined by the extent to which an ideal of balance in the rights and obligations of men- variously described as "the social contract," "Leviathan," "divine right," "micro- and macro cosmos," and so forth-was actually maintained in state policies and their execution. States would only grow and become strong where natural rights and relations were encouraged or at least allowed within the terms of prescribed checks and balances established by the State. The second link follows from this: evidence of balanced population growth and distribution was a sign or test of whether policies did indeed conform to universal order. Many writers continued to understand this test in its Medieval and biblical sense as well, in which natural increase was evidence of divine favor. Except in those writings that regarded kingship as divine right, the State was not itself seen as a natural and divinely inspired entity, but as a contrivance by which men agreed, or were compelled, to cede individual rights to a prince or assembly in the interests of development and peaceable rule. Choice, in other words, always involves an element of compromise. The critique of absolutism, from Machiavelli to Rousseau, gradually established that it is a matter of individual conscious choice to decide which collectivities are deserving of allegiance, and what the principles of group membership are. Hence the population of states, while recognized as based ultimately in procreation, was of more immediate and practical interest as an aspect of the Realpolitik of group affiliation: Which states, and which cities, factions, or other groups within them, could attract and sustain the most, and the most balanced organization of, manpower? This emphasis on membership (see Berki, 1977: 118- 119) meant that early modern writers, though often careful to note biblical sanctions promoting fertility, nonetheless gave much more attention to the significance of population composition and distribution. The family is taken for granted as the context of reproduction; its primary significance in these writings was as the model of State membership and authority, and also of the dangers of dissent. This politics of population membership was not viewed in isolation. As we shall see, natural balances were conceived as essential not only in regulating the political rights and responsibilities of individuals, families, and the wider communities to which they belonged, but also in the organization of matters such as trade, agricul- ture, and defense. A commonwealth that was able to augment, distribute, and deploy its members in ways which enabled it to gain the most favorable balances in military and economic affairs was considered likely thereby to become a greater force than

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 44 its neighbors. Such a desirable outcome made the establishment of an effective polity an even greater priority, since only then would individuals come to see regulating their own actions in ways that preserved and enhanced the State as the best way of furthering their own interests. The importance assigned to population as the foundation and arbiter of State policies might lead us to expect that great impetus would be given to enumeration and quantitative inquiry by early modern writers. It is well known, however, that despite the efforts of Graunt and his followers, the mathematics of population developed very slowly between 1650 and 1800, and the role of states in data collection did not begin in earnest until the end of the period. Such institutional developments presuppose an idea of the State in which a population is not simply part of a ruler's or family's domain, but a unit of self-government guided by legal and social responsibilities to every individual. This presupposes, in other words, a theory of individual choice and the State of the kind that only gradually developed during this period. To begin with, we must ask why and how early modern writers came to see the numbers and composition of people as fundamental to the relationship between individual choice and the State. "Population" was not a common term before the later seventeenth century; its emergence would appear to be in direct proportion to the need for a more critical reference for "the multitude," a term then generally used to refer to the mass of common people as an indiscriminate body. Historical studies of early modern economic (Appleby, 1978) and biological (Jacob, 1974) writings suggest that population was likely to figure prominently in the thought of the period, since reasoning relied upon sixteenth- and seventeenth-century concepts of re- production and production as processes of "generation." This concept, as we shall see, contrasts sharply with subsequent modern fertility concepts; it nonetheless defined a "calculus" of individual choice in relation to population and the State on which later work still rests. Let us look more closely at the sources cited above, and see how they gave rise to the specific questions and measures that characterized the practice and the limitations of political arithmetic. The Generation of a Commonwealth The elementary distinction that Hobbes makes between vital and voluntary human action (n.d.: 31) can serve as our starting point. Hobbes postulated that vital action is "begun in generation" (i.e., from birth) and consists in more or less
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 45 unthinking bodily functions (breathing, eating, circulation of the blood, etc.). Volun- tary actions, in contrast, are characterized by speaking and physical movement. While the latter also depend on man's vital endowment, their development is more by virtue of the growth of man's powers of imagination, and hence depends on the nature of his association with other men. The natural rights of individuals-their entitlement to free conscious choice-also derive from generation: men are born equal; birth gives a person possession of his or herself, or in other words, liberty. However, because individual interests are bound to conflict, man's freedom and natural endowments can only develop if men enter voluntarily into lasting and peaceable agreements with one another. In short, they must set up a State, or succumb to the famous Hobbesian image of a society that is "a war as is of every man, against every man." The "generation of a commonwealth" is Hobbes's phrase for the act by which the formation of states is accomplished. It is achieved by voluntary choices to curb and direct vital endowments toward the common good. Hobbes reasons here by analogy to the family: a numerous population is necessary to the development of a strong State in the same way that many offspring assist the power and capacities of a family. But such increase is for not unless the collectivity is well-ordered. A multitude of people only becomes a commonwealth or State by choosing one person or assembly of persons (called Leviathan, or sovereign) in which all authority to maintain natural order is invested. Authority, following the family analogy, is paternal. Most states, Hobbes says, are erected by the fathers of families. "Cities and Kingdoms . . . are but greater families," which unite for security and development. Sovereign power parallels the dominion of a father over his child, but the source of this authority is not "because he beat him." Contrary to Bodin, Filmer, and the divine right of kings, procreation does not legitimize a divinely sanctioned patriarchy. Hobbes, as also Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, accepted that sovereign parental authority enjoys for a time ad- vantages of experience and physical force; but family/State authority rests on the consent of the children/people. Children may choose to leave, or depose the father; and so too, they may choose to leave states or depose their rulers. The overriding desirability of stable order, and the lack of alternatives to legitimate family models, however, led these authors to caution against such extreme action. The analogy between the family and the State thus rested on a concept of generation in which we can recognize two distinct meanings. The State, like the family, was rooted in generation (in the sense of the vital endowment of procreation, which is the ultimate source of population). But the State and the family also rest

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 46 strategically on the generation of their population in a second sense: those more or less voluntary choices to remain members of a collectivity and observe its laws, which effectively constitute and give continuing existence to that collectivity. The original state of nature was generally accepted by early modern authors as having a bounteous surplus of food, land, and the like. However, because the rights that the individual acquired in nature included his or her own person, and hence the right to dispose of personal labor, men thereby possessed rights over property that was the fruit of their labor. In more strictly patriarchal or divine-right approaches, rights over wives and children and their labor accrued to household heads. In either case, rights in persons extended to the disposal of personal property. For Hobbes, all men and women had in the state of nature a right not only over their own person and possessions, but to all of nature, and hence to everyone else's property. Covetousness and differences over property could thus arise long before any absolute resource shortages occurred, and they could be inherited and built up over generations. Or, as Locke preferred to say, where mechanisms such as money and credit increased differences among men, so that increase of population led to a scarcity of land, the need to agree about laws arbitrating the division of property grew. In Montesquieu, laws promoting liberty like- wise promoted population and commerce; their devel- opment was in contrast to absolutism and the continuing power of the Church (Tomaselli, 1989). Population growth was thus seen as necessary to the development of a strong state; however, states could only develop their demographic and other re- sources if their populations were well-ordered. The need of States to have enough people was thus an argument for their role as a regulator of individual choice. From the first of the early moderns-Machiavelli and his immediate follower, Botero-it was recognized that limited natural resources must ultimately restrict population growth. If the balance between subsistence and population did not much concern such early writers, it was because the concepts of balance and imbalance, described in the preceding paragraphs, were recognized as prior and as of more immediate practical significance. Indeed, the logic of these writers remains hard to fault in their view, the limits set by men in their relationships with one another become important long before root imbalances between man and nature, such as between the size or structure of a population and its sheer material supports; an imbalance of population and resources, therefore, is determined by the character of the collectivity to which men belong.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 47 The Symmetry of a Commonwealth Given that imbalances occur, and may be subject to man's control, several questions arise. If a large population is desirable, what sizes or levels are conducive to a strong and balanced State? Can particular forms of demo- graphic organization be determinant of different kinds of State? What are the implications of different population sizes and compositions for maintaining free choice and the exercise of legitimate authority? Then, as now, no precise answer to the question of an optimum population was possible, although once again early modern approaches can be summarized effec- tively by referring to the concept of generation. As a root value, the "best" size was not so much indeterminate as predetermined: it belonged to the realm of natural and divine order and was consequently beyond human analysis in crucial respects. Second, as a strategic value, the best population size and structure inevitably varied from state to state, as determined by differing arrangements of authority, choice, and their implications for membership and development. Filmer's Patriarcha (1680) gives examples of a concept of State built entirely on root values of generation. The king, as divine patriarch by birth, has indisputable power over the life and death of his subjects and can move them around as he pleases. Hence the strategic issue of population membership in the generation of commonwealths, together with the need to generate manpower for defense, trade, and so forth, is completely determined by the root values given to kings and fathers in procreation. These values cannot be questioned without questioning man's genesis, for legitimate authority is by direct descent from the authority God gave the original patriarch, Adam, over all Creation. Because the question of numbers in the family and the body politic is a matter of unquestioning obedience, Filmer confines himself to citing the biblical injunction to "be fruitful and multiply. Although Patriarcha acquired an important following, it was not an adequate response to the experience of the period in the political domain. Recurring upheav- als-exemplified by such events as the Huguenot rebellion in France, successive French, German, and Spanish invasions of Italy, the English Civil War, the mounting struggle to dominate international trade- persuaded even those writers who had expressed republican sentiments, including Bodin, Hobbes, Machiavelli, and Starkey, that since serious conflicts persist, the overriding need for peace and order requires

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 48 some system of absolute princely authority. As I have noted, the development and defense of states meant for these writers that a large population was desirable; but large populations could by definition only accumulate where conflicts did not split them apart. A prince could only build a great state where his authority was accepted, and this meant some system of concessions that allowed individual choice but controlled its fractious tendencies. The systems put forward by early modern authors differed from one another in many respects, but in their treatment of the question of human numbers the issues and positions are remarkably consistent. Balance is achieved by strategies or policies that, by encouraging people to identify their interests with those of the State, keep them as loyal members. Further, policies that enable a State to attract and incorporate other populations were seen as desirable. Machiavelli, in addition to being the earliest modern political theorist to write in this vein, gave these issues the most attention. The cyclic model of history pervading all his major works rests on alternating demographic regimes: one of sustained political, demographic, and military expansion keep a strong state from emerging, or vitiate it, thus leading to its decline (Kreager, 1988b). He duly acknowledges the ideal of "generativa," or vital endowments in human and agricultural fecundity, as the natural source of greatness in all spheres political, economic, moral, and military. But most of his attention is addressed to obtaining strategic advantages by neutralizing potential internal factions and co-opting the populations of other families, cities, and states. In Machiavelli's view, a large native population is preferable chiefly because native troops are more to be trusted; it is, after all, their own families and property they are enlarging or defending. But this does not mean that high fertility is necessary. Florence and Rome were notably deficient in this respect, but by adroit policies they managed to expand through assimilating surrounding peoples into their polities. Machiavelli points also to Venice and Pisa as examples of successful states based on peoples of diverse origins, where the ability of men to band together overcame natural deficiencies in the land available for cultivation. Resources in people and territory are, in short, open to manipulation. There is no best population size. While a small state is preferable, since it is more likely to permit equality of rights and a republican constitution, such states inevitably become the prey of larger ones; to survive, a state must expand. But as the

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 49 number of people increases, government becomes less direct and the opportunity for internal conflict grows; only an absolute prince is likely to be able to control such conflict and then only for a time. Much of what is archetypally "Machiavellian" in Machiavelli's writings concerns what are, in effect, population policies-including the use of conspiracy and fraud-through which the population necessary to the security and development of a state may be built up and efficiently deployed. It is character- istic of Machiavelli, for example, that in writing his History of Florence, he often shows us how individuals and heads of families act, willfully in ways contrary to the interests of the population of the state as a whole; and how the outcome of such actions is that individuals, families, and the members of wider factions are forced to leave the community, permanently or temporarily, unless some compromise (or trick) can be effected that will keep them as loyal members. In other words, it is not the actual size and composition of a population that matters, but the effective or strategic size and composition-the numbers available that will act cohesively, or can be contrived to do so. As Hobbes remarks, "the multitude sufficient to confide in for our security is not determined by any certain number, but by comparison with the enemy we fear" (n.d.: 110); and the proof of this is that conflict is likely to ensue only where each side has failed to convince the other of its military, demographic, or other advantage. Similarly, Bodin, in constructing his system of commonwealth, explicitly rejects limiting population growth; this argument occurs, as in so many of these writings, in the context of a discussion of the problem of factions and perceived inequalities. The problem is one of obtaining the right balance of groups and property within the State. Small states, in Bodin's view, are no less prey to these problems than large ones, but the greater complexity of a large population tends to check seditious factions, since "there will be many in an intermediate position between the rich and the poor, the good and the bad, the wise and the foolish" (n.d.: 159). Rousseau likewise affirms that there is no best population size for all states, although a large and increasing population is the surest sign of prosperity. He defines the different kinds of State by the ratio of the size of the governing body to the population. Like his predecessors, Rousseau sees monarchies and aristocracies, in which the number of governors is small in proportion to the number of people, as the only form of state likely to permit large populations. Absolutism provides the necessary centralized management, whereas democracies, although preferable, require small population sizes that leave them vulnerable to conflict within and without, to which no enduring solution seems possible.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 50 3.9 Conclusion The ascription to pre-Malthusian writers of a cornucopian view of nature needs similarly to be re-examined and the concepts involved clarified. In particular, we must be wary of a modern critical elision — adumbrated in Candide and other eighteenth-century expressions of enlightened irreverence — between providential and anthropocentric views of nature, on one hand, and arbitrarily optimistic expectations of natural bounty, or even of anthropogenic transformations of the natural order, on the other. The idea that Creation was a moral drama did not imply that it was a comedy. Malthus attacked the latter suggestion with Voltairean wit; but he shared the former belief in full measure.70 This is most obvious in the closing chapters of the 1798 Essay, which explicitly set out the divine economy behind the principle of population.71 But it is no less present – and is indeed more carefully and empirically integrated – in the later editions, which quoted medical arithmeticians such Short and John Aikin to the effect that epidemics were providential instruments, and recommended the evangelical John Bird Sumner's comments on the "calculated" link between the people's need to compete for resources and the "improvement of human virtue". Malthus explicitly related both the imbalance between human multiplication and the production of food that constituted the "principle of population", and the oscillation between positive and preventive checks that its operation entailed, to the divine purposes of replenishing the earth, "improving the human faculties", and furnishing first "admonitions" and ultimately "penalties" for human "disobedience". This was a much more systematic expression of divine demographic justice and its mechanisms than Durham's or Short's works could furnish. But it was not very different in its assessment of nature's indifference to human feeling or the suitability of nature's laws for human improvement. 3.10 Summary This unit traces the development the population theories from Chinese thinkers to that of Roman and Greek thought. Different points of view are expressed by these scholars regarding population problems. Confucius and other Chinese thinkers had NSOU ? GE-SO-21 51 given valuable contributions to the concept of population. Confucius was in favour of population increasing. On the other hand, in ancient Sparta marriage was considered as an institution created by the legal and political systems to provide the state with inhabitant and citizen. Therefore, all Spartan were compelled to get marriage, because continual wars decrease the population size and demanded a constant supply of manpower. Like Spartans, Athenians, on the other hand, were also interested in maintaining and improving the quality of the population from the point of view of defense security. The Romans also needed an expanding population. The Mercantilist school tried to link between the medieval period and the modern period. As a Mercantilist thinker Giovanni Betero and M. Machiavelli regarded a large population is a source of strength for a country. Quesnay (1694-1774) the founder of the Physiocratic School maintained that a large population was desirable only if it could be made comfortable. 3.11 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) i. What do mean by Commonwealth in case of population problems? ii) How many links are there regarding population? iii) What do mean by individual choice theory? G-B (10 Marks each) i. Write a note on the contribution of Chinese Thinkers to the development of population theory. ii. What is the contribution of Roman Thought to the development of population theory? iii. What is the contribution of Greek Thought to the development of population theory? iv. Analyze the contribution of Mercantilist School to the development of population theory. v. Analyze the contribution of Physiocratic School to the development of population theory.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 52 3.12 Suggested Readings i. Stangeland, Charles Emil (1904): Pre- Malthusian Doctrines of Population, A Study in the History of Economic Theory, New York: The Columbia University Press. ii. Chand, Gyan (1979): Population in Perspective, New Delhi: Orient Longmans. iii. United Nations (1973): The Determination and Consequences of Population Trends, Population Studies No. 50. iv. Edwin, Cannan (1914): Wealth, London: King and Son. v. The Mcgraw-Hill Dictionary of Modern Economics (1973): New Delhi. vi. Heackscher, Eli F. (1935): Mercantilism, Vol. 2, London: Allen and Unwin. vii. Encyclopaedia Britannica (1967): Vol. 17. viii.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281111291_Who_Were_the_Pre- Malthusians
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 53 Unit 4 ? Malthusian Theory of Population Structure 4.1 Objectives 4.2 Introduction 4.3 An Essay on the Principle of Population 4.4 Postulates of the Malthusian Theory of Population 4.5 Population and Food Supply 4.6 Positive Checks and Preventive Checks 4.7 The Malthusian Trap 4.8 Criticism 4.9 Is Malthusian Theory Valid Today? 4.10 Neo-Malthusian Theory of Population 4.11 Conclusion 4.12 Summary 4.13 Questions 4.14 Suggested Readings 4.1 Objectives ? To learn about the principles of population ? To understand the postulates of the Malthusian Theory of Population ? To understand the relation between Population and Food Supply ? To understand the Positive Checks and Preventive Checks ? To understand
the Malthusian Trap 4.2 Introduction

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The Malthusian Theory of Population is a theory of exponential population growth and arithmetic food supply growth. Thomas Robert Malthus, an English cleric, and scholar, published this theory in his 1798 writings, An Essay on the Principle of Population.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 54 The 18th century was a period of profound change in intellectual arena. These changes where to have a great influence on social economic as well as population theory. From the middle of the 18th century almost all writings on population contained some reference to the point that population increases more rapidly than food supply, a point which was letter to be elaborated by Malthus and which

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came to be known as the Malthusian theory of population.

Many writers anticipated the theory latter elaborated by Malthus. Botero has already been referred to as his first important forerunner. In 1677, Matthew Hale referred to the capacity of mankind to increase in geometrical proportion, doubling in numbers in the course of 34 years or even also referred to corrective checks for controlling human population. Other writers who thought in the same line were Robert Wallace, John Bruckner, James Stewart, and Joseph Townsend.Thomas Robert Malthus was the second and last son in a family of eight. He was born on 14 February 1766. Thomas Robert Malthus was a famous 18th-century British economist known for the population growth philosophies outlined in his 1798 book “An Essay on the Prin- ciple of Population.” In it, Malthus theorized that populations would continue expand- ing until growth is stopped or reversed by disease, famine, war, or calamity. He is also known for developing an exponential formula used to forecast population growth, which is currently known as the Malthusian growth model. i. Understanding the Ideas of Thomas Malthus In the 18th and early 19th centuries, philosophers broadly believed that humanity would continue growing and tilting toward utopianism. Malthus countered this belief, arguing that segments of the general population have always been invariably poor and miserable, which effectively slowed population growth. After observing conditions in England in the early 1800s, Malthus penned “An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent” (1815) and “Principles of Political Economy” (1820), in which he argued that the available farmland was insufficient to feed the increasing world population. Malthus specifically stated that the human population increases geometrically, while food production increases arithmetically. Under this paradigm, humans would eventually be unable to produce enough food to sustain themselves. This theory was criticized by economists and ultimately disproved. Even as the human population continues to increase, technological developments and migration
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 55 have ensured that the percentage of people living below the poverty line continues to decline. In addition, global interconnectedness stimulates the flow of aid from food- rich nations to developing regions. In India, which boasts the world’s second-biggest population, the Green Revolu- tion in the state of Punjab helped feed its growing population. In western economies like Germany, which was battered during World War II, population increases did not hamper development. Famous naturalist Charles Darwin partially based his natural selection theory on Malthus’ analysis of population growth. Furthermore, Malthus’ views enjoyed a resur- gence in the 20th century, with the advent of Keynesian economics. ii. Background of Thomas Malthus On February 13, 1766, Malthus was born into a prominent family near Guildford, Surrey, in England. Malthus was home-schooled before he was accepted to Cambridge University’s Jesus College in 1784. There he earned a master’s degree in 1791 and became a fellow two years later. In 1805, Malthus became a professor of history and political economy at the East India Company’s college at Haileybury.1 Malthus became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1819. Two years later, he joined the Political Economy Club, along with economist David Ricardo, and Scottish philosopher James Mill. Malthus was elected among the 10 royal associates of the Royal Society of Literature in 1824. In 1833, he was elected to both the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques in France, as well as Berlin’s Royal Academy. Malthus also co-founded the Statistical Society of London in 1834. He died in St. Catherine, near Bath, Somerset in 1834. 4.3 An Essay on the Principle of Population In 1798 Malthus published his first essay on population which was mainly directed against the optimistic view of William Godwin an English writer and philosopher, and against Marie Jean Antonie Condorcet, French mathematician economist and philosopher. The title of the
essay was:

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An Essay on the Principle of Population as at affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr Godwin, Mr. Clandorcet and

Others. This famous work of Malthus is a landmark in the history of population studies. It has become one of the most famous and one of the most controversial books of modern times. It brought

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 56 great honour to its author as well as abuse and criticism. It is to mention that the year of the publication of this book is determined as a base year for the study of population doctrines. Many ages to come all views on population were classified as pre- Malthusian, Malthusian, anti - Malthusian, and neo-Malthusian. He developed his idea on population in his essay. He was the first to develop a consistent and comprehensive population theory in relation to economic conditions and his writings exercised a great influence on population and economic theory. (Smith p. 4) The first edition of the essay was essentially directed against the utopian writers, William Godwin and Condorcet who had more optimistic views concerning the possibilities of supporting and increasing cause and ardent French revolutionary who was tried in absentia and was sentenced to death. While hiding in a student's boarding house, he wrote his famous treatise on the history of human progress. According to Condorcet, "All inequalities of wealth, of education, of opportunity, of sex, would soon disappear." (Petersen p 32-33) In 1793 that was about the same time Condorcet set went into hiding, Godwin published his book entitled Enquiry Concerning Political Justice. He had optimistic utopian ideas of a perfect society where 30 minutes work per day would fully satisfy the needs of all save draught. The theme of the essay of Malthus was mainly to counter the Utopian view of Godwin and Condorcet. He argued that the tendency of the population to grow faster in relation to its means of subsistence had led to human misery and placed several obstacles in the path of human progress. In 1803 Malthus published second edition of his essay which was a much expanded and changed edition, not merely a reprint. This edition contained substantial statistical data in support of the many arguments put forward and proposed moral constraint as a preventive check on rapid growth. Malthus spent the next five years in studying other authors' writings on population issues, visited continent, collected relevant statistical data and brought out another revised edition. Subsequently four more editions were published. The sixth edition was published in 1826. This edition was entitled An Essay on the Principle of Population or a View of its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness, with an Inquiry into our Prospects Respecting the Future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils which it Occasions. The final and seventh edition was published after his demise in 1872.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 57 4.4 Postulates of the Malthusian Theory of Population In the first edition of the essay,

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Malthus began with two postulates: "first that food is necessary to the existence of man. Secondly the passion between the sexes is necessary and will remain nearly in its present state." Assuming

then my postulate as granted say

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that the power of population is definitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man. Population when unchecked increases in

a geometrical ratio. Subsistence increases only in an arithmetical ratio.
A slight acquaintance with numbers will show the immensity of the first power in comparison with the second. (Malthus essay 1798p. 11) In chapter two of the sixth edition of the essay Malthus puts forth the following propositions, "(1) Population is
necessarily limited by the means of subsistence: (2) Population invariably increases where the

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means of subsistence increases unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks: (3) These checks and the cheques which repress the superior power up population and its effects on a level with the means of subsistence are all resolvable into moral restraint vice and misery." (Malthus

essay 1798 p. 11) Accepting the fact that the factors obstructing the growth up population where constantly in operation Malthus father attempted to investigate what the natural increase in population would be if left unchecked and the rate at which the means of subsistence would be increased. On the basis of these two questions, he framed to office basic prepositions that – population tends to double itself every 25 years, thus increasing in a geometrical ratio while even under the most favourable conditions agricultural produce increases each 25 years only by an equal quantity, thus increasing only in an arithmetical ratio. (Malthus essay 7th edition book 1 chapter 1) Population Growth Food Production Pop. Time Food Time

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Population and Food Supply Thomas Malthus theorized that populations grew in geometric progression. A geometric progression is a sequence of numbers where each term after the first is found by multiplying the previous one by a fixed, non-zero number called the common ratio. For example, in the sequence 2, 10, 50, 250, 1250, the common ratio is 5. Additionally, he stated that food production increases in arithmetic progression. An arithmetic progression is a sequence of numbers such that the difference between the consecutive terms is constant. For example, in series 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, the common difference of 3. He derived this conclusion due to the Law of Diminishing Returns. From this, we can conclude that populations will grow faster than the supply of food. This exponential population growth will lead to a shortage of food. 4.6

Positive Checks and Preventive Checks According to Malthus population could not continue unchecked. He classified two different types of checks – preventive checks and positive checks of population. Malthus included moral restraint and vice as voluntary checks based on man's reasoning. Further elaborating on these two preventives checks he describes moral restraint as "abstinence from marriage, either for a time or permanently from prudential consideration, with a strictly moral conduct towards the sex in the interval. And this is the only mode of keeping population on a level with the means of subsistence which is perfectly consistent with virtue and happiness". According to Malthus vice was prevention of the birth of children – "short of intercourse which renders some of the women of large towns unprolific", extra marital sexual relations and prostitution. (Malthus A summary view of the principle of population p. 114) Malthus' positive checks Quantity Time

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 59 The positive checks referred in general to all the factors which tended to human life: "Such as unwholesome occupations, severe labour and exposure to the seasons, bad and insufficient food and clothing arising from property, bad nursing of children, excesses of all kinds, great towns and manufactories the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, war, infanticide, plague, famine". Malthus classified these positive checks into two categories the first which were brought about by natural causes and which he labelled as "exclusively misery", the other being that which mankind brought upon itself, such as wars, excesses up all kinds, which wear avoidable but, which were brought about by vice and were the consequences of misery. (ibid 153) It's true that Machiavelli and Botero had earlier stated that population increases faster than the means of subsistence. Many of his arguments had already been put Malthus' negative checks Quantity Time Malthusian Theory of Population Population increases in geometrical progression 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256 in 200 years. Food increases in arithmetical progression 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, in 200 years. Imbalance leads to over population Corrected by Preventive checks—late marriage, chastily, moral restraint, etc. Positive checks—vice, misery, war, famine, floods, etc.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 60 forward by such thinkers as Sir Walter Raleigh, Francis Bacon, John Graunt, William Petty, Sir Matthew Hale, Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Townsend, Sir James Stewart, Hume, Robert Wallace, Arthur Young Archdeacon, Paley, and others. (Stangeland p. 355) 4.7 The

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Malthusian Trap The Malthusian Trap (or "Malthusian Population Trap") is the idea that higher levels of food production created by more advanced agricultural techniques create higher population levels, which then lead to food shortages because the higher population needs to live on land that would have previously used to grow crops. Even as technological advancement would normally lead to per capita income gains, theorizes Malthus, these gains are not achieved because in practice the advancement also creates population growth. Once the population exceeds what food supplies can support, this supposedly creates a Malthusian crisis with widespread famine as well as rampant disease. This ends up decreasing the population to earlier levels. The reality, however, has been that population growth has not itself created the crisis that Malthus predicted.

Though it is true that the idea of Malthusian theory is based had been prevalent for several years, but Malthus put these ideas in a larger framework and examine the inter relationship between population growth on the one hand and economic and political developments on the other hand. He modestly recognised that his work was not an original doctrine, at the same time pointing out that his presentation of the same ideas was better and some systematic, especially in the proposition that population tends to increase at a geometrical ratio and the means of subsistence at and arithmetical ratio. 4.8 Criticism Malthus's theory of population has been criticized by numerous thinkers, writers, academician, and politician on several grounds. First, Malthus's argument was based on two ratios – the geometrical and the arithmetical. According to his many critics this was the weakest point of his theory Kenneth Smith pointed out that these ratios concerning population growth and the
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 61 means of subsistence were based on a very weak foundation and were never really proved.

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Malthus concluded that population would double in a period of 25 years was based on the evidence of doubtful American statistics.

It has never been proved empirically. (Smith p.326) Secondly,

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the classification of checks on population growth into the two categories of preventive and positive also came in for criticism and was cited as an example of "poor classification" for the two do not form "independent categories". It was pointed out that Malthus had not

succeeded in connecting his positive and preventive checks. (Smith p.244) Thirdly, Malthus's theory was based on weak relationship between population and food supply. In fact, the right relationship is between population and total wealth of the country. The argument is that if a country is rich materially and even if it does not produce enough food for its population, it can feed the people well by importing food in exchange for its products or money. Fourthly, Malthus neglected the manpower aspect in population growth. According to Cannon we forgot that "a baby comes to the world

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not only with a mouth and a stomach, but also with a pair of hands".

Fifthly, Malthus underestimated the importance of industrial and agricultural revolution, and did not take into consideration the faster and more reliable modes of transport. Sixthly, on the other hand Kingsley Davis admitting that doctrine of Malthus where not empirical valid, emphasized that they were nevertheless theoretically significant. (Davis p.256-257) Lastly, Malthus's theory was based on a static economic law at any one time that is the law of diminishing return. 4.9 Is Malthusian Theory Valid Today? We must, however, add that though the gloomy conclusions of Malthus have not turned out to be true due to several factors which have made their appearance only in recent times, yet the essentials of the theory have not been demolished. He said that unless preventive checks were exercised, positive checks would operate. This is true even today. The Malthusian theory fully applies in India.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 62 We are at present in that unenviable position which Malthus feared. We have the highest birth-rate and the highest deathrate in the world. Grinding poverty, ever- recurring epidemics, famine, and communal quarrels are the order of the day. We are deficient in food supply. Our standard of living is incredibly low. Who can say that Malthus was not a true prophet, if not for his country, at any rate for the Asiatic countries like India, Pakistan, and China? No wonder that intense family planning drive is on in India at present. 4.10 Neo-Malthusian Theory of Population

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The term neo-Malthusianism was first used in 1877 by Dr. Samuel Van Houten, one of the vice- presidents of the Malthusian League. Neo- Malthusianism was not just a campaign in favour of birth control;

it was particular perspective on the effects of population on human conduct and behaviour. The neo-Malthusian movement, therefore, was different from conventional Malthusian position on two counts: it stressed on birth control methods and also identified the working class with the problem of overpopulation. The overcrowded industrial slums were identified as sites of moral degeneration. This diverted the debate on population from issues of poverty and unequal access to resources, to birth control per se. In fact, the assumption was that access to commons or availability of resources would give the poor little reason to abstain from having more children. Neo- Malthusianism thereby reinforced the ideology of private property, individualism, and capitalism. The neo-Malthusian position found favour with the elite sentiments on the issue of overpopulation. The elite, threatened by the growing numbers of commoners, considered birth control as an important means of checking future conflict over their property. The French delegates tried to maintain a stance of ambivalence though they were wary of contraception on the grounds that it encouraged the idea of seeking sexual pleasure without taking the responsibility of the consequences of the act. According to them, it devalued the institution and sanctity of marriage and family values. For the Catholic Church, birth control was illicit and immoral and went against the basic tenet of Christianity. Till the 1920s, most medical opinion was also against birth control, as it considered it unhealthy and immoral.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 63 The attitude started changing subsequently, as evidenced by the effort made by the British medical professionals in 1921 to appeal to the Anglican Church to reconsider their position on birth control in the light of existing medical knowledge. In America too, after a court ruling in 1929 that upheld the right of doctors to prescribe contraceptives for health reasons, birth control was included in medical curricula. Birth control clinics were set up in different parts of Europe and America and marked the new phase of the birth control movement. Birth control came to be popularised by taking recourse to the less “offensive” and more “social” terms like “family planning” or “planned parenthood”, and the emphasis was on spacing of children and women’s health. In its bid to control sexuality and the domestic sphere of a person’s life, birth control went against the modern values of individual freedom and the right of an individual to her/his privacy. On the other hand, it also questioned the orthodoxy of the times and presented birth control as an attempt to present a choice to the individual to have a child or not. However, the source of the birth control debate was not whether individual freedom should be protected or not, but on how to control overpopulation, depopulation or under population and its consequent effect on the world. Central to the debate were the issues of migration, availability of labour, conflict over resources, and poverty. The concerns were developmental and political. The erstwhile Soviet Union was the first country whose government attempted to make birth control advice and services freely available. Lenin, a key supporter of family planning, distinguished neo-Malthusian propaganda from what he termed as “the freedom of dissemination of medical knowledge and the defence of the elementary democratic rights of citizens of both sexes”. The socialists consistently maintained that the hue and cry over population was a way to divert the focus from the core issues of inequality and class struggle. For the socialists, the real issue was unequal access to resources than rising population. According to them, there was enough for everyone, provided resources are shared equally. The problem lay in the lack of equal distribution, with the bourgeois and the propertied class unwilling to give up the large share of resources under their control. After World War II, the situation altered with a number of newly independent states joining the United Nations. By then the neo-Malthusian demographic transition theory was well accepted. According to this theory, all countries pass through four

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 64 stages of demographic evolution. The first phase is the pre- industrial stage, marked by a high birth and death rate and slow population growth. The second stage is characterised by a population explosion, with improvement in technology and social conditions of life. The death rate is low, but the birth rate remains high leading to a high population growth rate. The third stage marks the beginning of the decline in the birth rate due to socio-economic changes and the fourth stage stabilises this trend and establishes a low and steady population growth rate. The interesting aspect of the theory is that population growth was supposed to reflect the level of economic development of a society. It established a low population rate as a key indicator of an economically developed country. The post-colonies or the countries of the ‘third world’ stood out in terms of the neo-Malthusian analysis. The countries that break oil of the ditches of colonial rule seemed to be undergoing the second stage of demographic transition, that is, they were experiencing high birth rates and low death rates. With better medical facilities and infrequent famine conditions, population had not only stabilised but also increased at a rapid rate. They were considered as backward, far behind the advanced societies in terms of economic development and technological growth, which was reflected in the persistent high rate of population growth rate. These were a matter of concern for the developed world. Years of colonialism had left these countries poor, with a large population to provide for.

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Reduction of population became a priority with the UN. The focus was on raising nutrition levels in developing countries and providing better health facilities to women and children. The proposal to set up the Population Commission came up in 1945, which was opposed by former USSR and Yugoslavia on the grounds that another Commission would only confuse matters, given the proliferation of interna- tional bodies within the UN. But the main reason for opposing the Commission was because it focused primarily on "population changes" and the impending doom following the population explosion, rather than on "growth".

It ignored the role of global capitalist development in the production of economic backwardness in developing countries. The Commission was nonetheless formally established in 1946. Although it had no decision-making power, it worked in
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 65 collaboration with the other specialized agencies of the UN such as the International Labour Organization (ELO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO). 4.11 Conclusion Malthus's theory of population may have many limitations but cannot be considered fully irrelevant in human society as a whole. This theory may not be applicable to develop industrialist northern countries of the globe but its influence spreads over the two third of the universe that the agricultural underdeveloped southern countries of the globe. So, we can conclude the topic with the words of John Robinson. He said," of all economic doctrines, the one most relevant to the under developed countries is that associated with Malthus". 4.12 Summary From the middle of the 18 th Century almost all writings on population contained some reference to the point that population increases more rapidly than food supply. Thomas Robert Malthus sincerely elaborated this which

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came to be known as the Malthusian theory of population.

Malthus was a famous British economist. 'An essay on the principle of population' was his famous book published in 1798. In his book he theorized that populations would continue expanding until growth is stopped or reversed by disease, famine, war, or calamities. Malthusian growth model is also important. 4.13 Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. Name Malthus' book on Population growth. ii. What are positive and preventive checks? iii. What is the Malthusian Trap? iv. How is population and food supply related, according to Malthus?
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 66 G-B (10 Marks each) i. What are the propositions of the Malthusian theory of population growth? ii. State the criticisms of Malthusian Theory of Population. iii. Discuss the theory that Malthuse laborated to deal with population growth. iv. What is the Law of Diminishing Returns? 4.14 Suggested Readings i. Eversley, D. E. C. (1959): Social Theories of Fertility and Malthusian Debate, Oxford Clarendon Press. ii. Glass, D. V. (1959): Introduction to Malthus, London: Frank Cass and Company. iii. Chand, Gyan (1979): Population in Perspective, New Delhi: Orient Longmans. iv. Hutchinson, E. P. (1967): The Population Debate, The Development of Conflicting Theories up to 1900, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. v. Davis, Kingsley (1955): Malthus and the Theory of Population, The Language of Social Research, Edt. by Paul F. Lazarsfed and Morris Rosenberg, New York: Free Press. vi. Coontz, Sydney H. (1968): Population Theories and Economic Interpretation, London: Routledge Kegan Paul. vii. Gupta, R. (2010): Elementary Geography, New Delhi: S. Chand Publication. viii. Beale, H.L. (1958): Historical Context of the Essay on Population, D.V. Glass(ed.) Introduction to Malthus, London: Frank Cass and Company. ix. Griffith, G. Talbot (1967): Population Problems of the Age of Malthus, New York: Frank Cass and Company. x. https://www.intelligenteconomist.com/malthusian-theory/
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 67 Unit 5 ? Theory of Optimum Population Structure 5.1 Objectives 5.2 Introduction 5.3 Optimum Population 5.4 Under Population 5.5 Over Population 5.6 Concept of Optimum Population 5.7 Assumptions of the Theory 5.8 Diagrammatic Representation of the Theory 5.9 Dalton's Formula 5.10 Superiority of Optimum Population Theory over Malthusian Theory 5.11 Merits of the Theory 5.12 Weakness of the Theory 5.13 Criticism 5.14 Conclusion 5.15 Summary 5.16 Questions 5.17 Suggested Readings 5.1 Objectives The Optimum Theory of Population appeared as a reaction to the Malthusian theory. It is also called modern theory of population. In recent years, Prof. Robbins, Dalton and Carr- Saunders have refined and polished the theory and put it in a more presentable form. This theory is an improvement over the Malthusian Theory. The founders of the theory state it as "

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Given the natural resources, stock of capital and the state of technical knowledge, there will be a definite size of population with the per capita income.

The population which has the highest per capita income is known as optimum population".
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 68 5.2 Introduction Optimum population theory appeared as a reaction to the Malthusian theory of population in 1924 when modern English economist Edwin Cannan published his book Wealth in that year. Edwin Cannan and Carr Saunders of London School of Economics developed a new theory as optimum population theory. It is also called modern theory of population. In recent years Prof. Robbins Dalton and Carr - Saunders have refined and polished the theory and put it in a more presentable form. This theory is an improvement over the Malthusian theory. Although the beginning of this concept may be traced to the writing of a German professor, Karl Winkelblech, who describing population theory and policy classified Nations into three categories according to the size of their population: (1) under populated nation; (2) overpopulated Nations; and (3) Nations with normal popula- tions meaning a size favourable
to the greatest possible used the term optimum population as synonyms with best possible population and clarified this in the following words,"

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At any given time the population which can exist on a given extent of land consistent with the greatest productiveness of industry at that time is definite."

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Unlike the Malthusian theory, the optimum theory does not establish relationship between population growth and food supply. Rather, it is concerned with the relation between the size of population and production of wealth. The Malthusian theory is a general theory which studies the population problem of a country in keeping with its economic conditions. Thus, the optimum theory is more realistic than the Malthusian theory of population.

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The optimum population is the ideal population which combined with other available resources or means of production of the country will yield the maximum returns or income per head.

Given these assumptions,

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the optimum population is that ideal size of population which provides the maximum income per head. Any rise or diminution in the size of the population above or below the optimum level will diminish income per head. Given the stock of natural resources, the technique of production and the stock of capital in a country, there is a definite size of population corresponding to the highest per capita income. Other things beings equal, any deviation from this optimum-sized population will lead to a reduction in the per capita income. If the increase in per capita income, the country is under -populated and it can afford to increase its population till it reaches the optimum level. On the contrary, if the increase in NSOU ? GE-SO-21 69 population leads to diminution in per capita income, the country is over -populated and needs a decline in population till the per capita income is maximised. 5.3

Optimum Population

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The concept of optimum population has been interpreted in various ways," to mean the size of the population which results in the highest per capita income the highest productivity as measured in different manners. "

Some other writers, considering the concept of the economic optimum as being too restrictive have included in it the

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total well-being health longevity of a nation the ideal family size the conservation of natural resources power defence and other spiritual cultural and aesthetic factors.

According to do most writers
the economic optimum where's the main consideration in the optimum population theory and

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gradually the idea of population of optimum size for maximum production was accepted. 1 important aspect the concept of optimum population was that it was a reconciliation of the optimistic and pessimistic theories of population because it implied that the growth of population was beneficial up to a certain point after which

any further growth was harmful. The Economist like Carr Saunders considered optimum population as that which produces maximum welfare. On the other hand, Prof. Cannan defined this theory in terms of "return to labour." He remarked, "Knowledge and circumstances remaining the same there is what may be called maximum return when the amount of labour is such that both increase and decrease in it would diminish proportionate return." Similarly, Bounding has rightly observed, "optimum population is that at which standard of living is maximum." Optimum population theory is a landmark in study of demography, sociology and other social sciences. It explains the problems of population in a comprehensive way from the production side. It also explains the relationship between productive efficiency and production. This theory provides more detailed analysis as it considers over and under population and brings out the evils of both.

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Car-Saunders defines optimum population as "that population which produces maximum economic welfare".

By optimum population we mean the ideal number of populations that a country should have considering its resources. The optimum size of population is which along with the existing natural resources and a given state of technology, yields the highest income per capita in a country.

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The optimum, population means the best and the most desirable size of a country's population.

The optimum theory of population is based on two important assumptions. First, it is
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 70 assumed that the proportion of working population to total population remains constant as the population of the country increases. Secondly, it is assumed that as the population of a country increases, the natural resources, the capital stock, and the state of technology remains unchanged. As the population of a country increases, the number of workers also increases. At the same time, the average product per man increases, but beyond that point it starts diminishing. Edwin

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Cannan says," at any given time, increase of labour up to a certain point is attended by increasing proportionate returns and beyond that point further increase of labour is attended by diminishing proportionate returns. At that very point where the average productivity of labour

begins to decline, the income per capita is the highest. This is the point of maximum returns or optimum population." The optimum population is liable to change in accordance with the quantitative and qualitative changes taking place in the means of production. The optimum point, therefore, keep shifting upwards or downwards. We cannot fix the optimum population of a country on a permanent basis because its productive factors, techniques keep changing from time to time. Under population – If the population of a country is below the optimum, i.e. below what it ought to be, then the country is said to be under-populated. The number of the people is not sufficient to utilize the resources of the country. The resources are vast, much can be produced, but men are not sufficient. The community will not be able to reap the economies of large-scale production. Under such conditions, an increase in population will be followed by an increase in the per capita income. When the shortage has been made up, the per capita income will reach the maximum and the optimum is reached. Over-population – If the population still goes on increasing and the optimum is exceeded then there will be over-population stage. There will be too many people in the country. The country's resources will not be sufficient to provide gainful employment to all. The average productivity will diminish, per capita income will diminish; standard of living will fall. These are the symptoms of over-population. Food shortage, diseases and death, overstraining resources, increase in dependents, open and disguised unemployment are the economic effects of over population. Both under – population and over-population have disadvantages. It is the optimum population, with the highest per capita output, that is the best for a country to aim at. The concept of optimum population, under-population and over-population comprises the modern theory of population.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 71 5.4 Under Population Under population is if the actual population in a country is less than the optimum or ideal population, there will not be enough people to exploit all the resources of the country fully. Thus, the population and the per capita income will be lower. In other words, if the per capita income is low due to too few people, the population is then under population. Under population exists when a population is too small, therefore unable to fully utilise the available resource endowments. Under population is also characterised by a situation where the available resources are capable of supporting a much larger population with no reduction in living standards. The situation is found in regions of low technical development such as equatorial Congo, Amazon River basin or the rich Prairie region of North America. Relative under population is more common than absolute under population. Indeed, absolute under population is rarely seen and may be found in completely secluded societies where, the degree of replacement of population is less than unity. Relative under population occurs due to insufficient resource development. In developed economies, rural under population is more visible, whereas in backward countries, under population is linked to high mortality rate. 5.5 Over Population The term 'overpopulation' means too great a population for a given region to support. There may be two causes: (i) population growth exceeds the existing resource base; (ii) existing resources have been depleted. Some authors distinguish absolute overpopulation (where the absolute limit of production has been attained but standards of living remain low) from relative overpopulation (where present production does not support the population but the production can be augmented). The situation of overpopulation displays the following socio-economic characteristics: high unemployment, low-incomes, low standards of living, high population density, malnutrition, and famine.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 72 Malthus, for the first time, identified the problems related to overpopulation. Later on, the Neo-Malthusians also viewed overpopulation as a major problem. Marxists argue that overpopulation is the result of the mal-distribution of resources. Nowadays, some western geographers view overpopulation as the cause of pollution and the increasing migration from the countryside in the western countries of Europe and North America. Overpopulation strikes the lower strata of the society the hardest particularly in developing countries such as India, Nepal, Myanmar etc. Overpopulation may occur either at national level or at regional level. Regional overpopulation when found in rural areas is attributed to: (i) Rapid increase of rural population, (ii) Skewed distribution of agricultural land, (iii) Agricultural mechanisation, (iv) Lack of development of non- agricultural sector, (v) Low agricultural yield, (vi) Lack of social development, and (vii) Non-resilience of the agricultural sector. Over population is if the actual population is above the level of optimum population there will be too many people to work efficiently and produce the maximum goods and the highest per capita income. As a result, the per capita income becomes poorer than before. This is the stage of over population. In other words, if the per capita income is low due to too many people the population under these circumstances would be over population. According to the founders of the theory the statement of the theory is "Given the natural resources, stock of capital and the state of technical knowledge, there will be a definite size of pollution with the per capita income. The population which has the highest per capita income is known as optimum population." 5.6 Concept of Optimum Population Optimum population has been defined as that size of population enabling per capita output of the maximum orders accompanied by the highest possible standards

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 73 of living under a given set of economic and technological conditions. Therefore, optimum population lies between two extremes, i.e., overpopulation and under- population, although the size of optimum population is not sacrosanct. It is a theoretically perfect situation difficult to estimate or define. The Penguin Dictionary of Geography characterises optimum population as a situation when the number of individuals can be accommodated in an area to the maximum advantage of each individual. Thus, optimum population yields highest quality of life, which means each person has access to adequate food, water, energy and air of highest quality, adequate medical care, recreational facilities, and cultural outlets. In other words, optimum population permits the highest per capita output; therefore, the marginal productivity exceeds the average productivity whereby the rates of growth of total production are the highest. 5.7 Assumptions of the Theory The optimum population theory is based on two important assumptions: i. The proportion of working population to total population remains constant as the population of the country increases. ii. As the population of the country increases, the natural resources, the capital stock and state of technology remain unchanged. 5.8 Diagrammatic Representation of the Theory In the diagram volume of population is shown along OX axis and income per head along OY-axis. OS is the income per head which gives only subsistence wage rate to the population. This level of wages puts the minimum limit to the income per head. The subsistence income per head can prevail with two levels of population: i. When population is too small to exploit the country's resources with maximum efficiency. This is the level of OA population. ii. When population is too large and the efficiency falls to give only a subsistence income to the labour force. This is the level of OC population.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 74 OB shows optimum population which uses the available resources to give itself the maximum income per head. For a population less than OB, income per head increases with the increase in population. For a population higher than OB, income per head can increase with the decrease in population through preventive checks. The dotted curve in the diagram shows the level of income per head with an improvement in technology or expansion of foreign trade. This will help to raise the income curve and generate population growth until wages are once again equal to subsistence level. 5.9 Dalton's Formula Dalton expresses the theory in the form of a formula which is given below. A – O M = ——— O Where M-Maladjustment or deviation from optimum population A - Actual population O - Optimum population If M is zero, population is optimum, when M is positive, it is over population, when M is negative, it is under population. Therefore, optimum population is not fixed and a rigid one. It is rather variable and related to resources and technology. Optimum population is not just an economic concept but qualitative in has rightly remarked, "it is being perpetual altered by the progress of knowledge and other changes affecting the economic system. It is thus, a dynamic concept. It may be higher or lower as different methods of production are used." Y S O A B C Income per head Optimum Subsis- tence Wage Under Over Population Population Population

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 75 5.10 Superiority of Optimum Population Theory

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over Malthusian Theory The optimum theory of population is superior to the Malthusian theory on the following grounds. i. The Malthusian law is a general study of the population problem because it is applicable to all countries irrespective of their economic conditions. The optimum theory is superior to the Malthusian theory because it studies the population problem in relation to the economic conditions of a particular country. ii. Malthus had a narrow vision. He related the growth of population to food supply. Cannan, on the other hand, had a much wider outlook. He related the problem of population to the total production of the country, both industrial and agricultural. iii. The Malthusian theory is a static concept which applies to a period of time. The optimum theory is a dynamic one because over a period of time the per capita income may rise with the expansion in output due to improvements in knowledge, skill, capital equipment and other elements in production. This may raise the optimum level of population. Thus, the optimum theory is more realistic. iv. The Malthusian doctrine is simply theoretical and is devoid of all practical considerations. It regards all increases in population bad, for they bring untold miseries to the people. Malthus wrote, "The table of nature is laid for a limited number of guests and those who come uninvited must starve." On the other hand, the optimum theory is very practical because it regards an increase in population not only desirable but also necessary for the maximum utilisation of the country's natural resources. v. The Malthusian theory of population is based on the unrealistic assumption of the niggardliness of nature. This belief arises from the operation of the law of diminishing returns in agriculture. But the optimum theory takes a realistic view when according to this the law of diminishing returns does not operate in agriculture immediately but after the optimum point is reached. In other NSOU ? GE-SO-21 76 words, first the law of increasing returns operates up to the optimum point and the law of diminishing returns after it. vi. Malthus was so much obsessed by the fear of over-population that he ignored a fundamental fact that a newly born child 'comes not only with a mouth and a stomach but also with a pair of hands'. The optimum population theory allays all such fears of the Malthusians by stressing the fact that increasing population increases the labour force which helps raise the optimum expansion of the country's natural resources.So long as the actual population is less than the optimum, the increase in population is safe and good. It is only when the actual population exceeds the optimum that the increase in population needs control Thus unlike the Malthusian theory which necessitates the use of preventive checks all the time for fear of the country being over- populated, the optimum theory is free from all such taboos and is silent about any type of checks to control population. vii. Malthus was essentially a pessimist who portrayed a gloomy picture about the future of mankind which was full of misery, vice, floods, droughts, famines, and other natural calamities. The optimum theory: is superior to the Malthusian theory because it does not suffer from any pessimism, rather it adopts an optimised, and realistic attitude towards the problem of population when it relates population to the wealth of the country. 5.11 Merits of the Theory The theory

is a landmark in the science of demography. Its merits are under noted as follows. i. Comprehensive Approach It explains the problems of population in a comprehensive way from the production side. It also explains the relationship between productive efficiency and production. ii. Qualitative Nature of the Theory Prof. Bye said, "Optimum population is difficult to find because size of population must lead to the fullest development of social and economic life."
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 77 iii. Pragmatic Approach This theory is also pragmatic, i.e. it is concerned with practical results. iv. More Detailed Analysis The optimum theory of population provides more detailed analysis as it considers over and under- population and brings out the evils of both. 5.12 Weakness

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of the Theory Despite the superiority of the optimum theory over the Malthusian theory of population, it has serious weaknesses. i. No Evidence of Optimum Level The first weakness of the optimum theory is that it is difficult to whether there is anything like an optimum population. There is no evidence about the optimum population level in any country. In fact, it is impossible to measure it. For optimum population implies a qualitative; well as a quantitative ideal population for the country. The qualitative ideal implies not only physique knowledge and intelligence, but also the best age composition of population. These variables are subject change and are related to an environment. Thus, the optimum level of population is vague.

ii.

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Correct Measurement of Per Capita Income not Possible Another difficulty pertains to the measurement of per capita income in the country. It is not an easy task to measure changes in the per capita income. The data on per capita income are often inaccurate, misleading, and unreliable which make the concept of optimum as one of doubtful validity. iii. Neglects the Distributional Aspect of Increase in Per Capita Income Even if it is assumed that per capita income can be measured, it is not certain that the increase in population accompanied by the increase in per capita income would bring prosperity to the country. Rather, the increase in per capita income and population might prove harmful to the economy if the increase in per capita income has been the result of concentration of income in the hands of a few rich. Thus, the optimum theory of population neglects the distributional aspect of increase in the per capita income.

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Optimum Level not fixed but oscillating The concept of the optimum population assumes that the techniques of produc- tion, the stock of capital and natural resources, the habits and tastes of the people, the ratio of working popula- tion to total population, and the modes of business organisation are constant. But all these factors are constantly changing. As a result, what may be the optimum at a point of time might become less or more than the optimum over a period of time. AP1 is

the average prod- uct

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of labour or per capita income curve. Suppose there is an innovation which brings a change in the techniques of production. It shifts the per capita income curve to AP2. As a result, the optimum level of population rises from OP1 to OP2 with the increase in per capita income E from P1M1 to P2M2. If the per capita income rises further due to a change in any of the above assumed factors, the AP2, curve will shift upward. The AP2 or AP1 curve can also shift downward if, for instance, the capita income falls due to an adverse change in the given factors. If the locus of all such S. points like M1 M2 etc., are joined by a line, we have the PI curve which represents the path of the movement of the optimum population as a result of changes in the economic factors. If, however, the actual level of population is assumed to be OP0 and the optimum level OP1 then the country is over- populated. If OP1 is the optimum level, then the country is under-populated. Thus, the optimum is not a fixed level but an oscillating one. v. Neglects Social and Institutional Conditions The optimum theory considers only the economic factors which determine the level of population. Thus, it fails to take into consideration the social and institutional conditions which greatly influence the level of population in a country. A lower level Size of Population

Per Capita Income
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of optimum population may be justified from the economic viewpoint, but such a level may be harmful keeping into view the defence considerations of the country. For instance, economic consideration may prevent us from having a large population but the danger from foreign aggression may necessitate a very large population to safeguard our territorial integrity. Thus, the optimum theory is imperfect and one- sided. vi. No Place in State Policies The concept of optimum population has no place in the policies of modern states. While fiscal policy aims at increasing or stabilising the level of employment, output and income in a country, no reference is made to the optimum level of population. This theory is, therefore, of no practical use and is regarded as useless. 5.13

Criticism Optimum population theory has its own limitations. So, the theory has been criticized on various grounds by several writers and critics. First, it is extremely difficult to know the optimum population of a country at any time. Many factors like technical knowledge, stock of capital, per capita income, and natural resources etc. have to be taken into account for this purpose. Secondly, the optimum theory is criticized as a static short period theory. It ignores the changes in natural and human resources which affect per capita income. This theory is also silent about the important questions of the determinants of population growth. Thirdly, some critics also argue that this theory has not taken into account the biological and sociological factors which govern the size and growth up population. Precisely it can be said, this theory is not our theory of population. It simply explains the state of population with reference to per capita income. Fourthly, it is pointed out that two assumptions of which the theory has been based are not realistic. So, the practical value of this theory is reduced. Fifthly, the critics also pointed out that the theory takes into account purely economic factors which determine the optimum size of the population of a country. It should also be considered the social, political, and other non-economic factors.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 80 Sixthly, the theory avoids the distributional aspect of the problem. This theory considers simple population to income per head. This increasing population and national income cannot be useful to a country if the increase national income is not properly and equitable distributed among the different sections of society. Therefore, practicable and useful theory must account for in income distribution as a factor in determining the optimum population.
5.14 Conclusion In spite of various criticism levelled against the optimum population theory, it is to be said that it is an improvement over Malthusian theory. This theory is an important landmark in the science of demography. Although this theory is not a guiding principle to any economic policy, it can be useful by recasting in a dynamic setting. This theory attracts much attention in the 1920s and the 1930s. Sauvey has again discussed this theory at great length and has defined

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optimum population as that population which best assures the realization of a

predetermined objective, not so much

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as an absolute theoretical concept but as a convenient tool. 5.15

Summary Malthusian theory of population had been criticized in many ways. The optimum theory of population came into existence as a reaction to the Malthusian theory. This theory is an improvement over the Malthusian theory. As a result, it is called Modern theory of population in 1924.

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Unlike the Malthusian theory the optimum theory does not establish relationship between population growth and food supply. Rather, it is concerned with the relation between the size of population and production of wealth. 5.16

Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. Why did the theory of Optimum Population emerge? ii. Elaborate the concept of Optimum Population theory. iii. What is over population?

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 81 iv. What is under population? v. Why is Optimum Population theory considered superior over Malthusian theory? G-B (10 Marks each) vi. Write a note on Dalton's formula of Optimum Population theory. vii. What are the assumptions of the Optimum Population theory? viii. State the merits of Optimum Population theory. ix. List the criticisms of Optimum Population theory. 5.17 Suggested Readings i. Thomlinson, Ralph (1965): Population Dynamics, New York: Random House. ii. Coontz, Sydney H. (1968): Population Theories and Economic Interpretation, London: Routledge Kegan Paul. iii. Gupta, R. (2010): Elementary Geography, New Delhi: S. Chand Publication. iv. Economic Discussion (2014): The Optimum Theory of Population, http// www. economicdiscussion.net. v. Your Article Library (2015): Optimum Theory of Population, http://www. yourarticlelibrary.com vi. Petersen, William (1965): The Politics of Population, New York: Doubleday and Company. vii. Griffith, G. Talbot (1967): Population Problems of the Age of Malthus, New York: Frank Cass and Company. viii. Adarkar, B. P. (1938): The Optimum Theory of Population, papers contributed to The Second All India Population and First Family Hygiene Conference, Bombay. ix. Sauvey, Alfred (1966): General Theory of Population, London: Wicdenfeld and Nicolson. x. https://www.economicsdiscussion.net/population/the-optimum-theory-of- population-with-diagram/4473 xi. https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/population/the-optimum-theory-of-population-economics/10891
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 82 Unit 6 ? Socialist and Marxist views on Population Structure 6.1 Objectives 6.2 Introduction 6.3 Early Socialist Views 6.4 Marx and Engle's Views on Population 6.5 Marxian theory of Population Growth 6.6 Post-Marx Socialist Views on Population 6.7 Criticism of Marxist Views 6.8 Conclusion 6.9 Summary 6.10 Questions 6.11 Suggested Readings 6.1 Objectives ? To understand the early Socialist Views ? To understand Marx and Engle's Views on Population ? To understand Marxian theory of Population Growth ? To understand Post-Marx Socialist Views on Population ? To understand the criticism of Marxist Views 6.2 Introduction

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The debate about the Malthusian theory has continued down to the present. Economists such as J.S. Mill and J.M. Keynes supported his theory whereas others, especially, sociologists, have argued against it. According to them, the widespread poverty and misery of the working-class people was, not due to an eternal law of nature as propounded by Malthus but to the misconceived organization of society. Karl Marx went one step further and argued that starvation was caused by the unequal distribution of

the

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wealth and its accumulation by capitalists. It has nothing NSOU ? GE-SO-21 83 to do with the population. Population is dependent on economic and social organization. The problems of overpopulation and limits to resources, as enunciated by Malthus, are inherent and inevitable features associated with the capitalist system of production.

The socialist thinkers, writers and reformers gave attention on the class differentiations and the misery of the working class. Thomas More's Utopia (1516) gives a content and egalitarian view for an ideal state and social organisation founded on reason and moral considerations. Early British and French socialists raised strong objection against the capitalist system. The suggested the social reforms and the theories they held concerning the reorganization of society constituted what is known as "utopian socialism." But it was only with the rise of Marxian "scientific socialism" as opposed to the farmer that the working classes acquired a consistent revolutionary theory. Dialectical materialism, Marx's system of philosophy was a continuation of German philosophical thought, English political economy, and French socialist theory of the nineteenth century. According to the theory of historical materialism which is an application of dialectical materialism to social change the history of mankind has been one of continuous class struggle by which less advanced social systems have been replaced by more advanced ones. As the establishment of the bourgeoisie replacing the feudal system, according to this theory, the proletariat, the productive class under capitalism would replace the bourgeoisie and establish a socialist exploitation- free society. (Marx, Communist Manifesto p.6-7) The early socialists who concerned with matters related to population, but their views were far from fully developed. Marx and Engels formulated a consistent approach to the population problem which most socialists later adopted. 6.3 Early Socialist Views Early socialists thought that excessive population growth would be prevented by increased production and better social order. These views were evident in the writings of the British Ricardian socialist, who attended to reject the Malthusian propositions. Thompson believed that population growth could be brought under control in the cooperative indicated that since labour produced all oils production would keep pace with population as long as raw material were available and implied that the numbers of population would be brought under control. Social reformer and

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 84 socialist writer robot Robert Owen established a model industrial community in which the welfare of workers was a major consideration. One of the early French socialist, Saint Simon tried to show that poverty could be eliminated under the system of collective industrialism by means of greater productivity. He opposed Malthus "moral restraint" because it was incompatible with the workers happiness. While Charles Fourier believed that changes in living patterns in the "socialist state" would bring about population control. Louis Blanc suggested that imprudence was the product rather than the cause of misery and that reorganization of society by removing misery would prevent over thought that he is type of libertarian socialism would strike a balance between population and production. According to Valentei, Malinovsky, was the first Russian author to disagree with Malthus, as later did Chernishevsky and other "revolutionary democracy" but not on the grounds of social considerations. The first representative of utopian socialism in Russia Milytin considered that population was an important factor in the economy, but had a wider social importance which a population law must take into account. 6.4 Marx and Engle's Views on Population In the broader context of historical materialism, Marx and Engels did not formulate a population theory but formulated a set of basic principles which day regarded as governing population and its economic and social correlates. Rejecting the Malthus's "abstract" principle of population, Marx held that there would be no natural and universal law operation; population was rather determined by the social and economic conditions prevailing in the different societies. He insisted that each specific historic mode of production had its own peculiar law of population, historically valid within its limits. In Marx's view, "

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an abstract law of population exists for plants and animals only, and only in so far as man has not interfered with them. In Capital he outlined the population law "peculiar to the capitalist mode of production",

covering both the relative surplus population, which was primarily a socio-economic concept, and the inverse relationship between family size and wage levels, which reflected demographic and social relationships. Marx maintained the Malthus's "over population" could be ascribed to the capitalist mode of production. During the expansion of the capitalist system, the natural increase in population alone could not satisfy the requirements for readily available labour, would generate the surplus population needed for the functioning of
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 85 the system. Therefore, relative surplus population was inherent in the capitalist system. It was a consequence of the accumulation of capital as well as a condition for the continuation of the system. The "industrial reserve army" had to be sufficiently large to hold the pretensions of the workers in the check, to keep wages and salaries low, and thus to maintain high rates of surplus value and profit. According to Marx, there are three forms of relative surplus population, our on employment - the floating the latent and the stagnant. The floating category consists largely of persons displaced by machinery and structural changes within industry. The latent category is made up of that part of the agricultural population which is on the verge of migrating to the cities, mainly because of the penetration of capital into agriculture. The stagnant category is comprised of workers with highly irregular employment and the lowest levels of living. Different economic and demographic factors specifically contribute to the creation and perpetuation of individual forms of relative surplus population. (Marx, Capital, p. 640-644) Differences in mortality and fertility, both among social classes and within the working class are, according to Marx, determined by social position levels of living work conditions and other social factors. Marx noted that the number of births and deaths, as well as absolute family size, were in inverse proportion wage levels and, hence, to the means of subsistence available two different categories of workers. (Marx, Capital, p. 644-645) Being fully agreed with Marx's analysis, Engels made an additional contribution to Marx's approach to population theory. On the one hand, he maintained that productive power of mankind was unlimited, since productivity in general, and that of land in particular, can increase by application of capital, labour and science. Thus, he rejected the law of diminishing returns which he considered implicit in Malthus's principle of population. On the other hand, he stressed that under capitalism surplus population was always bound by surplus capital. This was a contradiction inheritance in capitalism which could be overcome only by fundamental "social reorganization". Engels also suggested that in the final analysis the decisive factor in history which was dual in nature was "production and reproduction of life itself". One hand there was the production of the means of subsistence. On the other hand, there was the production of man himself. The higher productivity is and the more developed the production of means of subsistence, the more economic and social factors determined the social order.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 86 What would the population situation be in future socialist society? In this regard Marx did not express anything concretely. Engels believed that a socialist society would have at its disposal a highly developed productive capacity managed by careful planning. He suggested that if at some stage communist society found itself obliged to "regulate the production of human beings", just as it would regulate the production of things, it would be "precisely this society.....Which can carry this out without difficulty". He also said that the kind of reduction in fertility rates that had already been spontaneously achieved in France and lower Austria could also be brought about through planning. The economic and social writings of Marx and Engels contain many observations regarding demographic and socio-economic interrelationships. Population is here conceived of in a dual capacity - as a producer and as a consumer - and the term population is used interchangeable for both labour force and population. (Marx, Capital, vol. 1, p. 316, 322-323, 325-334) 6.5 Marxian theory of Population Growth

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Marx's contention that food production could not increase rapidly was also debated when new technology began to give farmers much greater fields. French sociologist E. Dupreel (1977) argued that an increasing population would spur rapid innovation and development to solve problems, whereas a stable population would be complacent and less likely to progress.

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Karl Marx (1818-1883) was a German philosopher and founder of modern communism. His theory of population was christened as the theory of surplus population. Karl Marx completely rejected the Malthusian Theory. While postulating his general theory of communism and scientific interpretation of history in his book– the Communist Manifesto, and Das Kapital. He gave some ideas about population growth. Karl Marx (1818-1883) is regarded as the Father of Communism. He did not separately propose any theory of population, but his surplus population theory has been deduced from his theory of communism. Marx opposed and criticized the Malthusian theory of population. Karl Marx criticized the capitalist economy had a very different idea about population growth. For Marx, these social problems were not the fault of the poor

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workers, but of the capitalist system that exploited them. Marx made the scientific interpretation of human history. He said just like there are the scientific explanation for the physical phenomenon, the same are there for social phenomenon. He said the essence of history is change in the modes of production in any society and this change is always progressive. Marx considered that society, especially feudal and capitalist society has two major economic classes viz. ? The Rich ? The Poor The Rich was those who have means of production and earn their profit by exploiting the poor. On the other hand, the poor were those who sell their energy & will to work to these rich people in exchange of wages. The employers earn profit by exploiting the poor, this profit is known as surplus profit. According to Marx in no country of world population increase on account of fertility but it increases only on account of capitalist policies. The capitalist makes labour part of their production and still something out of that. By installing labour-saving machines, a capitalist wants to have the maximum surplus-value of that. As a result of this unemployment spreads, wage declines, and poverty increases. The poor population cannot nourish their children on account of

Surplus Labour Decrease in Real Wage Poverty Cycle: Marxian theory of Population Growth Again, increase the number of hands Decrease the wages further Less Income Poverty Need to increase more hands Growth of population
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their poverty thus they try to increase the population by reproduction so that the next generation would also help them to generate extra wages. However due to the increase in the advanced technology and excess labourers the condition of surplus population and Unemployment generates. This is the main cause of misery. He came to the conclusion that the main causes of the surplus population were nothing else but the wrong politics of capitalists. Marx was on the view that in the socialist society reproductive behavior would develop a complete harmony between the individual and the society. Marx suggested that for population control fall of capitalism is the only mean and distributive justice, state control over resources can mitigate the food crisis. Thus, his theory is the socio-economic model of population control. 6.6

Post-Marx Socialist Views on Population Koutsky following Marx more closely in his later writings, he explained relative over population because of the "variable constituent" of capital increasing less rapidly than total capital and the labouring population. From this might ensue an excess of population relative to two variable capitals with the result that wages would be depressed and prophets would rise. This situation would disappear upon the collectivisation of the economy. He believed that under socialism conditions more conducive both to the appropriate regulation of numbers population and to the increase of production would develop. (Kautsky, The Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx part 3, chapter 5) Bebel analysed the question of population to the status of women under capitalist conditions and in a socialist society. He said that population was likely to increase more slowly in a socialist society than in a bourgeois society, mainly because of the superior position of women under socialism. Like Marx, Lenin also rejected the Malthusian principle of population. He firmly said that human reproduction depended directly upon the structure of society, and rejected and abstract population law which had no relation to historically different forms of social orders. He said that the overpopulation of agrarian Russia was not the consequence of disparity between human production and means of subsistence, but NSOU ? GE-SO-21 89 a result of penetration of capitalism into agriculture. He also denied that the law of diminishing returns applied under conditions of technological progress and improved agricultural methods. Chinese socialist writers also have rejected the population theory of Hung Tian- Tsi, a Chinese predecessor of Malthus, as they rejected the Malthusian principle of population. For a population law pertinent to socialist society, Chang, Mao Gang and Hu maintained that rational utilisation of labour and improvements in living conditions, as well as elimination of differences between town and country e and between manual and intellectual labour, are essential to socialism. As for population growth, they have suggested that mortality will gradually reach a minimum physiological level, while fertility after reaching a high level, will decline. (Ma, New Population Theory) None of the Marxist writers considered population growth to be a cause of poverty in the colonies; rather they all maintained that this poverty was mainly due to colonial rule and underdevelopment. According to Rajani Palme Dutt the rate of India's population growth was markedly less than that of almost any European country. He also said that the main reason for the extreme poverty lay neither in any natural cause nor in a non-existent "overpopulation", but in the social and economic conditions existing under imperialist rule. According to Kozlov, colonial expansion contributed to the decline of fertility in some of the former colonies. (Palme Dutt, India Today, p.48-49) Contemporary socialist has continued to be inspired by Marxian historical materialism and its interpretation of the population problem. 6.7 Criticism of Marxist Views

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The theory of Marx was criticised on the following grounds– i. An increase in population does not necessarily lead to a decrease in wages. There are many socio-economic factors which are responsible.

ii.

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The theory of Marx is applicable only in capitalist society and not in other societies. iii. According to Marx, the higher the wages, the lower the birth rate, but faith and religion may also play a significant role. This he did not consider.

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It is true to a great extent that in a capitalist society there is a surplus population on account of unemployment. But it is not to presume that under a socialist system there will be no need to check population growth at any stage. v. Even in communist countries, population growth is checked on the plea that no mother should have more children so that their mother so that their health does not deteriorate. vi. In the erstwhile USSR, factory workers were provided contraceptives in their factories so that the birth rate was kept low. vii. If economic inequality is the main cause of the birth rate, then in these countries rates should not differ. Because these inequalities have come to an end. The necessity of family planning is felt in these countries. 6.8

Conclusion Marx's principle of population has been successful in highlighting the urgency to maintain a balanced relationship between population growth and means of subsistence. The critics of Malthus failed to realize that it was because of a large measure of truth in Malthusian principle of population that men today feel the need of resorting to contraception to keep their families within reasonable limits. Another main contribution of Malthus was to give a new line of thinking whereby the dynamics of population growth were viewed in the context of man's welfare. 6.9 Summary Malthusian theory of population had been supported by so many economists like J.S. Mill, J.M. Keynes, after some time had been criticized by many thinkers, specially by the early socialist thinkers, such a Thomas More, Robert Owen, Saint Simon, Charles Fourier etc. Early socialists thought increased production would solve the problem of excessive population growth. They rejected Malthusian theory of population. Rejecting the Malthus's 'abstract' principle of population, Marx held that there would be no natural and universal law operation. Population was rather determined by the social and economic conditions prevailing in the different societies. Marx opposed and criticized the Malthusian theory of population, and the capitalist
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 91 economy. To Marx, in no country of the

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world, population increase on account of fertility, but it increases only on account of capitalist policies. 6.10

Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. Discuss the early socialist view on population. ii. What according to Marx is the main cause of population growth? iii. State 2 books authored by Marx. iv. How did Marx criticise the Malthusian Theory of population? v. Discuss Marx and Engels' view on population. vi. State the drawbacks of the Marxian theory of population. G-B (10 Marks each) vii. Illustrate the Marxian theory of population. viii. Illustrate the Post-Marx socialist view on population. ix. How is the Marxian theory of population also known as? x. How did Marx classify the capitalist society? 6.11 Suggested Readings i. Marx, Karl and Engels, Friedrich (1848): Communist Manifesto. ii. Marx, Karl (1967): Capital, Vol. 1. iii. Engels, Friedrich (1940): Dialectics of Nature. iv. Lenin, V. I. (1963): The Working Class and Neo-Malthusianism. v. Friedrich, Engels (1894): Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. vi. Marx, Karl (1973): Grundrisse. vii.

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Bhende, Asha A. and Kanitkar, Tara (2015): Principles of Population Studies, New Delhi: Himalaya Publishing House.

viii. https://lotusarise.com/marxian-theory-of-population-growth-upsc/
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 92 Unit 7 ? The Theory of Demographic Transition Structure 7.1 Objectives 7.2 Introduction 7.3 Views of Warren S. Thompson and Frank Notestein 7.4 Types of Population according to Frank Notestein 7.5 Views of C.P. Blacker 7.6 Views of Ansley J. Coale and Edger M. Hoover 7.7 Criticism 7.8 Conclusion 7.9 Summary 7.10 Questions 7.11 Suggested Readings 7.1 Objectives ? To understand the theory of Demographic Transition ? To understand the views of Warren S. Thompson and Frank Notestein ? To understand the types of Population according to Frank Notestein ? To understand the views of C.P. Blacker ? To understand the views of Ansley J. Coale and Edger M. Hoover ? To present a criticism of the theory. 7.2 Introduction The demographic transition theory is one of the most important population theories which is the best documented by the data and statistics of recent demographic history.

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The theory explains the effects of changes in birth rate and death rate on the growth rate of population.

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According to E.G. Dolan, "Demographic transition refers to a population cycle that begins with a fall in the death rate, continues with a phase of rapid population growth and concludes with a decline in the birth rate."

According to this theory, every country passes through three different stages of population growth. In the first stage, the birth rate and the death rate are high and the growth rate of population is low.

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In the second stage, the birth rate remains stable, but the death rate

falls rapidly. As a result, the growth rate of population increases very swiftly. In the last

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stage, the birth rate starts falling and tends to equal the death rate. The growth rate of population is

very slow.

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The theory of demographic transition is based on the actual population trends of advanced countries of the world.

Other population theories like Malthusian or Marxian are basically speculative theory on the other hand the theory of demographic transition is an empirical, database or factual theory or based on actual demographic experience. Earlier demographers such as Landry (in 1909) and Warren Thompson (in 1929) (

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Thompson, p. 959-975) had attempted to construct a typology to describe the transition from conditions of high mortality and high fertility two conditions of low mortality and low fertility.

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The theory of demographic transition is based on the actual population trends of the advanced countries of the world. According to this theory, every country passes through three different stages of population

growth. In the first stage, the birth rate and the death rate are high, and the growth rate of population is low.

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In the second stage, the birth rate remains stable, but the death rate

falls rapidly. As a result, the growth rate of population increases very swiftly. In the last

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stage, the birth rate starts falling and tends to equal the death rate. The growth rate of population is

very slow. 7.3 Views of Warren S. Thompson and Frank Noteste in The demographic transition theory in its original form was given by W.S. Thompson and Frank W. Notestein who based their statements on the trends in fertility and morality being experienced by Europe, America, and Australia. There were three distinct parts of the theory: (i) descriptive; (ii) theoretical and (iii) predictive. The first part was concerned with the simple description of the trends in NSOU ? GE-SO-21 94 morality and fertility through time. The second part related to the causal mechanisms that create the pattern of trends described in the first part and hence was purely theoretical. The third predictive part postulated as to what will happen in future. Broadly speaking,

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the theory postulates a particular pattern of demographic change from a high fertility and high morality to a low fertility and low morality when a society progresses from a largely rural, agrarian, and illiterate society to a dominantly urban, industrial, and literate

society. The three very clearly stated hypotheses involved in the

74%	MATCHING BLOCK 91/164	SA	Demographic changes in Kashmir (1991-2011).pdf (D34797651)

process are (i) that the decline in mortality comes before the decline in fertility; (ii) that the fertility eventually declines to match mortality; and (iii) that socio-economic transformation of

the society takes place simultaneously with its demographic transformation. However, during this course of progression, all societies experience an intermediate stage when there occurs a wide gap between mortality and fertility giving rise to not only huge increments in population numbers but also to significant changes in their demographic structure.

84%	MATCHING BLOCK 115/164	SA	Demographic changes in Kashmir (1991-2011).pdf (D34797651)

In the present-day world, as would be true of any point in time, different countries of the world are at different stages of the demographic transition. According to Trewartha, this is largely due to the dual nature of

man. According to him, biologically, man is same everywhere and is engaged in the process of reproduction but culturally man differs from one part of the world to another. It is the cultural diversity of man that gives rise to varying fertility patterns in different areas resulting in different stages in demographic transition. Similarly, since socio-economic and demographic transitions progress simultaneously, different countries in the world would require different time span to complete the process in consonance with their own pace of economic transformation. Moreover, in the present-day world, countries at a low level of advancement can also have an easy access to the medicines being developed by the countries that are at a relatively higher level of technological advancement. Therefore, the demographic transformation in a country is not necessarily in tune with its technological achievements. The demographic transition theory is characterized by conspicuous stages. Note Stein suggested the existence of three stages in the transition (i) high growth potential exists before fertility begins to decline; (ii) population growth slackens once fertility

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 95 decline becomes well established in the transition growth stage; and (iii) incipient decline occurs when fertility falls below the replacement level and when mortality has already stabilized at a low level (Woods, 1979, p.4). The original statements of Thompson and Notestein on the transition theory were subsequently refined and reformulated with the passage of time. A wide variety of literature brought out on the demographic transition theory shows that three to five stages have been assigned to the theory. Generally, a transition theory three-staged model has been identified with pre-industrial, early western, and late western stage. These have also been called as high stationary stage with high fertility and high mortality providing very little natural growth; expanding stage with high fertility and decline in mortality providing explosive population increments; and low stationary stage with fertility and mortality levelling out each other at low level to re-establish a stationary population and, thus, completing the cycle. i. The First Stage In the first stage, the fertility is over 35 per thousand and is almost stable. The mortality in this stage is also high being more than 35 per thousand but its behavior is erratic due to epidemics and variable food supply. This stage, thus, postulates stable and slowly growing population where the people are engaged in wasteful process of reproduction. This stage occurs in agrarian societies where the population densities are low or moderate, general productivity level is low, large families are an asset, life expectancy is low, the development of non-agricultural sector is at its infancy stage, masses are illiterate, technological know-how is lacking and urban development is limited. About 200 years ago, all the countries of the world were at this stage of demographic transition. At present, it may be difficult to ascertain whether any country in the world would still be at this initial stage of the demographic transition because the data pertaining to fertility and mortality for such areas would either be lacking or would not be completely reliable. Moreover, the diffusion of modern technology has also been so fast particularly in the field of medicines, that it is very difficult to find a solitary example of a country which may still be unaffected by the mortality declines taking place all over the world. It is in this context, that the first stage has been called as the pre- industrial and the pre-modern stage.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 96 ii. The Second Stage The second stage of demographic transition is characterized by a high and gradually declining fertility of over 30 per thousand and a sharply reduced mortality rate of over 15 per thousand. In this expanding stage of demographic transition, while the improvements in sanitation and health conditions, general productivity and distribution system result in sharp declines in the mortality rates, the fertility maintains a high level, at least in the early second stage. As the second stage prolongs, the fertility also shows signs of gradual decline. A distinction has often been made between the early second stage with high fertility and declining mortality and late second stage with slowly declining fertility and sharply declining mortality. In the second stage, as a whole, the population expands, firstly, at a gradually increasing rate and afterwards at a gradually subsiding rate. In the wake of population explosion associated with the widening gap between the two vital rates, the problem of resource mobilization becomes significant. The life expectancy starts improving. The efforts to mobilize resources become more vigorous.The processes of industrialization and urban development become prominent. The large families are no longer an asset. Consequently, the fertility undergoes a gradual decline leading to a gradual squeeze of rate of natural increase at the tail end of the second stage. Most of the less developed countries of the world are passing through this explosive stage of demographic transition because widespread penetration of modern medicines and sanitation measures have drastically reduced their mortality rates whereas their fertility levels are high and obliging. The countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh belong to the late second stage where the fertility rates have started declining gradually but since the decline in the mortality rates has been sharper there are large increments in their population numbers. However, they have yet to reach the tail end of the second stage as their fertility rates are not appreciably low. iii. The Third Stage The last stage in the demographic transition is attained when both birth and death rates decline appreciably. The population is either stable or grows only

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 97 slowly. Although populations grow slowly both in the first and the last stage, yet these are the product of contrastingly different situations. Whereas the slow growth of population in the first stage is the result of approximation of mortality and fertility rates at a high level, the slow population growth of the third and final stage is the product of approximation of fertility and mortality rates at a low level. Moreover, while in the first stage the fertility is high and stable, the mortality is high and erratic, in the third stage, the roles are reversed, the mortality is low and stable, and fertility is low but fluctuating. Not only that, the set of socio-economic conditions also associated with the first stage and the third and final stage of the demographic transition completely different. In the first stage, the society is traditional and primarily agrarian whereas in the third stage the population is highly urbanized. The technical know-how is abundant, the deliberate controls on family-size are common, the literacy and education levels are high, and the degree of labor specialization is high. Anglo-America, Europe, the U.S.S.R., Japan, Australia, New Zealand are supposed to have reached this stage of demographic transition. Recently, China seems to have succeeded in bringing down its fertility and mortality rates drastically. Its achievements in the field of containing its natural rate of increase to a level of highly advanced countries in such a short span of time may, in times to come necessitate rethinking on the demographic transition model itself. 7.4 Types of Population according to Frank Notestein In 1945 it was, Frank W. Notestein who presented the theory of demographic transition in an almost complete form with explanations for the changes in fertility. For this reason, Notestein may be called the father of the theory of demographic transition. Main focus point of this theory is "All Nations in the modern era, which have moved from a traditional agrarian based economic system to a largely industrial urbanized base have also moved from a condition of high mortality and fertility to low motility and fertility". (Stolnitz, p. 30) NSOU ? GE-SO-21 98 Notestein identified that the rapid growth up population during the past three centuries was mainly due to the decline in the death rate resulting from the process of modernization which involved rising standard of living rising incomes and advances in sanitation and in medical knowledge. Throughout the modern West birth rates reached very low levels by the middle of 1930s. This decline or achieved because of the widespread acceptance of contraception under the influence of the new idea of the small family. (Notestein, p. 41) Notestein characterized three types of population according to their stage of demographic evolution. i. Population in the "stage of incipient" decline where fertility had fallen below the replacement level for those approaching this stage. ii. Population in the stage of "

97%	MATCHING BLOCK 89/164	W

transitional growth" where birth and death rates are still high and growth is rapid but the decline of

the birth rate is well established. iii. Populations in the stage of high growth potential where mortality e is high and variable and is the cheap determinant of growth while fertility is high and thus fore has shown no evidence of a downward trend. In these populations rapid growth is to be expected just as soon as technical development make possible a decline in mortality. (Notestein, p. 41) 7.5 Views of C.P. Blacker In 1947 C.P. Blacker attempted to identify the following five phases of the demographic transition: (Blacker,

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p. 88-101) They are: (i) the high stationary phase marked by high fertility and mortality rates; (ii) the early expanding phase marked by high fertility and high but declining mortality; (iii) the late expanding phase with declining fertility but with mortality declining more rapidly; (iv) the low stationary phase with low fertility balanced by equally low mortality; and (v) the declining phase with low mortality, lower fertility and an excess of deaths over births.

But we shall explain only the three commonly discussed stages combining Blacker's stages (iii) and (iv) as the third stage and leaving his stage (v) which is applicable only in France.

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In the figure, the time for NSOU ? GE-SO-21 99 different stages is taken on the horizontal axis and annual birth and death rates per thousand on the vertical axis.

Before the 19th century in the first stage, birth rates in Western Europe were 35 per thousand and death rates fluctuated around 30 per thousand. Thus, the growth rate of population was about 5 per thousand. In the second stage, death rates began to decline gradually from 30 per thousand to 20 per thousand from the middle of the 19th century to the end of the century. In the third stage beginning with the 20th century, birth rates began to decline from 35 per thousand and have continued so for about a century now nearing 15 per thousand. Death rates also continued to decline but seem to have stabilized between 12 to 15 per cent in Western Europe. i.

98% **MATCHING BLOCK 93/164** **W**

The First Stage In this stage, the country is backward and is characterized by high birth and death rates with the result that the growth rate of population is low. People mostly live-in rural areas and their main occupation is agriculture which is in a state of backwardness. There are a few simple, light and small consumer goods industries. The tertiary sector consisting of transport, commerce, banking, and insurance is underdeveloped. All these factors are responsible for low-incomes and poverty of the masses. Large family is regarded as a necessity to augment the low family income. Children are an asset to the society and parents.

There being mass illiteracy, the society is not expected to educate them and thus burden itself.

100% **MATCHING BLOCK 94/164** **W**

The existence of the joint family system provides employment to all children in keeping with their ages.

Thus, a child becomes an earning member even at the age 5 when he becomes a helping hand to his parents in domestic affairs.

83% **MATCHING BLOCK 95/164** **W**

More children in a family are also regarded as an insurance against old age by the parents. People being illiterate, ignorant, and superstitious and fatalist are averse to any methods of birth control. Children are regarded as God- given and

preordained. Being childless is regarded as a curse and the parents are looked down upon by the society.

82% **MATCHING BLOCK 96/164** **W**

All these economic and social factors are responsible for a high birth rate in the country. Along with high birth rate, the death rate is also high due to non-nutritional food with a low caloric value, and lack of medical facilities and of any sense NSOU ? GE-SO-21 100 of cleanliness. People live in dirty and unhealthy surroundings in ill- ventilated small houses. As a result, they are disease-ridden and the absence of proper medical care results in large deaths. The mortality rate is the highest among the children and the next among women of child-bearing age. Thus,

unhygienic conditions, poor diet and the lack of medical facilities are the reasons for a high mortality rate in this stage. This stage continued in Western Europe approximately up to 1840. ii. The

92% **MATCHING BLOCK 97/164** **W**

Second Stage In the second stage, the economy enters the phase of economic growth. Agricultural and industrial productivity increase and

the

93% **MATCHING BLOCK 98/164** W

means of transport develop. There is greater mobility of labour. Education expands. Incomes increase. People get more and better-quality food products. Medical and health facilities are expanded. Modern drugs are used by the people. All these factors bring down the death rate. But the birth rate is almost stable. People do not have any inclination to reduce the birth of children because with economic growth employment opportunities increase and children are able to add more to the family income. With improvements in the standard of living and the dietary habits of the people, the life expectancy also increases. People do not make any efforts to control the size of family because of the presence of religious dogmas and social taboos towards family planning. Of all the factors in economic growth, it is difficult to break with the past social institutions, customs, and beliefs. As a result of these factors, the birth rate remains at the previous high level. iii. The Third Stage In this stage, the fertility rate declines and

90% **MATCHING BLOCK 99/164** W

tends to equal the death rate so that the growth rate of population declines. As growth gains momentum and people

cross the subsistence

98% **MATCHING BLOCK 100/164** W

level of income, their standard of living rises. The leading growth sectors expand and lead to an expansion in output in other sectors through technical transformations.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 101 Education expands and permeates the entire society. Popular education leads to popular enlightenment and opens the way to knowledge. It creates self- discipline, power to think rationally and to probe into the future. People discard old customs, dogmas, and beliefs,

96% **MATCHING BLOCK 101/164** W

and develop individualistic spirit and break with the joint family. Men and women prefer to marry late.

The desire to have more children to supplement parental income declines.

96% **MATCHING BLOCK 102/164** W

People readily adopt family planning devices. They prefer to go in for a baby car rather than a baby. Moreover, increased specialization following rising income levels and the consequent social and economic mobility make it costly and inconvenient to rear a large number of children. All this tends

to

93% **MATCHING BLOCK 103/164** W

reduce the birth rate which along with an already low death rate brings a decline in the growth rate of population. The advanced countries of the world are passing through this

last stage and the population is increasing at a slow pace in them. 7.6 Views of Ansley J. Coale and Edger M. Hoover Ansley J. Coale and Edger M. Hoover have studied the changes in the birth and death rates associated with economic development. They sum up in the following ways: the agrarian present economy is characterized by high death and birth rates. Death rates are high because of poor diet primitive conditions of sanitation and lack of preventive and curative medical and public health programs. The birth rates are high due to the value, norms, customs, social systems, and the structure of the economy prevail in that time. When the agrarian economy starts undergoing it becomes interdependent on other economist has high levels of production and becomes highly industrialized market oriented and urbanized. When it happens, death rates register strikingr eduction because of better and regular supply of food as well as improved medical knowledge and care. The acceptance of the idea of small family size comes about initially in urban groups at the higher end of the socio- economic scale and then spreads to two small cities lower income groups and eventually to rural areas. The decline in the birth rate usually occurs after a substantial time lag as compared to the decline in the death rate. This delayed
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 102 response of the birth rate to economic change comes about because any decline in fertility results only when changes occur in long standing attitudes and customs prevailed in society. Finally, reductions in the death rate become increasingly difficult to achieve the birth rate again approaches the level of the death rate and population grows only at a very slow rate. (Coale and Hoover, p. 9-13) 7.7 Criticism The theory of demographic transition is greatly accepted as a useful tool in describing demographic history. But several questions raised in this context: Can this theory provide theoretical explanation of the forces that caused demographic changes? Has it have any predictive value? Can it be used for predicting the sequence through which developing countries would pass? Search questions lead to a several criticisms of the theory of demographic transition. This is to be noted that this theory is based on the actual experience of the changes in the vital rates in western countries during the various stages of their industrial and economic development. The critics of this theory point out that the experiences of the various European countries why are not uniform in the sense that the sequences of the stages as described in the statement of the theory where not the same. (Glass, p. 8) Another criticism of this theory arises out of defect that it does not provide a theoretical explanation of an important force that is fertility which brought about the demographic transition. Recently demographers have arrived at the conclusion that the decline in fertility in Europe is very complex phenomena which has not yet been fully understood. British demographers David Glass despairingly pointed out that even the English people do not have an adequate knowledge of their own demographic transition. The theory of demographic transition cannot really be called a theory because it does not fulfil an important criterion of any theory, that is, to extract fundamental process from a phenomenon and identify crucial variables. This theory does not provide fundamental explanations of fertility decline. Therefore, it does not have any predictive value.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 103 The most crucial question to be asked is: Can the theory of demographic transition be applied to developing countries? Will these countries have to wait for economic and social development till they bring down the birth rate and bring about a reduction in the growth rate? It is difficult to maintain any degree of confidence that the theory of demographic transition is also applicable to developing countries and what happened in the West in respect of population growth would be duplicated in developing countries. 7.8 Conclusion

94% **MATCHING BLOCK 104/164** **W**

The theory of demographic transition is the most acceptable theory of population growth. It neither lays emphasis on food supply like the Malthusian theory, nor does it develop a pessimistic outlook towards population growth. It is also superior to the optimum theory which lays an exclusive emphasis on the increase in per capita income for the growth of population and neglects the other factors which influence it. The

demographic transition theory is superior to all the theories of population because it is based on the actual population growth trends of the developed countries of Europe. Almost all the European countries of the world have passed through the first two stages of this theory and are now in the final stage.
Not only this, the

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theory is also equally applicable to the developing countries of the world. Very backward countries in some of the African states are still in the first stage whereas all the other developing countries

of the world are in the transitional stage two.

87% **MATCHING BLOCK 106/164** W

It is on the basis of this theory that economists have developed economic- demographic models so that underdeveloped countries should enter the final stage

and attain the stage of self-sustained growth. Thus, this theory has universal applicability. 7.9 Summary

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The theory of demographic transition is the most acceptable theory of population growth. It neither lays emphasis on food supply like the Malthusian theory, nor does it develop a pessimistic outlook towards population growth. It is also superior

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 104

100% **MATCHING BLOCK 108/164** W

to the optimum theory which lays an exclusive emphasis on the increase in per capita income for the growth of population and neglects the other factors which

in fluence it.

70% **MATCHING BLOCK 109/164** W

The demographic transition theory is superior to all the theories of population because it is based on the actual population growth trends of the developed countriesof Europe. Almost all the European countries of the world have passed through thefirst two stages of this theory and are now in the final stage.

Not only this, but the theory is but also

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equally applicable to the developing countries of the world. Very backward countries in some of the African states are still in the first stage where as all the other developing countries

of the world are in the transitional stage two.

83% **MATCHING BLOCK 111/164** W

It is on the basis of this theory that economists have developed economic-demo graphic models so that

under developed countries should enter the final stage an datta in the stage of self-sustained growth. Thus, this the oryh as universal applicability. Although old-age support is a plausible element that may affect the level of fertility, it appears as a minor force in the context of the demographic transition. First, since there are only rare examples in nature of offspring that support their parents in old age, it appears that old-age support cannot be the prime motivation for child rearing. Second, institutions supporting individuals in their old age were formed well before the demographic transition. For instance, evidence suggests that, as early as the sixteenth century, parents in England did not rely on support from children in their old age (Pelling and Smith, 1991; Hindle, 2004). In particular, the Poor Law Act of 1601 was interpreted by the English courts as giving the impover- ished parent no claims for assistance from a child, but instead a claim for assistance from the community. The rise in fertility rates prior to the demographic transition, in a period of improvements in credit markets, raises further doubts about the significance of this mechanism. Moreover, cross-sectional evidence shows that in the pre-demographic transition era wealthier individuals, who presumably had better access to credit markets, had a larger number of surviving offspring, increasing the skepticism about the importance of this hypothesis. Thus the decline in the importance of old-age support is unlikely to be a major force behind the significant reduction in fertility – at a rate of 30-50% – that occurred during the demographic transition.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 105 7.10 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) i. Point out the limitations of democratic transition theory of population. ii. Explain Notestein's view on demographic transition theory. iii. What are the three parts of the demographic transition theory of W.S. Thompson? iv. What are the types of population according to Frank Notestein? v. Why is the demographic transition theory superior to all other theories of population? G-B (10 Marks each) vi. Explain in detail the demographic transition theory of W.S. Thompson. vii. What is the pattern of demographic change as in demographic transition theory of W.S. Thompson? viii. Write a note on the views of Ansley J. Coale and Edger M. Hoover on population growth. 7.11 Suggested Readings i. Thompson, Warren S.(1929): Population, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 34 No. 6. ii.

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Blacker, C.P. (1947): Stages in Population Growth, The Eugenics Review, Vol. 39. No. 3.

iii.

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Notestein, Frank W. (1945): Population: The Long View, Theodore Schultz (ed.), Food for the World, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

iv. Caldwell, John (1976): Toward a Restatement of Demographic Transition Theory, Population and Development Review, Vol. 2, No. 3 and 4. v. Stolnitz, George (1964): The Demographic Transition: From High to Low Birth Rates and Death Rates, Ronald Freedman (ed.) Population: The Vital Revolution, New York: Doubleday and Company.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 106 vi. Coale, Ansley J. and Hoover, Edger M. (1958): Population Growth and Economic Development in Low-income Countries, Princeton: Princet on University Press. vii. Coale, Ansley J. (1965): The Factors Associated with the Development of Low Fertility: A Historic Summary, World Population Conference, Belgrade, Vol. 2. viii. https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/population/the-theory-of-demographic- transition-population/10895 ix. https://www.shareyouressays.com/knowledge/what-is-demographic-transition- theory-of-population/111296 x. https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/ the-theory-of-demographic-transition-with-criticisms/3096
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 107 Module III: Population, Social Structure and Processes Unit 8 ? Population size and growth, Population explosion Structure 8.1 Objectives 8.2 Introduction 8.3 Population Size 8.4 Population Growth 8.5 Causes of Population Growth 8.6 Consequences of Population Growth 8.7 Optimum Population 8.8 Over Population 8.9 Causes of Over Population 8.10 Effects of Over Population 8.11 Solutions to Over Population 8.12 Population Explosion 8.13 Causes of Population Explosion 8.14 Effects of Population Explosion 8.15 Conclusion 8.16 Summary 8.17 Questions 8.18 Suggested Readings 8.1 Objectives By reading this unit the student will be acquainted with the following: ? The concept of population. ? Definition of Population Size and Population Growth
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 108 ? Analyse the factors affecting population growth ? Understand Population Explosion ? Causes of Population Explosion ? Understand the problems of population explosion Thus, the study of population

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broadly classified as the scientific study of human populations. Major areas studied include broad population dynamics; fertility and family dynamics; health, aging, and mortality; and human capital and labour markets. 8.2

Introduction A population is generally a group of individuals of a particular species occupying a particular area at a specific time. Population is the key component of the society as well as nation. Populations are characterized with such characteristics as dispersion, fluctuation in numbers, sex ratio, birth rate and death rate etc. The population generally arises as a result of reproduction. The data on population, its phenomena, growth, and other things pertaining to population have special significance in sociology. Sociology primarily deals with social relationship along with the study of social structure and social organization. It deals with various facts of social life like social stratification, group cohesion and progress of society. So, the study of population is most significant area of sociology. 8.3 Population Size Population size is expressed as the actual number of individuals in a population. More informative are estimates of population density, which is calculated as population size divided by total land area. Since the patterns of dispersion of population in nature are different it becomes important to distinguish between crude density and specific density. Crude density is the density per unit total space. Specific or ecological density is the density per unit of habitat space, the area that can actually be colonized by the population. Population is changing entity, so, we are not only interested in its size but also in nature of its change. The nature of changing is varying from place to place, population density also varies in time. Population may remain constant; it may fluctuate, or it may steadily increase or decrease.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 109 8.4

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Population Growth Population growth refers to the increase in number of

inhabitants of an area or a territory over a specific period of time. It has been observed that population of the world has been consistently increasing especially after II world war. Population growths are influenced by several factors of the environment as well as by the characteristics of the individuals of the species itself. Under favorable conditions the group of individuals increase in numbers. Natality and immigration lead to an increase in density, while mortality and emigration lead to a decrease in density. The growth rate of a population is the number of inhabitants added to the population per time. The change in number can be measured in two ways, by absolute numbers or by percentage. It is customary to abbreviate the change in something by writing the symbol Δ (delta) in front of the letter representing the thing changing. Thus, if N represents the number of inhabitant and at the time, then - ΔN = the change in number of inhabitants. ΔN/Δt = the average rate of change in the number of inhabitants per time. This is growth rate. Another formula to calculate growth rate is GR = P2-P1 × C P1 Where P1 = Previous Population, P2 = Present Population, C = Constant (Like, %). 8.5 Causes of Population Growth The causes of population growth may be shortlisted to the following. i. Fertility: Fertility refers to the occurrence of birth or the reproduction capacity of women. ii. Advanced of science: Especially the modern medical science and health policy of a nation has reduced the rate of mortality. iii. Migration behavior: Any type of migration modifies the ways of life and this may result in demographic change and population growth. iv. The tradition and culture and religious believe of the people motivate people towards having more children are large in numbers. v. Lack of education and poor economic condition also reinforce the population growths.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 110 Effect of the population growth at macro level can be seen in the economic and social development of the nation. 8.6 Consequences of Population Growth The rapid population growth has both the macro and the micro level effect over the environment. At micro level it affects the individuals at all levels. The factors which affect at micro level may be summarized as food, health, housing, education, employment opportunities and recreation etc. related to individual's life of people. 8.7 Optimum Population Sauy (1966), Tacuba (1970) and Robinson (1964) gave the economic concept of optimum population. The optimum size of population for an area was defined as "The optimum level is that size of population which yields the highest quality of life. The optimum population is a state in which an equilibrium maintained between the population and carrying capacity of the land. Depending upon the quality of land and resources every nation has the limited capacity to provide quality of life. The criteria for computing optimum population are as follows: i. Per capita production ii. Average standard of life iii. Social harmony iv. Per capita food consumption v. Quality in the use of goods vi. Balanced Demography vii. Degree of employment etc. Thus optimum population yields highest quality of life, which means each person has access to adequate food, water, energy and air of highest quality, adequate medical care, recreational facilities and cultural outlets. In other words, optimum population permits the highest per capita output; therefore the marginal productivity exceeds the average productivity whereby the rates of growth of total production are the highest.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 111 8.8 Over Population The concept of over population is explained by demographers and economist. If the size of population of the country or region exceeded by more than the supporting capacity of the region the area is said be over-populated. In this case available resources and population size are not balanced. If the population size is more than reasonable limits, problems will crop up, where quality of life, social and economic development will hamper. The term 'overpopulation' means too great a population for a given region to support. There may be two causes: (i) population growth exceeds the existing resource base; (ii) existing resources have been depleted. Some authors distinguish absolute overpopulation (where the absolute limit of production has been attained but standards of living remain low) from relative overpopulation (where present production does not support the population but the production can be augmented). Malthus, for the first time, identified the problems related to overpopulation. Later on, the Neo-Malthusians also viewed overpopulation as a major problem. Marxists argue that overpopulation is the result of the mal-distribution of resources. Overpopulation may occur either at national level or at regional level. Regional overpopulation when found in rural areas is attributed to: i. Rapid increase of rural population. ii. Skewed distribution of agricultural land. iii. Agricultural mechanisation. iv. Lack of development of non- agricultural sector. v. Low agricultural yield. vi. Lack of social development, and vii. Non-resilience of the agricultural sector. The situation of overpopulation displays the following socio-economic characteristics: high unemployment, low-incomes, low standards of living, high population density, malnutrition and famine.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 112 8.9 Causes of Over Population The various causes of over-population may be listed as follows. i. The Decline in the Death Rate At the root of overpopulation is the difference between the overall birth rate and death rate in populations. If the number of children born each year equals the number of adults that die, then the population will stabilize.Talking about overpopulation shows that while there are many factors that can increase the death rate for short periods of time, the ones that increase the birth rate do so over a long period of time. The discovery of agriculture by our ancestors was one factor that provided them with the ability to sustain their nutrition without hunting. This created the first imbalance between the two rates. ii. Agricultural Advancements Technological revolutions and population explosions occur at the same time. There have been three major technological revolutions. They are the tool-making revolution, the agricultural revolution, and the industrial revolution. Agricultural advancements in the 20th century have allowed humans to increase food production using fertilizers, herbicides, and pesticides and yields further. This allowed humans with more access to food that leads to subsequent population explosions. iii. Better Medical Facilities Following this the industrial revolution started. Technological advancement was perhaps the biggest reason why the balance has been permanently disturbed. Science was able to produce better means of producing food, which allowed families to feed more mouths. Besides, medical science made many discoveries, thanks to which they were able to defeat a whole range of diseases. Illnesses that had claimed thousands of lives until now were cured because of the invention of vaccines. Combining the increase in food supply with fewer means of mortality tipped the balance and became the starting point of overpopulation.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 113 iv. More Hands to Overcome Poverty However, when talking about overpopulation, we should understand that there is a psychological component as well. Poverty is considered as the leading cause of overpopulation. In the absence of educational resources, coupled with high death rates, which resulted in higher birth rates, that is why impoverished areas are seeing large booms in population. For thousands of years, a very small part of the population had enough money to live in comfort. The rest faced poverty and would give birth to large families to make up for the high infant mortality rate. Families that have been through poverty, natural disasters, or are simply in need of more hands to work are a major factor for overpopulation.As compared to earlier times, most of these extra children survive and consume resources that are not sufficient in nature. According to the UN, the forty-eight poorest countries in the world are also likely to be the biggest contributors to population growth. Their estimates say that the combined population of these countries is likely to increase to 1.7 billion in 2050, from 850 million in 2010. v. Child Labour It is no less than a tragedy that child labour is still in practice extensively in many parts of the world. As per the UNICEF, approximately 150 million children are currently working in countries having few child labour laws. The children being seen as a source of income by impoverished families begin work too young and also lose the educational opportunities reflected, particularly when it comes to birth control. vi. Technological Advancement in Fertility Treatment With the latest technological advancement and more discoveries in medical science, it has become possible for couples who are unable to conceive to undergo fertility treatment methods and have their own babies. Today there are effective medicines that can increase the chance of conception and lead to a rise in the birth rate. Moreover, due to modern techniques, pregnancies today are far safer. vii. Immigration Many people prefer to move to developed countries like the US, UK, Canada, and Australia, where the best facilities are available in terms of medical, education, security, and employment. The result is that those people

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 114 settle over there, eventually making those places overcrowded. If the number of people who are leaving the country is less than the number of people who enter, it usually leads to more demand for food, clothes, energy, and homes.This gives rise to a shortage of resources. Though the overall population remains the same, it just affects the density of the population, making that place simply overcrowded. viii. Lack of Family Planning Most developing nations have a large number of people who are illiterate, live below the poverty line, and have little or no knowledge about family planning. Besides, getting their children married at an early age increases the chances of producing more kids. Those people are unable to understand the harmful effects of overpopulation, and lack of quality education prompts them to avoid family planning measures. ix. Poor Contraceptives Use Poor family planning on the part of partners can lead to unexpected pregnancies though contraceptives are easily available in developed countries. As per statistics, 76% of women aged between 16 and 49 in Great Britain used at least one form of contraceptive, leaving a quarter open to unexpected pregnancies. Whereas a study by the World Health Organization (WHO) shows that this figure drops to 43% in underdeveloped countries, which leads to higher birth rates. Nowadays, some western geographers view overpopulation as the cause of pollution and the increasing migration from the countryside in the western countries of Europe and North America. Overpopulation strikes the lower strata of the society the hardest particularly in developing countries such as India, Nepal, Myanmar etc. 8.10 Effects of Over Population Over population can have the following fatal effects. i. Depletion of Natural Resources The effects of overpopulation are quite severe. The first of these is the depletion of resources. The Earth can only produce a limited amount of water
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 115 and food, which is falling short of the current needs.Most of the environmental damage seen in the last fifty-odd years is because of the growing number of people on the planet. They include cutting down forests, hunting wildlife in a reckless manner, causing pollution, and creating a host of other problems. Those engaged in talks about overpopulation have noticed that acts of violence and aggression outside of a war zone have increased tremendously while competing for resources. ii. Degradation of Environment With the overuse of coal, oil, and natural gas, it has started producing some serious effects on our environment. Besides, the exponential rise in the number of vehicles and industries has badly affected the quality of air. The rise in the amount of CO2 emissions leads to global warming. Melting of polar ice caps, changing climate patterns, rise in sea levels are a few of the consequences that we might have to face due to environmental pollution. iii. Conflicts and Wars Overpopulation in developing countries puts a major strain on the resources it should be utilizing for development. Conflicts over water are becoming a source of tension between countries, which could result in wars. It causes more diseases to spread and makes them harder to control.Starvation is a huge issue that the world is facing, and the mortality rate for children is being fueled by it. Poverty is the biggest hallmark we see when talking about overpopulation. All of this will only become worse if solutions are not sought out for the factors affecting our population. We can no longer prevent it, but there are ways to control it. iv. Rise in Unemployment When a country becomes overpopulated, it gives rise to unemployment as there are fewer jobs to support a large number of people. The rise in unemployment gives rise to crime, such as theft, as people want to feed their families and provide them basic amenities of life. v. High Cost of Living As the difference between demand and supply continues to expand due to overpopulation, it raises the prices of various essential commodities, including
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 116 food, shelter, and healthcare. This means that people must pay more to survive and feed their families. vi. Pandemics and Epidemics Poverty is linked to many environmental and social reasons, including overcrowded and unhygienic living conditions, malnutrition and inaccessible, inadequate, or non-existent health care, for which the poor are more likely to be exposed to infectious diseases. Further, high densities of population increase the chance of the emergence of new pandemics and epidemics. vii. Malnutrition, Starvation and Famine When the availability of resources is scarce, starvation, malnutrition, along with ill health and diseases caused by diet-deficiency such as rickets become more likely. Famine is typically associated with less-developed regions, and there is a high correlation with poverty levels. viii. Water Shortage Roughly 1% of the world's water is fresh and accessible. Overpopulation is a major issue that creates

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immense pressure on the world's freshwater supplies. As per the study, the human demand for freshwater would stand at approximately 70% of freshwater available on the planet by 2025. Therefore, people living in impoverished areas that already have limited access to such water will be at great risk. ix. Lower Life Expectancy

A large proportion of the world's population growth occurs in less developed countries. Therefore, lower life expectancy caused by the booms in population is experienced by less-developed nations.This causes a shortage of resources in these countries resulting

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in less access to medical care, freshwater, food and jobs, and ultimately in a sharp fall in life expectancy.

x. Extinction The impact of overpopulation on the world's wildlife is severe. As demand for land grows, the destruction of natural habitats, such as forests, becomes common. Data has also been collected to show a direct link between increases in human population and decreases in the number of species on the
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 117 planet. If present trends continue, as many as 50% of the world's wildlife species will be at risk of extinction, some scientists warn. xi. Increased Intensive Farming With the growth of population over the years, farming practices have evolved to produce enough food required to feed a larger number of people. However, this intensive farming methods cause damage to local ecosystems and the land that may pose problems in the future.Furthermore, intensive farming is also contributed to climate change due to the machinery required. If the population continues to grow at its current rate, this effect will likely intensify. xii. Faster Climate Change Overpopulation forces larger nations, like China and India, to continue to develop their industrial capacities. They now rank as two of the three largest contributors to emissions in the world, other than the United States. According to 97% of the scientific community, human activities are changing global temperatures. If more is not done to reduce individual carbon footprints on a wide scale, larger populations may speed these changes up. 8.11 Solutions to Over Population Following are the incredible solutions to tackle over population. i. Better Education One of the first measures is to implement policies reflecting social change. Educating the masses helps them understand the need to have one or two children at the most.Similarly, education plays a vital role in understanding the latest technologies that are making huge waves in the world of computing. Families that are facing a hard life and choose to have four or five children should be discouraged. Family planning and efficient birth control can help in women making their own reproductive choices. Open dialogue on abortion and voluntary sterilization should be seen when talking about overpopulation.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 118 ii. Education for Girl Child Currently, over 130 million young women and girls around the globe are not enrolled in school. The majority of these live-in male-dominated societies, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia, that does not give women equal right to education as men. Entrenched gender norms and child marriage further disrupt their access to education. The girl who receives less education is more likely to have children early and vulnerable to exploitation. Moreover, impoverished families are less likely to enroll their female children in school. iii. Making People Aware of Family Planning As the population of this world is growing at a rapid pace, raising awareness among people regarding family planning and letting them know about serious after-effects of overpopulation can help curb population growth. One of the best ways is to let them know about various safe sex techniques and contraceptive methods available to avoid any unwanted pregnancy. iv. Tax Benefits or Concessions The government of various countries might have to come up with various policies related to tax exemptions to curb overpopulation. One of them might be to waive a certain part of income tax or lowering rates of income tax for those married couples who have single or two children. As we humans are more inclined towards money, this may produce some positive results. v. Knowledge of Sex Education Imparting sex education to young kids at the elementary level should be a must. Most parents feel shy in discussing such things with their kids that results in their children going out and look out for such information on the internet or discuss it with their peers. Mostly, the information is incomplete, which results in sexually active teenagers unaware of contraceptives and embarrassed to seek information about the same. It is, therefore, important for parents and teachers to shed their old inhibitions and make their kids or students aware of solid sex education. vi. Social Marketing Social marketing has already been started by some societies to educate the public on overpopulation effects. The intervention can be made widespread at
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 119 a low cost. A variety of print materials (flyers, brochures, fact sheets, stickers) can be distributed in places such as at local places of worship, sporting events, local food markets, and schools and at car parks. 8.12 Population Explosion Population explosion is a term used for excess or uncontrolled increment in population. It is the highest level of over population. Generally, when growth rate of population of a country increased by more than 2% it indicates population explosion. Alarming growth of population has become one of the most formidable problems of developing and underdeveloped countries. Tremendous growth of population loses its balance with the natural ecosystem and poses serious threat towards socio-economic development of a country. 8.13 Causes of Population Explosion Various factors have contributed to the rapid growth of population among which the following can be noted. i. Excess of Birth over Death Growth of population depends on the excess of births over deaths. Nowadays death rate has been declining rapidly and birth rate is still high. The gap between birth rate and death rate has widened leading to an increase in the population. ii. Progress of Medical Science Progress of medical science has

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reduced the death rate. It has help us to control the spread of

diseases and protected the lives of people from the jaws of death. iii. Agrarian Economy In an agricultural economy child find work easily in farms, uncertainty in the field of agriculture have largely been removed with the help of science and technology. Food production has considerably increased. Consequently, in agrarian society children are never considered an economic. The result is that agrarian countries have bigger families on economic grounds.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 120 iv. Certain

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Social Factors like Universal Marriage Child Marriage and Early Marriage

This factor has also contributed to the population explosion. Countries like India where consider

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marriage as a social application and almost all marriageable persons are in a married state.

Lifelong bachelor ship is look down. Particularly for women marriage is almost an inescapable obligation. Lower age at the time of marriage is highly responsible for high fertility. v. Longing for Sons The birth of a male child is always welcome because they help and support their parents in old age, and also perform all the religious duties. Besides, the carry on the family name after the death of the father. The greater the numbers of sons, the larger, will be the addition to the family income. Person having two or three daughters do not go for family planning methods till they be get a son. vi. Lack of Conscious Family Planning There is the lack of consensus family planning on the part of the married people. The use of contraceptives is unknown to

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the illiterate masses. People feel that more children are wanted for economic purposes.

Further, blind faith in faith and the existence of joint family system induces thoughtlessness in the matter of begetting children. vii. Lower Standard of Living The standard of living of country like India is low as compared to their counterparts in well-educated and advanced countries. In backward are as, children are not educated. As soon as they are able to earn something, they are married. Besides, they consider it a means of entertainment. viii. Social Attitudes Social attitudes also favor and increase in population.

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Poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, absence of recreational facilities, attitudes of conservatism, orthodoxy,

feeling of dependence on God, a sense of resignation towards life, looking up children as old is pension etc. are all responsible for the rapid growth of population.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 121 ix. The Climatic Condition Favourable climatic condition also very conducive to

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the growth of population. Montesquieu said that people of farmland are more sex indulgent. Father girls become physically mature at an early age ranging from 11 to 15 years of age.

Immediately after puberty pushed into marriage and they begin to bear children. Child-bearing capacity of women lasts in the tropical places. x. Ignorance and Illiteracy In developing countries literacy rate is very low, where many children are born due to lack of education. People are not aware about the consequences of over population. xi. Migration Factor Migration from one place to another place results change in population growth. The higher rate of migration causes population explosion. 8.14 Effects of Population Explosion If the growth rate of population and equilibrium with the growth rate of resources it will not pose any problem. If the growth rate exceeds the reasonable limits, problems will crop up and that has happened in India.it means population in excess of demand or need troops to be a great liability to the society. Unprecedented growth of population has a series of serious consequences.

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Some of the main effects of population explanation maybe described here. i. Population and Poverty Poverty and population very often go hand in hand in fact

poverty is both the cause and effect of rapid growth of population. Poverty is one of the most significant product of population explosion. When Population size exceeds the limit, finite resources cannot fulfill the basic need of people. ii. Unemployment and Underemployment It is not easy to create jobs in accordance with the growth of population. Due to tremendous growth of population unemployment and underemployment occurs.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 122 iii. Low Per Capita Income It has been observed that during the past 50 years of planning, in India the national income of the country has increased by about 3.6% per annum but the per capita income has increased only by 1.5 % per annum, this low per capita income of the people in India is attributed to the rapid growth of population. iv. Shortage of Food The rapidly growing population led to the problem of shortage of food supply. Due to improper distribution all the people do not get subsequent food to sustain their health. As a result, many people suffering from malnutrition and not getting quantum of energizing food. v. Increased Burden of Social Overheads When there is a

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rapid growth of population in the country, the government is required to provide the minimum facilities for the people for their comfortable living. Hence it has to increase educational, housing, sanitation, public health, medical, transportation, communication, and other facilities.

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This will increase the cost of social overheads. Government finds it difficult to find sufficient funds to meet these unproductive expenses.

vi. Degradation of Standard of Living The standard of living denotes the way in which people live. It reflects the quantity and the quality of the consumption of the people. Due to the rapid growth of population standard of living of the people has been adversely affected. vii. Pressure on Land Overpopulation inevitably leads to heavy pressure on land. Since land is limited and fixed in supply, an increase in population can only bring more pressure on it. viii.

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Slow Economic Development Economic development is bound to be slower in a country in which the population is growing at a very fast rate. Absence of savings results in low

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capital formation. The shortage of capital has restricted investments and contributed to the slow economic growth of the country.

ix. Effects on Public Health Population explosion has effect on public health and nutrition. Due to the rapid growing population size, health related infrastructure is not improving. x.

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Increased Unproductive Consumers When there is a rapid growth of population in a country like India, there will be large proportion of unproductive consumers.

In fact, today about 51% of the total population of India is unproductive. Rapid increase in population contributes to an increase in the dependency ratio. xi.

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Political Unrest Unmanageable population size may contribute to political instability and unrest. The failure of the government to provide the basic minimum facilities to the people contributes to agitation and unrest among the masses.

xii. Effect on Environment Rapid growth of population loses its balance with the natural ecosystem. People cut forest for making their living commodities and shelter. Excessive growth of population leads human being to interfere in imaginatively with nature which exerts adverse effect on the life of the people by degrading the condition of air, soil, and water. 8.15 Conclusion Population study is striking and important phenomena of present time. Population dynamics is the change of population of an area over a period of time. Population growths have direct impact on society building and its development. Uncontrolled population growth inversely affects the healthy and prosperous life of human beings. In all over the world especially developing and under developed countries are suffering due to over population. The population and sociological study analyse the growth rate and fertility rates all over the recognized countries of the world. For this reason, population policies are implemented and studied in relation to human resource development and resource potentialities of the country.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 124 8.16 Summary In sociology, population refers to a group of human beings with some pre-defined criterion in common such as location, race, ethnicity, nationality, or religion. The total number of people living in a particular area in a particular time is known as the population. The population is one of the important factors which helps to balance the environment, the population should in a balance with the means and resources. Any country needs to know the size and composition of its population- around age and sex structure, among other factors that helps to plan how many schools, clinics, hospitals, and jobs a country need. The main objection is to achieve a stable population at a level consistent with the requirements of sustainable economic growth, social development, and environmen- tal protection. Several policies have been formulated in different five-year plans by the government of India for population control. Demography is the study of a population, the total number of people or organizations in a given area. Understanding how population characteristics such as size, spatial distribution, age structure, or the birth and death rates change over time can help scientists or governments make decision. The study of population is a most significant area of sociology. Population size, population growth- causes of popula- tion growth, consequences of population growth, optimum population, over popula- tion, causes of over population. Effects of over-population, solution to over popula- tion, population explosion, effects of population explosion- are important and to be discussed. Population growths have direct impact on society building and its development. Uncontrolled population growth inversely affects the healthy and prosperous life of human beings. 8.17 Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. What do you mean by Population Growth? ii. Write a note on Population Size. iii. What do you mean by Population Explosion?

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 125 G-B (10 Marks each) iv. Discuss the causes of population growth. v. Discuss about Population explosion in India. vi. What are the causes and effects of population explosion? 8.18 Suggested Readings i. Goswami M.K. (2013) Environmental Education and Population Education, Delhi, Asian Book Pvt. Ltd. ii. Pachauri Suresh (2012) Environmental Education, New Delhi, Pearson iii. Rao, C.N.S. (2015) Sociology, New Delhi, S. Chand iv. Chandana. R.C. (2000) Geography of population: concept, determinants and pattern, New Delhi, Kalyani Publisher v. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/12281798 vi. https://www.conserve-energy-future.com/causes-effects-solutions-of- overpopulation.php vii. https://mahb.stanford.edu/blog/overpopulation-in-india/ viii. https://www.dw.com/en/lets-talk-about-overpopulation/a-37481009 ix. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/ gallery/2015/apr/01/over-population-over-consumption-in-pictures

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 126 Unit 9 ? Fertility and Reproduction: Determining factors Structure 9.1 Objectives 9.2 Introduction 9.3 Fertility and Fecundity 9.4 Procedures to Measure Fertility Rate 9.5 Reproduction 9.6 Biological Factors affecting Human Fertility 9.6.1 Contraception 9.6.2 Abortion 9.6.3 Sterilization 9.7 Determinants of Fertility and Reproduction 9.8 Foods that can affect Fertility 9.9 Fertility Rate and Population Growth 9.10 Conclusion 9.11 Summary 9.12 Questions 9.13 Suggested
Readings 9.1

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Objectives After going through this Unit, you will be able to: ? Understand the meaning of

fertility ?
How to measure the fertility rate ? Analyse the determining factors of fertility Fertility, ability of an individual or couple to reproduce through normal sexual activity. About 90 percent of healthy, fertile

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women are able to conceive within one year if they have intercourse regularly without contraception.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 127 9.2 Introduction Fertility is the reproductive capacity of women is a measure of the average number of children of a woman will have during her childbearing years. Fertility, ability of an individual or couple to reproduce through normal sexual activity. About 90 percent of healthy, fertile

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women are able to conceive within one year if they have intercourse regularly without contraception. Normal fertility requires the production of enough healthy sperm

by the male and viable eggs by the female, successful passage of the sperm through open ducts from the male testes to the female fallopian tubes, penetration of a healthy egg, and implantation of the fertilized egg in the lining of the uterus (see reproductive system). A problem with any of these steps can cause infertility. 9.3 Fertility and Fecundity Demographers distinguish between fecundity, the underlying biological potential for reproduction, and fertility, the actual level of achieved reproduction. (Confusingly, these English terms have opposite meanings from their parallel terms in French, where fertility is the potential and fécondité is the realized; similarly ambiguous usages also prevail in the biological sciences, thereby increasing the chance of misunderstanding.) The difference between biological potential and realized fertility is determined by several intervening factors, including the following: i. most women do not begin reproducing immediately upon the onset of puberty, which itself does not occur at a fixed age; ii. some women with the potential to reproduce never do so; iii. some women become widowed and do not remarry; iv. various elements of social behaviour restrain fertility; and v. many human couples choose consciously to restrict their fertility by means of sexual abstinence, contraception, abortion, or sterilization. The magnitude of the gap between potential and realized fertility can be illustrated by comparing the highest known fertilities with those of typical European

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 128 and North American women in the late 20th century. A well-studied high-fertility group is the Hutterites of North America, a religious sect that views fertility regulation as sinful and high fertility as a blessing. Hutterite women who married between 1921 and 1930 are known to have averaged 10 children per woman. Meanwhile, women in much of Europe and North America averaged about two children per woman during the 1970s and 1980s—a number 80 percent less than that achieved by the Hutterites. Even the highly fertile populations of developing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America produce children at rates far below that of the Hutterites. The general message from such evidence is clear enough: in much of the world, human fertility is considerably lower than the biological potential. It is strongly constrained by cultural regulations, especially those concerning marriage and sexuality, and by conscious efforts on the part of married couples to limit their childbearing. Dependable evidence on historical fertility patterns in Europe is available back to the 18th century, and estimates have been made for several earlier centuries. Such data for non-European societies and for earlier human populations are much more fragmentary. The European data indicate that even in the absence of widespread deliberate regulation there were significant variations in fertility among different societies. These differences were heavily affected by socially determined behaviours such as those concerning marriage patterns. Beginning in France and Hungary in the 18th century, a dramatic decline in fertility took shape in the more developed societies of Europe and North America, and in the ensuing two centuries fertility declines of fully 50 percent took place in nearly all of these countries. Since the 1960s fertility has been intentionally diminished in many developing countries, and remarkably rapid reductions have occurred in the most populous, the People's Republic of China. 9.4 Procedures to Measure Fertility Rate The following procedures are adopted to measure the fertility rate. i. Crude Birth Rate The crude birth rate is statistical value that can be used to measure the growth or decline of population. This is the most common procedure used to
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 129 measure the human fertility. The birth weight is measured by the rate of births population of 1000. It is determined by taking the total number of live births in a population and dividing the value by a number to obtain the rate per 1000. If crude birth rate be CBR and BI stands for live births over a year and P is the estimated mid-year population, then crude birth rate will be- CBR = BI/P × 1000 Birth date is called crude because CBR does not considered the age, marital status, and its composition. It only gives and overall idea about the fertility. ii. General Fertility Rate (GFR) It is the number of live births per 1000 females of childbearing age between the ages of 15 to 44 years. If BI denotes live birth in a year, and P stands for number of women in normal childbearing age, then: General fertility rate (GFR) = BI/P × 1000 Here P is the number of women in a normal reproductive age which generally ranges from 15 years to 44 years. This age range may not be always constant, it may vary in different situations. The reproductive rate is higher in the age group 20+ to 29+ Year. It is also depending on health condition of women fit up to 44 years of age and where early marriage is granted. iii. Fertility Ratio (FR) It is calculated by using female in the reproductive age group that is 15 to 49 years. It takes into account child women ratio. Calculate the number of children below 5 years of age for1000 females within the reproductive age ranging from 15 to 49 years of age. Fertility Ratio (FR): P (0-5)/P (15-49) P (0-5) represents the number of children below 5 years. This measure of fertility is important for less developed societies where, but registration system is very poor. It counts for only living children below 5 years. iv. Standardized Birth Rate (SBR) To compare the fertility of different populations standardized birth rate are often used to eliminate the effect on the birth weight of certain differences in structure of the population. It measures the number of expected births for
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 130 each specific age groups. It is calculated by total of the expected birth for all age groups is to be divided by the total population and multiplied by 1000. v. Total Fertility Rate (TFR) Total fertility rate in simple terms refers to total number of children born or likely to be born to a woman in her lifetime if she were subject to the prevailing rate of age specific fertility in the population. It is measured by something of the age specific birth rates and multiply it by number of mothers in the age interval. 9.5 Reproduction Reproduction, process by which organisms replicate themselves. In a general sense reproduction is one of the most important concepts in biology: it means making a copy, a likeness, and thereby providing for the continued existence of species. Although reproduction is often considered solely in terms of the production of offspring in animals and plants, the more general meaning has far greater significance to living organisms. To appreciate this fact, the origin of life and the evolution of organisms must be considered. One of the first characteristics of life that emerged in primeval times must have been the ability of some primitive chemical system to make copies of itself. At its lowest level, therefore, reproduction is chemical replication. As evolution progressed, cells of successively higher levels of complexity must have arisen, and it was absolutely essential that they had the ability to make likenesses of themselves. In unicellular organisms, the ability of one cell to reproduce itself means the reproduction of a new individual; in multicellular organisms, however, it means growth and regeneration. 9.6 Biological Factors affecting Human Fertility Reproduction is a quintessentially biological process, and hence all fertility analyses must consider the effects of biology. Such factors, in rough chronological order, include:

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 131 i. the age of onset of potential fertility (or fecundability in demographic terminology); ii. the degree of fecundability—i.e., the monthly probability of conceiving in the absence of contraception; iii. the incidence of spontaneous abortion and stillbirth; iv. the duration of temporary in fecundability following the birth of a child; and v. the age of onset of permanent sterility. The age at which women become fecund apparently declined significantly during the 20th century; as measured by the age of menarche (onset of menstruation), British data suggest a decline from 16–18 years in the mid-19th century to less than 13 years in the late 20th century. This decline is thought to be related to improving standards of nutrition and health. Since the average age of marriage in western Europe has long been far higher than the age of menarche, and since most children are born to married couples, this biological lengthening of the reproductive period is unlikely to have had major effects upon realized fertility in Europe. In settings where early marriage prevails, however, declining age at menarche could increase lifetime fertility. Fecundability also varies among women past menarche. The monthly probabilities of conception among newlyweds are commonly in the range of 0.15 to 0.25; that is, there is a 15–25-percent chance of conception each month. This fact is understandable when account is taken of the short interval (about two days) within each menstrual cycle during which fertilization can take place. Moreover, there appear to be cycles during which ovulation does not occur. Finally, perhaps one-third or more of fertilized ova fail to implant in the uterus or, even if they do implant, spontaneously abort during the ensuing two weeks, before pregnancy would be recognized. As a result of such factors, women of reproductive age who are not using contraceptive methods can expect to conceive within five to 10 months of becoming sexually active. As is true of all biological phenomena, there is surely a distribution of fecundability around average levels, with some women experiencing conception more readily than others. Spontaneous abortion of recognized pregnancies and stillbirth also are fairly common, but their incidence is difficult to quantify. Perhaps 20 percent of recognized pregnancies fail spontaneously, most in the earlier months of gestation.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 132 Following the birth of a child, most women experience a period of temporary infecundability, or biological inability to conceive. The length of this period seems to be affected substantially by breast-feeding. In the absence of breast-feeding, the interruption lasts less than two months. With lengthy, frequent breast-feeding it can last one or two years. This effect is thought to be caused by a complex of neural and hormonal factors stimulated by suckling. A woman's fecundability typically peaks in her 20s and declines during her 30s; by their early 40s as many as 50 percent of women are affected by their own or their husbands' sterility. After menopause, essentially all women are sterile. The average age at menopause is in the late 40s, although some women experience it before reaching 40 and others not until nearly 60. 9.6.1. Contraception Contraceptive practices affect fertility by reducing the probability of conception. Contraceptive methods vary considerably in their theoretical effectiveness and in their actual effectiveness in use ("use-effectiveness"). Modern methods such as oral pills and intrauterine devices (IUDs) have use-effectiveness rates of more than 95 percent. Older methods such as the condom and diaphragm can be more than 90- percent effective when used regularly and correctly, but their average use-effectiveness is lower because of irregular or incorrect use.The effect upon fertility of contraceptive measures can be dramatic: if fecundability is 0.20 (a 20-percent chance of pregnancy per month of exposure), then a 95-percent effective method will reduce this to 0.01 (a 1-percent chance). 9.6.2 Abortion Induced abortion reduces fertility not by affecting fecundability but by terminating pregnancy. Abortion has long been practiced in human societies and is quite common in some settings. The officially registered fraction of pregnancies terminated by abortion exceeds one-third in some countries, and significant numbers of unregistered abortions probably occur even in countries reporting very low rates. 9.6.3. Sterilization Complete elimination of fecundability can be brought about by sterilization. The surgical procedures of tubal ligation and vasectomy have become common in diverse

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 133 nations and cultures. In the United States, for example, voluntary sterilization has become the most prevalent single means of terminating fertility, typically adopted by couples who have achieved their desired family size. In India, sterilization has been encouraged on occasion by various government incentive programs and, for a short period during the 1970s, by quasi-coercive measures. 9.7 Determinants of Fertility and Reproduction There are many determinants of fertility. The formidable determinants are as follows. i. Demographic Trends This can be seen is many factors such as postponement of marriage, increasing age of first birth, increasing divorce rates, lower marriage rates, more births outside marriage, and increasing number of women in the labour force, greater label of education for women, a decreasing need for children to support elderly parents, a shift from rural to Urban societies, and government program to encourage discourage having children. Combination of all these factors has resulted in three men demographic trends that is reduction in infant mortality, increasing life expectancy and decreasing fertility rates. ii. Race A recent study shows that there are interesting reasons as to the differences in fertility rates. United State historical data show that the major difference between white and black fertility is timing that is blacks tend to have their children at early ages then whites. (Current U.S population Reports, 1996, page 27). iii. Education Education is a key factor of fertility. It has been observed that educated people are associated with more prenatal care. The lifestyle and health behaviour during pregnancy are determinantal to the birth outcome. Overall higher female education is universally associated with lower and delayed fertility. Significant differences in fertility are usually found between higher educated women and uneducated women.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 134 iv. Religion Religion plays an important role in the movement of fertility rates. However, it depends on the religion practiced by is society and many other factors linked with this like the use of contraceptives. v. Contraceptive Use and Abortion The use of contraception and abortion facilitates the prevention of unwanted pregnancies and the planning of desired births. vi. Marriage, Cohabitation and Divorce The family model is now very different compared to past decades. The relationship between men and women have changed. Studies shows that there are increase the number of young couples that are deliberately choosing childlessness. This trend is supported by an increasing use of contraception family planning and social equality in sex roles. Another factor that makes fertility rates fall is the decrease in marriage and the rise in divorce rates. vii. Postponement of Age of Marriage Another trend is that average is at marriage is increasing, couples are getting married at older ages. The postponement of marriage is related to the increase popularity of living together without marrying which in in some cases replaces marriages. This trend decreases the fertility rate. viii. Women in the Labour Force Over the last few decades one of the most important demographic changes has been the constant increase in female labour force participation which has been a generalized tendency around the world. Changing role of women has produced several transformations of the family structure. This trend has impact on childbearing practices, therefore, decreased fertility rates. ix. Government Programs Initiatives taken by the government to control the population have impact on fertility rates. Countries like China, India where population is a great concern of development, government tries to control population by various programs. x. Economic Factors Finally, economic determinants other level of income standard of living and nature of diet in addition of these psychological factors are also important factor for fertility and reproduction rates.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 135 There exist many factors that affect the decision to have children or not. These factors include the increase cost of raising a child for the change in the attitude of women towards work. It is a fact that women have increasingly altered that reproductive behavior they can control their fertility with improved birth control methods. The decision to have children is related to the size of a family they want. Now, couples are able to decide whether to have children, when to start, and the space between children. Fertility rates are different in all over the world. It is still at very high levels in Africa and some Arabic countries and Asian countries, followed next by the countries of Central and South America. Lower rates are found in Europe and other industrialized countries like Canada and Japan. 9.8 Foods that can affect Fertility Infertility affects about 9% of married women who are of childbearing age, according to a national survey conducted by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. While couples can't control all of the causes of infertility, they can control their eating habits. And nutrition and a healthy body weight for both partner scan have a significant impact on the ability to conceive. i. Women and Fertility To prepare for pregnancy and enhance fertility, maintain a healthy weight and choose foods that will create a safe and supportive home for your baby's nine-month stay. This should include sources of folic acid, iron, and other important nutrients. ii. Men and Fertility Men also should try to maintain a healthy body weight and follow a balanced eating pattern, since male obesity may alter hormone levels. Plus, low sperm count, and poor sperm motility are common in men with overweight and obesity. When it comes to food choices, load up on fruits and vegetables, which contain vitamins, minerals and antioxidants that may help create strong sperm.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 136 iii. Find Your Healthy Weight Increase your chance of leading a balanced life by achieving and maintaining a healthy weight. Weight extremes can alter hormone levels and throw ovulation off schedule. For women who are considered to be overweight or obese, due to a body mass index (BMI) equal to or greater than 25, weight loss may improve fertility. On the other hand, women who are classified as being underweight, with a BMI below 18.5 (18.5 to 24.9 signifies a normal weight), may experience irregular menstrual cycles or stop ovulating altogether. Those who regularly participate in high-intensity exercise—such as gymnastics or dancing, have an eating disorder or follow restricted diets—often are at an increased risk. Avoid going on fad diets, which can deplete your body of the nutrients it needs for pregnancy and find a healthy eating plan that works for you by talking to a registered dietitian nutritionist. iv. Include Adequate Amounts of Iron An eating pattern, rich in iron that comes from vegetables and supplements may lower the risk of ovulatory infertility, according to results from The Nurses' Health Study II, which followed 18,500 female nurses trying to get pregnant. Ovulatory infertility is only one cause of infertility. Vegetarian foods with iron include beans, lentils, spinach, fortified cereals, long-grain enriched rice and whole grains. Add vitamin C from citrus fruits, bell peppers or berries to your meals to enhance iron absorption. v. The "Fertility Diet" Pattern Published by a team of Harvard researchers in 2007, the "Fertility Diet" study—found women with ovulatory infertility who followed this eating pattern had a 66% lower risk of ovulatory infertility and a 27% reduced risk of infertility from other causes than women who didn't follow the diet closely. Women following the "fertility diet" chose: • Less trans-fat and more monounsaturated fat (from foods such as avocados and olive oil) • Less animal protein and more vegetable protein • More high-fiber, low-glycemic carbohydrate-rich foods (including whole grains)
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 137 • More vegetarian sources of iron and fewer meat sources • Multivitamins • High-fat dairy instead of low-fat dairy In general, eating more vegetables and a variety of types, eating healthy monounsaturated fats instead of saturated and trans-fats, making at least half your grains whole, and getting enough calcium-rich foods—including dairy — will help you meet nutrient needs and promote a healthy weight. vi. Don't Forget Folic Acid While it won't make you more fertile, it is crucial that women trying to conceive obtain 400 micrograms per day of folic acid from supplements (if considering taking any supplements, including folic acid, talk to your health care provider first) and include foods such as dark leafy green vegetables and fortified grains. Folic acid is needed to prevent neural tube defects. The neural tube develops into the brain and spine three to four weeks after conception, before most women even realize they're pregnant. For more information on foods for fertility and creating a personalized eating plan one must consult a registered dietitian nutritionist. 9.9 Fertility Rate and Population Growth Fertility rate is the average number of children born to women during their reproductive period. Most important factor for population growth is the total fertility rate (TFR). If overall total fertility rate of an area is 2.1 then the population of that area remains stable, excluding immigration and emigration. TFR 2.1 of area is known as replacement rate. Generally, if total fertility rate of a given area is more than 2.1 then population of that area will increase and when it is less than 2.1, the population of that given area will eventually be decreased considering no emigration and immigration. 9.10 Conclusion Population study is striking and important phenomena of present time. Population dynamics is the change of population of an area over a period of time. Population
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 138 growths have direct impact on society building and its development. Uncontrolled population growth inversely affects the healthy and prosperous life of human beings. In all over the world especially developing and underdeveloped countries are suffering due to over population. The population and sociological study analyse the growth rate and fertility rates all over the recognized countries of the world. For this reason, population policies are implemented and studied in relation to human resource development and resource potentialities of the country. 9.11 Summary Fertility is the capability to produce offspring through reproduction following the onset of sexual maturity. The fertility rate is the average number of children born to a female during her lifetime and is quantified demographically. In other words, fertility is the capability of an individual or a couple to reproduce offspring through normal sexual activity. Crude birth rate, general fertility rate, fertility ratio, standardized birth rate, total fertility rate- are the procedures to measure fertility. Reproduction is a process by which organism replicate themselves. In a general sense, reproduction is one of the most important concepts in biology; it means making a copy, a likeness and thereby providing for the continuous existence of species. Reproduction is a quite essentially biological process, and hence all fertility analyzes must consider the effects of biology. Most important factor for population growth is the total fertility rate. 9.12 Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each i. Differences between fertility and fecundity? ii. Define fertility rate. iii. What is reproduction? iv. How does diet affect fertility? v. What are the biological factors that affect human fertility?

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 139 G-B (10 Marks each) vi. Write a note on contraception, abortion, and sterilization. vii. Discuss various procedures to measure fertility rate. viii. Discuss the determinants of fertility and reproduction. 9.13 Suggested Readings i. Goswami, M.K. (2013) Environmental Education and Population Education, Delhi, Asian Book Pvt. Ltd. ii. Pachauri Suresh (2012) Environmental Education, New Delhi, Pearson iii. Rao, C.N.S. (2015) Sociology, New Delhi, S. Chand iv. Chandana. R.C. (2000) Geography of population: concept, determinants and pattern, New Delhi, Kalyani Publisher
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 140 Module IV: Mortality, Morbidity and Health Unit 10 ?Mortality—Trends, Levels and Determinants in India Structure 10.1 Objectives 10.2 Introduction 10.3 Meaning and Measurement of Mortality 10.4 Mortality Trends and Levels 10.5 Inter-State and Rural-Urban Areas 10.6 Age-Sex Differences 10.7 Infant Mortality Rate 10.8 Classification of Infant Mortality 10.9 Causes of Infant Mortality 10.10 Determinants of Mortality in India 10.11 Tuberculosis (TB) 10.12 Malaria 10.13 HIV/AIDS 10.14 Conclusion 10.15 Summary 10.16 Questions 10.17 Suggested Readings 10.1 Objectives The purpose of this unit is to discuss the following: ? The concepts of mortality, morbidity, and health. ? The mortality trends and levels.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 141 ? The infant mortality rate and its types. ? The reasons for infant mortality rate. ? The major determinants of mortality in India. 10.2 Introduction Mortality is considered to be the outcome of sickness and the population of sick people who die. In order to control mortality, the medical measures to curb illness and other health related issues are very much essential. Mortality is considered to be important for measuring the

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health risks, improvement in the quality of health care and for comparing the overall health of different groups in the population.

Mortality is one of the major components responsible for bringing changes in human population along with fertility and migration. These variables are associated with factors like age of marriage, the proportion of marriage, contraceptive use, level and types of morbidity, rural urban migration etc. All of these factors are also linked with social factors like levels and distribution of income, levels of education, and position of women in society, religion, and economic development. In order to understand mortality, we have to take into consideration the crude death rate, age specific death rate, infant rate etc. (Singh 2009:93). It has been observed since long time that mortality has played an important role in determining the population growth. Since the seventeenth century, human population increased in the industrial and developed countries mostly due to the fall in death rates rather than the rise in the fertility rate. The demographic transition in developing countries was also facilitated mostly due to mortality. The outcome was the rapid population growth. Mortality is important for studying the demographic conditions of existing human societies and also useful

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for determining the prospect of potential changes in mortality conditions of the future (

Bhende and Kanitkar 2004:160). Mortality can be studied from various angles, as various biological, social, economic, and cultural factors affect the health condition of members of the society and consequently affect the mortality rate of society. The factors that affect mortality can be classified under three themes namely heredity, constitution, and environment. When mortality is viewed from a demographic standpoint then the changing size and structure of population is given more emphasis than the medical factors. Here, the
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 142 genetic factors are not considered. The constitutional and environmental factors provide the grounds for demographic analysis of mortality. The constitutional factors of mortality include physical, physiological, anatomical, and psychological characteristics of human being. The environmental factors include the natural environmental/physical setting of humans and their social, economic, environmental and personal habits. The most important factors for studying mortality are age and sex (Bhende and Kanitkar 2004:160). 10.3 Meaning and Measurement of Mortality The study of mortality is used to understand the effects of death on

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population. The United Nations and World Health Organization have defined “Death is the permanent disappearance of all evidence of life at any time after birth has taken place (

post-natal cessation of vital functions without capacity of resuscitation)". A death takes place only after a live birth and the period between birth and death is life (Bhende and Kanitkar 2004: 161). According to Gordon Marshall (2006:432) mortality rate is the death rate that is generally standardized by age and sex in order to make comparisons between areas and social groups. Heer and Grigsby (1992:30) have argued that "an exact comparison of mortality in two different populations can be made by a separate presentation of the death rates in each age-sex group of each population". Mortality is useful for measuring the

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health risks, improvements in the quality of health care and for comparing the overall health of different groups in the population.

Mortality is used as a very reliable indicator of social and economic change, for comparing living standards and also used by medical scientists for monitoring the death risks from infectious diseases (Marshall 2006:432). Mortality is most commonly measured in crude death rate which is defined as "the ratio of the number of deaths that occur within a given population during a specified year to the size of that population at midyear". However, crude death rates do not provide an accurate indicator of mortality conditions as the age structure affects its measurement. An exact comparison of mortality can be made by analyzing the death rates on the basis of sex and age of the given population (Heer and Grigsby 1992:30).

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Age standardized death rates are calculated separately for male and females to produce overall Standard Mortality Ratios (SMR) for each sex or sexes combined

together.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 143 10.4 Mortality Trends and Levels The increase of country's population is related primarily with two biological variables birth and death. The survival rate gives us the net increase in population, that is, the difference between births and deaths. The population problem of India arises particularly because of extremely high fertility along with high mortality which is gradually declining (Madan 2005: 284). India is witnessing a demographic transition with the expansion in population and decline in growth as both fertility and mortality levels have been falling considerably. India's mortality level started declining since 1921 and the Crude Death Rate (CDR) fell from a high 40-45 percent per 1000 population to around 32-33 during the independence in 1947 and further lowered to 15 by 1971. Three distinct stages of mortality history can be traced in case of India. Mortality was high and fluctuating till 1921 due to famines, epidemic and pestilences. In the course of next 30 years, it declined slowly. Development in the field of medical science, implementation of public health policies, control of communicable diseases, malaria eradication program was responsible for lowering the death rates in this period. There was only one major famine after 1921 that is the Bengal famine of 1943. Epidemics and fatal diseases were kept under control. After 1951 mortality has declined in a faster pace. The main reason for the decline was the communicable diseases were monitored and controlled in an effective manner, the famine and epidemics were absent, and the social and medical health infrastructure improved in almost every region of the country. Post-independence there have been a remarkable progress in all the three indicators. Death rate has declined from 32-33 to 9, infant mortality rate declined from 200 to 63 in 2002 and years expectation of life at birth from 32 years to about 63-64 years after 55 years since independence (Majumdar 2013: 280-281). 10.5 Inter-State and Rural-Urban Areas The approach to lower mortality has been uneven in India like in other parts of the world. Mortality rates have been found to be peculiarly higher in rural areas than urban areas. The mortality differences between the rural and urban dwellers are quite
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 144 striking. The life expectancy of urban males and females is almost 6 to 8 years more than that of the people living in the rural areas. The mortality difference between the different states of India is more wider and varying. In almost all the parameters

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in the South Indian states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu

are ahead of other Indian states. Both fertility and mortality in these two states are low. In case of Kerala the rural and urban mortality difference is minimum. After Kerala, West Bengal too has been capable of narrowing the rural and urban mortality gap. The infant mortality rate of Kerala is phenomenal, that is 13 per 1000 live births and life expectation at birth above 70 years. These two indicators of Kerala are remarkable and can be compared with the developed first world countries. In case of lowering mortality, states like West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab have also made significant progress. Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh continue to have a large urban-rural mortality difference. Despite of having a low urban rural mortality difference in south India their sex differences in mortality stands out to be the highest as compared to other Indian states. Excluding Rajasthan and Bihar the female mortality rate is smaller in most other states than that of male mortality rates. Although the mortality rate has declined over the years, the interstate and regional variations have sustained, and it requires region specific attention and intervention. Some of the major causes for differences in the mortality rates of rural urban regions are as follows: i. The urban people unlike their rural counterparts are more health conscious, with better education and have exposure to better medical and health facilities. ii. A huge proportion of urban people are employed in organized sectors, they receive health allowances, have health insurances from their employers or are entitled to receive reimbursement for certain kind of health expenses. iii. There is more number of public or private health institutions in urban areas. Therefore, the urban people get better medical facilities. In fact, 75 percent of health budget of the government are invested in urban areas where only 28 percent of the total population lives. iv. The urban areas have arrangements for purified drinking water to almost every household while their rural counterparts still lack such facilities.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 145 v. The waste management, drainage and sanitation facilities are cities are better as compared to that of villages and small towns. Only 31 per cent of India's population has the privilege to sanitation facilities. A comparison of death rates between 1988-1990 and 1998-2000 exhibits that out of 16 large states 15 states have reduced the Crude Death Rate (CDR). In both the urban and rural areas there is a marginal growth in CDR in Kerala. Prof. Mitra argues that while other Indian states were busy in making strategies to control the death rates, Kerala had already revolutionized its health system which helped the state to lower the fertility and mortality rates quickly (Majumdar 2013:280-281). 10.6 Age-Sex Differences According to the demographic point of view two major specific death rates are age and sex specific mortality rates. The gender difference in case of India's mortality condition has been very disturbing. It is observed that young girls are experiencing higher mortality compared to young boys. According to NFHS-2, female mortality rate below 5 was bit higher than male mortality rate (105 per 1,000 live births for females compared to 98 per 1,000 for male births). This kind of trend is present in rural areas and absent in urban areas. As compared to other countries of the world it is found that in India the female mortality rate is very high. The primary reason is that as compared to boys the girls get less medical and health attention and when the females receive medical treatment it is too late or inadequate. The discrimination of girl children in the age group of 5 to 14 is more in rural areas as compared to urban areas. However, it is also astonishing to know that when girls enter the active age group and also gets involved in reproductive tasks and other additional risks like child rearing, home-making or other activities then their death rates is found to be lower than that of their male counterparts. It is found that in all societies the mortality is highest among the infant but as the child crosses the first birthday then there is a sharp decline in their mortality rate. After the child reaches the age of 15 then the mortality rate increases very gradually until they attain the age of 40, after which the age specific death rate increases. When the person reaches 70 years of age then the death rate is almost to that of 0 years. This is applicable in case of both males and females although there may be minor differences.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 146 It is observed that in all countries that at birth the male babies slightly out number female babies. According to SRS in India it is 110 male babies for every 100 female babies. The parity between the male and female babies is reached before they reach their adolescent age and mortality is bit higher among the male babies as against the female babies in the initial years. Till about 1980 females were lagging behind the males in terms of life expectancy. However, after 1980s the female life expectancy has increased at a much faster pace. There was a sharp drop in death rate from around 52 to only 20 in the age group of 0-4 in just 30 years. Although the death rate of India has declined after independence but the inter- state differences of death rate particularly in former years is bewildering. The death rate of the age group of 0-4 in Rajasthan is as high as 39.4 and the lowest is 4.9 in Kerala. The death rate of very young children is very high in almost all the states except Kerala. Although Tamil Nadu and West Bengal have also progressed in lowering the death rate of young children, they are still behind Kerala by about 10 points. In India the infant mortality accounts for 20.5 percent of all deaths in the country. In between the age group of 5 – 59 years total death rate accounts for only 33.5 percent. The old age death proportion to all deaths is as high as 69 percent in Kerala to a lowest of 31 percent in Assam followed by 32.8 percent in Rajasthan and 33.7 percent in Uttar Pradesh. In case of India the dying patients in earlier times received little medical attention. In 1981, 39 percent of all deaths occurred where there was no medical intervention of any type. At present 21 percent of all deaths occurs either at hospitals, nursing homes or health centres and another 66 percent occurs at homes where the dying patients are attended by professional medical professionals. It is argued that most of the dying patients in urban areas get medical treatment and attention but the same cannot be said of rural areas. At the national level only 9.2 percent of dying patients received institutional care before dying in 1981. However, in 2000 it accelerated to 20.9 where it varied from 9.8 percent in Assam and 80.4 percent in Kerala. 65.9 percent of the patients received medical attention in private medical institutions at the time of death and 12.7 did not receive any medical attention. In Orissa 44 percent people died without receiving any medical treatment and it is also shocking to see that more advanced states like in Tamil Nadu and Kerala as many as 36.1 percent and 31.2 percent dying patients did not receive any medical

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 147 attention. These three states are also in the top list for both the rural and urban deaths without any medical attention. Maharashtra is the only state where almost all the dying people gets at least one time medical attention (Majumdar 2013: 280-281). 10.7

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Infant Mortality Rate The infant mortality rate is the number of

deaths within the first year of life divided by the number of live births in the same year times 1000 (Marshall 2006:432). The Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) of a country is used by the demographers to understand the condition of health, hygiene and also the socio-economic development of that particular country. The development of urban facilities, health infrastructure and increasing urban population IMR as an indicator has lost its ground. IMR in developed nations have come down from 22-25 to 6-7 between 1970-1999. The top 30 countries with high human development record have IMR ranging between 3 and 7 in 1999 as against 11-31 in 1970. In developing nation like India IMR fell down from 142 in 1970 to 70 in 1999. In case of China the IMR has declined down from 85 to 33 in between 1970 to 1999. A small country like Sri Lanka has an IMR of 17 in 1999. Bangladesh is ahead of India in case of IMR reduction with 58 in 1999. Since 1921, general mortality rate has declined faster in India primarily due to prevention of diseases like Tuberculosis, Plague, Malaria, Cholera and other water borne and communicable diseases. Along with the development in medical infrastructure the food security measures were also improved which further added towards the lowering of IMR. The IMR of India declined very fast since 1981 and 2001. However, it is also to be noted that the decline has been uneven in different states. The IMR in case of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Haryana has infact increased during 1981 to 2001. It is also to be noted that the Schedule Castes, Schedule Tribes and Other Backward Classes witnessed much higher IMR as compared to the upper castes and classes. Every year 27 million infants are born in India. About 5 percent of them do not live for another 5 years. India accounts for 25 percent of the over 10 million under five deaths in the world. Proportion of infant mortality to total deaths in India is alarming at 20.5 percent. Infant and child mortality claims 2.2 million lives every year. For every 100 male infants deaths there are 135 female infant deaths in Punjab,

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 148 125 in Assam, 114 in Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat. In case of rural India Punjab 145, Assam 125, Madhya Pradesh 120, Tamil Nadu 115, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh 110. Few states like West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka and Orissa the female IMR is less than that of male. In case of Karnataka there are only 72 female babies deaths for every 100 male babies before they reach one years old (Majumdar 2013:280-281). 10.8 Classification of Infant Mortality Bourgeois Pichat (1952) has classified mortality into two causal type, namely (i) endogenous and (ii) exogenous infant mortality rate. Endogenous refers to "those cases in which the child bears within itself, from birth, the cause resulting in its death, whether that cause was inherited from its parents at its conception, or acquired from its mother during gestation or delivery." While the exogenous infant mortality refers "to those cases in which the infant picks up the factors which causes its death in the environment in which it lives." McNamara (1982) considers endogenous death as the death that is caused by "factors such as the congenital malformations, the circumstances of prenatal life, and the birth process." Exogenous infant death is caused by infection, parasitic and respiratory diseases, accidents and other environmental and external causes." Endogenous causes are usually the causes of neonatal death may extend beyond infancy and may cause severe diseases in the later part of life like diabetes, cancer, heart diseases, AIDS etc. Exogenous causes of deaths are avoidable through medicinal preventions, education, medical knowledge, technology, and better nutrition. It is also to be kept in mind that illegitimacy also accounts for factor contributing towards a high infant mortality rate. The illegitimate child is often unwanted by mother and society and the child does not receive much medical attention and nutrition that it needs which further may lead towards the increment of infant mortality (Bhende and Kanitkar 2004: 174). There are also some other age-standardized mortality rates like neonatal mortality rate, perinatal mortality rate and maternal mortality rate. The neonatal mortality rate is the number of deaths within the first four weeks of life divided by the number of live births in the same year times 1000. The perinatal mortality rate is the number

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 149 of still births plus the number of deaths within the first two week of life, divided by total births (still births and live births) in the same year, again times 1000. The maternal mortality rate is the number of maternal deaths divided by total births times 1000 (Marshall 2006: 432). 10.9 Causes of Infant Mortality The Infant and Child mortality Survey in India was conducted by the Registrar General in 1979. It was observed that the infant and child mortality was quite high in case of mothers who were better educated. The survey also reported that the infant and child mortality were closed linked to the living standard of the family. In 1998- 99 the Central Statistical Organisation (CSO) compiled the National Family Health Survey II and it reported that girls were ahead of their male counterparts in child mortality despite of less attention they receive from parents as compared to males. It was also found that illiteracy and young age among mothers play a major role in the infant and child mortality. Studies have highlighted that even few years of schooling for mothers can reduce as much as 40 percent of infant mortality. This finding of CSO contradicts with the findings of the Registrar General. The NFHS II report also suggested that IMR can be lessened if birth took place in medical institutions or under the care of doctors or trained medical staff. Studies have also shown that baby girls are more likely to die in families where there is an older male sibling. It arouses an issue of gender discrimination. Pre-maturity, respiratory infections, diarrhea, anemia, neonatal injuries and birth injuries account to 70 percent infant deaths in India. The major reason for infant deaths (25 percent) is because of pre-maturity, Acute Respiratory Infection (ARI) and pneumonia. One of every three malnourished child lives in India and according to UNICEF almost 50 percent child deaths in India is due to malnutrition (Majumdar 2013: 280- 281). 10.10 Determinants of Mortality in India Mortality is considered to be the outcome of morbidity or sickness and of the case fatality rate that is the proportion of sick person who die. Curative measures in

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 150 the form of medical institutions and medical professionals try to control the morbidity and aims to reduce the case fatality. Preventive measures focus on reducing both morbidity and case fatality. Some instances of preventive measures are providing a required level of nutrition and exercise, upgrading public health infrastructure, implementing immunization programs and doing away with unhealthy behaviours like smoking cigarettes or alcohol consumption. Although malnutrition is not the primary cause for death it is makes people susceptible for being infected with severe diseases. Moreover, it takes a longer time for the malnourished people to get healed or recovery from illness (Heer and Grigsby 1992: 33). According to the findings on Survey of Causes of Death 1964-1994 the combined share of fever, digestive disorder and cough was more than half of the total number of deaths in India in 1971. By 1991 their share decreased to 33 percent of all deaths. Cough remains the major killer in India particularly in the states of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Bronchitis and asthma accounted for 8 percent of the total deaths in India while Tuberculosis accounted for 6.1 percent. Deaths occurring from natural calamities and accidental deaths are gradually rising at an alarming level. Such death rate has increased from 3.9 percent in 1971 to 8.3 percent in 1991. Natural calamities like tsunami, earthquakes, super cyclones and heavy downpours, rail and road accidents along with suicides and homicides and deaths from terrorist attacks mostly in Jammu Kashmir and North eastern states are also responsible as factors of death in India. The provision for the supply of potable water along with liquid and solid waste management is still challenging in the public health sector. Though deaths by gastro-enteritis and dysentery have decreased over the period of time but diarrheal continues to be a major factor for illness and death. The government has also started various programs to cut down the problems of morbidity and mortality. Presently, India and China has become the garbage dumping zone of toxic materials and e-garbage from USA and other advanced countries. The unscientific recycling of mobile phones and other electronic gadgets pollutes the atmosphere with carcinogens. The modern-day competition in terms of gaining success and changing lifestyles are affecting the circulation and nervous system, thereby pushing up the deaths level. World Health Organization (WHO) studies the diseases of different countries. In 1998 halves of the burden of disease for India was

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 151 communicable diseases, maternal and pre-natal conditions, and nutritional deficiencies. Three major diseases which are regarded as changing the causes of mortality are tuberculosis, malaria, and HIV/AIDS. These diseases have been dealt in detail (Majumdar 2013: 314-315). 10.11 Tuberculosis (TB) On average 2 million Tuberculosis cases are reported in India. TB kills almost 0.4 million Indians every year. The number of people killed by TB is less than the number of deaths related to malaria, meningitis, hepatitis, nutritional deficiencies, leprosy, sexually transmitted diseases, and tropical diseases which together accounts for 2,58,000 deaths per year in India according to the WHO report 1999. National Tuberculosis program was launched in India in 1962. Unfortunately, it could not achieve its targets due to many flaws like over dependence on x-rays for diagnosis, lack of systematic records and low treatment completions. The revised national tuberculosis program was again implemented in 1993. The WHO recommended Directly Observed Treatment Short Course (DOTS) was undertaken. This program was one of the largest public health policies and was fairly successful. The curative success rate was 89 percent in 2001. However, the emergence of HIV/AIDS problematized the health scenario in India. Those affected by HIV was more likely to develop TB. About 7 percent of HIV patients were affected by TB in India. Among the communicable diseases' asthma, bronchitis, TB, and pneumonia are more prominent. The dependence for wood for cooking fuel with lack of proper ventilator was responsible for bronchitis and asthma among the women of rural areas. The prevalence of TB is about 131 per 1,00,000 in India while the world average is only 60. TB happens to be one of the major killers in rural India. The stigmatization of the disease, lack of awareness and detection was one of the reasons for the failure of reducing the number of TB infected people in the country. It is reported that more women aged 30 years and older people suffer from TB. 10.12 Malaria According to the malaria eradication report malaria has increased from 9.72 in 1972 to 35.5 percent in 1995. Although the number of people dying from malaria is

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 152 comparatively less as compared to HIV but the impact of malaria over morbidity and economic productivity is remarkable. With the greater urbanization and industrialization malaria has found ways in the urban areas mostly as well as other non-rural ecological regions. In 1953, the National Malaria Control Program (NMCP) was introduced. Then 75 million cases of malaria were reported per year out of which 800,000 ended up in deaths. The NMCP was reinforced with the new name, National Malaria Eradication Program and by 1965 malaria was totally controlled by using the DDT spray. Then after, 1,00,000 malaria cases were reported with zero deaths. Unfortunately, again from 1970s onwards malaria has re-emerged as a death taking diseases. The worst malaria affected Indian states in 1970s were Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Karnataka, and Pondicherry. At present malaria is mostly found in poor and densely populated areas of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Bengal. 2.01 million cases of malaria were reported in 2001 in India. 10.13 HIV/AIDs In the last 30 years new deadliest diseases have been discovered. Out of the many dangerous diseases HIV/AIDS is one of the deadliest diseases. Human Immunodeficiency Virus is lentrivirus. A person with HIV can live a long normal life until the fully develop Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) starts to affect the health system. This disease can be spread rapidly through sexual relations. HIV is a retrovirus. It converts the genetic materials from RNA to DNA. The first case of HIV/AIDS in India was reported from Tamil Nadu in early 1986. In the same year another person was detected with the same in Mumbai. After 1994 it has rapidly spread in the country. In 2003 the number of people living with HIV/AIDS reached 5.1 million. Out of which 26 percent were females and 74 percent males. Almost 60 percent of the reported cases were from rural areas. 86 percent of HIV/AIDS cases were because of the unprotected heterosexual sex about 2.4 percent is transmitted from blood or products related to blood and about 2 percent by sharing of injection needles and syringes associated with intravenous drug use. HIV/AIDS is spreading like a fire in India in Maharashtra 3 percent of the commercial sex workers were infected with HIV/AIDS North-Eastern in 1987 but the figure has rouse to 70 percent in 1997. The number of HIV/AIDS infected people is found more in southern states

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 153 of India. In case of Manipur, the northeastern state HIV/AIDS is spreading rapidly due to intravenous drug use. Tamil Nadu has the largest share of reported HIV/AIDS cases followed by Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Karnataka. These five states account for about 80 percent of total reported HIV/AIDS cases in India. a separate body for HIV/ AIDS has been set up by the national government, the National AIDS Control Organization to control the diseases with the help from state health departments. Electronic and other forms of media are used vigorously to spread awareness among the people. Every year 0.6 million people in India are reported have affected by HIV/ AIDS. Adults between the age group of 25 to 40 are mostly vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. Human Development Report of India 1999 stated that there are more than 33 million people living with HIV/AIDS in India. The number increased to 42 million in 2002. More than 5.1 million populations in India are affected by HIV/AIDS (Majumdar 2013: 314-318). Despite of various challenges, problems and tensions growing from different emerging diseases the mortality rate has been kept in control up to a certain level by the government, medical professionals, and civic body members by adopting certain measures. Some major factors responsible for low death rates are as follows: i. Elimination of Famines During the British rule India witnessed several famines which resulted in loss of many lives. However, after independence the country has improvised the food security measures and famines are the things of the past. Government has very effectively handled the famine situation. ii. Control of Epidemics Many Indians in earlier days died because of epidemic diseases. At present times the government has routed out the dreaded diseases. Cholera, smallpox two major life taking diseases have been effectively controlled. This has resulted in bringing down the death rate of the country. Moreover, Government has also launched special programs for eliminating diseases like polio, malaria, tuberculosis etc. iii. Better Health Care Programmes Various health care programmes have been launched by the government to reduce child deaths and care of pregnant women. Increase in number of

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 154 health care centres, implementation of national rural health mission program and other progressive health care policies has helped in cutting down the death rates in the country. Adequate attention has been given for sanitation, hygiene, supply of pure drinking water. Immunization programmes for bringing down death rates from several diseases has also shown positive results. 10.14 Conclusion What sense can we make of all of these disparate accounts in different contexts, and what can we expect for the path of mortality in the future? There is no consensus on these issues. Here, we hazard our own best guess, recognizing that the evidence is weak or missing for many of the links in our argument. Knowledge, science, and technology are the keys to any coherent explanation. Mortality in England began to decline in the wake of the Enlightenment, directly through the application to health of new ideas about personal health and public administration, and indirectly through increased productivity that permitted, albeit with terrible reversals, better levels of living, better nutrition, better housing, and better sanitation. Ideas about the germ theory of disease were critical to changing both public health infrastructure and personal behavior. However, changes in knowledge, science and technology will often increase the gradient in health, at least for a time. There was no health gradient between English aristocrats and ordinary people prior to the Enlightenment, but one developed soon thereafter, so that average life expectancy and the gap between rich and poor rose together. There was no gradient in infant mortality between the children of physicians and non-physicians prior to an understanding of the germ theory of disease. More educated people quit smoking faster after the health consequences were understood. The incentives for research and discovery are much weaker or absent for the diseases, such as malaria or tuberculosis that are largely confined to the poor of the world. Even when treatment is available in rich countries, there is no guarantee that it can be made available elsewhere, as we have learned during the AIDS pandemic and indeed from the several million people who die each year from vaccine-preventable
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 155 diseases. Steepening gradients within and between nations are likely to provoke much soul-searching, and it is clearly an appropriate aim of public policy to improve equality of access for everyone to new, life-saving technologies. Yet, if we are right, increases in the gradient also have a silver lining. They indicate that help is on the way, not only for those who receive it first, but eventually for everyone. 10.15 Summary Mortality is one of the major components for bringing changes in human population along with fertility and migration. These variables are associated with factors like age of marriage, the proportion of marriage, contraceptive use, level, and types of morbidity, rural urban migration, etc. Mortality is important for studying the demographic condition of existing human societies. Mortality can be studied from various angles as various biological, social, economic, and cultural factors that can be classified into three themes namely heredity, constitution, and environment. Mortality is used as a very reliable indicator of social and economic change, and mortality is useful for measuring the health risk, improvement in the quality of healthcare. An exact comparison of mortality can be made by analyzing the deathrates on the basis of sex and age of the given population. The population problems of India arise particularly because of extremely high fertility along with high mortality. Mortality was high due to famines, epidemic, and pestilences. After 1951 mortality declined in a faster pace. The main reason for the decline was the communicable diseases were monitored and controlled. The famine and epidemics were absent, the social and medical health infrastructure improved in almost every region of India. In post-independent India there have been a remarkable progress in following three indicators: i) As per capita income rises, life expectancy rises. ii) Nutritional status affects mortality. The ability to fend off disease is directly linked to nutrition. iii) Public health issues, things like access to a clean water supply and effective waste removal, are also determinants of mortality.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 156 10.16 Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. What do you understand by the term mortality? ii. What is infant mortality rate? iii. How is mortality measured? iv. Discuss the reasons for infant mortality rate. v. Explain the types of mortality. vi. Examine the age-sex mortality difference in India. G-b (10 Marks each) vii. Briefly discuss the mortality trends and levels in India. viii. Discuss the mortality condition of age and sex in India. ix. Discuss the major determinants of mortality in India. x. Examine the inter-state and rural-urban mortality condition of India. 10.17 Suggested Readings i. Abella, M.I. and Atal, Y. (1986): Middle East Interlude: Asian Workers Abroad, Boulder: Westview Press. ii. Abraham, M.F. (2008): An Introduction to Concepts and Theories, New Delhi: Oxford University Press. iii. Bhende, A.A. and Kanitkar, T. (2004): Principles of Population Studies. Mumbai: Himalayan Publishing House. iv. Bilton, T. et al. (ed.) (1997): Introductory Sociology, New York: Palgrave. v. Bourgeois, P. (1952): "An Analysis of Infant Mortality." Population Bulletin of the United States. vi. Castles, S. and Miller, J.M. (2009): The Age of Migration, London: Palgrave Macmillan. vii. Chandna, R.C. (2009): Geography of Population, New Delhi: Kalyana Publishers.

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NSOU ? GE-SO-21 158 Unit 11 ? Health, Sanitation and Morbidity: Issues and Problems Structure 11.1 Objectives 11.2 Introduction 11.3 Health and Society 11.4 Historical Background of Human Health System 11.5 Development in Health System and Sanitation 11.6 Health Condition in India 11.7 Medical Care and Public Health 11.8 Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation 11.9 Health Education 11.10 Nutrition 11.11 Other Health Problems 11.12 Control of Population 11.13 Migration 11.14 Sanitation 11.15 Impact of Industrialisation and Urbanisation 11.16 Morbidity 11.17 Tuberculosis (TB) 11.18 Malaria 11.19 HIV/AIDS 11.20 Conclusion 11.21 Summary 11.22 Questions 11.23 Suggested Readings

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 159 11.1 Objectives The purpose of this unit is to discuss the following: ? The relationship between health and society. ? The historical background of human health system. ? The development of health system and sanitation. ? Health condition in India and factors affecting it. 11.2 Introduction Health is regarded as an important factor for enhancing progress in any society. It implies the measure of energy and productive capacity of the human beings. Bad health affects the efficiency and production system in the human society. Health does not only mean the absence of sickness or disease but the adaptive potential of humans in the physical and social environment. It is only in a good state of well- being that humans can develop physical and mental capacities. Thus, health does not only include medical factors but also involves social, economic and educational factors (Madan 2005: 286). The World Health Organisation (1946: 3) has defined health as "

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a state of complete physical, mental, and well-being." Health is not

only a personal choice or biological issue but the state of well-being and illness are grounded on the organisation and functioning of society (Macionis 2006: 552). The Health Survey and Development Committee states "the term health implies more than absence of sickness in the individual and indicates a state of harmonious functioning of the body and mind in relation to his physical and social environment so as to enable him to enjoy life to the fullest possible extent and to reach his maximum level of productive capacity" (Health Survey and Development Committee Report 1946: 7). The statistic on good health is quite difficult to obtain but the negative side of health can be understood by considering the statistics of mortality and average expected life. In most cases the vulnerable group in any community are children, women during reproductive stage and old people. Almost 40 per cent death of the total deaths takes place among children under 10 years and half of the death takes

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 160 place in the first year after being born. In 1951, maternal mortality was about 20 per thousand. Most of the deaths were caused by epidemic diseases such as cholera, smallpox, plague and other diseases like fever, diarrhea, dysentery, and tuberculosis. 11.3 Health and Society Health is shaped by society in many ways. Some of the major ones are listed below. i. Health is defined by cultural patterns The level of health varies from society to society. In Sub-Saharan Africa, centuries ago yaws, a skin disease was common to people and people considered it normal. People in America eat healthy food and many people suffer from overweight. For people what is healthful is also something morally good. In America competition is considered a virtue but it may cause heart problems and other sickness. Therefore, ideas related to health also arise from the social values and conformity. ii. Cultural value of health changes over time In the early part of the twentieth century doctors claimed that women should not undertake higher education as it stressed the brain. Masturbation was considered to have negative impact on health. Both these understandings are now considered to be false. In the mid nineteenth century doctors advocated the dangers of cigarette smoking or standing in scorching sun to be harmful for health. These principles are still followed and accepted today. Similarly, the basic idea of sanitation also changes or evolves over time. For instance, in 1950's only 30 per cent of the Americans took bath everyday while at present almost 75 per cent of Americans take bath on everyday basis. iii. Health is also affected by society's technology In America during 1950's the major reasons for death were influenza, pneumonia, stomach, heart disease, kidney disease, cerebral hemorrhage, cancer, accidents among others. With the development in medical science the deaths occurred by these diseases have been lowered. The poor sanitation condition and lack of proper medical facilities have been considered as the major reason for deaths in poor countries.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 161 iv. Health is also affected by social inequality The resources of society are distributed unequally. The rich and the powerful people have better access to health facilities while the poor people do not receive equal amount of health attention (Macionis 2006). 11.4 Historical Background of Human Health System The human society began from the hunting and gathering communities. They had little technology or knowledge about their health. With minimum wisdom of health, they could only progress a bit in the health sector. Many children were left by their parents due to the food scarcity and many died while infants. As society progressed people started to cultivate food. In this agricultural phase food become plentiful but social inequality also increased. The rich and powerful enjoyed better food and health conditions. The poor people often lived in crowded, unhygienic conditions and lacked proper food or diet. In medieval Europe the human waste was piled up in streets and this led to the emergence of infectious diseases and plague became widespread. Due to poverty, there is a problem of food shortage and many people in poor countries dies even before reaching their teens. In poverty-stricken Africa the average life expectancy is 50 years while in developed countries like Japan it exceeds beyond 80 years. World Health Organization has reported that about one billion people i.e., one person out of six, suffers from serious sickness due to poverty. Many people die because of eating same food or due to lack of food. Malnutrition kills people of all ages and is more popular among the children. In low-income countries many people also die due to improper sanitation. People do not have safe drinking water and unsafe water carries properties of infectious diseases like pneumonia, influenza, and tuberculosis. These diseases have been major killers in the poor countries. The medical facilities are also very limited in low-income countries. It is said that many people in central Africa have never attended a physician. In such countries 10 per cent of the children die in the first year of their birth, half of the children never reach adulthood and those who survive are mostly sick and get entrapped in the circle of poverty. Until and unless a proper medical support and provision is given to them their health and well-being may not improve.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 162 Industrial revolution of 17th century transformed the western societies. It pulled the people from rural areas to move to cities for job opportunities. Very soon it was found that the industrial cities were overcrowded and affected the health and serious sanitation problems. Factories produced smoke that affected the air and accidents in the workplace became common phenomena. Industrialization slowly changed the health system of the industrialized European and American societies by providing better nutrition and safer housing or accommodations. The medical science also developed at the same time physicians as Jenner, Snow, Lister, Fleming discovered many remedies for infectious diseases. By the beginning of 20th century death rate had fallen sharply in the industrial developed countries (Macionis 2006). 11.5 Development in Health System and Sanitation English barrister, Charles Chadwick has discussed the casual relationship between sanitation and disease. He argues that government should allocate every local unit with at least one health officer. John Snow, a British physician argues that cholera was primarily caused due to the low-quality drinking water. William Budd, another British doctor is also of the opinion that typhoid fever was due to unhygienic water. Apart from pure drinking water medical facilities, use of antibiotics, pesticide use for killing mosquitoes and other death causing insects, fire safety, proper transportation system, improved food delivery system are all important for preventive and curative reasons. In 1771, Edward Jenner started the immunization against certain diseases likes smallpox. Louis Pasteur, Robert Koch, and others developed the bacteriological and viral theory of disease. They successfully invented vaccines for rabies. Since then various types of vaccines have been developed for fighting against various forms of diseases. Mass immunization has also helped the developed and developing countries to cut the death rate from infectious diseases. It is also to be noted that unhealthy habits also lead to infectious and degenerative diseases. Improving personal hygiene like bathing, washing hands, laundering and hygiene living places also helped in curtailing the mortality rate. In twentieth century, public health education on dangers of cigarette smoking, alcohol consumption and other life taking drug addiction has also been initiated. Another important lifestyle in the modern world is carrying out physical exercise for reducing the cardiovascular diseases.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 163 Joseph Lister developed antiseptics which helped in reducing the risk of infection during and after surgery. In 1928, Alexander Fleming invented penicillin, a major antibiotic that helped in death reduction arising from wounds and other diseases like tuberculosis, bubonic plague, typhoid, and typhus. Moreover, many medical technologies have developed over the time like medication for hypertension, diabetes, cardiac therapy, kidney dialysis, organ transplant angioplasty, open heart surgery and so forth. The treatment for many types of cancer has also improved over the period of time. Advancements have also been made in the use of surgery, chemotherapy and radiation. All these factors have positively enhanced the health system and mortality rate of human population (Heer and Grigsby 1992). 11.6 Health Condition in India In 1946, the Health Survey and Development Committee surveyed the reasons for low state of health in India and argued the followings as major reasons: i. Lack of proper medical care–curative and preventive. ii. Lack of hygienic environment conducive to healthful living, i.e. lack of safe water supply and sanitation, and absence of proper removal of human waste. iii. Low resistance due to lack of adequate diet and poor nutrition. iv. Lack of general and health education. v. Lack of proper housing. Apart from the above reasons there are also other factors such as school health, mental health and food adulteration. These reasons have been discussed in detail below. 11.7 Medical Care and Public Health Prior to independence there was a major crisis of medical facility in India particularly in the rural belts. The number of medical personnel's and provision was very much limited then. In 1951, there was one hospital for fifty thousand people in rural areas and one hospital for twenty thousand people in urban areas. 75 per cent of the doctors lived in cities and only 25 per cent inhabited in rural areas. In order

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 164 to narrow the gap of medical provision in urban and rural areas many initiatives were promoted through the Five Years Plans. Some of the steps taken were integration of public health with hospital services, hospitals were transformed to health centres that were to function in the full sense of the term. The rural areas were to have primary health centres at the block level and secondary health units in the tehsil and district levels. The main of the primary health centres was to give personal health services, control of transmissible diseases, water supply, sanitary improvements, family planning and health education to the public. The mobile dispensary facilities were introduced to the primary health centres. Special provisions for controlling malaria, tuberculosis, communicable diseases, leprosy, cholera, smallpox were given importance. There was a significant development in the health sector during the third five-year plan as diseases like malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy among others were curbed and controlled to a great extent. The health condition of children and women in India is highly vulnerable. The maternity mortality rate and the infant mortality rates are very high. In order to overcome this problem maternity programs and child health centres were opened in rural areas as a part of primary and secondary health units. The provision for a women doctor having specialized training along with two medical experts for training the dais and midwives for maternity cases was also implemented in the secondary units. The aim of the government was to provide one maternity health care unit for a population of 10,000 to 12,000.
11.8 Water Supply and Environmental Sanitation Public health depends upon a favorable environment. Diseases like cholera, typhoid fever and dysentery have almost vanished in countries with proper water supply and waste management. The need for adequate and safe water supply was recommended by the Environmental Hygiene Committee in 1946. The committee had suggested the issue to be enacted through the five-year plans of the government. Unfortunately, the reality shows a different picture, the problem of water supply remains unsolved. However, the government is trying its best to tackle the crisis. In the rural areas the government aims to provide safe water supply to all the villages within a definite time period. Considering, the issue of sanitation simple latrines which do not need technical servicing has also been constructed. Water supply and
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 165 latrine construction projects have been initiated by the government on a subsidized basis. 11.9 Health Education Public health education is one of the most important features required for acquiring a good health program. Most of the diseases originate and spread due to lack or ignorance of hygienic laws. In order to implement public health education the Central Health Bureau was formulated in 1956 by the Directorate General of Health Services. Various states have also set up their own departments with regarding to the mission for public health education. The major aspect of public health education includes personal hygiene, environmental sanitation, prevention of communicable diseases, nutrition, physical exercise, marriage guidance, pre-natal and post-natal care maternity, and child health. The personals at health centres were given the task of spreading the message of public health. Children are educated in the lines of public health in schools. The significance of public health was also delivered through various mediums like adult education, literature, radio, televisions, cinemas, health exhibitions in fairs and so forth. 11.10 Nutrition Nutrition is one of the most pertinent elements for maintenance and resistance of disease. The productive capacity of humans depends upon the nutrition that they consume. Cereals, pulses, carbohydrates, proteins along with other foods like milk, meat, vegetables, eggs and fish contains good nutrition. In India the level of under- nutrition and malnutrition is enormous. The deficiency of productive foods has resulted in a defective diet of the people. The Joint Committee of the Indian Council of Medical and Agriculture has prescribed a regular requirement of food per adult per day which suggests cereal 14 oz, pulses 3 oz, green leaf, and vegetables 4oz, root vegetable 3 oz, vegetable oil and ghee 2 oz, fish, and meat 3 oz and one egg. Unfortunately, in most parts of the country the food is composed of cereals but the productive foods such as milk, meat, egg, vegetables, and fruits are lacking. Food deficiency primarily affects the growing children and the poor sections of the society.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 166 Other factors like wrong method of food preparation or processing, lack of transport and refrigeration facilities of perishable items also lowers the nutrition of food. Under such circumstances, there is a need to education the public about food nutrition and also reach out the nutritional food to the economically vulnerable groups of people. The lessons on food nutrition can be imparted through demonstrations and voluntarily organizations in the villages as a part of community development programs. The medical experts along with educators should also be given trainings in nutrition. The expecting and nursing mothers, infants and children are most vulnerable groups that the most attention. The government's initiative of mid-day meal programme has been quite successful in limiting the problem of nutrition to school going children. Such programmes for expectant and nursing mothers in health centres, maternity and childcare centres could also help in curbing the problem of nutrition. Sadly, the education in nutrition has not been seriously considered. 11.11 Other Health Problems Three major health problems have been discussed by Madan (2005: 291). They are the school health, mental health and food adulteration. i. School Health With the increase in number of schools the number of children going to the school has also increased significantly. The health care of children in school is very vital. The School Health Committee has argued that sickness among school going children was primarily due to malnutrition and lack of preventive measures. The Committee suggested that minimum health care facilities should be provided in the schools. Some of the recommendations were: (a) clean drinking water and sanitary facilities, (b) arrangement for medical inspection, (c) follow up services in association with the primary health unit in the development block and (d) instruction of teachers in health education (Third Five Year Plan, 1961). ii. Mental Health An Advisory Committee on Mental Health was constituted by the central government. The Committee recommended the need of mental health services programs for the well-being of public and medical amenities. Factors like
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 167 rapid industrialization and movement of people from rural areas to urban areas invites problems like tensions and maladjustments. In order to overcome such challenges mental health service should be made available in hospitals. iii. Food Adulteration In both towns and villages food adulteration has become very common. Adulteration in daily consumable items like oil, ghee, spices, flours pulses etc has become very common. The Central Council of Health organized various seminars and various suggestions have come forward. The proposals include punishment for food adulteration under the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, 1954, strengthening agencies to strictly inspect food products and food testing laboratory facilities. Despite of various suggestions and actions the food adulteration has not stopped in India. 11.12 Control of Population The drastic increase of population in the country has compelled the policy makers of the nation to think about family planning policies and population control. India stands second in population ranking after China. The national welfare and planning are severely affected by the national population. In India the birth rate has remained fairly constant, and the death rate has lowered due to the introduction and advancement of medical science. Demographers, economists, and other social scientists have suggested three methods to fight the population problem. They are (i) family planning method (ii) migration outside the country or redistribution of population within the country by shifting people from densely populated areas to less densely populated regions and (iii) increase the industrial and agricultural production in a massive scale to generate double national income in short span of time. This suggestion given by the policy makers have failed to work out as second and third options have limitations. The only option left is family planning method. 11.13 Migration A country with a high population faces the problem of proper resource management and distribution of welfare services. Due to population growth various problems arise

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 168 like the imbalance between population growth and means of subsistence, growing unemployment, low standard of living and low per capita income and so on (Singh 2009:96). All these factors affect the health and sanitation of the nation. One probable alternate solution can be relocation of the population. The people from high population density areas can move to regions that are scarcely populated or vacant. In this regard Dr. R.K. Mukherji has strongly suggested for a policy of mass migration of Indians in empty spaces across the world. This would help in overcoming the population and health barriers of India. However, the western demographers and policy makers does not easily accept the viewpoint of Dr. Mukherji. They view that it would be a threat to the world as it would signal the growth of Hindu imperialism across the world. It is also to be noted that western scholars do accept emigration as one of the solutions for population and health management, but it is only accepted and applicable when westerns or white people emigrate to other countries. When the Chinese and Indians, the countries whose population stands highest in the world considers emigration as a strategy for their population distribution and health improvement then it is not accepted by the western thinkers. Moreover, the relocation of population also invites problems related with inter-state envy due to linguicism and provincialism (Madan 2005: 293). 11.14 Sanitation Sanitation affects the health status in both rural and urban areas. Sanitation primarily deteriorates due to population pressure (density). In addition, sanitation also reflects the level of development of a country. In fact, level of sanitation is very unsatisfactory in most of the developing countries unlike the developed countries. The level of sanitation reflects the development of a country. It can be argued that sanitation is better in developed countries than in the developing nations. However, rapid urbanization and industrialization adversely affected sanitation in most of the metropolitan cities even in the developed countries. Due to education and modernization, sanitation has improved in the developed countries, but it has remained very low in developing countries because of the low social development of the population in these countries. The level of sanitation indicates the development of a country. Developed countries have better sanitation than the developing nations. It is also to be noted that

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 169 sanitation also reflects the cultural diversity of the population because beyond development, sanitation is also conditioned by the culture of the society. For instance, sanitation is of a higher level in Kerala particularly among the Kurichia tribe in the Malabar region and also among certain sects of educated Brahmins. A similar case is also seen in many Asian countries particularly in Thailand, China, and South Korea. Sanitation facilitates the health status of the people. How to facilitate consciousness on health and sanitation should be one of our major concerns today because sanitation negatively affects the well-being of the population which may lead to several common diseases. Diseases like cholera and several other transmissible diseases can be controlled only when sanitation is enhanced. Asian countries like South Korea and China lead with better sanitation which is not there in all other Asian countries except Japan. Next to them is Thailand. It has progressed considerably in the promotion of better environmental sanitation. India and Bangladesh are in the bottom level with very poor sanitation facilities as compared to other Asian countries. Thus, the improvement of sanitation is a major challenge for India. While most of the population in developed nations tends to have multiple urban centres the developing countries have a different trend. Large number of people in developing economies lives in one large urban center. The growth of population in these urban areas poses a serious threat to infrastructure, transportation and sanitation on physical environment and also increases the problem of pollution of varying types. It is argued that growth of population in urban areas will continue to increase in these developing nations (Heer and Grigsby 1994). 11.15 Impact of Industrialisation and Urbanisation Industrialization is not only a mechanical process but a social process as well. It is not only about technology and mass production but also a way of life or culture. Therefore, industrialization affects the environment physically as well as socio- culturally. The impact of industry and urbanization has both positive and negative impacts. It brings about population together, enhances the transport and communication system, power supply, dwelling units and so on. At the same time, it also brings the problems related with sanitation like air pollution, water contamination, proliferation of slums, depletion of environment etc. As industrialization and urbanization has spread in a global level it has brought in various threats related with health and sanitation. There are issues of creation of waste which cannot be disposed or

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 170 recycled. Global warming has become an international issue. There are indications that even in poles the temperature is rising. Due to excessive emission of carbon dioxide and other polluting gases the natural environment is degrading day after day which is sure to affect the health and sanitation of the world. The industrial and urban waste is being diverted to rivers and sea thus polluting the water. Anthony Giddens is of the view that environment has been damaged irreparably by the process of industrialization. He claims that if the economic growth is to be fostered through industrialization, then there is a need to develop new institutions to cope up with the new emerging environmental challenges, directly or indirectly influencing the health and sanitation condition. Industrialization and urbanization does improve the living standards and medical facilities but it also creates new threats for health (Macionis 2006: 552). 11.16 Morbidity Morbidity or sickness and the case fatality rate that is the proportion of sick person who die contributes to the mortality rate of any society. Curative and preventive measures in the form of medical institutions and medical professionals try to control the morbidity and aims to reduce the case fatality. Preventive measures focus on reducing both morbidity and case fatality. Some instances of preventive measures are providing a required level of nutrition and exercise, upgrading public health infrastructure, implementing immunization programs and doing away with unhealthy behaviour like smoking cigarettes or alcohol consumption. The Government of India started the Universal Immunization Programme (UIP) since 1986, with the aim of lowering the mortality and morbidity among children by immunization of all eligible children and pregnant women, against the common and dangerous infectious diseases by the year 2000 A.D. The programme was implemented in the rural areas through the existing infrastructure of primary health centres through the multipurpose health workers, trained dais. The vaccine and the other equipment are distributed from the District Health Authorities. Although malnutrition is not the primary cause for death it is makes people susceptible for being infected with severe diseases. Moreover, it takes a longer time for the malnourished people to get healed or recovery from illness.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 171 According to the findings on Survey of Causes of Death 1964-1994 the combined share of fever, digestive disorder and cough was more than half of the total number of deaths in India in 1971. By 1991 their share decreased to 33 percent of all deaths. Cough remains the major killer in India particularly in the states of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Bronchitis and asthma accounted for 8 percent of the total deaths in India while Tuberculosis accounted for 6.1 percent. Deaths occurring from natural calamities and accidental deaths are gradually rising at an alarming level. Such death rate has increased from 3.9 percent in 1971 to 8.3 percent in 1991. Natural calamities like tsunami, earthquakes, super cyclones and heavy downpours, rail and road accidents along with suicides and homicides and deaths from terrorist attacks mostly in Jammu Kashmir and Northeastern states are also responsible as factors of death in India. The provision for the supply of potable water along with liquid and solid waste management is still challenging in the public health sector. Though deaths by gastro-enteritis and dysentery have decreased over the period of time but diarrheal continues to be a major factor for illness and death. The government has also started various programs to cut down the problems of morbidity and mortality. Presently, India and China have become the garbage dumping zone of toxic materials and e-garbage from USA and other advanced countries. The unscientific recycling of mobile phones and other electronic gadgets pollutes the atmosphere with carcinogens. The modern-day competition in terms of gaining success and changing lifestyles are affecting the circulation and nervous system, thereby pushing up the deaths level. World Health Organization (WHO) studies the diseases of different countries. In 1998 half of the burden of disease for India was communicable diseases, maternal and pre-natal conditions, and nutritional deficiencies. Three major diseases which are regarded as changing the causes of mortality are tuberculosis, malaria, and HIV/AIDS (Majumdar 2013:314-315). These diseases have been dealt in detail below. 11.17 Tuberculosis (TB) On average 2 million Tuberculosis cases are reported in India. TB kills almost 0.4 million Indians every year. The number of people killed by TB is less than the number of deaths related to malaria, meningitis, hepatitis, nutritional deficiencies,

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 172 leprosy, sexually transmitted diseases, and tropical diseases which together accounts for 2,58,000 deaths per year in India according to the WHO report 1999. National Tuberculosis program was launched in India in 1962. Unfortunately, it could not achieve its targets due to many flaws like over dependence on x-rays for diagnosis, lack of systematic records and low treatment completions. The revised national tuberculosis program was again implemented in 1993. The WHO recommended Directly Observed Treatment Short Course (DOTS) was undertaken. This program was one of the largest public health policies and was fairly successful. The curative success rate was 89 percent in 2001. 11.18 Malaria According to the malaria eradication report malaria has increased from 9.72 in 1972 to 35.5 percent in 1995. The impact of malaria over morbidity and economic productivity is remarkable. With the greater urbanization and industrialization malaria has found ways in the urban areas mostly as well as other non-rural ecological regions. In 1953, the National Malaria Control Program (NMCP) was introduced. Then 75 million cases of malaria were reported per year out of which 800,000 ended up in deaths. The NMCP was reinforced with the new name, National Malaria Eradication Program and by 1965 malaria was totally controlled by using the DDT spray. Then after, 1,00,000 malaria cases were reported with zero deaths. Unfortunately, again from 1970s onwards malaria has re-emerged as a death taking diseases. The worst malaria affected Indian states in 1970s were Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Karnataka, and Pondicherry. At present malaria is mostly found in poor and densely populated areas of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Bengal. 2.01 million cases of malaria were reported in 2001 in India. 11.19 HIV/AIDS In the last 30 years new deadliest diseases have been discovered. Out of the many dangerous diseases HIV/AIDS is one of the deadliest diseases. Human Immunodeficiency Virus is lentivirus. The first case of HIV/AIDS in India was reported from Tamil Nadu in early 1986. After 1994 it has rapidly spread in the
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 173 country. In 2003 the number of people living with HIV/AIDS reached 5.1 million. Out of which 26 percent were females and 74 percent males. Almost 60 percent of the reported cases were from rural areas. HIV/AIDS is spreading like a fire in India. The number of HIV/AIDS infected people is found more in southern states of India. In case of Manipur, the Northeastern state HIV/AIDS is spreading rapidly due to intravenous drug use. Tamil Nadu has the largest share of reported HIV/AIDS cases followed by Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, and Karnataka. These five states account for about 80 percent of total reported HIV/AIDS cases in India. A separate body for HIV/ AIDS has been set up by the national government, the National AIDS Control Organization to control the diseases with the help from state health departments (Majumdar 2013: 314-318). 11.20 Conclusion The health and sanitation condition in India has developed over a long period of time. The development of medical facilities advanced in a minimum scale since the time of hunting and gathering societies and reached an advanced level in the industrial society. Historically, mortality in India was primarily because of famines, plagues and epidemics but after independence such events have not occurred. Moreover, many infectious diseases which were detrimental earlier have been resolved by the progress in medical science, proper nutrition, and life styles in the developed nations. After independence there has been a remarkable progress in mortality as there is a decline in death rate and infant mortality rate and an increase in year's expectation of life after the independence. Age and sex are considered to be major elements for studying mortality. The gender difference in case of India's mortality condition has been very disturbing. It is observed that young girls are experiencing higher mortality compared to young boys. It is also observed that the mortality is highest among infants but as the child crosses the first birthday then there is a sharp decline in their mortality rate. Mortality has been found to be higher in case of rural areas in comparison with urban areas. The mortality difference between the different states of India is wider and varying. In almost all the parameters

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in the South Indian states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu

are ahead of other Indian states. Both fertility and mortality in these two states are low.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 174 Sanitation level and morbidity rate in developed nations have improved after the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the developing country like India is facing lot of crisis in health sector mostly due to lack of proper health facilities, overpopulation, industrialization and unhealthy life styles. The lack of pure drinking water, use of antibiotics, pesticide use for killing mosquitoes and other insects, fire safety, proper transportation system, improved food delivery system are all important for preventive and curative reasons. Despite of advancement in medical field the health situation is critical and challenging among the people living in rural areas. The major problems of health in India are primarily due to lack of proper medical care, lack of hygienic environment conducive to healthful living, proper water supply and sanitation, and absence of proper removal of human waste, low resistance due to lack of adequate diet and poor nutrition, lack of general and health education and lack of proper housing. The main diseases in contemporary India include tuberculosis, malaria and HIV/AIDS. The government has taken strong initiatives to eradicate these health problems by initiating various medical programmes and free medical services. 11.21 Summary Health is the most important value for the individual person and for society. Health is a positive concept emphasizing social and personal resources as well as physical capacities.

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Health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social

wellbeing. For a healthy life cycle a person needs to have a balance diet and has to regularly exercise. Bad health affects the efficiency and production system in the human society. Health does not only mean the absence of sickness or disease but the adaptive potential of humans in the physical and social environment. Social health is more than just the prevention of mental illness and social problems. Being socially healthy means increased degree of happiness. Including sense of belonging and concern for others. As we grow, social ties start building their place in our lives. We should focus on keeping people healthy not just treating the sick. Access to jobs, safe housing, clean water, food, education and transport-are key to health. A healthy society is about more than just preventing injuries and reducing the death toll from disease. It is also about having access to safe neighborhoods and
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 175 affordable housing, broadening job opportunities and reducing income inequality, designing walkable towns and fostering cohesion. Apart from these medical facilities, use of antibiotics, pesticides use for mosquitos and other death causing insects, fire safety, proper transportation system, improved food delivery system-are all important for preventive and curative reasons. Demographers, economist, and other social scientists suggested three methods to fight the population problem. They are - family planning methods, migration outside the country or redistribution. 11.22 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) i. Write a short note on morbidity? ii. How does health shape the society? Discuss briefly. iii. Write a short note on nutrition. iv. Discuss the relationship between sanitation and health. G-B (10 Marks each) v. Write a note on the development of health system. vi. Elaborate the major health problems in India. vii. Critically analyse the major reasons for low health condition in our county. viii. Write a note on the need on sanitization in society. 11.23 Suggested Readings i. Lama, M.P. (2003): "Poverty, Migration and Conflict: Challenges to Human Security in South Asia," P.R. Chari and S. Gupta (ed.), Human Security in South Asia: Energy, Gender, Migration and Globalisation, New Delhi: Social Science Press. ii. Lama, M.P. (2010): Human Security in India: Discourse, Practices and Policy Implications, Dhaka: The University Press Limited. iii. Macionis, J.J. (2006): Sociology. New Jersey: Pearson Custom Publishing.
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NSOU ? GE-SO-21 177 Module V: Migration Unit 12 ? Migration: Types and Problems Structure 12.1 Objectives 12.2 Introduction 12.3 Definition and Meaning of Migration 12.4 Theoretical Approaches of Migration 12.5 Types of Migration 12.6 Migration in the International Context 12.7 Migration in India 12.8 Problems of Migration 12.9 Conclusion 12.10 Summary 12.11 Questions 12.12 Suggested Readings 12.1 Objectives The purpose of this unit is to discuss the following: ? The concept of migration. ? The theoretical background of migration. ? The different types of migration. ? Migration in international context and in India. ? The problems of migration. Migration has been taking place since time immemorial. It is regarded as one of important factors for demographic change. Various economic, political, socio-cultural, and environmental factors lead to migration. Migration can be of different types,
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 178 primarily within or outside the national boundary. The causes and consequences have been enormous and endangering. 12.2 Introduction Since the very beginning of human existence people have migrated. Migration is one of the major components of population change along with mortality and fertility. Unlike, mortality and fertility migration does not operate purely within the biological framework which is partially influenced by the socio-economic and political factors as well. Migration is an important factor responsible for population change along with fertility and mortality, but migration is not a biological variable unlike fertility and mortality but a product of social, cultural, economic, and political or physical circumstances (Bhende and Kanitkar 2004). The main cause for migration is mostly related with the economic reasons but socio-political, environmental, and geographical factors have also resulted in migration. The emerging new markets, attraction towards urban lifestyles, advancement in communication and transportation system and a need of economic independence enables people to migrate irrespective of their socio-economic backgrounds (Jha and Singh 2006). 12.3 Definition and Meaning of Migration The United Nations Multilingual Demographic Dictionary has

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defined migration as “Migration is a form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and another involving a change in residence from the place of the origin or departure to the place of destination or arrival. Such migration is called permanent migration and should be distinguished from other forms of movement which do not involve a permanent change of residence” (

Bhende and Kanitkar 2004 : 357). Haq (2007: 157) argues “migration as an important demographic process” which is “concerned with the movement of people from one place to another.” Castles and Miller (2009: 20) has viewed migration as “a collective action arising out of social change and affecting the whole society in both sending and receiving areas”. Bhende and Kanitkar believe that the change of milieu that implies environment
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 179 along with the change in the dwelling place is an important indicator of migration. The nomadic people or groups who do not have a permanent and fixed residence or seasonal movement of people who have two or more places of residence during a year should be eliminated from the concept of migration. Chandna (2009) is of the standpoint that when migration occurs, in whatever form, it affects the area of origin, the area of destination and affects the way of life of the migrants as well. In India only 3.5% of the total population has out-migrated to other states although the percentage of migration flows is small the effects on the place of origin and the place of destination will be fairly large (Weiner 2004). The concept of fertility or mortality involved only one aspect, either additive or separative, but the process of migration involves the social consequence of both the additive and separative processes (Haq 2007). Bhende and Kanitkar (2004) viewed migration as a major indicator of social change. The process of migration has been very predominant since the very beginning of human history. Various countries, civilizations and cultures have emerged and developed and expired through the very process of in and out-migration. Sociological studies of migration have been diverse and mostly related with kinship, social networks, and economic development (Marshall 2006). Various reasons associated with agricultural production, war, epidemics and exploitation, displacement and degradation of the environment etc. have been regarded as the prime factors for human migration. However, economic and geographical compulsion and the notion of human development have been analogous with migration since the very ancient times, whether the nature of migration was forced or voluntary (Ketkar 2005). Migration is also facilitated by other socio-cultural practice such as rules of marriage, residence after marriage and inheritance (Palriwala and Uberoi 2008). In case of India, most of the female out-migration is associated with marriage. Almost 50 per cent of female migration in India is related with marital reasons (Haq 2007). 12.4 Theoretical Approaches of Migration There are multiple theories of migration. Most popular theories of migration are associated with economic factors. Bilton et. al., (1997) argues that the economic and

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 180 political inequalities may have shaped patterns of migration. ... studies are the oldest system of analysis of human movement. Migration studies was founded in the late nineteenth century by focusing on economy, geography, and historical demography. Research into progressand decline of early empires, and geographical determinism had a significant impact on the foundations of migration studies. In later decades, migration studies developed primarily on the basis of economics, with their main area of research being the analysis of the determinants of voluntary human mobility. A German-English geographer, Ernst Georg Ravenstein is considered the founder of contemporary migration studies. In his classic publication titled 'The Laws of Migration', published in two volumes in 1885 and 1889, Ravenstein argued that bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation and unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation) produce flows of migrants, but none of these flows can be compared in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in the most men to better themselves in material aspects. Ravenstein's theory of migration has empirically generalized and mathematically verified the general patterns of migration. The primacy of economic categories established by Ravenstein strongly dominated the study of migration throughout the twentieth century and continues even in present day. Almost all influential migration theories, such as neoclassical theories, the Hicks model (1932), the Harris-Todaro model (1970), Wilbur Zelinsky`s mobility transition model, or the push-pull theory of Everett Lee, are based on economic categories (Terminski 2013: 5-6). Everett S. Lee's theory of migration has stressed on the push and pulls factors of human movement. M.P. Todaro has designed the cost and benefit model of migration and John Harris has observed the economic reasons for migration and impacts of migration (Bhende and Kanitkar 2004). Although these theories do focus on the socio-cultural aspects their implications have been circumscribed. According to Anthony Giddens (2005) the famous 'push and pull' theory of migration has been disapproved for providing a mere and an average explanation of multifarious and complex phenomena of migration. According to Haq (2008) "economic factors of migration which look apparently economic are actually the responses of the social structure of the society in which economic opportunities grows or declines resulting in migration". Migration is also
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 181 one of the incorporated components of the society and an inherent element of the larger social system. "Thus, the movement of population becomes an institutionally and normatively or culturally determined phenomenon" (Haq 2008). Narrowing human migration only to economic factors fails to grasp the relevant and immeasurable social aspects, not to mention environmental and climate determinants which were completely marginalized by migration theorists for the whole of the twentieth century. According to some scholars the marginalization of environmental factors within migration theories was associated with Marxist dialectical materialism, which strongly influences social sciences in democratic as well as communist countries. The impact of labour migrations on population growth was one of the fundamental themes of migration studies (Terminski 2013). Scholars of migration have started to categorise migration as a product of the interaction between the macro and the micro levels of social system. Macro level implies political situation of the region, laws and rules controlling immigration and emigration or change in the economic system while micro level indicates resource, knowledge and rationality of the migrants (Giddens 2005). 12.5 Types of Migration Migration apart from birth and death is the third major factor for population growth or decline. It is the third basic demographic process in which people of one geographical area of residence moves to another region (Denisoff and Wahrman 1975:374). The term migration refers to permanent movement of individuals or groups within the purpose of changing their place of residence. It may either be external that is between countries or internal that is between regions. When people leave country permanently it is called emigration and the reciprocal process that is when they enter the country it is called immigration. Migration can be categorised into two types of namely group migration (example migration of nomadic tribes moving from one place to another in pre-industrial times) and individual or family migration (example movement of people from rural areas to cities). The movement of migration can also be classified on the basis of underlying causes. People or groups moves from one habitat to another either because of some force or situations (push factors) or due to some sort of attraction

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 182 in the new habitation (pull factor). It is common that both push and pull factors to a certain degree or magnitude decides the volume and direction of migration streams. For instance, in discussing the 'Great Atlantic Crossing' of nineteenth century were almost 20 million people migrated from Europe to the United States of America, one can sense a significant role of the push factor in the sending countries. Some probable factors would include religious and political discrimination, economic unsteadiness, over population in rural areas and reduction of farm labour force due to the advancement of agricultural technology. The exertion of such push factors was balanced by the strong pull factors developed by the United States. The pull factors may include political and religious freedom, rapid economic advancement, availability of lands, high wage jobs in the industries of the USA. Population movement can also be looked from the lens of voluntary and involuntary migration. Most of the migration that took place in the ancient times was involuntary in nature as people moved primarily because of environmental exhaustion and food producing potential. The involuntary migration is associated with the push factors of migration. The voluntary migration is mostly due to the positive pull factors. Apart from certain exceptions like the migration of war refugees in South East Asia most migration occurring in the world today are individual and voluntary and is highly influenced by the positive pull factors (Denisoff and Wahrman 1975: 374). Migration as social phenomena is a fairly complex and occurs due to several factors. The demarcation of push and pull factors responsible for migration is regarded as the conventional method in the analysis of population movement. International migration alters the place of residence across the national boundaries. International migration has been regarded as an important force for redistributing the world population. Immigration in case of United States of America and Britain has been responsible for population growth. Another way of categorising migration is in terms of whether it takes place between different countries or within the national boundaries of a country. Internal migration refers to the movement of the people within the national boundary of a particular country and international migration takes place outside the national boundary. Most migration in the contemporary world is internal migration – internal, voluntary migration of individuals who are attracted by the pull factors of countries offering greater opportunities if various types. The internal and international types of
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 183 migration are considered as the major classification of migration (Denisoff and Wahrman). Myron Weiner (2004) has classified internal migration in India into several categories. They are as rural to urban migration, rural to urban migration and inter-state migration. Although the urban growth is drastic in India but urbanisation rate (the number of people living in cities) has been gradual in India as compared to USA or European countries. About 13 million people have moved from rural to urban areas in India. The low rate of rural to urban migration in India is a signal that rapid growth of rural population, expanded rural density, rural unemployment, low wages and poverty has not compelled the rural population to push towards the cities. It also indicates that urban areas are not growing rapidly as they are not economically potential to provide employment to all categories of labour from the rural areas. Among the migrants from rural areas to cities every third migrant has lived in cities for less than three years and 15 percent of the male migrants living in rural areas have lived in cities. Many rural Indians migrates to cities and move out for short-term employment. The Census of India has reported that 30 percent of the rural inhabitants are migrants. The rate of rural-to-rural migration has higher proportion than the rural to urban migration. The number of female migrants is high in rural areas. The reason is they migrate to join their husbands or related with marriage. The caste endogamy along with exogamy results in women to change their residences. Marriage's migration in most cases involves movement of women to near by villages within the district or state. About 33 percent of rural male migrants move to another village of another state and one out of four to villages of the same state. The most crucial time of rural-to-rural migration is during the cultivation and harvest time where large number of agricultural workers from one rural area to another. Almost 95 per cent of people live in the state that they are born, and most have not lived outside their district. Inter-state migration is numerically low in case of India as a whole. Few Indian states do have migrants from other states like Maharashtra, Assam, Punjab, West Bengal, and Delhi. Chain migration can be traced in states where the migrant community has established itself (Weiner 2004). In present day India many people from small towns and other bigger cities are found migrating to cities like Bangalore, Delhi, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Kolkata and so forth. According to UNO Report June 2006, about 191 million people live outside

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 184 their country of origin and migration is recognised as a feature of international life. In the global level, most people migrate to advanced and developed nations like the United States of America, Canada, and countries of Western Europe. It is reported that 75 million people have moved to developing countries. Migration offers both positive benefits for the host nation as well as the country of origin. However, the pace of migration has declined recently due to the global factor of economic recession (Rawat 2015:305-306). Bhende and Kanitkar (2004) in their book Principles of Population Studies have classified internal migration as out-migration and in- migration. Out-migration refers to the movement of the individual or population 'out of a particular area' while in-migration is the 'movement into the particular area'. Premi (2003) has categorized internal migration into three types. Firstly, intra district migration comprised of people who were enumerated at different place but were born in and moved within the district. Second category was the inter district migration where the people were enumerated in a district but were born in and moved in another district within the state and lastly, in the inter-state migration the people who were enumerated in the state but were born in and move in other states. Another type of migration is seasonal. Other types of migration within the country can be

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rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to

rural. Migration is also classified on the basis of its determinants such as economic migration, social or environmental migration etc (Chandna 2009). In the present era migration is mostly for economic reasons. The poor people migrate for economic reasons primarily for survival and the rich section of the population mostly migrate with economic motives. Abella and Atal (1986) argues that migrants aspire to enhance their existing economic conditions and they are pulled towards the regions with better economic opportunities and remunerations. Migration from rural to urban areas most of the people migrate from their villages due to crisis of unemployment and under employment along with the decrement of available land resulting from increasing population. 12.6 Migration in the International Context One of the foremost waves of migration was that of the nomadic people towards Europe to Central Asia during the period when the Roman Empire was gradually

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 185 diminishing. The Europeans and Africans started to migrate to North and South America and Oceania after Columbus's voyage to America. The migration from Africa to America was mostly due to forced slavery. The first slaves from Africa were brought to Virginia in 1619 and it continued till 1808. Almost four lakhs slaves were brought to America during that period and 1,79,020 of them were of African origin. As industrialisation began to take place in Europe between 1800 and 1925 many people were pushed off the land and they migrated to countries like Argentina, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States of America. In the first decade of twentieth century the immigration from Europe to America was 9.2 per thousand people while the emigration rate from Europe to America was about 2 per thousand people. World War I resulted in massive migration from European nations to the United States of America where the American government had to come up with a law restricting immigration. Human migration reached maximum before the World War II. The world's largest gross interchange of population occurred in 1947 when the British India was partitioned into India and Pakistan. By 1950s, international migration had become global as more people started to migrate from one country to another (Heer an Grigsby 1994: 63-65). The first recorded emigration from India was to Sri Lanka in the last phase of the first millennium BC. These migrants were believed to have moved from north- eastern India, developed their Indo-Aryan language known as Sinhalese and became Buddhists. Tamils from south India also migrated to Sri Lanka but they retained their language, their Hindu religion and caste system. These two communities ruled the different parts of the island's nation, in certain cases they were intermixed, the consequence was the emergence of divided society comprising of migrant communities namely, Sinhalese and Tamils with their distinct language, religion, social structure and distinctive identity. It was not until the nineteenth century that there was a remarkable population movement of emigrants from India. The most important reason was the beginning f indentured labour system. After the abolition of slavery system, the British planters in the colonies faced shortage in labour therefore they started to look towards British for low wage labourers. It is argued that between the years 1830 to 1916 approximately one million Indians went abroad as indentured labourers to work in the British colonies like Mauritius, Natal, Malay, Caribbean, Fiji and East Africa. Most of the

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 186 workforce came from highly unemployed and famine affected areas like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The contract was mostly for five years but most of the labourers preferred to stay abroad and earn there even after the lapse of the contract. The percentage of out migrants from India was small in scale but in the receiving countries their population was high. By the end of British Raj these migrants had become shopkeepers, salaried workers and professionals, and their number started to siege in the British colonies. Migrants of Indians origin at that point of time formed the highest majority in three countries namely, Mauritius, Fiji and Guyana. Post-independence three new migration streams have been traced from India namely to countries like Great Britain, United States of America and the oil producing countries of the middle east. All the migration in these three countries was made possible through the migration policy of the receiving countries. In every case it was found that migration chain was established which helped the relatives and friends of these over seas migrants. 12.7 Migration in India Migration started in South Asia since the middle of the second century BC and it continues in the present times. Migration has altered the social structure, culture and political system of the Indian sub-continent. The Aryans migrated to India around 1500 BC (Weiner 2004; Nehru 2004) and the Muslims came as conquerors from north India or as 'traders, travellers, and missionaries' from the south India. Saint Thomas arrived to Kerala in the first century A.D. in the 6th century the Jews came to India after fleeing persecution in Babylonia. Similarly, in the 8th century the Zoroastrians migrated from Persia due to Islamic domination migrated to India (Tharoor 2007). These instances are some of the recognised historical facts about migration in India. It was not just a human migration but also the movement of various civilizations and cultures as well. American sociologist and demographer Kingsley Davis was one of the pioneer researchers to study the case of migration in India. He argues that there was a low migration rate in India owing to the prevalence of caste system, lack of education, linguistic and cultural diversity, joint family system, presence of agriculture and semi feudal system (Abraham 2008). Davis advocated that with the development of the

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 187 education, transportation and communication system initiated the transformation of agrarian to industrial societies and this ultimately paved the way for population movement (Davis 1951). In between the year 1981 and 1991, 13 million people from rural areas migrated to the cities Weiner (2004). India's urban population has increased by 138 million since 1980's and today several Indian cities are among the world's largest like Mumbai with 12.6 million people, Kolkata with 10.9 million and Delhi with 8.4 million (Sharma 2008). Yogendra Singh by analysing the study carried out by Donald J. Bogue and K.C Zachariah on rural to urban migration came to a conclusion that 'migration has progressed to the point where residents of almost every village has some relatives or fellow villager who lives in the city' (Singh 2011). It was only in 1961 Census of India that people's last residence and the duration of their stay in the place of enumeration was recorded. The Indian Census from 1961 to 1991 shows that the migration pattern has been changing very slowly in the country (Majumdar 2013: 319). In case of India a small section of population inhabits outside their place of birth or that of their spouses. Most of the Indians are locally born and not migrants. In between 1981 and 1991, 13 million people from rural areas migrated to metropolitan cities which accounted to only 2 percent of the total population of India. The rural to urban migration is modest in India. About 3.5 percent of the population lives in another state and people born in other countries accounts to less than 1 percent. In case of south Asia only a small population of between 1 and 2 percent lives outside their countries (Weiner 2004: 156). Women in India constitute a good share of internal migrants. The reason behind this is the village exogamy still practised in many parts of rural India (Majumdar 2013: 319). Although the percentage of migration is quantitatively small but the impact of migration on both the sending and receiving societies are substantive and the issue of migration gets amplified in the political discourse and India's external relations. For an instance the Maharashtra government had made a proposal to deny the entry for migrants of other states. The governing political parties in Assam demanded closing the border with Bangladesh and threatened secession if the union government did not intervene to stop illegal immigration. The Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) proposed for constitutional amendment to cancel the law relating to restrictions on purchase of land for non-Kashmiris in Kashmir (Weiner 2004: 156).

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 188 The Census of India in 1981 address that almost 8 million people, born in other countries were living in India. Majority of this people were young or middle aged. Both Hindus and Muslim migration from Bangladesh to India is still prevalent. Illegal migration into West Bengal and other northeastern states have become phenomenal. The proportion of illegal migrants in India was about 3.89 percent. India has attracted large number of migrants owing to her sufficient resources. Moreover, the trade relation of India with many other countries has facilitated both immigration and emigration in a massive scale. If we compare the first and the ninth Census of India, then the net migration rate is not very significant. The partition of India and Pakistan has compelled people from both the countries to migrate in a large proportion, but that migration was also a balanced one. Almost 7 million population migrated from both sides. Migration rate both immigration and emigration, from and to the neighbouring South Asian countries like Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bhutan have been very nominal. The 1971, Census of India reported that about 9.4 million people in India were born in other countries. In 1971, after the Bangladesh's liberation war almost 5.64 migrants of the total immigrants came to India. They comprised 1.7 percent of the total population of India. Post liberation war of Bangladesh the absolute immigration rate has dropped. The high percentage of immigration was due to 1965 war with Pakistan. The trans-boundary movement from Bangladesh to India has never stopped primarily because of the political unrest and ill treatment of Hindus in Bangladesh. In between 1971 and 1981 almost 1.8 million people were forced to migrate to India from East and West Pakistan. Only 0.07 percent of immigrants were from Nepal, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and Myanmar (Majumdar 2013).
12.8 Problems of Migration Out of the three demographic processes (birth, death and migration), the most significant in sociology is the human migration. The major reason behind this is migration brings together diverse group of people into contact and creates the problem of assimilation. Assimilation is the process through which the belief, customs, and behavioural patterns of one group is compounded with that of another group which is generally larger in size. The problems of assimilation are observed
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 189 through the presence of ethnic ghettos, marginal men who are trapped between the conflicting values of two communities or culture and higher degree of deviant behaviour among the migrants. Although not all the bad incidents occur because of separation from the old primary association or groups. The importance of leaving behind the familiar environmental surroundings for new habitation or often strange environment often results in personal and social disorganisation. Therefore, in many cases migrants are more prone to delinquent characteristics, mental sickness, adult crime, prostitution, divorce, and other social problems. Although migration does bring different people with various skills, beliefs, customs, and technology into contact with one another and foster positive influence on the progress of human civilisation. However, at times the consequences of such interactions have been adverse. For instance, the destruction caused by the Mongols while entering the Europe (Denisoff and Wahrman 1975). The consequences of migration have been diverse. The immigration of the Aryans into India during the 1500 B.C directly affected the socio-religious and cultural practices of the Dravidians because the Aryans brought with them their own divinities which subsequently became the important figures of worship among the Hindus and Sanskrit which was the language of Aryans and their holy text Rig Veda became the major foundation for the development of the Indo-Aryan languages in the Northern India (Weiner 2004). Aryans were followed by other migratory tribes such as the Medians, Iranians, Greeks, Shakas or Scythians, Khusans, Turks, Turco- Mongols and others etc who migrated in small and large groups found a 'home in India' (Nehru 2004). In 1947, India gained independence from the British and the nation was partitioned into theocratic Pakistan and secular India. Partition of India and Pakistan resulted in migration of Muslims from India to Pakistan and Hindus from Pakistan to India (Castles and Miller 2009), the event was characterized as "the most violent carnage in the region's history, in which nearly half-a-million people were massacred" (Srinivas 2011). Migration also creates the problem of resource scarcity which gradually takes the shape of a political issue and conflict. At times migration is also a main source security risk (Lama 2003). Migration can also emerge as an important factor for social construction of identity and source of social conflict (Weiner 2004).

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 190 In Assam in the Northeast Region of India, the major conflict is related to migration and migrants. In the early 1980's, the All-Assam Student Union started a violent movement against foreigners (Lama 2010). Due to the growth of population through migration there are cases of increasing problems of unemployment and the subsequent degradation of the environment. As such migration can become an issue of security concern (Ketkar 2005). Migration can also be basis of spread of contagious diseases like HIV/AIDS (Sundas 2011) challenging the human health security. In India the major issue of concern in present times is the demographic changes caused by migration. The northeastern states of India have more than 500 ethnic communities owing to migration and invasions. India under the British rule during the 20th century facilitated massive scale of migration in Assam, North Bengal and Tripura. This trend continued even after the independence of India. In 1971, again large number of people moved to West Bengal and northeast India from East Bengal due to the Indo-Pak war. These people never returned to the country of origin. These incidents led to the anti-migration movement in Assam but due to the vote bank politics, the migration trend has not completely stopped even till today. The effect of immigration is clearly visible in Tripura which comprised of tribal majority in 20th century. At present the tribals have become minority in their own homeland. This has resulted in the emergence of insurgent movements. The northeastern tiny state of Sikkim now has Nepalese majority. Almost 80 percent of Sikkimese population is said to be constituted by the Nepalese. In Assam about 40 percent immigrants of which 30 percent is believed to have migrated from Bangladesh and the remaining from the state of West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan. This has resulted in the materialisation of ULFA, Bodo, Karbi and Dimasa movements. The emigration rate from India is not clear. During the British raj many Indians left the country to work in foreign lands on contractual assignments. A sizable amount of Indians settled down in those countries and did not return to their homeland. They have been living for long time, but their exact number is still not available. Many Indians at present are also going to countries like America, Canada, United Kingdom, and other western countries to pursue higher education and employment opportunities. Many of them have obtained citizenship in those countries. The orphans and destitute children are also being sent to their adopted parents in

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 191 Europe and other developing countries by missionaries running orphanages. These countries have strict migration policies to curtail illegal migration. The economic globalisation has also encouraged highly educated and skilled personals to migrate to developed countries. The developing countries have become the employment destination of many skilled, scientific, and technical experts mostly from India and China. There are hardly any universities or research institutes in United States of America and United Kingdom where we don't find Indians. In United Kingdom the number of Indian doctors has sidelined the British doctors. Many aeronautical engineers and computer experts are working in NASA and other big corporate organisations across the world. Indian scientists, engineers and information technology experts are in demand all over the world. Although the Indians are dominating the global job market scenario in one hand, on the other hand there is a brain drain from the country. The government has failed to tap or capture the potential of those migrating skilled labour force for the welfare and development of one's own nation. The brain drain has escalated more after the Indians have proved to be extraordinarily good in software technology. The government has been trying to stop the colossal loss of brainpower. However, the Indian skilled labour force is purchased in heft prices by USA, UK, Canada or Australia. North America and the Middle East is attracting lot of Indians to migrate to their countries. The decision for international migration depends upon several factors like foreign returns vis-a-vis domestic returns to work. The wages offered by the destination country discounted by the cost of living in the place of living or sending and destination countries, domestic and foreign market conditions and so forth. The massive out migration of skilled labour force has negative affected the labour sending countries. The Gulf countries are a major destination for different types of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labourers. Large numbers of immigrants in the Gulf countries are from the Indian state of Kerala. The highly skilled population moves to America, UK and other developed countries while majority of the semi-skilled and unskilled labour force goes to Gulf countries. The primary reason for migration to these developed economies is for better pay, improvement of one's skill and better recognition in the global level. Unfortunately, the movement of labourers of different types to developed countries will surely have an adverse effect on the national labour

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 192 force, production activities and generation of better national income (Majumdar 2013). In India cities are characterised by enormous squatters of settlement, high rates of unemployment, soaring level of pollution of different types, sanitation problems, scarcity of drinking water, towering cases of disease, malnutrition and infant mortality, low literacy rate and high rate of child labour. Migration to a certain extent is responsible for the rise of such social problems and challenges (Weiner 2004: 164). 12.9 Conclusion Migration of people is mostly associated with the economic reasons but socio- political, environmental, and geographical factors are also involved in it. In case of India, it was only after the 1961 Census that the data on migration has been recorded. Migration pattern in India has been changing very slowly. Although the percentage of migration is quantitatively small but the impact of migration on both the sending and receiving societies are substantive. India has attracted large number of migrants owing to her sufficient resources. Similarly, many Indians also migrate to other countries mostly for employment opportunities and the trend has increased after independence. Many highly educated and skilled professional from India are migrating to advanced countries like America, Europe, and Australia. This has resulted in 'brain drain' of skilled people from India. 12.10 Summary Migration is one of the important factors for demographics change along with fertility and mortality, but migration is not a biological variable unlike fertility and mortality, but a product of social, cultural, economic and political or physical circumstances.

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Migration refers to the movement of people from one location to another.

Migration is a way to move from one place to another in order to live and work. Movement of people from their home to another city, state or country for a job, shelter or some other reasons is called migration. Migration from rural areas to urban areas has increased in past few years in India.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 193 There are two basic types of migration studied by demographers: 1. Internal Migration: This refers to a change of residence within national boundaries, such as between states, provinces, cities, or municipalities. An internal migrant is someone who moves to a different administrative territory. 2. International Migration: This refers to change of residence over national boundaries. An international migrant is someone who moves to a different country. International migrants are further classified as legal immigrants, illegal immigrants and refugees. Legal immigrants are those who move with the legal permission of the receiver nation, illegal immigrants are those who move without legal permission, and refugees are those who crossed an international boundary to escape persecution. Jay Weinstein and Vijayan Pillai (2001) denote a third classification: Forced migration. Forced migration exists when a person is moved against their will (slaves) or the move is initiated because of external factors (natural disaster or civil war). Migration in India: Most of the Indians are locally born and not migrants. A small section of population inhabits outside their place of birth or that of their spouses. The Indian census from 1961-1991 shows that the migration pattern has been changing very slowly in the country. The rural to urban migration is modest in India. 12.11 Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. What is migration? ii. Differentiate between immigration and emigration. iii. Discuss the different types of migration. iv. Write a note on migration in context of India. v. Critically examine the problems of migration. G-B (10 Marks each) vi. What are the various approaches to the study of migration? vii. Explain migration as a process in the international context. viii. List the consequences of migration.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 194 12.12 Suggested Readings i. Abraham, M.F. (2008): An Introduction to Concepts and Theories, New Delhi: Oxford University Press. ii. Bhende, A.A. and Kanitkar, T. (2004): Principles of Population Studies, Mumbai: Himalayan Publishing House. iii. Bhusan, V. and Sachdeva, D.R. (2008). An Introduction to Sociology. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal. iv. Castles, S. and Miller, J.M. (2009): The Age of Migration, London: Palgrave Macmillan. v. Haq, E. (2007): Sociology of Population in India, New Delhi: Macmillan vi. Marshall, Gordon (2006): Oxford Dictionary of Sociology. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. vii. Singh, M.P. (2009): Sociology: An Introduction. New Delhi: Jawahar Publishers and Distributors. viii. Weiner, M. (2004): "Migration," The Oxford Indian Companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology Volume I, V. Das (ed.), New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 195 Unit 13 ? Politics of Migration Structure 13.1 Objectives 13.2 Introduction 13.3 The Changing Political Geographies of Migration 13.4 Regulating Migration: From National Mandate to Supranational Scope 13.5 Tracing the Spatialities of Migrant Experiences 13.6 Opportunities of Migration 13.7 Challenges of Migration 13.8 Politics of Migration 13.9 Immigration into North-East Assam 13.10 Conclusion 13.11 Summary 13.12 Questions 13.13 Suggested Readings 13.1 Objectives ? In this unit the learner should gain primary knowledge of migration followed by its opportunities and challenges. ? The unit focusses on the politics of migration. 13.2 Introduction Changes in attitudes towards migration are disconnected from economics. There are no obvious relationships, for example, between changes in public attitudes towards migrants, and those countries that, economically, may have an interest in accepting migrants. Misconceptions around migration abound. Migration is thought to be both more extensive, and less productive, than in reality. Attitudes towards

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 196 migration have changed somewhat in recent years, though such changes have often been concentrated among specific subgroups, rather than aggregates. Attitudes towards migration can be distilled down to two sets of factors. First is solidarity. This changes slowly, and characterises the degree to which people self-identify and empathise with others of different nationalities. Second are perceptions of aggregate scarcity, and the degree to which key economic resources, such as public services and jobs, are seen as under pressure. The origin of mankind in the Rift Valley of Africa marks the history of human migration. This occurred about 5000 BC. The movement of 1.5 million human beings from Africa gradually spread into Europe and later into other continents (Koser 2007: 1). Throughout history, human migration has been responsible in drawing the route map of human civilization. The very occurrence of migration has germinated the roots of various civilizations and culture. in the ancient world Greek colonisation and Roman expansion depended on migration. Outside Europe Mesopotamian, Inca, Indus and Zhou civilisations also witnessed migration. Then after, we see the European expansion. The British, Dutch, French and Spanish colonisers promoted settlement of people abroad in their colonies. This resulted in the movement of people in the end of 19 th century. After this major mass migration, we see the rise of America as an industrial power whereby many migrants were pulled into that nation. After the end of World War II, labour was required to sustain the booming economies like Europe and North America. The outcome of this was migration of people from Turkey to Germany, North Africa to France and Belgium. In the same time period one million British moved to Australia and this migration is often referred to as 'Ten Pound Pows'. Their passage and a grant of ten pound were paid by the Australian government in its endeavour to attract the new settlers (Koser 2007). As the civilization developed human societies underwent a transformation from simple to complex societies and from homogenous to heterogeneous societies. The transformation from 'mechanical' to 'organic' society was not a continuous process. The shift from 'traditional' to 'modern' societies involved a transformative phase of 'social pathology' characterized by social, economic, and political disturbances which led to movement of people. The challenges of pathological phase were confronted by the masses against the people possessing power and authority through

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 197 social protests and demonstrations demanding certain objectives like socio-economic and political stability, equality, social upliftment, liberty, and so forth. In an Indian setting migration is not something new. The coming of the Aryans into India around 1500 BC (Weiner 2003; Nehru 2004) or the coming of the Muslims as conquerors from north India or as 'traders, travelers and missionaries' from the southern part, along with the coming of Saint Thomas in the first century A.D to Kerala or the Jews fleeing persecution in Babylonia in 6 th century and the Zoroastrians running away from Islamic domination in Persia in the 8 th century and finding a refugee in India (Tharoor 2007) are some of the well-recognised historical facts about migration in India. It was not just a human migration but the movement of various civilizations and cultures as well. Subsequently, there had also been 'assimilation', 'clash of civilization' and cooperation and conflict of cultures. The independence of India in 1947 led to the partition of the nation into Theocratic Pakistan and Secular India and also involved migration of Muslims from India to Pakistan and Hindus from Pakistan to India (Castles and Miller 2009), which was characterized as "the most violent carnage in the region's history, in which nearly half-a-million people were massacred" (Srinivas 2009). Migration creates the problem of resource scarcity, it becomes a political issue and at times migration is also a major security risk (Lama 2003). Migration can also be attributed as an important factor for social construction of identity and also creates social conflict (Weiner 2003). In the present-day India, continuous demand for separate statehood autonomy such as Gorkhaland for the Nepalis settled in India and Uttarakhand for the hill people of Uttar Pradesh are the reflections of people's search for identity and the decline of the integrative forces of the Indian society (Singh 2006). The conflict dynamics in Assam in the Northeast Region of India is related to migration and the migrants have been the major issue of conflicts in the north-east state of Assam in the early 1980's where the All Assam Student Union spearheaded a violent movement against foreigners (Lama 2010). Due to the growth of population increasing instances of unemployment and the subsequent degradation of the environment, migration can become an issue of security concern (Ketkar 2005). Out migration can also be regarded as a dangerous phenomenon in the spread of contagious diseases such as HIV/AIDS (Sundas 2011) which can be a concern for human security.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 198 The volume of migration has increased in present times than ever before, and it is certain to expand in the foreseeable future. There is no country in this world that has not been affected by migration. It is to be noted that migration is associated with revolutions, wars, rise and fall of empires, significant change, economic expansion, nation building, political transformation, problems, conflict, persecutions, and dispossession. Migration has mattered throughout history and continues to matter today (Koser 2007). Migration is an acute and highly political topic in contemporary societies all over the world. There are currently heated discussions over work-based migration, refugee quotas in European countries, and border enforcement measures taken and planned by the EU in the Mediterranean. Migration trends and policies were among the most- discussed topics in national elections in Europe in Spring 2015, with anti-immigrat parties in a number of countries, such as Finland, Denmark, and the UK, gaining increased attention and support. In the US, the issues of undocumented migrants and family detention have been the subject of debate and protest. In addition to debates in Europe and North America there are, according to UNHCR, currently more than 51 million displaced people in the world. Most of these people, 86%, are in less developed countries and around half of the displaced population are children and young people. These different types of movements of people are political by their very nature. This claim does not only apply to national or transnational political fields of governing movement, but also to the banal, everyday life practices and struggles of several precarious groups such as undocumented migrants and refugees. 13.3 The Changing Political Geographies of Migration By looking at the substance of the articles published in Political Geography, we identify two major shifts in scope over the last 30 years. First, the scalar focus has changed from the politico-territorial regulation of nation-state policies on immigra- tion to supranational migration frameworks and transnational practices and experi- ences. Second, the theoretical framing has moved from geopolitics to bio-politics. Authors discuss the globally structured and governed micro-politics of lived migra- tion and the creation of permanent spaces of politico-administrative limbos such as camps, detention centres and the legal traps experienced by undocumented people.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 199 These discussions draw heavily from the broader philosophical tradition of authors such as Agamben, Derrida and Foucault. We discuss these two major shifts through three cross-cutting themes. The first theme considers the political regulation of migration through a focus on national and supranational organisations and policies. The second highlights borders, paying particular attention to the growing interest in border enforcement and biometric bordering. The third theme highlights the various spatiality of migrant experiences in a range of contexts, from North America to China. 13.4 Regulating Migration: From National Mandate to Supranational Scope During the 1980s, the marked increase in the number of migrants and asylum- seekers from Asia and Africa started a development which has led to several restrictive national legislations in Europe and North America. Wood (1989) stressed that nation-states tried to predict migration flows through push and pull factors, but noted that intervening forces, such as the worsening of the local economy, were often not considered. These control efforts started to build geo-economic fortresses and ever stricter boundaries between wealthier and developing countries. Already in the late 1980s Wood predicted that changes to national policies and the creation of bilateral agreements would eventually lead to growing numbers of rejected asylum- seekers migrating from one country to another. Wood argued that Melander's (1987) scenario of the "orbiting refugee" who is seeking protection and assistance from several national authorities might be too harsh a prediction. However, in 2015 we are living in a world where the precarious refugee is the main target of the globalised logic of migrant detention and deportation practices. Due to several geopolitical, geo-economic and environmental reasons, the cat- egories of migrants and their legal statuses have become more varied than ever before (Gamlen, 2008; Kofman, 2002; Reuveny, 2007). Simultaneously, the scalar focus of migration policies has shifted from national to supranational. In the last decades, several trans-governmental agreements on territorial migration policies, citizenship and migrant rights have emerged (Kofman, 2002). The complex reality of migrant categories produces very different experiences of being a migrant. For

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 200 example, diasporic communities with extra-territorial ties to homeland are not governed by the same set of rules as refugees fleeing from generalized conflicts. Interestingly, as argued by Reuveny (2007), climate change-induced migration is also a major reason for generalized conflicts in areas receiving migrants, and requires international co-operation in mitigation plans and practices. These wide-scale eco- logical shifts create even more pressures to understand the effects of migration as a globally lived process and shared responsibility (both in originating and receiving areas). Thus, we argue that durable solutions beyond the strategies of restrictive national and international policies need to be explored. This means that experiences of migrants should be more central in understanding the politics of migration and in the contemporary "humanitarian" discourse on border enforcement. 13.5 Tracing the Spatiality of Migrant Experiences Published work on the spatialities of migrant experiences is particularly useful for demonstrating the changing scalar focus. While the nation-state remains an important actor, its role and significance vary, and other scales of analysis are incorporated, often in an intersectional way. In an early article, Jackson (1992) discusses Caribana, an annual Caribbean festival in Toronto that began in 1967 and continues to the present day. Jackson's focus, influenced by the cultural turn, is identity politics: this includes the localized politics of space evident in the struggles over the placing and composition of the festival; the national politics of state multiculturalism in Canada; and the broader transnational identity politics of an Afro- Caribbean diaspora. The state plays a more central role in Fan's (2004) article on internal migration in China. The hukou system of population registration, introduced in the 1950s, significantly limited rural to urban migration in China. From the 1990s onwards, hukou controls were relaxed in order to provide a supply of temporary labour to rapidly expanding cities in China. Many of these migrants are young, female and single, so-called "maiden workers". Fan uses qualitative data from household surveys in rural Sichuan and Anhui provinces to provide insights into the role of the Chinese state: as a recruiter of migrant labour, and as a facilitator of the exploitation of migrant workers through its refusal to address working conditions. As Fan comments,
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 201 "the silence of the state is not an accident but is rather a prescribed attribute of the migrant labour regime" (2004: 300). However, with its explicitly feminist approach, the paper also insists on the importance of women's voices and experiences as narrated in first-person accounts and frames those accounts in the broader context of local, national, and transnational gender ideologies and capitalist exploitation. In this way, though not the central focus, Fan's paper also demonstrates the shift from geopolitics to bio-politics, with its discussion of the embodied experiences and regulation of migrant workers in China. This shift is also evident in Squire's (2014) article, which discusses humanitarian activists in the Sonoran Desert. While her paper can also be read as a commentary on the geopolitical border between Mexico and the US, her main focus is on the way in which the category "human" is bordered. Using a "material discursive" approach, Squire shows how humanitarian activists transform desert trash, such as water bottles and backpacks discarded by migrants crossing the desert, into items of value. In this process, Squire foregrounds "'the human' as a political stake in contemporary struggles over migration and mobility" (2014: 12). 13.6 Opportunities of Migration Migration has been a constant and influential feature of human society. It has supported the growth of economies of countries, contributed to the formation of nations and societies and also enriched many cultures and civilisation. It is to be noted that the migrants have been amongst the most dynamic and entrepreneurial members of society, they are basically the people who have taken the risk of leaving their homes to create new opportunities for themselves and their children. The history of America's economic growth for an example is in many ways a history of migration. In the present world migration continues to play an important role although not acknowledged but plays a crucial role in the national, regional and global affairs. In many developing countries the migrants send money to their homes is a major source of income. In certain developed countries the entire economy is dependent on migrant workers and would collapse overnight if the labourers would be withdrawn. Migrants and migration not only contribute towards economic growth but its impact

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 202 is felt keenly in the social and cultural spheres of life. Across the world people of different nation speaks different languages, they have different customs and traditions, varying religion, ways of living are coming together due to migration. Whether it is accepted or not but there exists at least a degree of diversity among the members of such modern societies. It is also to be noted that the largest concentration of migrants is found in global cities like Hong Kong, London, or New York. Dynamic, innovative, and highly cosmopolitan urban centres enable people, places, and cultures in different parts of the world to become increasingly interconnected. 13.7 Challenges of Migration There are many challenges of migration. Perhaps the most talked about is the linkage between migration and security. Particularly after 9/11 there has been a perception of a close connection between migration and terrorism. This has been compounded by more recent attacks in Madrid and London. Irregular migration which is also growing at an alarming rate in many countries is often regarded by many politicians and public as a threat to the national sovereignty and security. In many destination countries, the host societies have become very much fearful about the coming of the migrants in their country, particular the migrants from unfamiliar cultures that comes from the extremist and violent part of the world. It is also to be noted that there has been too much attention paid to the challenges posed by the migration in the destination societies, but less attention has been paid to the societies from where the migrants come from and the people they leave behind. 13.8 Politics of Migration Migration is an important dimension of various global issues, and it is embedded in changes in the global economic and social structures. Growing developmental, demographic, and democratic disparities provide powerful incentive to move on, as does the global job crisis affecting large parts in the developing countries. The segmentation of labour markets in the richer countries is creating demand for migrant workers there. Communication revolution has facilitated growing awareness of disparities and opportunities for would-be migrants, while transportation transformations have made mobility cheaper and more accessible. Migration networks
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 203 have extended rapidly and further facilitate migration. New individual rights and entitlements allow many people to cross border and settle abroad. One of the most debatable issues in contemporary world is the concern over the impact of migration on destination societies. Large numbers of migrants are entering into the advanced countries during the time when these societies are undergoing immense structural changes. These include economic, demographic, and technological changes that are transforming society, labour market and community. Amongst their outcome have been painful changes in social safety despite the need for growing physical infrastructural demands and brewing social and cultural crisis. The wider context of global economic uncertainties and heightened the sense of insecurity. Migrants pose a tangible and a visible explanation for the problems of modern society. This is one reason as why there is a rising support for the far right across many industrialised societies. The realities of migration which may vary over time and period like the migrants possessing new skills and capacities required for the labour market. It reflects that it is very difficult to isolate the effect of migration on change and separate it from the other aspects which also attract popular protest such as trade liberalisation and privatisation. It also suggests that the impact of migrants vary significantly according to the wide range of factors including the characteristics of migrants, their geographical location in host societies and the underlying labour and social relations. Furthermore, it is hard to quantify the cost and benefit of the non-economic impacts of migration on politics, society, and culture. Across Western Europe, Muslim's migrants and second and third generation are affected by disproportionate unemployment rates, which for many are compounded by education and housing problems. These underlying socio-economic tensions, it has been suggested, have been compounded in recent years by highly politicised identity issues related, for example, to the Rushdie affair in the United Kingdom, the 'war on terror' and the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. One outcome according to Stephen Castels and Mark Miller in The Age of Migration is that: "While in the vast majority of Muslim immigrants eschewed fundamentalism, Western Europe certainly was affected by the upsurge in religious fervours that swept the Muslim world." A rise in fundamentalism, however, is just one aspect of a much wider literature concerned with the political impacts of migration in host societies. Another intersection between immigration and politics has been the growth of anti-immigrant extremism.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 204 Anti-immigrant political movements have developed across most of Europe in the last decade. Perhaps foremost among these is the Front National in France, whose leader Le Pen shocked Europe by gaining one-fifth of the votes in the first-round of 2002 presidential elections, defeating the socialist candidate, Lionel Jospin. Support for the Flemish Vlaams Blok in Belgium has increased considerably. Jorg Haider's anti-immigrant Freedom Party formed a government in Austria with the People's Party, although Haider himself resigned as a party chairman in 2000. A backlash against immigration figured significantly in the fortunes of the Northern League, Forza Italia party, and the neo-fascist National Alliance in Italy. The rise of Pim Fortuyn and his anti-immigrant party in the Netherlands in 2001 took many observers by surprise. Outside Europe, Pauline Hanson's One Nation party scored a notable political victory in Queensland, Australia in 1998, attracting almost 25 per cent of the vote and winning 11 seats in the state election, although she has since resigned from the party and is now an independent. Some scholars have suggested, furthermore, that the emergence of right-wing parties has had an anti-immigrant effect across the political spectrum. It has been argued, for example that French socialist stand on immigration shifted to the right of as support for the Front National increased. Whether or not this is an accurate analysis (others scholars refute it) it is clear that the success of such parties has been an important reason for the rise of immigration on political agendas across the industrialised world. Besides fostering new parties and new issues, the academic literature identifies at least two other ways that immigration can impact on politics and political system in destination countries. There is a vigorous debate, especially in Belgium, France and the Netherlands about political participation and representation for immigrants and their descendants where they are excluded from citizenship. During the 1970's and 80's they tend to mobilise outside the normal channels of political representation from which they were often excluded, for example, through involvement in industrial strikes, protest movements, hunger strikes and urban riots. In recent years increasing number of European countries have granted certain political rights to immigrants, including that of voting and standing for office in local (but not national) elections. Another potential impact on politics in the destination societies is through the formation of ethnic voting blocs among citizens of immigrant

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 205 origins. Perhaps the best example is soviet Jews in Israel, who comprise of about 15 per cent of the Israeli electorate and have decisively affected the outcomes of every general election since 1992. Quebec's immigrant population voted against the independence to influence the 1996 referendum on the future of Quebec in the Canadian Federation. In the tight 2002 German elections, the 3,50,000 Germans of Turkish origin also emerged as an important voting bloc. As a result of such potential impacts, political parties have increasingly appealed to the immigrant-origin electorate, for example in the UK and USA. The potential of the Latino voting bloc in certain states in the USA possess a particular dilemma for politicians. On the one hand, there is considerable political currency in taking a strong stand against migration from Mexico. On the other hand, the Latino votes needs to be wooed. Excluding Puerto Ricans, some 42 million Latinos live in the USA–around 14 per cent of the population. The Latino vote can be critical in state such as California and Colorado and it has been suggested that at a national level it may even determine control of the House of Representatives. Furthermore, as one-third of Latinos in the USA are under the age of 18, their vote is likely to become even more important in the future. Various studies on migration have also shown that social movements and conflicts are inseparable. For an instance Guha (2007) has highlighted the instance of Jewish diaspora and their support for the creation of their homeland Israel. In some cases, migrants have also initiated social movement for recognition, identity, citizenship and security like in the case of the Hispanics in America. Likewise, Tatla (1999) has analysed a link on Sikh emigration and the Khalistan movement and Gupta (1996) and Weiner (2003) has observed the emergence of social movement in Maharashtra and Assam against the migrants in the early 1980's. 13.9 Immigration into North-East Assam The colonial Assam, which was then constituted most part of northeast region of India, came into increasing contact with the colonial Bengal after being incorporated into the British colonial empire. This naturally brought a significant transformation in the society, economy, and polity of Assam as well as other part of the region. Initially, the skilled manpower from Bengal was recruited to assist the colonial

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 206 officers in running the day-to-day administration, whereas previously only some artisans, weavers and scholars came there. Then since the demand for labour was high due to the rapid expansion of tea plantation, coal mining and oil exploration, the labour recruitment from other part of the empire was also started. In addition, the territorial boundary of colonial Assam was altered. It was administered as a part of Bengal from 1826 to 1873, subsequently became a province after the integration of the Bengali-populated areas of Cachar, Sylhet and Goalpara respectively in 1874. The twin provinces of Bengal and Assam were again reorganised in 1905 to facilitate the formation the provinces of (1) East Bengal and Assam, and (2) Bengal respectively. This was annulled in 1912. The integration of Cachar, Sylhet and Goalpara into Assam along with the prominence role played by the educated Bengalis in the colonial administration helped create conditions favorable for the expansion and consolidation of the Bengali language in Assam. It became the court language and then the language of education, from 1837 to 1874. This happened much against the wishes of the Assam's largest linguistic group, the Assamese. Subsequently, the Bengali language was replaced by the Assamese language. When the colonial rule came to an end the empire was divided and the territories were allocated along religious lines in which a part of Bengal became the eastern part of Pakistan. This was not a smooth affair, the territorial disputes and communal riots caused forced migration of refugees between the divided territories. Thus, when great powers allocated territories and permitted the creation of new states hundreds, and thousands of people (about 14.5 million Muslims and Hindus) were forced to become immigrants and refugees. In the 1960s, the alleged religious persecutions and the construction of Kaptai hydroelectric dam in Pakistan (East) forced many Chakmas to flee towards India. Further, during the Bangladesh liberation war against Pakistan (the war ended with the liberation of Bangladesh on 16 December 1971), hundreds of thousands of refugees moved towards East and Northeast India. Many of them settled down in India after the war. In addition, there has been considerable movement of people from Pakistan (East)/Bangladesh into India in the hope of improving their livelihoods. However, neither India nor Bangladesh maintained any reliable records of the movement of people.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 207 One wonder, why it was, and has been mostly one-way movement of immigrants and refugees. With a total population of about 142 million in 2011, Bangladesh is one of the most densely populated countries in the world having a population density of about 964 persons per sq km. The land-man ratio in 2010 was .06 ha. The country is also a poor country. Further the country is highly prone to natural disasters such as flash flood, riverbank erosion and landslide. As a result, many people were left homeless each year due to the natural disasters. For instance, flooding has been a regular feature destroying lives and properties almost every year. One-fifth of the country used to be flooded every year and in extreme years, two-thirds of the country (Agrawala et al 2003: 9-70). Thus, almost all arable land is being used with little scope for any significant expansion of cultivation into new areas, and the landholdings are small and fragmented with 88.5 per cent of farms less than 1.0 hectare (ha) occupying 60 per cent of the farmland area (Asian Development Bank 2005: 1-6). Further, the country is surrounded by India, sharing about 4096.7 km long land border. On the other hand, India is also a poor country, yet it is over 22-times the area of Bangladesh, and it has an average population density of 382 persons per sq km in 2011, far below that of Bangladesh. The density of population is further less in the northeast region. Moreover, the people of the northeast region are not so familiar to work in new residential areas and communities. They are also not so used to menial and low paid works. The immigrants usually do such odd works. Thus, when a significant number of immigrants were recruited into such occupations, they became socially undesirable for the native workers. The latter will be less incline to do such occupations. Migration can therefore, change the social definition of work, causing a certain occupation to be defined as stigmatizing and viewed as culturally in appropriate for the native workers. This stigma came from the presence of immi- grants, not from the characteristics of the occupations (Bohning 1974: 155-163). In such situation the main assets the immigrants bring to the destination places are cheap labour, willingness to work harder and loyalty. In short, the immigrants, largely poor and illiterate, are ready to do jobs the local residents rejected. The migrants work in the agricultural fields, in homes, as rickshaw pullers and manual labourers. They are preferred by the local contractors because they provide cheap labour. Further, the shared culture and history of the two countries also provide social

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 208 networks for migration. The aforementioned factors naturally encouraged immigra- tion into the north-east region of India. 13.10 Conclusion The concerns of citizens need to be listened to and the real underlying concerns regarding stagnating incomes and opportunities addressed by our political and business leaders. The unit shows that the economic impact of migration depends almost entirely on the policies that are put in place to ensure that migrants are able to be productive and the extent to which individuals and communities experience the benefits associated with migration. Currently, cross-national attitudes towards migration bear little resemblance tothe economic necessitates, but instead the power of perceived economic and culturalthreat. Countries that are most in need of migration due to collapsing fertility andtight labour markets (such as Poland) are often most against it. Recent changes inboth attitudes and migration's political debate have been heavily influenced by thestitching together of a new cultural and values-based discourse by politicians. Thesepose real economic risks; the race to the bottom by politicians to show how tough they are on immigration could cause substantial aggregate damage. 13.11 Summary Migration is an acute and highly political topic in contemporary societies all over the world The politics of migration explores the opportunities tensions posed by migration today and makes a series of strong, workable proposals for managing it effectively. An exploration of the opportunities and tensions posed by migration today. Migration is an economic, geographical, social, and political process that affects those who move, those who stay behind, and the places where they go. (Hugo) It covers issues such as the rise of the far right the international politics of refugees, the impact of migration on labour markets and welfare states, citizenship, public opinion, and the integration ofMuslimsin Europe. Political migration is any migration motivated primarily by political interest. Typically, Political migration is in one of two classes, private or government

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 209 depending on who encourages the migration. Political migration differs from other migrations by attempting to change aspects of a political system. Political factors relate to how the government intervenes in the economy. Specifically, political factors have areas including tax policy, labour law, environ- mental law, trade restrictions, tariffs, and political stability, economic factors include economic growth, exchange rates, inflation rate, and interest rates. They typically reduce the quality of goods and services that can be imported. Such trade barriers take the form of tariffs or taxes and Tariffs. Migration increased the slam areas in cities which increase many problems such as unhygienic conditions, crime, pollution etc.Sometimes migrants are exploited. Migration is one of the main causes of increasing nuclear family where children grow up without a wider family circle. 13.12 Questions G-A (5 Marks each) i. What do you mean by migration? ii. When does migration occur? iii. What are the opportunities that migration provides? G-B (10 Marks each) iv. Write a note on the challenges of migration. v. Discuss how migration is politicised in the urban and rural societies. 13.13 Suggested Readings i. Castles, S. and Mark, J.M. (2009) The Age of Migration, London: Palgrave Macmillan. ii. Ketkar, P. (2005) 'Non-Military Challenges to Security: Migration a Source of Insecurity', in P.R. Chari et al. (ed.), Alternative Approaches to Security National Integration, Governance, Non-Military Challenges, New Delhi: Samskriti.

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NSOU ? GE-SO-21 211 Unit 14 ? Migration, Integration, and Assimilation: Issues and Problems Structure 14.1 Objectives 14.2 Introduction 14.3 Migration 14.4 Integration 14.5 Modes of Integration 14.6 Problems of Integration 14.7 Assimilation 14.8 Stages in the Process of Assimilation 14.9 Obstacles and Aids to Assimilation 14.10 Problems of Migration 14.11 Conclusion 14.12 Summary 14.13 Questions 14.14 Suggested Readings 14.1 Objectives The purpose of this module is to discuss the following: ? The concepts of migration, integration, and assimilation. ? The different modes of integration. ? The problems associated with integration. ? The various stages in the process of assimilation. ? The obstacles and aids to assimilation.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 212 The movement of population is also associated with integration and assimilation. When people move from their place of origin to new destinations then there are challenges of integration and assimilation. The integration and assimilation of the individual or group with the host community depends upon many factors. 14.2 Introduction Human migration has been taking place since time immemorial. According to the oxford dictionary of sociology "migration involves the (

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more or less) permanent movement of individuals or groups across symbolic or political boundaries into new residential areas and communities" (

Marshall 2006:415). Francis Abraham (2015:256) has defined migration as "the movement of population from one geographical region to another." Migration is one considered to be one of the major components of population growth or change along with mortality and fertility. However, unlike mortality and fertility migration does not operate purely within the biological framework. 14.3 Migration Migration is a product of social, cultural, economic and political, physical or environmental circumstances (Bhende and Kanitkar 2004). Haq (2007: 157) argues "migration as an important demographic process" which is "concerned with the movement of people from one place to another." Castles and Miller (2009: 20) has considers migration as "a collective action arising out of social change and affecting the whole society in both sending and receiving areas". Bhende and Kanitkar are of the opinion that the change of milieu implies environment along with the change in the dwelling place is an important indicator of migration. The nomadic people or groups without permanent and fixed residence or seasonal migrants with two or more places of residence during a year should be eliminated from the concept of migration. Chandna (2009) argues that when migration occurs, in whatever form, it affects the area of origin, the area of destination and affects the way of life of the migrants as well. It should be noted that the term migration is a multi-dimensional term and it also includes movement of refugees, displaced persons and uprooted people, labour

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 213 migrants and economic migrants. Bhende and Kanitkar (2004) viewed migration as a major indicator of social change. Basically, there are two types of migration namely, immigration and emigration. Immigration means in-migration. It occurs when population enters into a particular place from another region. Emigration refers to out-migration and occurs when the population leaves the area and moves into a new locality. The difference between immigration and emigration is known as net migration. Sociologists use the term immigration for movement of population outside the national border. The population movement within the national border is called internal migration or in-migration. Kerala is witnessing a massive emigration towards Gulf countries and at time same time it is also experiencing a wave of internal migration of people from Tamil Nadu to work in its plantation and construction projects. Most of the countries do not favour immigration but countries like America, Australia and Canada have majority of immigrant population (Bhusan and Sachdeva 2008). 14.4 Integration Society is a constellation of groups, organisations, institutions, ecological collectivities and so on and it functions in an interconnected manner. Every individual living in a society is bound together and dependent upon one another in a system of interconnection. This interconnection makes up the overall functional structure of the system. Although every entity of any society is interconnected and dependent yet at times their interconnection or continuity is broken down to a certain degree, a situation which Merton has termed "a strain towards anomie." The degree of anomie may vary from s small confusion or slight contradiction to a serious deterioration or disintegration. However, it should also be kept in mind that along with strain towards anomie" we also have "strain towards consistency". The "strain towards consistency" implies to integration process. According to Bhusan and Sachdeva (2008) integration is the harmonising or unifying process whereby the various structural components of the society are properly organised. Integration does not involve similarity of various structural parts. What is essential for integration is the certain values must be accepted as common and the different institutional agencies should preserve and promote these values. When there is a basic social change through technological use

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 214 in the economic sector then the old values start to become inadequate and the structures serving these values stop to function effectively. The new altered values may develop and the newly formed social forms or the old, readjusted forms may serve the changed values. Such development helps in maintaining integration. Integration along with assimilation, co-operation, competition, and conflict are all forms of social interaction and they are termed as socio-cultural processes. Social processes are those ways of interaction which can be observed when individuals and groups meet and create social relationships, of what happens when changes disturb the already existing modes of life. According to Ginsberg social processes mean the various modes of interaction between individuals or groups including cooperation or conflict, social differentiation and integration, development arrest and decay. The important elements of social processes are sequence of events, repetition of events, relationship between events, continuity of events and special results. Social processes are important because it is through these socio-cultural processes that human beings interacts and develops human relationship. They are forms of behaviour that are often repeated in our social life. According to Talcott Parsons in the Essays of Sociological Theory "integration is the mode of relation of the units of system by virtue of which, on one hand, they act so as collectively to avoid disrupting the system and making it impossible to maintain its stability and, on the other hand to co-operate to promote its functioning as a unity" (Singh 2009: 28). Social integration is the principle through which the individuals or actors are related to one another in a society. Similarly, system integration is the relationship between parts of society or social system. Social and system integration can invite both order and conflict. According to Max Weber social stratification found is status-based societies are more likely to bring harmonious forms of social integration and class-based societies can lead to conflictive form of social integration. Integration can be consequence of differentiation or specialisation. The increasing structural differentiation and functional specialisation the need of integration also increases for the maintenance of social order. The objective of integration is to develop harmonious and active relationship between the different structural parts of the society. It does not only help in moving the society forward but also generates meaning and rationale in the lives of people

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 215 so that they feel the need to be part of the intelligible and pleasant social life. Integration is thus a process of developing a society in which all social and ethnic groups can equally take part in cultural and economic life, the extent to which an individual experiences a sense of belonging to a social group by virtue of sharing its norms, values, beliefs and so on. The major objective of integration is to maintain harmonious and efficient relationship between the various parts of the social system. It does not only help in maintaining the active growth of the society but also imparts meaning and purpose to the lives of the members of the society that they are a part of the society and how to live a comprehensible and harmonious social life. Various structures of the society perform functions in relation to the social values. For examples, family endorse sexual relationship between the married couples, socialisation process of the children, education, protection, recreation and so forth. However, in contemporary society many functions of the family are performed by the newly emerging agencies like schools, colleges etc. In order to cope up with such changes taking place within the functions of different structural units of the society, integration becomes an important process for keeping the society alive and active. Therefore, we can argue that integration is the consequence of differentiation and specialisation. If there had been no specialisation and differentiation of functions of structural parts, then there would have been no integration. When there is more specialisation and differentiation of functions of the parts of the society then there would be more need of integration. The modern society with diverse field of specialisation in every sector and complex institutional patterns have made the task of integration very difficult. Integration helps the different institutions, organisations, and other institutional of society to harmonise and organise so that they can come together to serve the need of the society and develop the social entity in an orderly fashion. 14.5 Modes of Integration Social integration takes place in different ways. In case of authoritarian or totalitarian forms of governance the social life is highly controlled according to the ideologies and goals of the concerned government. Thus, schools, economic organisations, religious institutions, and all other manifestations of collective behaviour

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 216 are under the control of the policies of the government. A single political party controls the nation including the family. The communication system and all the agencies are regulated through the direction of the concerned official. Any form of challenge to the government is not accepted or tolerated. In such kind of situation, the integration is achieved through the use of force, power, or threat. Such kind of integration is known as “closely woven” type of integration. The second kind of integration is known as “loosely woven” kind of integration. In such cases there is a variation not only in individual behaviour but also in case of national behaviour. However, it does not mean that society is not integrated or poorly integrated. It means that there are an absence of rigid social norms and people have a wide range of alternative behaviour open to them. There is no clear-cut group relationship and the social norms are leniently followed. In order to take off strain towards anomie and make the society efficient integration is crucial. Generally, the members of the society carry out their daily activities in a normative manner. Their activities support the folkways, norms, and other institutional patterns. Beyond the reinforcement of integration through normative activities, deliberate efforts are also made for bringing integration. Therefore, ameliorative programs are carried out for bringing down the cases of delinquency, for educating the voters, to support the underprivileged section of society, to improve the educational, housing medical recreational and administrative infrastructures. These initiatives attempt to bring improvements in the existing social structure without affecting the basic structure of the society in an enormous way. Many people view integration as not only a social reform but also a social reconstruction. Such people form radical organisations and try to completely abolish the existing social structure and replace it with new structure. They do not accept the idea of halfway measures but seeks to focus on the root of the matter and transform the society in a fundamental manner. For example, despite of removing capitalism and its evils they want to completely uproot and destroy the system by bringing in new social order. For them reintegration means the new order. In between the ameliorative and radical programs, we have social movements. These movements include the movements for abolition of bonded labour, labour movement, education movement, environment movement etc.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 217 Both integration and reintegration programs, to be activated needs social planning. Social planning involves research, decision, and action. In India planning is regulated and implemented by Planning Commission. It is often argued by scholars that in the hands of Planning Commission the economic issues are given more priority than the social issues. It is also to be noted that planning is more difficult task in a democratic country than in a totalitarian nation. However, planning is considered to be one of the most effective methods for achieving reintegration in a complex and more rapidly changing social system. 14.6 Problems of Integration Integration is also a difficult and a complex process. It has severe complexities like the disparity in the structure of the society makes it very difficult to integrate all its parts and socialize the humans in a smooth manner. The problems of integration are more intricate in complex or multicultural societies than in simple societies. The presence of multi-ethnic or multi-lingual societies also complicates the problems of integration. In the fast-changing society new elements are introduced in an extraordinary manner which at times may increase stress and strain in the system. Under such cases integration maintenance becomes a difficult task. The problems of integration are discussed in detail below. Firstly, the difficulty in integration depends upon the complex and large size of modern society. In case of simple and small societies the problem of integration is not a complicated task. But in a complex and large society the task to bring harmony and unity is a challenging task. The second problem is the cultural heterogeneity of the society. The social system characterised by multi-ethnic, racial, and linguistic origins are marked by class, religious, and occupational differentiation. The prevalence of various sub- cultures within a single society increases the problem of integration. This is very much applicable in case of our Indian society. The multi-caste and multi-linguistic society have affected the sentiments of the people and these factors have strongly influenced the social structure. The instance of Hindi language as an official national language of India is facing resistance from the southern part of India.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 218 The third factor is the speed of social change. At present times the new elements are entering into the social structure in an unprecedented scale. Numerous cultural lags has resulted in heightened stress and strain in different parts of the social system. Lastly, integration is exemplified by the tendency of diligence found in structural form. At times the social system tends to become very rigid and does not prefer to adapt to change or transformation. When vested interested or authoritarianism develops around the structure, it does not allow the system to change. Thus, in industrial societies the capitalists oppose the economic transformation, or the priest becomes rigid in the caste based social system. 14.7 Assimilation Assimilation is a social process where the culture of two social groups fuse together to form a new one. It is a procedure in which the minority group adapts to the rules and patterns of behaviour of majority or host group ultimately being absorbed in the socio-cultural system of the majority group. There can be an exchange of cultural trait whereby, one group tends to inculcate the cultural of another group. The case of 'Americanisation' is a good example where the immigrant groups contribute some of their cultural traits and they in turn adopted the core- culture of the Americans. It should also be noted that assimilation does not only mean that foreigners assimilate into the culture of host community. It is the process whereby individuals and groups acquire the culture of other groups in which they come to live by taking the attitudes and values, its patterns of thinking and behaving. In short it is a way of life (Bhusan and Sachdeva 2008: 183). Some of the important definitions of assimilation are as follows: i. Park and Burgess "Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, attitudes of other persons or groups and by sharing their experience and history are incorporated with them in a cultural life." ii. Lundberg "Assimilation is a word used to designate a process of mutual adjustment through which culturally different groups gradually obliterate
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 219 their differences to the point where they are no longer regarded as socially significant or observable." iii. Bogardus "Assimilation is a process whereby attitudes of many persons are united and thus develop into a united group. iv. Horton and Hunt "The process of mutual cultural diffusion through which person and groups come to share a common culture is called assimilation." v. Nimkoff "Assimilation is the process whereby individuals or groups once dissimilar become similar and identified in their interest and outlook" (Singh 2009: 26-27). Fairchild argues that assimilation involves both the process of nationalization and re-nationalization. Assimilation involves the modification of social attitudes. When two different cultures come into contact, there is a prominent tendency of sentiment of mutual conflict but gradually both the cultures assimilate elements from each other. In case of assimilation two groups do not merely compromise or agree to live side by side with one another but they become much like one another, their distinguishable character as separate groups slowly fades away, making them difficult to distinguish from one another. Assimilation is both social and a psychological process. According to Hayes, assimilation is a result of interaction rather than an interactive process (Bhusan and Sachdeva 2008: 184). It is also to be noted that assimilation is not limited to a single field of study. The best cases of assimilation are those where the foreigners come into contact with the culture of the host group, takes up their culture and gives up their own culture. Assimilation does not end here. Assimilation takes in different cases and conditions. For an example, children learn the ways of life as they grow up and enter into the adulthood. Foster children learn the new culture from their foster-parents sometimes so completely that their old traces of earlier home influence are totally eradicated. At times married couples from dissimilar or different socio-cultural backgrounds may develop a strong sense of unity of interest and purpose. In religious sphere people of one religion may be converted to other religion through religious conversions. Since assimilation is a social process, it is a characteristic of human group life in general and not limited to only a certain kind of group or people.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 220 14.8 Stages in the Process of Assimilation It is assumed that assimilation is a gradual and a slow process. The process of assimilation involves certain stages. It takes a certain amount of time for the dissimilar individual or groups to become similar. The dissimilar people and groups take time to become identified in their interest and outlook with one another. Acculturation is the stage where one cultural group which is in contact with another appropriates or borrows from it certain cultural elements and incorporates them into their own culture, thus modifying it. When two cultural groups come into contact with one another their interaction affects both of them. However, it is the weaker group that borrows more cultural elements from the bigger or the host group. For example, the American Indians borrowed the culture of the whites with whom they came into contact, the whites appropriated some cultural elements from the American Indians. Therefore, assimilation has two stages or phase. The first part is the suppression of the parent culture, and the second phase is the acquisition of new ways, language and so forth. It may be noted that at times two may overlap. The adaptation of the dominant social cultural practices by another cultural group makes the way for the absorption of the new cultural group into the dominant group. Some cultural elements are readily adopted even if the two groups are only slightly in contact. For instance, the American Indians quickly learnt the use of firearms and intoxicants from the whites and the early American settlers learnt to consume food stuffs like potato, maize from the American Indians. Likewise, the migrants in America and Europe began to put on American and European clothing styles very quickly. Therefore, it can be argued that social contacts that are established finally yields in assimilation. The pace of assimilation purely depends upon the nature of contacts. If the contacts are primary in nature than assimilation takes place naturally and more quickly. Likewise, if the contacts are secondary or indirect or superficial then the result is accommodation and not assimilation.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 221 14.9 Obstacles and Aids to Assimilation Like integration, assimilation is also complex process. There are certain factors that smoothens the assimilation process and others which blocks it. The assimilation rate is dependent upon whether the facilitating or retarding factor predominates. The factors that block assimilation process are isolating conditions of life, attitude of superiority on the part of the dominant group, excessive physiological, cultural, and social differences between the groups and discrimination of the minority by the majority groups. According to Gillin and Gillin, factors that encourage assimilation are toleration, equal economic opportunity, sympathetic attitude on the part of dominant group towards the minority, exposure to dominant culture, similarities between the culture of minority and dominant group and amalgamation or inter-marriage among the minority and dominant groups. On the other hand, the factors affecting assimilation are isolating, conditions of life, attitudes of superiority on the part of superior groups, excessive psychological, cultural, and social differences between the groups and persecution of the minority groups by the majority groups. MacIver has given the list of factors which facilitates and obstructs the process of assimilation. They are as follows: i. The level of development of the host society The immigrant's reception in the new land is dependent largely on the existing condition of the host society at the time of their entry. For example in America before 1880s all kinds of migrants with diverse skills and potentials were welcomed and accepted in developing the new land and enhancing the growth of industries. Those who migrated to America after 1880s were not accepted in the similar manner. Those who moved to America after 1933 were seen as economic threat to the natives of America. ii. Level of occupational skills The migrant with working skills and capacities that is in demand in the new country has better advantage. For example, the worker with industrial skills is accepted more easily in industrial countries and the person with better agricultural skills has more advantage of being easily accepted in the agrarian economy countries.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 222 iii. The numbers involved It has been noted that the nature of a host group towards the immigrant group tends to be tolerant until the number of immigrants is less in number. For example, a single Indian or Japanese family in a community may be highly respected if the individuals are personally acceptable. If their number increases then the situation may not be the same. The larger proportion of new immigrants results in greater resistance of the host group for integration. Morena in his book titled "Who Shall Survive" has clearly highlighted that the increase in resentment in some cases have been due to the increase in number. iv. Physical Differences The difference in physical appearance, facial profile, complexion, skin colour etc. may also affect the process of assimilation. Physical features affect assimilation because one may set aside one's culture, but skin or other physical attributes are clearly visible without even mentioning it. The discrimination of blacks by whites was found across the world. However, the adjustment problems are much easier for groups whose physical appearances are similar to the people of the host land. It may also be noted that physical features alone do not produce hostility between people and groups like in the case of Southeast Asia or Latin America, but other factors operate to produce group antagonism, physical attributes becomes relative to inferiority and undesirability. v. Cultural differences The main constituents of culture are religion and language. If the immigrants have same religion or language to that of the people of the new land, then the process of assimilation is easier. In America the English-speaking immigrants do not find it tough to integrate to that society. However, for a non-English speaking person or group the assimilative process becomes challenging. Customs and beliefs are other cultural factors which helps are hinder the assimilation. vi. The role of semi-community At times the immigrant group that comes in great number develop their own colonies and practice their own native culture instead of participating in the

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 223 culture of the new land. Such semi-communities play an important role in the assimilative process. It helps the new immigrants of the same semi-community to easily settle down and adjust in the new land. At the same time such group is viewed by majority or the people of the host community as alien and distasteful. Apart from these factors MacIver has also pointed out that prejudice may also obstruct assimilation. If the dominant group prejudges those groups set apart neither the member of that group or the dominant group as a whole can assimilate easily. Prejudice may also hinder the assimilation of the constituent elements of the society. Religious groups often allow the social distance created by prejudice to maintain their separateness. Prejudice may be the result of distasteful experience, fear of losing superior status, fright for economic loss or form of collective phobia. Assimilation may be considered as a matter of degree. In big and complex societies complete assimilation is theoretical or hypothetical rather than realistic in nature. The minority or the assimilating groups not only contributes to the culture of the dominant or host group but also retains its cultural practices. Consequently, cultural pluralism emerges which implies incomplete assimilation. Should the minority or the immigrant be forced to assimilate with the majority becomes a polemic question. Some argues that it is essential for every individual to share some common ideals and values to participate in the sentiment common to the whole nation. There are also others who views that existence of minority cultural groups produces a richer culture. They believe in cultural pluralism and also uphold that cultural pluralism can solve the problem of prejudice. For instance, India has a rich cultural heritage because of the long-established tradition of cultural pluralism. However, it should also be kept in mind that certain incidents like that of Ayodhya of recent times are seemingly posing a threat to multi- cultural and plural Indian society. 14.10 Problems of Migration The process of migration is intrinsically conflictual in nature. Generally, migration occurs within and across nations mostly for employment opportunities, higher life
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 224 chances, for better income and livelihood. At the same time migration also results in conflicts between the local and the outsider, among ethnic or religious groups. At times people are compelled to migration due to factors like government's decision for land acquisition, domination of territory by outsiders or due to environmental problems. Although migration takes place mostly for economic reasons the consequences of migration may lead to social and political conflict. The migrants may take up the jobs which the locals do not want to perform, they may bring in new skills and technology, take up the waste lands and make them more productive and may also capture the job market and make the locals unemployed. Migrants may also over crowd the place of destination, speak languages and practice socio-cultural or religious beliefs that are alien or offensive to the actual inhabitants of the land. Migrants may also encroach lands and properties. As such the migrants may be viewed as xenophobic, racist, and communal. All these activities of the migrants may result in conflict between them and the locals. The south Asian experience of migration has witnessed that while analyzing migration it is not only the economic determinants and consequences that has to be considered but the socio-cultural and political forces which can create coercion and conflict in sending and receiving areas are also to be noted (Weiner 2004: 170). Migration brings together people of different groups into contact and creates the problem of assimilation. The problems of assimilation can be seen through the presence of ethnic ghettos, people who are entrapped between the conflicting values of two communities or culture and higher degree of deviant behaviour among the migrants. Migration often results in personal and social disorganisation when people have to live their places and settle in new areas. Therefore, in many cases migrants are found to be more prone to delinquent characteristics, mental sickness, adult crime, prostitution, divorce, and other social problems. Although migration does bring different people with various skills, beliefs, customs, and technology into contact with one another and foster positive influence. However, at times negative consequences arise out of such interactions. For instance, the destruction caused by the Mongols while entering the Europe (Denisoff and Wahrman 1975). Migration at times may also be responsible for resource scarcity which gradually becomes the prime cause for political issue and conflict. Migration can also surface as an essential factor for social construction of identity and source of social conflict

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 225 (Weiner 2004). In Assam, the major conflict is associated with migration and migrants. Due to the migration induced population growth there are cases of lack of employment opportunities and the subsequent environmental degradation. As such migration can become an issue of human and environmental security (Ketkar 2005). 14.11 Conclusion In present day India one of the major issues is the demographic changes due to migration. Due to migration and invasions the northeastern states of India have more than 500 ethnic communities. India in 20th century India under the British rule massive scale of migration took place in Assam, North Bengal, and Tripura. This trend continued even after the independence. Again in 1971, large number of people migrated to West Bengal and northeast India from the then East Bengal and present- day Bangladesh, due to the Indo-Pak war. These incidents led to the anti-migration movement in Assam. The effect of migration can be clearly observed in Tripura which had a tribal majority in 20th century. Now the tribals have become minority in their own homeland. This has resulted in the emergence of social movements like ULFA, Bodo, Karbi and Dimasa movements. Although the Indians are dominating the global job market scenario in one hand, on the other hand there is a brain drain from the country. The government has failed to tap or capture the potential of those migrating skilled labour force for the welfare and development of one's own nation. The brain drain has escalated more after the Indians have excelled in software technology. The government has been trying to stop the colossal loss of brainpower. However, the Indian skilled labour force is bought in heft prices by developed nations like USA, UK, Canada or Australia. The massive out migration of skilled labour force has negative affected the labour sending countries. Such migration will surely have an adverse effect on the national labour force, production activities and generation of better national income (Majumdar 2013). According to Weiner (2004: 164) migration to a certain extent
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 226 is responsible for the rise of social urban problems like squatters of settlement, high rates of unemployment, soaring level of pollution of different types, sanitation problems, scarcity of drinking water, growing cases of disease, malnutrition and infant mortality, low literacy rate and high rate of child labour. 14.12 Summary Out of the three demographic processes (birth, death, and migration), the most significant is the human migration in sociology. Migration is one of the important factors for demographic change along with fertility and mortality. But, migration is not a biological variable unlike fertility and mortality, but a product of social, cultural, economic and political, or physical circumstances.

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Migration refers to the movement of people from one location to another.

It is a way to move from one place to another in order to live and work. Movement of people from their house to another city, state, or country for a job, shelter or some other reasons is called migration. Migration from rural to urban areas has increased in the past few years in India. Integration occurs in the public and private, realms across generation and at the individual, family, community, and national levels. Integration is the act of bringing together smaller components into a single system that functions as one. These links usually are established between the components of the process and central layers of each system to promote the free flow of a data across systems. How does the integration come into existence? i) The act/process of uniting different things ii) The practice of uniting people for different races in an attempt to give people equal rights. In sociology, the concept of social integration refers to the ways that different groups come together to form a whole in society. It might refer to cases when minority groups become part of mainstream society or when groups of individuals come together to make a cohesive whole. National integration is the bond and togetherness between people regardless of their caste, creed, religion, or gender. It is the feeling of oneness, brotherhood, and
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 227 social unity under communities and society in a country. National integration helps keep the country unified and strong from within despite the diversities. So, the importance of national integration can be from the fact that the nation which remains integrated. It will always progress on the track and development and integrity. 14.13 Questions Answer the following questions in your own words G-A (5 Marks each) i. What is migration? ii. What is integration? iii. Briefly explain the different modes of integration. iv. What do you mean by the term assimilation? v. What is the major objective of integration? vi. Highlight the problems of integration. G-B (10 Marks each) vii. Write a note on the problems of integration. viii. Discuss the various stages involved in assimilation. ix. Examine the problems of migration. x. Elaborate the factors that assist and obstruct the assimilation. 14.14 Suggested Readings i. Abraham, M.F (2008): An Introduction to Concepts and Theories, New Delhi: Oxford University Press. ii. Bhende, A.A. and Kanitkar, T (2004): Principles of Population Studies, Mumbai: Himalayan Publishing House. iii. Bhusan, V. and Sachdeva, D.R (2008). An Introduction to Sociology. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal.

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NSOU ? GE-SO-21 229 Unit 15 ? Displacement and Rehabilitation: Problems and Policies Structure 15.1 Objectives 15.2 Introduction 15.3 Rehabilitation 15.4 Background of Displacement in India 15.5 Displacement and Rehabilitation Policies 15.6 Problems of Displacement and Rehabilitation 15.7 Conclusion 15.8 Summary 15.9 Questions 15.10 Suggested Readings 15.1 Objectives The purpose of this unit is to discuss the following: ? The meaning of displacement and rehabilitation. ? Displacement in India. ? Displacement and rehabilitation policies in India. ? The problems of displacement and rehabilitation. Migration has been taking place since time immemorial. It is regarded as one of important factors for demographic change. As a result of migration, the integration and assimilation of the individual or group with the host community depends upon many factors. Post-independence development projects have been one of the factors for migration and displacement and the rehabilitation of the displaced people are still under process.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 230 15.2 Introduction Among various issues that have drawn the attention of the scholars, social scientists and researchers in the present times, the most popular ones are the issues relating to development, displacement, and rehabilitation. The United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights has proclaimed that right to housing is a basic human right. Most of the displacements in India have resulted due to land acquisition by the government for various reasons. The Government of India under the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 started to acquire lands for public interest and for companies. The acquired land could be used for purposes like establishment of multi-purpose irrigation dams, canals, national parks, sanctuaries, forest reserves, and mining and for construction of highways and communication system. According to the Ministry of Rural Development, 1996 until 1985 almost 15.5 million people were displaced. Social activists concerned with displacement gives a larger figure and argue that about 20 to 30 million people were displaced. Forced displaced people differ from migrants in a sense that they are forced by the law to migrate to other places as their properties and lands are acquired by the state for public interest. Displaced people also include the tenants, sharecroppers, landless labourers and others engaged in the acquired land or region. Traditionally government used to pay compensation to the people whose properties had been acquired but not to large number of people who have been affected by the land acquisition. It is also argued that in most cases the compensation was not sufficient for rehabilitation. Consequently, the displaced people also faced problems in finding employment (Weiner 2004: 168-169). The term "displaced persons" was developed by a Russian-American sociologist Eugene M. Kulischer, the author of The Displacement of Population in Europe. Kulischer has used the term to all categories of forced mobility in Europe during the war periods (Montreal 1943 quoted in Terminski 2013:6). However, the contemporary meaning of the term "displaced persons" differs from its earlier meaning, which is limited mostly to the issue of internal mobility. Research related with displacement and resettlement was limited to cases relating to the social consequences of economic development in peripheral countries. The processes of decolonization introduced many policies resulting in forced internal migrations (Terminski 2013: 6-7). According to the Social and Human Science website, the displacement of people refers to the forced movement of people from their locality or environment and occupational activities. Displacement can lead to a geographic shift in households, which may

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 231 preserve or increase economic and racial segregation throughout an area. In regard to population displacement resulting from development, there are typically two types: Direct Displacement, which leads to the actual displacement of people from their locations and Indirect Displacement, which leads to a loss of livelihood. Forced to leave the home region to which they are attached, and for which they have the knowledge and opportunity to make a living most effectively, displaced populations often become impoverished. The displacement of people, as a result of development projects, policies and processes, therefore constitutes a social cost for development (Panigrahi 2018: 79-80). Various Indian anthropologists, sociologists and social activists have reported the consequences of displacement. For instance, Cernea (1996: 1518) is of the opinion that displacement results in landlessness, homelessness, unemployment, subjugation, food crisis, separation from the access to use common properties, high rate of deaths and illness and social disarticulation. According to Fernandes and Thakural (1989) most of the displaced people in the last four decades are tribals. The displacement of tribals is severe because they have common landholdings, depends mostly on forests, non-commercial or non-monetized forms of economy and they also lack skills for other job opportunities. The first studies on the social impacts of development-induced displacement were carried out by anthropologists like Elizabeth Colson, Thayer Scudder and Robert Fernea. Studies of development-induced displacement had already begun by the mid-fifties and early sixties, in the context of such projects as the Great Dam of Aswan, the Kariba Dam on the Zambezi and the Akosombo Dam on Lake Volta in Ghana. During the fifties and sixties anthropological studies on resettlement in other parts of the world also began. A study on urban relocation in Boston was undertaken in the early sixties by American sociologist Hubert Gans. The first more advanced analysis of forced migrations due to long-term environmental disruptions started during the nineteen-seventies. The problem of population pressure due to environmental problems and declining resources was done in the nineteen forties in the context of the Dust Bowl or the problem of overpopulation by an American ecologist William Vogt. It was only in the seventies that research in the areas of displacement and rehabilitation became more advanced when international institutions such as UNEP became involved in the issue of displacement and rehabilitation. Prolonged natural disasters like cyclones in Bangladesh and drought in the Sahel region had strongly affected the
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 232 dynamics of internal and transnational forced migration in those countries. The significance on the study of the impact of population growth, effect of natural disasters and declining resources in the most populated countries of Asia began to develop. In 1980 the first World Bank guidelines of involuntary resettlement were adopted. The first half of the eighties was a period of progress in the studies on development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR). The book Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development edited by Michael M. Cernea and published by the World Bank initiated the importance of more advanced studies in this area. It was in the mid and late eighties that the term “development- induced displacement and resettlement” (DIDR) first started to appear in scientific writings and publications. In recent years, the scientific community has given stress on all causes of displacement, occurring mostly due to the rapid development. Terms such as dam-induced displacement, hydropower induced displacement, mining- induced displacement, conservation-induced displacement, and oil-induced displacement have emerged in the scientific discourse. Recently studies on displacement has focused on the following issues, i. Analysis of the causes and consequences of displacement, ii. Relations between this issue and areas of security, human rights, and development studies, iii. Gender and ethnic dimensions of displacement, iv. Analysis of ways to minimize negative consequences of displacement, together with mechanisms of humanitarian assistance for affected people, v. Integration of displaced persons within host communities and their lives within closed structures such as camps for displaced people (IDP camps), vi. The relations between displacement and stability, conflict, and post-conflict peace building, and vii. Analysis of several categories of actors involved in displacement. Equally important areas of displacement discourse include research on the psychological consequences of displacement for individuals affected by this problem, and on the interrelations of conflict, displacement and security. The dominant classifications of displacement are of four types. They include conflict-induced

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 233 displacement, environmentally induced displacement, disaster-induced displacement, and development-induced displacement. According to the most common understanding of the term, conflict-induced displacement refers to people who are forced to leave their habitual place of residence because of current escalation of internal violence. Such a narrow understanding of the problem is therefore similar to the overall meaning of the term "internally displaced persons" (IDPs). Internally displaced people are mainly associated with victims of internal violence who are forced to move to another place. It is estimated that the current population of conflict-induced displaced people comprises more than 20 million people worldwide. But the annual growth rate in the number of people forced to leave their places of residence as a result of current internal conflicts amounts to only a few million people. The term "conflict-induced displacement people" may also refer to a much broader population than only those individuals forced to leave their homes following internal armed conflicts. The most fundamental cause of displacement is the presence of dynamic conflict among several categories of actors within a static and limited territory. The desire to take control over a certain territory and its resources becomes a cause of conflict which forces its residents to leave their current homes. Each of the already mentioned causes of displacement involves certain antagonisms. The kind most visible and easy to analyze are displacements associated with conflict over resources or antagonisms based on ethnic background. In the case of development-induced displacement or conservation-induced displacement, territory becomes an arena of specific conflicts between the interests of the public or private sector and the requirements of people displaced or affected by development decisions. Development-caused displacement is often associated with conflict over resources which have led to landlessness and consequent problems like joblessness, homelessness, food insecurity, and social disarticulation. 15.3 Rehabilitation When it comes to rehabilitation as a subject of discussion, it has political, economic, and social implications. The post-independence model of development in India has been largely accountable for the deprivation of a significant section of the population in the name of the national interest. The developments issues are also

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 234 often validated on the grounds that some should sacrifice for the greater interest of national development. This very explanation has violated the fundamental human rights of many people who mostly belong to the lower rungs of the society. The most affected among these people are the tribals and the indigenous people. They have been the worst sufferers of development not just in India but also throughout the world. In India, about 8.08 per cent of the population has been recognised as tribes. When such matters of development, displacement and rehabilitation are discussed regarding to the tribal communities then they gain greater significance. What is more paradoxical is that the rehabilitation of these affected people is hardly given importance that it deserves. The term displacement can be understood in two ways. i. First, it may refer to eviction of people from their habitation without adequate compensation, guarantees or mechanisms of social support, or ii. Second, to the initial phase of a process of resettlement (associated with physical relocation of people from their homes). Displacement in this sense may be a distinct, negative phenomenon related to violation of fundamental human rights, or the first step in the rehabilitation process. Thus, the term "resettlement" therefore implies to physical, pre-planned relocation, combined with appropriate support mechanisms, including social support in the new place or location. Robert Chambers (1969) has stated that "resettlement has two characteristic features. i. First, it is a population movement and ii. Second, as an element of planning and control." Other sources claim that resettlement is defined as "the process by which individuals or a group of people leave spontaneously or un-spontaneously their original settlement sites to resettle in new areas where they can begin new trends of life by adapting themselves to the biophysical, social and administrative systems of the new environment."(Woube 2005: 19) According to the Encyclopedia of World Environmental History, resettlement may be defined as "the process through which populations displaced from their habitat and/or economic activities relocated to another site and re-establish their productive activities, services, and community life." (Krech et. al. 2004: 1046). This definition has strongly emphasised that

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 235 resettlement is a combination of physical relocation (displacement) with subsequent attempts to restore the displaced people's livelihood in the new place. 15.4 Background of Displacement in India Since the mid-nineteenth century, various Indian tribes began to organise protests and rebellions against British colonial laws like the Forest Act of 1876. This act prevented the use of the forest lands on which the tribals were dependent upon. Although India became independent in 1947, the history of displacement began with the colonial rule and it continues even in the post-Independence period in the name of development, progress, national self-sufficiency, industrialism, and large development projects. The numbers of people displaced by such programs and projects under the banner of national, regional, and local development are substantial (Patwardhan 2000). Approximately 10 million people per year are being displaced throughout the world over the last two decades (Cernea 2000). In India about 25 million people were displaced from 1947 to 1997 (Mahapatra 1999). After Independence, development projects under India's Five-Year plans have roughly displaced about 5,00,000 persons each year. They are removed from their lands by direct administrative actions of government. It is estimated that the total number of those displaced by development projects after independence is high as 40 million. India is one of the largest dam building nations in the world. There are 4291 dams in India. 3596 have been built and 695 are under construction (Patwardhan 2000). Soon after the independence, many large dams were planned and built on some of the major rivers in India. These dams had an objective to solve the problems of hunger and starvation by providing adequate irrigation system and boosting food production, controlling floods, and providing much required electricity for industrial purpose. Dam building in India has been viewed as the sole responsibility of engineers and technical professionals. As such, the social aspects of large dams, like the large-scale displacement it induced, were always ignored. One of the sad facts about dam building in India is the lack of reliable database on the performance and consequences of large dams. People's movements and researchers have played a pivotal role in bringing the social, ecological, and political impacts of large dams in the limelight. However, the participation of people in the planning and decision- making process of developmental projects is still considered to be irrelevant.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 236 The World Bank has recently showed interest in renewing funding to large hydropower projects in India in its draft India Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) for 2005-2008. The bank has not endorsed any new loans for large hydro projects in India since 1991, when it had sanctioned a loan for the NathpaJhakri Hydropower Project on the Sutlej River in the northern Indian state of Himachal Pradesh, the loan was terminated in 2002 before completion of the project due to non-implementation of environmental guidelines, plan, cost and time overruns and poor safety records leading to huge damages in 1993 and 2000. Earlier, the bank was compelled to pull out of the controversial Sardar Sarovar Project in 1993 amid agitation, independent review, and unsatisfactory social and environmental performance. It is to be noted that none of the large hydropower projects in the pipeline has been able to meet the standards achieved by both the Sardar Sarovar Project and the NathpaJhakri Project (Thakkar 2004). India's motive to open itself to the global economy and rely more on market forces after 1990's has accelerated the rate of displacement. It has been pointed out by various scholars that the hydroelectric and irrigation projects are the largest source of displacement and destruction of human settlement. Other major sources of displacement include mines, thermal and nuclear power plants, industrial complexes, military installations, weapons testing grounds, railways, roads, and the expansion of reserved forest areas, sanctuaries, and parks. Among the World Bank projects that involved displacement, 63% of the people displaced were caused by dam constructions. Although there are variations of figures in different reports, there is a general conception that dams are considered to be one of the major causes of displacement. Dams are responsible for about 75% to 80% of the total displacement. Almost one lakh sixty four thousand to four crores persons have been displaced by dams after independence. These numbers are substantial by any standards. On the other hand, only twenty-five per cent of those displaced by development projects have been rehabilitated and millions of people, almost 3 out of 4, have not been rehabilitated (Patwardhan 2000). 15.5 Displacement and Rehabilitation Policies The Indian state has the right and power to forcibly acquire private land for development projects without the consent of the landowner. The only prevailing law relating to involuntary displacement which covers the whole of India is the colonial

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 237 Land Acquisition Act of 1894 (LAA). Other such laws (without direct relevance to big dams) include the Coal Bearing Areas (Acquisition and Development) Act 1957, the Forest Act 1927 and the Army Manoeuvres and Practice Act, 1938. The most important principle of the LAA and related Acts is the doctrine of 'eminent domain', which means that the state enjoys ultimate power over all land within its geographical area. Accordingly, the state has the right to invoke this right for the public good. The compulsory acquisition of land cannot be challenged in the court of law or resisted by any citizen or community. In India, the only national law regarding displacement is the LAA, which places no legal obligation on either the project authorities or the state, beyond a limited conception of adequate compensation. Displacement of people for the construction of dams and barrages under the LAA was common in the pre-Independence era in India, but the concept of rehabilitation was absent then. The displaced were only granted compensation under the LAA for the land acquired. The idea of rehabilitation slowly came into existence when it was realized that compensation for land and property acquired was not enough to make good the loss of the displaced people. This idea was changed into reality through rehabilitation policies and packages in the context of projects like the Narmada Valley and the Tehri Dam (Khaitan and Priya 2009). In the mid-1980s, a draft of a rehabilitation policy, applicable for construction of all future dam projects, industrial, mining, and other development related projects was compiled. It was altered many times for about two decades. The draft rehabilitation policy by N.C Saxena in the 1990s was not executed although it had many constructive points. The issue was slowly forgotten until 2003 when the draft National Rehabilitation Policy was notified by the NDA government. This policy came into effect in February 2004 as the National Policy on Rehabilitation and Resettlement for Project Affected Families. The National Advisory Council (NAC), was not satisfied with this policy and it sent its own revised policy draft to the government. The policy makers then introduced a revised version of the 2003 Policy in the year 2006 which came to be known the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy of 2007. The policy has been criticized enormously, and one major positive outcome of these criticisms is that now the government is considering a National Rehabilitation Act rather than another rehabilitation policy. The Ministry of Rural Development is still in the process of drafting a bill to that effect. It has been almost NSOU ? GE-SO-21 238 seven decades that we became independent, and the absence of a national policy on rehabilitation is one of our great failures (Khaitan and Priya 2009). The National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy was notified on the 31st of October 2007. The objectives of the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy 2007 are as follows: i. To minimize displacement and to promote,' as far as possible, non-displacing or least-displacing alternatives; ii. To ensure adequate rehabilitation package and expeditious' implementation of the rehabilitation process with the active participation of the affected families; iii. To ensure that special care is taken for protecting the rights of the weaker sections of society, especially members of the Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and to create .obligations on the State for their treatment with concern and sensitivity; iv. To provide a better standard of living, making concerted efforts for providing sustainable income to the affected families; v. To integrate rehabilitation concerns into the development planning and implementation process; and vi. Where displacement is on account of land acquisition, to facilitate harmonious relationship between the requiring body and affected families through mutual cooperation (Ministry of Rural Development 2007). The National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy 2007 has also been sternly criticized for carrying the capacity to cause further conflicts in land acquisitions and leading to human rights abuses. i. First, the policy, despite of concerning on its main aim of minimizing displacement, is unvoiced on the procedure to be followed to enforce the same. The absence of clear-cut guidelines gives enough space for evading responsibility by the project authorities. Since such an objective is achievable only at the project conception stage when it could lead to the change in the choice of technology and project size, the absence of such directions would defeat the objective itself.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 239 ii. Second, the Policy while providing for land-for-land compensation declares that this is subject to the availability of government land in resettlement areas. Also, preference for employment in the project for at least one member in the nuclear family is subject to the "availability of vacancies and suitability of affected person". Such qualifying words only help and promote the interest of the project developers so that they can evade responsibility. Also, deleting the 2006 draft provision which specified that the emergency provisions of Section 1716 of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, should be 'used rarely' and only after providing 'full justification' for the proposed project, is yet another benefit in disguise to the project developers who are waiting to bypass their duty to relocate the affected people. Another clause in the policy (7.18) implies that land can be acquired by the state under Section 17 of the LAA, 1894, by keeping the affected families in "transit and temporary accommodation, pending rehabilitation and resettlement scheme or plan". This could direct the project authorities ignoring the rehabilitation of the displaced and the latter losing the medium of enforcing their rights. Even though the Preamble of the 2007 Policy states that it will apply to all cases of involuntary displacement, clause 6.1 proclaims that the appropriate government has the authority to declare which regions are affected depending on the number of people being displaced, such that a particular locality will not be declared affected if the number of families being displaced is below four hundred in plain areas and below two hundred in hilly areas. This means that the Policy will not be applicable even if the number of families is just below the specified numbers. In spite of the assurance that there will be active participation of the affected persons in the process of resettlement and rehabilitation, the affected people are denied rights to participate in any informed decision-making process as regards the to the usage of their lands by the project developers. Also, the Policy does not make it obligatory to establish the achievability of the resettlement before proceeding with the project. All these loopholes must have to be corrected and just national rehabilitation legislation has to be introduced soon if the anguish of the displaced are to be lowered, if not completely cured. Thus, it is seen that the law has failed to effectively address the issue of rehabilitation of the displaced persons and needs to be reformed to better its current loopholes. Under such conditions, it becomes important to analyse the

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 240 position taken by the judiciary to gauge whether the courts could correct the discrepancy in the legal provisions to protect the rights of the people displaced owing to developmental projects (Khaitan and Priya 2009). 15.6 Problems of Displacement and Rehabilitation Majority of people depends upon agriculture in India. Primarily for this reason, large irrigation projects constructions are important for the over-all development of the country (Reddy 1988). Since the very time of independence, efforts were made right from the First Five Year Plan by Commissioning of irrigation and power projects in India (Tribal Research Bulletin 1986). Projects carried out for development have been considered as a major cause of population displacement (Mathur 1995). Various big development projects have been constructed in tribal areas or on lands owned by them. Tribals are viewed as simple people, with specific life-style, customs, and tradition. Displacement of these people disturbs their way of life, which leads to the degeneration of their social, cultural, religious, and economic values. These groups of people have been dependent on the common property primarily on forestland for their livelihood and survival. Many tribals and other forest dwellers falls under the forest laws, but the laws do not give them the right to ownership of lands despite of habiting and cultivating in these forest lands for several generations (Fernandes and Thukral 1989). According to the present law, they are not entitled to any compensation. Thus, in the name of development, there is a disparity between the group of people that takes the benefits from the developmental project and those who suffers (Mahapatra 1999). Again, just compensation of homes does not mean that they get compensated for the loss of their livelihood since the village is scattered and not reconstructed as a unit. After the implementation of planned development programs that started off from 1950-51, the economy of India witnessed undertaking of a large number of projects which may be grouped as: i. Irrigation and power projects, ii. Industries projects, iii. Mining projects, and iv. Forest and wildlife projects.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 241 The planners are concerned with the growth of GNP and NNP with the hope that benefit of economic growth would trickle down to the poor community. But this has disturbed the traditional resource-utilization pattern and existing mode of production encounters with an advanced mode of production. The interaction of these two processes has given rise to losers and gainers in development (Nath 1998). Displacement of persons from their settlements when their lands are acquired for infrastructure projects is an inevitable process. No infrastructure project has been completed without displacing people. If development is one side of a coin, displacement is the other side (Ramesh 1998). Most of the displacement has been due to irrigation, power, and mining projects. These projects are taken up in areas rich in natural resources like water, minerals and ores and forests. These areas mostly inhibited by tribal people. The Working Group on Development and Welfare of Schedule Tribes during Eighth Five Year Plan (1990-95) reports that out of the 16.94 lakhs person displaced by 110 projects studied, 8.14 lakhs were tribal (Thukral 1992). Till 1990 Fernandes (1994) estimates that 2,13,00,000 people were displaced by development projects in India. Vast numbers of them are tribals. Out of a total of 74,10,000 tribal people displaced, only 24.9% have been rehabilitated and a staggering 75.1% still await rehabilitation (Fernandes 1991). The most negative outcomes of economic development are seen in dictatorial countries where there is a presence of great social inequality, and a large group of people are in most cases completely excluded from the economy. An advanced country characterised by a democratic form of government, with freedom of expression, and extended participation of people in the decision-making processes, cannot afford to implement socially costly development projects which would lead to mass displacement. Much resistance is observed worldwide due to a direct consequence of exclusion from planning, decision-making and monitoring of involuntary resettlement. In almost all the developed democratic countries the cause of population displacement may be due to development projects for public purposes. However, even in case of Western Europe, we can find cases of developmental projects that have led to large- scale rehabilitation. For instance, it is reported that during the twentieth century lignite mining in Germany led to the displacement of almost 30,000 to 100,000 people. More problems and challenges are observed in less developed countries or those implementing an intensive model of economic development, detached from the principles of sustainable development. The largest scale of development-induced displacement and resettlement is seen in the world's most densely populated countries
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 242 like China and India. According to the Chinese National Research Center for Resettlement, over 45 million people have been displaced in China following development projects initiated in between 1950 and 2000, fifty two percent of this number owing to urban development projects (Stanley 2002: 4). The problem of displacement is equally high in the twentieth-century India. According to Paranjpye (1988) construction of dams had compelled the involuntary resettlement of at least 21.6 million people up to that date. According to Taneja and Thakkar (2000), the establishment of dams alone recorded the displacement of 21 and 40 million people in India. Mahapatra argues that development might have displaced 25 million people in India during the second part of the twentieth century, from 1947 to 1997. These figures seem to have been underestimated. According to Nalin Singh Negi and Sujata Ganguly (2011), over 50 million people in India have been displaced over the last 50 years. Dr Walter Fernandes of the Northeastern Social Research Centre (NESRC) has estimated that at least sixty million people have been displaced and affected by development projects in India. An Indian government statement of 1994 gives the number of over 10 million development-induced displaced people in the country who are still "awaiting rehabilitation" (quoted in Terminski 2013). It is also apparent that project authorities do not consider the problems of displacement and rehabilitation as important parts of the project. The primary concerns are engineering specifications and electricity and irrigation benefits. In this event, concerned authorities seldom undertake detailed and systematic surveys of the population to be displaced (Thakural, 1992; Patwardhan 2000; Cernea 2000). Researchers have reported that after the 1990s the percentage of project displaced persons has increased to 50% of the total number. The tribal communities are socially, economically, and politically the weakest and the most deprived communities in India. Independent India was committed to give them an equal status through its constitutional protection. While the social, economic, and educational development of these communities has been recognized as one of the important national objectives, these communities have been harmed in the process of national development. They have been uprooted from their ancestral land, often forced to migrate to urban slums in search of employment or become landless labourers. These communities have to suffer for development of the urban areas and large farmers, by providing irrigation and electricity. In an unequal society like India, dams have served to take away two most important natural resources for the benefit of the advantaged class. The two

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 243 resources being water and land are taken away from less powerful communities like Adivasis. Natural, self-sufficient economies of tribal people are sustained and nurtured through close proximity to forest, river, and mountains. These areas are rich in terms of resource. These areas are most likely to be dammed or mined. Many tribal recognised as development sites best suited for building large multi-purpose river valley projects like mines, thermal power stations, or paper factories. Geographic location of tribal habitats is one major reason why such large numbers of Adivasis have been displaced. Displacement has aggravated the process of alienating small and marginal farmers and Adivasis from their natural resource base. The indigenous peoples live in vulnerable ecosystems, in very poor social and economic conditions because of which they have to suffer from problems of basic health and education, leading to high infant mortality, low life expectancy, and high illiteracy rate along with large-scale unemployment (Terminski, 2013). On the other hand, the abundant resources in the tribal territories has become harmful for them, which is paradoxical (Dutta, 2007). The tribals, who are already socially marginalized, are further distressed by the projects that displace them. Displacement cannot be a prerequisite for the tribal people to get access to basic public facilities like health care, education, or transport. It is their right as citizens of the nation and to get these facilities wherever they live in. Besides, the last 50 years of experience has demonstrated that despite protective legislation and special constitutional provisions for tribal people, increased contact with the mainstream has alienated them from their natural resource base and its impact on tribal communities has been devastating (Patwardhan 2000). In a study conducted in 2006 by Walter Fernandes and his team on development- induced displacement in West Bengal between 1947 and 2000, it has been reported that 70 lakhs people had been adversely affected by projects; 39 lakhs of them had been physically displaced out of which only about three lakhs had been resettled by the projects. Thirty-six lakhs people have had to fend for themselves following displacement. Tribals make up 20 per cent of this and Dalits 30 per cent. Almost thirty-one lakhs lost their land or livelihood without being physically relocated. At the same period, in Assam, the study estimates that around 25 lakhs people have been deprived or dislocated by the development projects (Ramanathan 2006). A Report brought out in November by the South Asia Network on Dams, River and People (SANDRP) has given a clear picture of the extent of rehabilitation. According to it, the government has not met even the basic requirements of a rehabilitation process.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 244 For instance, it does not have a database on the number of people affected and their incomes and livelihood patterns. Nor does it have a comprehensive policy that considers all aspects of displacement, the availability of suitable land, and the need to settle village communities as social entities that are intact (Rajalakshmi 2002). This was the condition before the coming of the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy, 2007. 15.7 Conclusion Various policies for rehabilitation for displaced people began to be drafted since mid-1980s, in 1990's under N.C. Saxena and in 2003 under the NDA government. In 2004 the National Policy on Rehabilitation and Resettlement for Project Affected Families was implemented but the National Advisory Council (NAC), was not satisfied with this policy and it sent its own revised policy draft to the government. In 2006 the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy of 2007 was introduced but it was heavily criticized. The Ministry of Rural Development is still in the process of drafting a rehabilitation bill. It has been more than seven decades that the country became independent, and the absence of a firm national policy on rehabilitations is one of the great failures. 15.8 Summary The major issues related to displacement and rehabilitation is as follows: a) Tribals are usually the most affected amongst the displaced that are already poor. Displacement further increases their poverty due to loss of land, home, jobs, food insecurities, loss of access to common property assets, increased morbidity, and mortality and, social isolation. b) Break up of families in an important social issue arising due to displacement in which the women are the worst affected. And they are not even given cash/ land compensation. c) The Tribal are not familiar with the market policies and trends even if they get cash compensation, they get alienated in the modern economic setup. d) The land acquisition laws ignore the communal ownership of property, which is an inbuilt system amongst the tribal. Thus, the tribal lose their communitarian

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 245 basis of economic and cultural existence. In this way, they feel like fish out of water. e) Kinship systems, marriages, social and cultural functions, their folk songs dances and activities vanish with their displacement, even when they are resettled, it is individual based resettlement, which totally ignores communal settlement. f) Loss of identification of individuals and the loss of connection between the people the environment is the greatest loss in this process. The indigenous knowledge that they have regarding the wild life and the herbal plants are lost. Objectives of rehabilitation: The following objectives of rehabilitation should be kept in mind before the people are given an alternative site for living: i) Tribal communities should be allowed to live along the lives of their own patterns and others should avoid imposing anything on them. ii) The displaced people should be given employment opportunities. iii) Villagers should be taken into confidence at every stage of implementation of the displacement and they should be educated. Each year, millions of people around the globe are forcibly relocated and resettled away from their homes, lands, and livelihoods in order to make way for largescale development projects such as dams, reservoirs, powerplants, roads, plantations, urban, renewal, and oil, gas, and mining projects. This forced relocation is known as Development-induced Displacement and Resettlement, or DIDR, develop- ment and destruction go hand in hand, while a country develops, it is always at the cost of something or someone. 15.9 Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. What do you understand by the term displacement? ii. Briefly discuss the major reasons for displacement in India. iii. Write a note on development induced displacement.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 246 G-B (10 Marks each) iv. Evaluate the displacement and rehabilitation policies of India. v. Discuss the problems of displacement and rehabilitation. 15.10 Suggested Readings i. Cernea, M.M. (1996): "Public Policy Responses to Development Induced Population Displacement", Economic Political Weekly, Vol. 31, No. 24, pp. 1515-23. ii. Cernea, M.M. (2000): "Impoverishment Risks, Risk Management, and Reconstruction: A Model of Population Displacement and Resettlement," Washington DC: The World Bank. iii. Chambers, Robert (1969): Settlement schemes in Tropical Africa: A Study of Organizations and Development, London: Praeger. iv. Dutta, A. (2007): Development-Induced Displacement And Human Rights, New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications. v. Fernandes, W. and Thakural, E.G. (ed) (1989): Development, Displacement, and Rehabilitation, New Delhi: Indian Social Institute. vi. Khaitan, Babul and Priya, Nitya (2009): Rehabilitation Of The Displaced Persons In India, NUJS Law Review. vii. L.K. Mahapatra, (1999): "Testing the Risks and Reconstruction Model on India's Resettlement Experiences," The Economics of Involuntary Resettlement: Questions and Challenges, Michael M. Cernea (ed.), Washington, DC: World Bank. viii. Mahapatra, Lakshman K. (1999): "Testing the Risks and Reconstruction Model on India's Resettlement Experiences," The Economics of Involuntary Resettlement: Questions and Challenges, Michael Cemea (ed), Washington, DC: World Bank. ix. Mathur, H.M. (1995): "The Resettlement of People Displaced by Development Projects Issues and Approaches," Development, Displacement and Resettlement: Focus on Asian Experiences, Delhi: Vikash Publishing House Private Limited.
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NSOU ? GE-SO-21 248 Module VI: Population, Development and Environment Unit 16 ?Population growth, Environment and Sustainable Development: The Inter- relationship Structure 16.1 Objectives 16.2 Introduction 16.3 Environment 16.4 Development and Environment Degradation 16.5 Environmental Protection 16.6 From Un-sustainable to Sustainable Development 16.7 Sustainable Development—The Core Idea 16.8 Sustainable Development—Environment Linkage 16.9 Population—Environment Linkage 16.10 Burden of Population on Environment 16.11 Rural Population and Environment 16.12 Urban Population and Environment 16.13 Environment Protection—A Necessity 16.14 Conclusion 16.15 Summary 16.16 Questions 16.17 Suggested Readings 16.1 Objectives The objective of the unit is to acquaint the students with the interrelationship between environment and development as well as between population and environment.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 249 The objective is to show how both the process of development and the population growth affect the environment adversely. Learners will get the idea how adversely they are affecting the environment and the policy measures adopted in this behalf. 16.2 Introduction Idea of sustainable development has become increasingly popular in contemporary world. It has become a buzzword being used in too many contexts today. Sustainable development is the meeting of needs and aspirations

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of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

In view of the environmental degradation and population growth the concept has earned greater importance for last few decades. In fact, growth of population in the world is unprecedented in the human history, particularly in the developing nations. Rapidly growing population in developing countries is likely to put great strain on the resources and natural reserves of the world. Hence sustainable development would balance the needs of society, the economy and the environment. 16.3 Environment By the term 'environment' we mean the physical, chemical and biological surroundings in which an organism exists. Environment, therefore, at least initially, was the gift of nature. Prior to 20th century there was no major evidence of human influence on environment. Environmental degradation up to this period was mainly due to natural disaster. However, this does not mean that up to that period natural resources are neither use nor wasted by men. But what happened was that these were not used beyond their regenerating capacity. Therefore, what was used was regenerated. But once the population of this planet exceeded the carrying capacity of the mother earth, the situation started changing. The nature could not get to compensate its resources loss due to over-consumption by the humans. In course of time these led to serious environmental degradation behind which there lies the need and greed of humankind. 16.4 Development and Environment Degradation Human activity in general and the process of rapid industrialization in particular have been causing massive environmental damage all over the world. Most of the NSOU ? GE-SO-21 250 environmental and ecological damage is irreversible leading to widespread concerns among the environmentalists regarding the sustainability of the present rates of economic growth. Some even question the blind pursuit of such growth. Although quantitative and monetary estimation of environmental degradation is not possible, some estimates for various countries have been attempted in recent years. As far as India is concerned, the latest estimate is for the year 2009 presented in World Bank's report India: Diagnostic Assessment of Select Environmental Challenges released in June 2013. This report estimates the total cost of environmental degradation in India at about 3.75 trillion annually, equivalent to 5.7 per cent of GDP in 2009. In addition to this, India has experienced some damages from natural disasters (floods, landslides, tropical cyclones, and storms). These are not included in the above figures. According to the Report, over the period 1953-2009 damages from natural disasters stood at Rs. 150 billion a year on average and took the form of loss of life and injury, losses to livestock and crops and losses to property and infrastructure. In this context, the following comments by Dreze and Sen on environmental degradation in India are also pertinent, "In India, we have huge reasons to be worried about our treatment of the environment and its implication for the lives people can lead in this increasingly polluted and environmentally devastated country. Indeed, the acceleration of economic growth in recent decades has coincided with unprecedented environmental plunder. Groundwater has been extracted with abandon, leading to sharp fall in water tables in many areas. Majestic rivers have been reduced to a trickle or to sewage drains. Mining activities (often illegal) have spread with few safeguards, destroying forest and displacing communities. Air pollution has risen so far that India is now rated as the most polluted among 132 countries for which comparable data are available. India's natural wealth is estimated to have shrunk by about 6 percent in value terms between 1990 and 2008. And all this might be no more than just a harbinger of things to come: many types of environmental damages are likely to accelerate in the near future, with, for instance, hundreds of dams being planned on the Ganges River and its tributaries alone." 16.5 Environmental Protection During the last few decades, many experts have drawn attention to the close links between environment and development. The mad rush for industrial growth has, over

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 251 the years, led to environmental degradation on a large-scale accompanied by massive resource depletion. In their study The Limits to Growth published in 1972, D.H. Meadows, D.L. Meadows and R. Randers drew attention to the fact that there are a number of non-renewable resources whose present levels of consumption are such that the known reserves will be exhausted in not-so-distant future. Many later studies have also highlighted the danger of environmental degradation. Thus, the focus has now shifted to 'environmental protection'. According to the World Development Report (WDR) 1992, environmental problems can undermine the goals of development in two ways: "First, environmental quality—water that is safe and plentiful and air that is healthy—is itself part of the improvement in welfare that development attempts to bring. If the benefits from rising incomes are offset by the costs imposed on health and the quality of life by pollution, this cannot be called development. Second, environmental damage can undermine future productivity. Soils that are degraded, aquifers that are depleted, and ecosystems that are destroyed in the name of raising incomes today can jeopardise the prospects for earning income tomorrow." Therefore, environmental protection should form a part of any comprehensive programme of industrial development. In this context, the social scientists now emphasise the concept of sustainable development. 16.6 From Un-sustainable to Sustainable Development Man is part of the nature, and he is bound to obey the laws of nature. He depends on his environment for food, water, air, space, and shelter. His intervention has made more significant changes in the natural environment for his developmental activities like agriculture, urbanization, industrialization mining, transportation, and technology. More developmental activities are adopted in order to increase the quality of life. For that he uses the available resources. The earth has a limited supply of resources and renewable resources. This is all to be managed in a scientific manner so that the generations to come can avail it. Hence developmental activities are to be taken with more care about the environment and its protection. Over the past three decades the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) has come to understand the necessity of developing a linkage between meeting the needs of people for natural resources and conserving for protecting the natural resources and the environment. This linkage has been identified
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 252 and named as 'sustainable development'. The WCED's report in 1987 provided a commonly accepted definition for sustainable development that was reaffirmed at the Earth Summit in 1992. Sustainable development is defined clearly in the Brundtland Report Our Common Future (1987) in the following words: "

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sustainable development seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

Sustainable development must balance the needs of society, the economy, and the environment. In the year 1992 the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held at Rio de Janerio, recognized the pressing environment and development problems of the world. It produced a global program of action for sustainable development into the 21st century by adapting Agenda 21. According to the Agenda 21 the countries should adopt national strategies for sustainable development, which should provide a balance in the needs of plans and policies of society, the economy, and the environment of the country. The first principle of Rio declaration is the sustainable development. The Rio declaration states that, "human beings are at the centre of concern for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with the nature. Every generation should leave air, water and soil resources without any pollution as pure as it came to the Earth". The three important components of sustainable development are: i. Economic development like industrial development getting job opportunities utilisation of natural resources for developing the quality of life. ii. Community development providing food shelter cloth education and others essential for the human beings. iii. Environmental protection providing clean air water and environment for the present and future generations and utilisation of resources in a sustainable manner. 16.7 Sustainable Development—The Core Idea The term, "Sustainable development" was coined by the Brundtland Commission which observes "living standards that go beyond the basic minimum sustainable only if consumption standards everywhere have regard for long-term sustainability".

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 253 Sustainable development is defined as balancing the fulfillment of human needs with the protection of the natural environment so that these needs can be met not only in the present, but in the indefinite future. Sustainable development is a pattern of resource use that aims to meet human needs while preserving the environment. The field of sustainable development is conceptually divided into four general dimensions: social, economic, environmental, and institutional. The first three dimensions address key principles of sustainability, while the final dimension addresses key institutional policy and capacity issues. Thus sustainability, is a process which ensures the development of all aspects of human life affecting sustenance. It means resolving the conflict between the various competing goals, and involves the simultaneous pursuit of economic prosperity, environmental quality and social equity famously known as three dimensions with is the resultant vector being technology. Hence it is a continually evolving process. The journey (the process of achieving sustainability) is of course vitally important, but only as a means of getting to the destination (the desired future state). However, the 'destination' of sustainability is not a fixed place in the normal sense that we understand destination. Instead, it is a set of characteristics of a future society. Sustainable development is an eclectic concept, as a wide array of views fall under its umbrella. Different conceptions also reveal a strong tension between eco- centrism and anthropocentrism. Sustainable development ties together concern for the carrying capacity of natural systems with the social challenges facing humanity. As early as the 1970s 'sustainability' was employed to describe an economy in equilibrium with basic ecological support systems. Ecologists have pointed to the limits of growth and presented the alternative of a steady state economy in order to address environmental concerns. The field of sustainable development can be conceptually broken into three constituent parts: environmental sustainability, economic sustainability, and sociopolitical sustainability. Sustainable development cannot ignore any of the three. If we ignore the social dimension, the development process may be viable, if we ignore the environmental dimension, the development process may be equitable and if we ignore the economic dimension, the development process may be bearable, but not sustainable. In other words, the search for equity neglects environmental aspects, and the search for viability neglects social dimension and search for bear ability ignores economic efficiency. Thus, sustainable development process is that trajectory which is the synergy of efficiency, equity and acceptability.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 254 16.8 Sustainable Development—Environment Linkage Sustainable development integrates the imperatives of developmentalism and environmentalism. It highlights the long-term doomsday scenario and puts emphasis on economic-ecological integration and regional scale. It consists of all the objectives, (Efficiency, growth, production, more consumption, more quantity etc.) of narrow economic system. Ecological sustainability requires economic efficiency. But an efficient use of resources need not be a sustainable one. It shows a compassionate concern for the posterity and for the world as a whole. It contends that environment and growth are not contradictory or incompatible. Healthy environment and sound resource base are rather prerequisites for sustainable development which is defined as the progress that seeks to meet the needs and aspirations

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of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their

requirements. This reconciles the need for conservation with the need for development at one stroke. Sustainable development is based on a broader economic system which fulfils intergenerational equity criteria. Its objectives are future quality, protection, conservation etc. The environmental and natural resources directly affect the standard of living or quality of life of people. The welfare of the individual is ultimately dependent upon the viability of life supporting system. An apparently efficient development path may not be sustainable. Sustainable development reconciles the need for environmental conservation and developmental thrust at one stroke. It is based upon a broader economic system, which includes all activities that affect the environment and energy base. An analysis of the capability of the economic system for resolving economic problems of allocating scarce resources to different and competing ends must include both the flow of natural and environmental resources into the production process and the flow of wastes from the production and consumption activities back to the environment. Sustainability necessitates the maintenance of the level of well-being so that it improves, but at least never allows a decline through time. Trends continued cannot be simply assumed. The implications for valuation are quite different, necessarily more stringent than what is implied by consideration of efficiency alone. The broad economic system should emphasise on green growth and green GNP.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 255 Economic development adversely affects the environment, which undermines the health and reduces the quality of life. It eventually slows down the process of economic development. On the contrary sustainable development improves and conserves the environment, which encourages the development process. Development with sound environment and ecological balance improves the health and quality of life which eventually maintains the sustainable development. Sustainable development can be achieved only if the environment is conserved and improved. Moreover, a development path is sustainable if and only if the stock of overall capital assets remains constant or rises over time. This implies keeping the stock of natural capital at least constant. More strictly, the requirement is for non-negative change in the stock of natural resources and environmental quality. In basic terms, the environment should not be degraded further but improvements would be welcome. The argument quite simply is that the resource base of a country and the quality of its air, water, and land represents a common heritage for all generations. To destroy that endowment in the pursuit of short-term economic gains compromises the gains of future generations and is thus undesirable. Therefore, government must incorporate some form of environmental accounting into its policy decisions. This requires that, the preservation or loss of valuable environmental resources should be factored into estimates of economic growth and human well-being. Alternatively, policymakers may set a goal of no net loss of environmental assets. In other words, if an environmental resource is damaged or depleted in one area, a resource of equal or greater value should be regenerated elsewhere. 16.9 Population—Environment Linkage Much of the concern over environmental issues arises from the fear that we may reach a limit to the number of people whose needs cannot be met by the earth's finite resources. Some experts have however argued that this fear is unfounded as technological innovations and progress can fulfill the needs of the growing population. For instance, during the 1950s and 1960s, it was widely believed that the developing countries - particularly China, India, and Indonesia - would not be able to feed their rapidly growing populations. However, thanks to introduction of high yielding varieties in agriculture, the doomsday scenario of famines and starvations did not

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 256 materialise in these overpopulated, developing countries. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Club of Rome and many other groups forecast that the Earth would rapidly run out of key natural resources. However, this has not happened so far as changes in technology and preferences have allowed the substitution of new resources in place of the existing ones. Nevertheless, all social scientists and environmentalists agree that the rate at which environmental degradation is taking place in the present carries a serious risk and jeopardises the ability of the present and future generations to meet their own needs. A slowing down of population growth rates would help in easing the intensification of many environmental problems. 16.10 Burden of Population on Environment During the last fifty years, the world's population increased by more than 3.5 billion and 85 per cent of this increase was in the developing and transition economies. The number of people living in fragile rural areas in developing countries doubled posing a serious threat to the rural environment. There was a sharp increase in the urban population of these countries as well because of natural increase of population as a result of excess of births over deaths on the one hand, and migration from rural areas the other hand. Both, pull factors and push factors have operated together to swell the flow of people from rural areas to urban areas. The pull factors include the promise of better employment opportunities in urban areas, better income, better education, and health facilities, and in general a better lifestyle. The push factors include low levels of agricultural productivity in rural areas, widespread open and disguised unemployment, and wide disparity between urban and rural levels of income. As a result of all these mutually dependent and mutually reinforcing factors, the growth of population in urban areas has increased considerably putting severe pressure on urban facilities and resulting in environmental degradation in the form of water pollution, air pollution, noise pollution, increased accumulation of solid wastes, garbage, polythene bags, chemicals, toxic elements, etc., in urban areas. According to World Development Report 2003, in the next 30 to 50 years, the world population is expected to increase by 2 billion to 3 billion and this increase will almost be exclusively (97 per cent) in developing and transition economies. Moreover, this entire increase is expected to be in urban areas. The Report estimates that as

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 257 many as 2 billion people will live in two areas that are difficult to manage: fragile rural areas and mega cities. 16.11 Rural Population and Environment In overpopulated developing countries, there is a large rural population living in extreme poverty and destitution. This 'pressure' of rural population has led to more and more conversion of land to agricultural uses. This extensive cultivation has encroached upon the forest lands as large areas have been cleared for carrying on agriculture. Land-hungry farmers have even resorted to cultivating unsuitable areas-steeply sloped, erosion prone hillsides, arid and semi-arid land. Not only this, more and more intensive use of the existing agricultural land is being undertaken to meet the requirements of the increasing rural population. In many cases, farming has been intensified through shorter fallow periods rather than through the use of better inputs or techniques because of the poverty of the farmers. The 'shortening' of the fallow period lowers fertility as the soil does not get enough time to regenerate itself. It also leads to soil degradation. In those cases where the farmers have resorted to increased use of new agricultural techniques adoption of better seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, etc., agricultural production and productivity has undoubtedly increased. However, there are limitations of this technique as overexploitation of land and excessive use of fertilizers, pesticides lead to soil degradation and deterioration in the quality of land. It is widely reported that soil erosion, salinisation, compaction, and other forms of soil degradation affect 30 per cent of the world's irrigated lands, 40 per cent of rain fed agricultural lands, and 70 per cent of range lands. Cumulative global productivity loss due to land degradation over three decades has been estimated at 12 per cent of total production from irrigated land, rain fed cropland, and rangeland. This yields an average annual rate of productivity loss of 0.4 per cent." Since the 1950s, as much as 2 million hectares of land has been degraded worldwide. Along with soil degradation, deforestation is proceeding at a fast pace. One-fifth of all tropical forests have been cleared since 1960. According to Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), deforestation has been concentrated in the developing world, which lost nearly 200 million hectares between

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 258 1980 and 1995. One of the important reasons of this rapid deforestation, as stated above, is the expansion of subsistence farming as increasing population has forced man to encroach upon forests in a bid to increase area under agricultural cultivation. 16.12 Urban Population and Environment Urban living poses environmental hazards, which affect the current population (especially poor people) through immediate, local impacts on health and safety. It also causes environmental degradation, with longer term, wider area and intergenerational consequences. As the population of urban areas has swelled over the years, an increasing number of poor people have been compelled to live in slums which are plagued by problems of overcrowding, sub-standard housing, poor access to safe water and sanitation and deplorable sewage disposal systems. The drainage facilities in slums are inadequate to deal with the increased strains on the system. The open drains often serve as depositors for road sweepings and human wastes. In rainy season water overflows and spreads into streets presenting a dingy view, promoting unhygienic conditions, and causing outbreak of numerous infectious diseases. A large number of families living in slums depend on public water stand posts and often more than 100 families use one tap. Heavy rush for water creates tension and often results in quarrels. Generally, only 5 to 10 per cent of the population in slums has private lavatory facilities either on their own or in common with others. Often more than one-third of the population of the slums uses public latrines. Approximately, 150 to 200 persons use one public lavatory. Consequently, people must stand in queue, sometimes, for more than half an hour to avail of lavatory facilities. Moreover, most of these latrines are in extremely dilapidated condition. Because of these factors, many slum dwellers are forced to defecate in the open or anywhere near their basti. Their excreta cause foul odour, uncleanliness and hence flies, mosquitoes, and diseases such as dysentery and cholera. All these factors lead to high rates of infant mortality. According to Human Development Report 2003, an estimated one-third of the developing world's urban population lives in slums. The position is particularly bad in South-Central Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. In 2001, more than 70 per cent of the urban population in Sub-Saharan Africa lived in slums.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 259 Box-1: Population and Environment Linkage ? During the last 50 years, world population increased by more than 3.5 billion and 80 percent of this increase has been in the developing countries. ? In developing countries, the number of people in rural areas doubled posing a serious threat to rural environment. ? The growth of population in urban areas has been putting severe pressure on urban facilities and has resulted in environmental degradation in the form of water pollution, air pollution, noise pollution, increased accumulation of solid waste, garbage, polythene bags, chemicals, toxic elements etc. ? Over exploitation of land and excessive use of pesticides has led to soil degradation and deterioration in the quality of land. It is widely reported that soil erosion, salinisation, compaction and other forms of soil degradation have affected 30 percent of the world's irrigated lands and 40 percent of rainfed agricultural lands. ? Along with soil degradation, deforestation is proceeding at a fast pace. ? One-third of the developing world's population lives in slums. Problems of slum dwellers worsen their living in cities and make them more vulnerable. ? The main problems faced by slum dwellers in urban areas are as follows: ? Sanitation ? Drainage ? Solid waste management ? Air-pollution ? Water supply contamination World Development Report 2003 classifies cities into four categories—low- income cities, lower-middle income cities, upper-middle income cities and high income cities. Particularly worrisome are the environmental problems plaguing the low-income and lower-middle income cities. The WDR specifically points out the following problems: i. Waters supply service. In low-income cities, the coverage of water supply service is low, there is high bacteria contamination, and there is high risk of

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 260 food contamination and infectious diseases due to inadequate quantity of water supply for hygiene. In the case of lower-middle income cities, poor residents and informal neighbourhoods have low access to water supply service. ii. Sanitation. In low-income cities, there is very low coverage due to low ratio of public toilets to residents resulting in open defecation in some neighbourhoods. As a result, there is a high risk of diarrheal diseases. The lower-middle income cities have somewhat better coverage of latrines and public toilets, but they are poorly maintained and there is low sewerage coverage. iii. Drainage. Storm drains in low-income cities are very inadequate and whatever drains are there, are poorly maintained. This results in frequent flooding, creating high risk of water-related disease vectors (mosquitoes). Situation in lower-middle income cities is somewhat better. iv. Water resources. In low-income cities, there is mixed sewerage and storm water run-off to water bodies causing bacterial pollution and silting. In lower-middle income cities, there is risk of groundwater contamination from poorly maintained latrines and untreated sewage. The situation in upper- middle income cities is also a cause of concern as private wells are drawing down groundwater. Moreover, industrial, and municipal discharge results in severe pollution. v. Solid waste management. There is little organised collection of solid waste in low-income cities and frequently open dumping or burning of mixed wastes is resorted to. All these result in high exposure to disease vectors (rats, flies, etc.). In lower-middle income cities, there is moderate coverage of collection services. However, there is little separation of hazardous waste and there are many uncontrolled landfills. vi. Air pollution. In low-income cities, there is indoor and ambient air pollution from low quality fuels for household uses and power generation. In all the other three types of cities, there is ambient air pollution from industrial and vehicular emissions. vii. Land management. Due to large-scale migration from rural areas and fast increasing population of urban areas, there is a situation of chaos in land

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 261 management particularly in low-income and lower-middle income cities. In low-income cities, there is uncontrolled land development due to intense pressure from squatter settlements on open sites. In lower-middle income cities, there are ineffective or inappropriate land-use controls. These push new settlements toward urban periphery and there is continued high population growth. From the above discussion, it is clear that many residents in cities at low levels of development face environment risk. In low-income cities, less than half of the households are connected to water and sewerage, and per capita water consumption is half that off cities with lower-middle income rankings. Moreover, less than one-third of solid waste in the poorest cities is disposed of properly. Partly reflecting environmental risks, the average mortality of children under five in the poorest cities is more than twice than that in the next city-income category, and 20 times than those in richest cities. 16.13 Environment Protection—A Necessity Rapid environmental degradation that has been taking place all over the world in recent decades has alarmed social scientists and environmentalists alike. Most of the economists are now convinced that unless strong steps are taken to preserve environment, the future is sure to spell havoc. The danger in developing countries is that communities may inadvertently, because of ignorance or economic necessity, destroy or exhaust those very resources on which they depend for survival. Rising pressures on environmental resources in developing countries can have severe consequences for self-sufficiency, income distribution, and future growth potential in the developing world. Damage to the environment has three potential costs to present and future human welfare: (1) it harms human health, (2) it reduces economic productivity, and (3) it leads to loss of 'amenities'—a term that describes the many other ways in which people benefit from the existence of an unspoiled environment. i. Environmental degradation harms human health. As noted by World Development Report 1992, human welfare is reduced by ill health and

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 262 premature mortality caused by degradation of air and water quality and by other environmental risks. Pollutants can cause health problems through direct exposure or indirectly through changes in the physical environment- the effects of which range from increased solar radiation to lower nutrition. ii. Environmental degradation reduces economic. Impaired health may lower human productivity, and environmental degradation reduces the productivity of many resources used directly by people. Water pollution damages fisheries, and water logging and salinisation of the soil lowers crop yields. iii. Environmental degradation leads to loss of amenities. Amenities include values that range from those associated with recreation to those associated with deeply held spiritual views about the intrinsic worth of the natural world. Amenities are hard to measure than costs to health and productivity but must be valued just as highly. There is absolutely no doubt that a clear vista or a clean and quiet neighbourhood adds to the quality of life. Environmental assets are often valued even by people who never enjoy them directly but who cherish the thought that they exist and the prospect that future generations will enjoy them too. The above clearly brings out the necessity of protecting environment. Accordingly, most of the developing economists are now veering around to the view that environment costs associated with various economic activities should form a part of policy initiatives. As correctly pointed out by Todaro and Smith, damage to soil, water supplies, and forests resulting from unsustainable methods of production can greatly reduce long-term national productivity but will have a positive impact on current GNP figures. Therefore, it is very important that the long-term implications of environmental quality be considered in policy analysis. In fact, experts now emphasise the concept of sustainable development. Sustainable development can be achieved by keeping the stock of natural capital at least constant. As stated earlier in this chapter, the resource base of a country and the quality of its air, water, and land represents a common heritage for all generations. To destroy that endowment in the pursuit of short-term economic gains compromises the gains of future generations and is thus undesirable.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 263 16.14 Conclusion Environment is defined as the physical, chemical, and biological surroundings in which an organism exists. It has a clear linkage with the process of development as well as population growth. The mad rush for industrial growth has, over the years, led to environmental degradation on a large-scale accompanied by massive resource depletion. This has led to the policy makers to widen the horizon still further—from sustainable economic development to sustainable human development. The latter would imply that future generations should be afforded at least the same capacity for human well-being as the present generation. This means that we should ensure that the ecological and environmental limits are not violated—especially because we do not know the long-term implications disturbing many natural systems. During the last fifty years, the world's population increased by more than 3.5 billion posing a serious threat to the environment, particularly in the developing nations. Rising pressures on environmental resources in developing countries can have severe consequences for self-sufficiency, income distribution, and future growth potential. So, protection and conservation of environment is of dire need for ensuring sustainable world for the future generation. 16.15 Summary A population is the number of living people that live together in the same place, usually population refers to the number of members in a certain area. Demography is the study of a population, the total number of people or organisations in a given area (

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the whole number of people or inhabitants in a country or region, the

total of individuals occupying an area or making up a whole). Understanding how population characteristics such as size, special distribution, age structure, or the birth and death rate change over time can help scientists or governments make decisions. Sociologists focus on the socio-cultural factors that influence population rates and trends. They study fertility, mortality, and migration. These variables are profoundly affected by the norms, values, practices and social patterns of a social. The population affects our chances of finding a job and a spouse. Rapid population

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 264 growth is likely to reduce per-capita income growth and well being which tends to increase poverty. More people means an increased demand for food, water, housing, energy, healthcare, transportation, and more. From the time of Malthus onwards, economist, demographers, and other social scientists have been debating whether and how fertility and rapid population growth affect economic outcomes and vice versa. Since the earliest times humans have sought to understand the relationship between population dynamics and the environ- ment. The environted directly affects health status and plays a major role in quality of life, years of healthy life live, and health disparities. Poor air quality is linked to premature death, cancer, and long-term damage to respiratory and cardiovascular systems. Five important global scale environmental indicators are biological diversity, food production, average global surface temperature and atmospheric co-concentra- tions, human population and resources depletion. More people require more resources, which means that as the population increases, the earth's resources deplete more rapidly. As a result, loss of biodiversity is seen as humans strip the earth for resources to accommodate rising population numbers. The impact of so many humans on the environment takes two major forms, (i) consumption of resources, such as land, food, water, air, fossil fuels, minerals, etc, (ii) waste products as a result of consumption such as air and water pollutants, toxic materials and green house gases. 16.16 Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. What do we mean by environment? ii. What is the burden of population on environment? iii. How does unban population impact the environment? iv. Why is environment protection necessary? Discuss briefly. v. Discuss the population-environment linkage.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 265 G-B (10 Marks each) vi. Write a note on conventional process of development and environmental degradation. vii. Write a note on rural population and environment. viii. Elucidate the linkage between sustainable development and the environment. ix. Why did the idea of Sustainable Development crop up? Discuss its core concept. x. Discuss the aspects of urban population and environment. 16.17 Suggested Readings i. Agrawal, A. N. (2010): "Indian Economy-Problems of Development and Planning", 36th Edition, New Age International (P) Ltd. ii. Anandan, P. and R. Kumaravelan (2009): "Environmental Science & Engineering", Scitech Pub (India) Pvt. Ltd. iii. Das, K. (2009): Sustainable Development, Reference Press. iv. Datt, G. and A. Mahajan (2013): "Datt & Sundaram Indian Economy", 69th Revised Edition, S. Chand & Company Pvt. Ltd. v. Dreze, J. and A. Sen (2013): "An Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions", Penguin. vi. Puri, V. K. and S. K. Mishra (2014): "Indian Economy", 32nd Revised Edition, Himalaya Publishing House. vii. Sarkhel, J., S. Selim and A. Bhukta (2017): "Economic Development:

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 266 Institution, Theory and Policy", Book Syndicate (P) Ltd. Unit 17 ? Human Development Index Structure 17.1 Objectives 17.2 Introduction 17.3 Human Development 17.4 Why Human Development? 17.5 Essential Components of Human Development 17.6 The Human Development Index 17.7 Construction of Human Development Index 17.8 Creating the Dimension Indices 17.9 Calculating HDI from Dimension Indices 17.10 Features of HDI 17.11 Significance of HDI 17.12 HDI for India 17.13 Inequality—Adjusted HDI 17.14 Conclusion 17.15 Summary 17.16 Questions 17.17 Suggested Readings 17.1 Objectives The objective of the unit is to acquaint the students with the interrelationship between environment and development as well as between population and environment. Learners will get the idea how adversely they are affecting the environment and the policy measures adopted in this behalf. Learners will also be familiar with the idea of human development and the construction of human development index with the help of three indicators thereof. 17.2 Introduction Along with sustainable development the concept of human development has also

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 267 been a much-talked issue for last few decades. Human development is the process of enlarging people's choices. Human development paradigm embraces the entire society not just the economy. The political, cultural and social factors are given as much importance as the economic factors. According to the Human Development Index (HDI) has rightly incorporates three indicators: longevity, educational attainment and standard of living. The first two indicators are the social indicators and the last one is an economic indicator. 17.3 Human Development In recent years the search for an alternative to GNP as a measure of economic development has led to computation of the Human Development Index (HDI). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) introduced the HDI in its first Human Development Report prepared under the able stewardship of Mahbub Ul Haqq and published in 1990. The measure has been enlarged and refined over the years and many related indices of Human Development like Gender-related Development Index (GDI), Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), Gender Inequality Index (GII) Human Poverty Index (HPI) and Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) have been developed in subsequent Human Development Reports published annually by the UNDP. Since its launch in 1990, the Human Development Report has defined human development as the process of enlarging people's choices. The most critical ones are to lead a long and healthy life, to be educated and to enjoy a decent standard of living. Additional choices include political freedom, other guaranteed human rights and various ingredients of self-respect. These are among the essential choices the absence of which can block many other opportunities. Human development is thus a process of widening people's choices as well as raising the level of well-being achieved. Thus, as noted by Paul Streeten, the concept of human development put people back at center stage, after decades in which a maze of technical concept had obscured this fundamental vision. According to Mahbub Ul Haqq, "the definite difference between the economic growth and the human development schools is that the first focuses exclusively on the expansion of only one choice- income- while the second embraces the enlargement of all human choices- whether economic, social, cultural or political." It is sometimes
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 268 suggested that the expansion of income can enlarge all other choices as well. This may happen but generally, does not on account of a variety of reasons. First, income may be unevenly distributed within a society. The choices of those people who have either no access to income or a very limited access are very much limited. Thus, economic growth does not trickle-down. Second, and more importantly the national priorities chosen by the society or its ruler and the political structure prevalent in the society may not allow the income expansion to enlarge human options. As emphasised by Mahbub Ul Haqq, 'use of income' by a society is just as important as generation of income itself as would be clear from the fact that income expansion leads to much less human satisfaction in a virtual political prison or cultural void, than in a more liberal political and economic environment. Accumulation of wealth may not be necessary for the fulfillment of several kinds of human choices. In fact, many choices do not require any wealth at all. For instance, a society does not have to be rich to afford democracy. A family does not have to be wealthy to respect the rights of each member. A nation does not have to be affluent to treat women and men equally. Valuable social and cultural traditions can be and are maintained at all levels of income. There are many human choices that extend far beyond economic wellbeing. Knowledge, health, a clean physical environment, political freedom and simple pleasures of life are not dependent on income. Accumulation of wealth can expand people's choices in these areas, but this is not necessary. It is the use of wealth and not wealth itself that is decisive. Haq thus, rightly warns, "Unless societies recognise that their real wealth is their people, an excessive obsession with creating material wealth can obscured the goal of enriching human life." 17.4 Why Human Development? According to Paul Streeten, human development is necessary on account of the following reasons: i. Human development is the end while economic development is only a means to this end. The ultimate purpose of the entire exercise of development is to treat men, women and children-present and future generations-as ends, to improve the human condition to enlarge people's choices.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 269 ii. Human Development is a means to higher productivity. A well-nourished, healthy, educated skilled, alert labour force is the most important productive asset. Thus, investments in nutrition, health services and education are justified on grounds of productivity. iii. It helps in lowering the family size by slowing human reproduction. It is the experience of all developed countries that improvement in education levels particularly of girls, better health facilities and reduction in infant mortality rates leads to lowering of the birth rates. While improve education facilities make people aware of the benefits of a small family in terms of higher income level, better standards of living etc., reduction in infant mortality rates reduces the incentive of having large families as fewer child deaths are now feared. iv. Human Development is good for physical environment. Deforestation, desertification, and soil erosion decline when poverty decline. How population growth and population density affect the environment is a subject of controversy. The conventional view is that they have a detrimental effect. However, Paul Streeten cites recent research to show that rapid population growth and high population density, particularly if combined with secure land rights, can be good for soil and forest conservation. v. Human development and reduced poverty contribute to a healthy civil society, increased democracy, and greater social stability. Moreover, human development can help in reducing civil disturbances in a society and in increasing political stability. The above discussion shows that human development paradigm embraces the entire society not just the economy. The political, cultural and social factors are given as much importance as the economic factors. What is more, a careful distinction is maintained between ends and means. While people are regarded as the end of development the means are not forgotten. In this context, the expansion of income becomes an essential means for expanding many human options. However, the character and distribution of economic growth are measured in terms of enriching the lives of people. People do not just remain the instruments for producing commodities but acquire the centre

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 270 stage. Production processes are not treated in an abstract vacuum but acquire ‘human’ context. 17.5 Essential Components of Human Development According to Mahbub Ul Haqq there are four essential components in the human development paradigm: equity, sustainability, productivity, and empowerment. i. Equity If development is to enlarge people’s choices people must enjoy equitable access to opportunities. Equity in access to opportunities demands a fundamental restructuring of power in many societies and changes along the following lines: (i) change in the distribution of productive assets especially through Land Reforms: (ii) major restructuring in the distribution of income through progressive fiscal policy, aimed at transferring income from the rich to the poor. It is the redistribution of income from rich to poor; (iii) overhauling of the credit system so that the credit requirements of the poor people are satisfactorily met; (iv) equalization of political opportunities through voting rights reforms, campaign finance reform and other actions aimed at limiting the excessive political power of a feudal minority; and (v) undertaking steps to remove social and legal barriers that limit the access of women or of certain minorities or ethnic minorities to some of the key economic and political opportunities. ii. Sustainability The next generation’s right to enjoy the same well-being that we enjoy now makes sustainability an essential component of the human development paradigm. At times the concept of sustainability is confused with the renewal of natural resources which is just one aspect of sustainable development. As emphasised by Mahbub ul Haq “it is the sustainability of human opportunities that must lie at the centre of our concerns.” This, in turn, requires sustaining all forms of capital-physical, human, financial and environmental. Sustainability is a matter of distributional equity- of sharing development opportunities between present and future generations and ensuring intra- generational and intergenerational equity in access to opportunities. However,

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 271 as cautioned by Haq, “sustainability does not mean sustaining present levels of poverty and human deprivation. If the present is miserable and unacceptable to the majority of the world’s people, it must be changed before it is sustained. In other words what must be sustained are worthwhile life opportunities, not human deprivation”. But sustainability also means that wide disparities in lifestyles within and between nations must be re-examined and efforts to be undertaken to reduce them. This is due to the reason that an unjust world is inherently unsustainable- both politically and economically. It may be environmentally unsustainable as well. iii. Productivity An essential part of the human development paradigm is productivity which requires investments in people and an enabling macroeconomic environment for them to achieve their maximum potential. Economic development is therefore a subset of human development models- an essential part but not the entire structure. Many East Asian economies like Japan and the Republic of Korea have accelerated their growth through tremendous investments in human capital. In fact, most of the development literature has focused on the productivity of human in the world. Many recent models of development are based primarily on human capital. However, as correctly pointed out by Haq, this approach treats people only as a means of development and obscures the centrality of people as ultimate end of development. Therefore, it is better to treat productivity only as one part of the human development paradigm-with equal importance given to equity, sustainability, and empowerment. iv. Empowerment Human development paradigm envisages full empowerment of the people. Empowerment means that people are able to exercise choices of their own free will. It implies a political democracy in which people can influence decisions about their lives. It requires economic liberalism so that people are free from excessive economic controls and regulations. It means decentralization of power so that real governance is brought to the doorstep of every person. It means that all members of civil society, particularly non-governmental organisations, participate fully in making and implementing decisions. The empowerment of people requires action on various fronts: (i)
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 272 it requires investment in education and health of the people so that they can take advantage of market opportunities; (ii) it requires ensuring an enabling environment that gives everyone access to credit and productive asset so that the playing fields of life are more even; and (iii) it implies empowering both women and men so that they can compete on an equal footing. 17.6 The Human Development Index The above discussion shows that the concern of developing economy in recent years has shifted from economic development to human development. For too long, the recurrent question was how much is a nation producing? Increasingly now the question that is being asked is, how are its people faring? The main reason for this shift in focus is the growing recognition that

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the real objective of development is to enlarge people’s options. Income is

only one of the options-

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and an extremely important one but it is not the total of human

life. Education and literacy, health, physical environment, equality of opportunities to all people irrespective of sex, caste and creed, political freedom etc., may be just as important as income. However, while human development is indeed the ‘end’ of all activity, its measurement is not an easy task. While economic growth has traditionally been measured in terms of national income, it is difficult to decide how human development is to be measured particularly in view of its various dimensions as pointed out earlier. The search for a comprehensive measure that could capture the various dimensions of human development leads to the definition and formulation of Human Development Index (HDI) by the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) in Human Development Report (HDR) published in 1990. It is of course agreed that the concept of human development is much wider and richer than what can be caught in index or set of the indicators. However, such indexes are useful in focusing attention and simplifying problems. They have considerable political appeal. They have a stronger impact on the mind and draw public attention more powerfully than a long list of indicators combined with the qualitative discussion. As noted by Streeten, the strongest argument in favour of such indexes is that they show up the inadequacies of other indexes, such as GNP. They redirect our attention from one set of items to others- in the case of the HDI, to the social sectors: nutrition education and health.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 273 HDI does not replace GNP but as considerably to an understanding of the real position of a society in many respects as would be clear from the following discussions. i. Beside income the HDI measures education and health and is thus multidimensional rather than one dimensional; ii. It focuses the attention of the policymakers on the ultimate objective of development not just the means; iii. It is more meaningful as a national average than GNP because there are much greater extremes in income distribution than in the distribution of the life expectancy and literacy; iv. Any upward movement in HDI can be regarded as an improvement; v. Whereas high incomes for some can cause relative deprivation for others, this is not true for human development. If anything improving the health and education of anyone benefits the entire community; vi. It shows that human development gaps between nations are more manageable than the ever-widening disparities in income. Since 1960 average life expectancy had increased by 16 years, adult literacy by 40 percent and nutritional levels by more than 40 percent and child mortality rates have been halved. The international gap in these indicators is closing while in the case of GNP per capita it is widening. While average income per head in the Southern countries of the world is 6 percent of that in the Northern countries of the world, life expectancy is 80 percent, literacy 60 percent and nutrition 85 percent; vii. The HDI can be disaggregated by gender, ethnic group or geographical region and many other ways- to present relevant policy measures and the 'danger points' of explosion. The principles that have guided the search for HDI are as follows: i. First, the new index would measure the basic concept of human development to enlarge people's choices. Those choices covered the desire to live long, to acquire knowledge, to have a comfortable standard of living, to be gainfully employed, to breathe clean air, to be free, to live in a community. Obviously, all these cannot be quantified or measured. The basic idea was to measure at least some more

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 274 choices besides income and to reflect them in a methodically sound composite index. ii. Second, to keep the index simple and manageable it was decided to include only a limited number of variables. For instance, HDR 2009 chose life expectancy at birth as an index of longevity, adult literacy rate (two-third weight) and combine primary, secondary and tertiary enrollment rates (one-third weight) as an index of knowledge, and GDP per capita as an index of access to a multiplicity of economic choices, in other words, a decent standard of living. HDR 2010 made important changes in these definitions. iii. Third, it was decided to construct a composite index rather than a plethora of indexes. However, this posed several problems. Unlike GDP, for which money serves as a 'common measuring rod', there was no such common currency for measuring socio-economic progress. Life expectancy is measured in years, adult literacy in percentage of adults, and real income in purchasing power parity (PPP) adjusted dollar. How to reduce these indicators to a common denominator? To tackle this question, it was decided to measure the actual progress in each indicator as relative distance from a desirable goal. The maximum and minimum observed values for each variable were reduced to a scale between 0 and 1: each country was at some point on the scale. As far as the question of weightage is concerned, it was agreed to assign equal weights to the three variables on the simple premise that all the choices were very important and that there was no a priori rationale for giving a higher weight to one choice rather than to another. iv. Fourth, it was decided to cover both economic and social choices in HDI. A mistake in the past had been to construct separate measure for economic progress (GNP) and for social progress (such as physical quality of life index, or PQLI). Such a formulation missed the synergy between social and economic progress. The truth of the matter is that economic growth increases the resources and options available for social progress, where as social progress creates a conducive environment for economic growth. Thus, both move hand-in-hand. The real GDP per capita or GNP per capita is economic indicator and like expectancy and education entertainment the social indicators in HDI.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 275 17.7 Construction of Human Development Index As stated above, HDI is a

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summary measure of Human Development. It measures the average achievements in

a country in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living. Since 2010, HDI is being defined in HDR as the geometric mean of normalised indices measuring achievements in each dimension (prior to HDR 2010, simple arithmetic means of the three-dimension indices used to be taken). Graphical presentation of calculating the Human Development Index (HDI) Human Development Index (HDI) Human Development living Index (HDI) DIMENSION INDICATORS Long and healthy life Life expectancy at birth Knowledge Means years of schooling Expected years of schooling A decent standard of GNP per capita (PPP US$) DIMENSIONS INDEX Life expectancy Index Education Index GNP Index In HDR 2010, the ability to enjoy a long and healthy life is defined in terms of life expectancy at birth which is the same as in earlier Reports. However, changes in definition of the 'knowledge dimension' and 'standard of living dimension' have been carried out. In the earlier Reports, GDP per capita in PPP dollars was used as a measure of standard of living while in HDR 2010 it has been replaced by GNP per capita in PPP dollars. This is due to the reason that in a globalised world, differences are often large between the income of a country's residents and its domestic production. While GDP represents the country's gross domestic production, GNP, in addition, captures the country's income receipts from abroad as well. As far as the knowledge dimension is concerned, mean years of schooling replaces literacy, and gross enrollment is recast as expected years of schooling- the years of schooling that a child can expect to receive given current enrollment rates. According to HDR 2010, mean years of schooling is estimated more frequently for more countries and can discriminate better among countries, while expected years of schooling is consistent with the reframing of this dimension in terms of years.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 276 17.8 Creating the Dimension Indices The first step is to create sub-indices for each dimension. Minimum and maximum values (goalposts) need to be set to transform the indicators into indices between 0 and 1. HDR 2013 takes the maximum values as the highest observed values in the time series (1980-2012). The minimum values can be appropriately conceived of as subsistence values. The life expectancy minimum is taken as 20 years (based on long run historical evidence). Education minimum (for both variables) is taken as zero as societies can subsist without formal education. Minimum income (Per capita gross national income) is taken as $100. The low value of income can be justified by the considerable amount of unmeasured subsistence and non-market production in economies close to the minimum, not captured in the official data. The goalposts taken in HDI 2013 are as follows: Table-1: Goalposts for Calculating the HDI according to HDR 2013 Dimension Observed Maximum Minimum Life expectancy 83.6 20.0 (Japan, 2012) Means years of schooling 13.3 0 United States, 2010 Expected years of schooling 18.0 0 (Capped at) Combined education index 0.971 0 (New Zealand, 2010) Per Capita Income (PPP $) 87478 100 (Qatar, 2012) Having defined the minimum and maximum values, the sub-indices are calculated as follows: Actual Value-Minimum Value Dimension Index = ——————————————— ..... (1) Maximum Value-Minimum Value For education, equation (1) is applied to each of the two sub-components, then a geometric mean of the resulting indices is created. For calculating income index, log of income continues to be taken as before.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 277 17.9 Calculating HDI from Dimension Indices HDR 2011 defined HDI as the geometric mean of the three dimension indices: (I 1/3 Life . I 1/3 Education . I 1/3 Income) .....(2) Prior to 2010, Simple Arithmetic mean of the dimension indices used to be taken. Some economics had criticized this methodology as linear aggregation formula implied perfect substitutability across dimensions. Use of geometric mean acknowledges the fact that there is imperfect substitutability among the 3-dimension indices. Moreover, as a basis for comparisons of achievement, this method is also more respectful of the intrinsic differences in the dimension than a simple average is. 17.10 Features of HDI HDI is a composite of three indicators. i. Longevity (or life expectancy at birth); ii. Educational attainment; and iii. Standard of living (or per capita income). The first two indicators are the social indicators. Life expectancy, a much-desired objective of human beings, reflects the progress made in such fields as health, infant and child mortality and nutrition. The educational attainment is comprised of adult literacy, and a combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment ratio. The per capita income, an economic indicator, is used as a proxy measure for satisfaction derived from a bundle of basic goods and services. It is also assumed to reflect employment levels of people. The HDI, unlike other indices which measure absolute levels, ranks countries in relation to each other. For this the current minimum value and the maximum desirable value in respect of each of the three elements of the index are taken note of. For example, for life expectancy the current value is 25 years, and the maximum desirable value is 85 years. In the case of the educational attainment the minimum and the maximum values are 0 per cent and 100 per cent. The index then takes the distance travelled (or progress made) from the minimum towards the maximum.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 278 This is expressed in percentage terms. The same exercise is repeated in respect of the third component of income index. The distance travelled in each case has been used as the basis for combining the three indices. This gives a common denominator to rank countries on a uniform scale. Another novel feature of the HDI is the weight assigned to income which tapers off sharply beyond the threshold income regarded as sufficient for human survival. This means that as the income goes beyond the cut-off point, it becomes increasingly less important, on the valid assumption that the rise in income beyond a certain point is subject to diminishing returns. Therefore, the other two indicators become more influential in determining the index. 17.11 Significance of HDI The index is useful and meaningful, especially for the less-developed countries. It is much better than other non-income indices. It includes income which is the single most important factor in determining the well-being of the poor in the less developed countries. While it gives importance to income, it does not do so unduly. The decline in its weightage after a certain point, automatically raises the importance of social indicators. This incorporates the present concern of many nations with human development rather than with mere economic growth. Equally importantly, the inclusion of social indicators, the HDI stresses the importance of the quality of life. This brings in the government expenditure which, with some restructuring, can be helpful in providing more resources for health and education. The index, by highlighting the distance yet to be covered by the less-developed countries brings into limelight, factually and sharply, the wide disparities that exist in the levels of human development between them and the developed countries. The index is of special importance as it has the quality of a dynamic index. With changes in the data in respect of its three components including changes in the minimum and the maximum values, the HDI will also change and thereby measures progress along the right lines. Thus, it becomes a measure of movement towards desired objectives.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 279 17.12 HDI for India In India, GNI(Gross National Income) per capita in 2012 was $3285, life expectancy at birth in 2012 was 65.8 years, mean years of schooling in 2012 were 4.4 years, and expected years of schooling in 2012 were 10.7 years. Dimension indices are then obtained as follows: 65.8 – 20 Life expectancy index = ——————— = 0.720 83.6 – 20 4.4 – 0 Means years of schooling index = ——————— = 0.331 13.3 – 0 10.7 – 0 Expected years of schooling index = ——————— = 0.594 18 – 0 0.331x0.594 – 0 Education index = ——————————————— = 0.456 0.971 – 0 log 3285 – log 100 Income index = ——————————————— = 0.516 log 87478 – log 100 Human Development Index = 3 0.720x0.456x0.516 = 0.554 Table-2: Human Development Index 2012 for selected countries HDI rank Life Adult GDP Human country expect- literacy per Develo- ancy at age 15 Gross enrolment ratio (%) capita pment birth and 2005 Index years above PPP (%) ————————————— US $ 2012 2005-10 Primary Secondary Tertiary 2011 2012 2002-11 2002-11 2002-11
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 280 Very high Human Development Index (HDI 0.8 and above) 1. Norway 81.3 99.0 99.0 110.0 73.8 46982 0.955 3. United States 78.7 99.0 102.0 96.0 94.8 42486 0.937 10. Japan 83.6 99.0 103.0 102.0 59.0 30660 0.912 High Human Development (HDI 0.7 to 0.8) 61. Mexico 77.1 93.1 115.0 87.0 27.0 12776 0.775 85. Brazil 73.8 90.3 127.0 101.0 36.1 10278 0.730 92. Sri Lanka 75.1 91.2 99.0 87.0 15.5 4929 0.7 15 Medium Human Development (HDI 0.5 to 0.7) 101. China 73.7 94.3 111.0 81.0 25.9 7418 0.699 136. India 6.5.8 62.8 118.0 60.0 16.2 3203 0.554 146. Pakistan 65.7 54.9 95.0 34.0 5.4 2424 0.515 Low Human Development (HDI Less than 0.5) 153. Nigeria 52.3 61.3 83.0 44.0 10.3 222 1 0.4 71 186. Niger 55.1 28.7 71.0 13.0 1.5 642 0.304 Source: UNDP, Human Development Report 2013 In Table-2, Human Development Index for 2012 for selected countries as reported in HDR 2013 is presented. Countries have been grouped under three categories: (i) Countries in the HDI range 0.8 and above are in the Very High Human Development group; (ii) Countries in HDI range 0.7 to 0.8 are in the High Human Development group; (iii) Countries in the HDI range 0.5 to 0.7 are in the range of Medium Human Development group, and (iv) Countries in the HDI range less than 0.5 are in the Low Human Development group. The data has been collected for 187 countries. Among them 47 countries were in the Very High Human Development range, 47 countries were in High Human Development range, 47 countries were in Medium Human Development range and 46 countries were in Low Human Development in range. In terms of human development, Norway with HDI value of 0.955 ranks first and Australia with a HDI value of 0.938 ranks second. India which was at No. 138 in HDI in 1994, had improved its position to No. 128 in 2005, but in 2012 its position has slipped to 136

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 281 in terms of human development out of the 187 countries for which Human Development Report 2013 calculated the index. Democratic Republic of Congo and Niger with a HDI value of 0.304 occupy the last place in HDI ranking. It may be discerned from HDI table that countries with similar per capita income may have different HDI values, and countries with different per capita income may have similar HDI values. Thus, the HDI ranking of countries may differ significantly from their ranking by per capita income. If a countries GDP rank is higher than its HDI rank, it implies that the country has further potential for improving the standard of living of its people. But it has been less successful in converting its economic prosperity into better lives for its people. On the other hand, if a country's HDI rank is higher than is GDP rank, it implies that the country has effectively made use of its income to improve the lives of its people. 17.13 Inequality—Adjusted HDI HDR 2010 introduced three new measures- the Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI), the Gender Inequality Index (GII) and the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI). As far as IHDI (Inequality-Adjusted Human Development Index) is concerned, it considers not only a country's average human development, as measured by health, education, and income indicators but also how it is distributed. Differentiating between HDI and IHDI, HDR 2010 states, "We can think of each individual in a society has having a 'personal HDI'. If everyone had the same life expectancy, schooling, and income, and hence the average societal level of each variable, the HDI for each society would be same as each personal HDI level and hence the HDI of the 'average person'." In practice, of course, there are differences across people, and average HDI differs from the personal HDI levels. The IHDI accounts for inequalities in life expectancy, schooling, and income, by discounting each dimension's average value according to its level of inequality. The IHDI will be equal to the HDI when there are no inequality actress people, but falls father below the HDI as inequality increases. In this sense, HDI can be viewed as an index of 'potential' human development (or the maximum IHDI that could be achieved if there were no inequality), while the IHDI is the actual level of human development (accounting for inequality). The difference between the HDI and the IHDI measures the 'losses in potential human development due to inequality.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 282 17.14 Conclusion During the last fifty years, the world's population increased by more than 3.5 billion posing a serious threat to the environment, particularly in the developing nations. Rising pressures on environmental resources in developing countries can have severe consequences for self-sufficiency, income distribution, and future growth potential. So, protection and conservation of environment is of dire need for ensuring sustainable world for the future generation. For few decades, the concern of the policy makers has shown a clear shift from mere economic development to human development. Human development is a process of widening people's choices as well as raising the level of well-being achieved. The Human development Index (HDI) is an alternative measure of development which supplements rather than supplants the GNP measure of economic development. The index stresses on human development which puts people at the centre stage. Mere rise in per capita income does not ensure human development which means a process of enlarging people choices. There are many human choices that extend far beyond per capita income or any other measures of economic well- being. Knowledge, health, a clean physical environment, political freedom, and simple pleasure of life are not dependent on income. It is the use of wealth and not wealth itself that is important for human development. The HDI is the right step against the misconception of economic development. It must be admitted that the HDI is more plausible than the per capita income as an index of economic development. It stresses on human development, not merely on economic development and economic well-being. The HDI focuses the attention on the ultimate objective of development, not just the means of development. 17.15 Summary The word 'development' is widely used to refer to a specified state of advancement or growth. It could also be used to describe a new and advanced idea or product or an event that constitute a new stage under changing circumstances. Generally, the term development describes good change.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 283 Human Development is a lifelong process of physical, behavioural, cognitive, and emotional growth and change. Human development refers to the physical, cognitive, and psychological development of humans through out the life span.What types of development are involved in each of these domains or areas, of life? Physical development involves growth and changes in the body and brain, the senses, and health and wellness. Cognitive development involves learning, reasoning, and creativity. Psychological development involves emotions personality and social relationships. HD is a branch of psychology.It is a multidisciplinary study of the psychological, biological, and sociological factors that impact people from infancy through adolescence to adulthood. Human Development defined as the process of enlarging people's freedom and opportunities improving their benefits. HD is about the real freedom ordinary people have to decide who to be, what to do, and how to live. HD is a process of widening people's choices as well as raising the level of well-being. Its important elements are —long and healthy life, education, and standard of living. The study of HD came to prominence in the 1970s.The Human Development Index was created as an alternative to measur in gnations by their GDP. The HDI includes health, education, income. The concept of human development was intro- duced by Mahbub Haq. He described human development as development that broadens people's choices and improves their lives. Moreover, people are central to all development under this concept. More popular as man of vision and compassion Pakistani economist Dr. Mahbub Haq created the Human Development Index in 1990. According to him development is all about enlarging people's choices in order to lead long, healthy life with dignity. Further, the United Nation's development programme has adopted Dr. Haq's concept of HDI to publish the human development report annually since 1990. HDI illustrates what has been achieved in the key areas of human development. The HDI and the Human Poverty Index are the two important indices to measure human development used by the United Nation's Development Programme. The idea of HDI is supported by the concepts of equity, sustainability, productivity, and empowerment. The HDI is a summary of measure of average life, being knowledgeable, and have decent standard of living. The HDI is the geometricmean of normalized indices
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 284 for each of the three dimensions: 1) The health dimension, 2) Education dimension, and 3) The standard of living dimension. The HDI was created to emphasize that people and their capabilities should be the ultimate criteria for assessing the development of a country, not economic growth alone. The HDI simplifies the captures only part of what human development entails. It does not reflect on inequalities, poverty, human security, empowerment, etc Human Development Report(HDR)2010 introduced the three new measures: i)Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI), ii)the Gender Inequality Index (GII) and iii) the Multidimensional PovertyIndex (MPI). As per the UNDP Report Norway toped the index, followed by Ireland, Switzer- land, Hongkong, and Iceland. India ranks 131 (December 17, 2020). 17.16 Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. Briefly state the concept of Human Development. ii. What is the significance of HDI? iii. Write note on Inequality-Adjusted HDI. iv. Briefly state why Human Development is necessary. v. Discuss the principles that have guided the search for HDI. vi. Discuss the method of constructing HDI. G-B (10 Marks each) vii. What are the features of HDI? viii. What is HDI? Discuss the superiority of HDI over GNP as a measure of development. ix. Discuss the essential components of Human Development. x. What are the components of HDI?
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 285 17.17 Suggested Readings i. Datt, G. and A. Mahajan (2013): "Datt& Sundaram Indian Economy", 69th Revised Edition, S. Chand & Company Pvt. Ltd. ii. Dreze, J. and A. Sen (2013): "An Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions", Penguin. iii. Haq, Mehbub ul (1996): "Reflections on Human Development", Oxford University Press, New Delhi. iv. Puri, V. K. and S. K. Mishra (2014): "Indian Economy", 32nd Revised Edition, Himalaya Publishing House v. Sarkhel, J., S. Selim and A. Bhukta (2017): "Economic Development: Institution, Theory and Policy", Book Syndicate (P) Ltd. vi. UNDP (2010): "Human Development Report 2010", New York. vii. UNDP (2013): "Human Development Report 2013", New Delhi.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 286 Module VII: Population Dynamics and Development Unit 18 ?Population as Constraints and Resources for Development Structure 18.1 Objectives 18.2 Introduction 18.3 India's Population: Size and Growth Trends 18.3.1 Size of Population 18.3.2 Rate of Population Growth 18.4 Population and Economic Development 18.4.1 Population Growth—As Constraints 18.4.2 Population Growth—As Resources 18.5 Towards a Consensus 18.6 Conclusion 18.7 Summary 18.8 Questions 18.9 Suggested Readings 18.1 Objectives The objective of the unit is to ? Acquaint the students with issue of population. ? To mainly focus on the population growth, the policy dimension, and the impact of women empowerment on it. ? To get the idea how the population growth acts as retarding as well as encouraging factor for development. 18.2 Introduction India and many other Third World countries are now passing through the phase of population explosion. It is being argued that this situation has arisen because economic development in these countries has failed to maintain pace with population growth. The thrust of this argument is that since rapid growth of population causes poverty and proves to be a barrier to development, these countries should take care

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 287 of their population growth if they seriously wish to solve their poverty problem and put their economy on the path of economic development. 18.3 India's Population: Size and Growth Trends 18.3.1 Size of Population As far as the size of population is concerned, India ranks second in the world next only to China. India's landscape is just 2.4 per cent of the total world area, whereas its population is nearly 17.5 per cent of the world population. In fact, the population of India at 121.02 crore in 2011 is almost equal to the combined population of USA, Indonesia, Brazil, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Japan put together which is 121.43 crore (in this context, it may also be pointed out that USA is the third largest country in terms of population size). These facts clearly indicate that the pressure of population on the land in this country is very high. How alarming is the situation in this country can be easily followed from the fact that the national income of India is presently even less than 1.2 per cent of the total world income! India's population according to the Census of 2011 is 121.02 crore. According to the Census of 1901, the population of the country was 23.83 crore. Since then, in a period of 110 years, the population of the country has increased by more than 97 crores. This, if viewed in the context of a relatively slow economic growth, is really an alarming situation. However, the population has not increased in this country at a uniform rate. This is obvious from the population figures given in Table 18.1. Table 18.1 Growth of India's Population Census Year Population in Decadal Average Density of Crore Growth Annual Growth Population (per cent) Rate (per cent) (per sq.km.) 1901 23.83 — 0.18 77 1951 36.11 13.31 1.25 117 1961 43.92 21.64 1.96 142 1971 54.82 24.80 2.20 177 1981 68.33 24.66 2.22 216 1991 84.64 23.87 2.16 267 2001 102.87 21.54 1.97 325 2011 121.02 17.64 1.64 382 Source: Indian Economy, Puri and Mishra, 2014

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 288 18.3.2 Rate of Population Growth Since Independence, there has been a rapid decline in the mortality rate, particularly due to control of epidemics and improved medical facilities. The magnitude of fall in the mortality rate is far greater than what was expected in the early 1950s. The Planning Commission and the Census Commissioner had envisaged a continuation of the 1941-51 trend in 1951-61. Therefore, when the actual rate of population growth turned out to be about 1.96 per cent in 1951-61, the planners were taken by surprise. This unexpected development caused great anxiety to the government. The rate of population growth was 2.20 per cent per annum during 1961-71 which was still higher than that in the preceding decade. The 1981 Census indicated that the rate of population growth during the 1970s remained more or less the same as it was during the 1960s. Even the 1991 Census indicated that the annual rate of population growth during the 1980s was 2.16 per cent. Thus, the expectations that the rate of population growth would decline significantly in response to the family planning programme of the government did not come true. Registrar General's Population Projections for 1996-2016 had suggested that the rate of population growth would decline to 1.84 per cent per annum during the 1990s. However, these projections turned out to be incorrect. According to the Census of 2001, the rate of population growth remained as high as 1.97 per cent per annum during the 1990s. This has come down to 1.64 per cent per annum during the decade 2001 to 2011. The decadal growth during this decade was 17.64 percent - slowest rate of growth during the past century. Although the country continues to remain in the second stage of Demographic Transition, this slowing of growth rate of population raises the hope that the country might soon enter the third stage of demographic transition. 18.4 Population and Economic Development In India, the overwhelming view is that the country's existing population is an obstacle to economic development considering the available utilizable resources and the level of technological progress. Further, growth in population will result in additional burden on the economy in the sense that it will make larger demand on resources for it unproductive consumption, leaving little for productive purposes.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 289 Hence, population in India is the major constraint on its economic development. However, there are certain social scientists who argue that population growth is not an obstacle. We examine both points of view below. 18.4.1 Population Growth – As Constraints The reasons why population growth is regarded as an obstacle to economic development are divided into the following categories: Population growth and the declining Land-man ratio, Population growth and capital formation, and other adverse effects of population growth. i. Population Growth and the Declining Land-man Ratio. In the first place, it is asserted that the pressure of population on land has been steadily increasing and with it land-man ratio is becoming increasingly adverse. This, in turn, is proving to be a serious obstacle to development. According to the 2011 Census, the density of population in the country is 382 per sq.km. as against 117 per sq.km. in 1951. This increase in density of population may look alarming, if one makes the assumption that over the years neither the utilisable resources have increased, nor the technological knowledge has grown. Had nothing of this sort happened, the population growth would indeed have been disastrous for the country. However, population growth should always be seen in relation to the development of productive forces. In an economy where productive forces remain arrested due to retrogressive socio-economic relations, favourable land-man ratio will be of little help. The near stagnation in India during the British period in spite of lower density of population, clearly proves this point. Since Independence though the country has recorded a rate of population growth which is unprecedented for the subcontinent, and the density of population in isolation looks quite alarming, yet the country has not only succeeded in breaking the low-level equilibrium trap but has also made some advance on the path of development. A lot of evidence on development from other densely populated countries further confirms that there is no negative correlation between density of population and underdevelopment. But in India's case, it must be admitted that some of the gains of economic growth have been wasted on supporting the growing population. Had India's
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 290 population growth been modest, the country's development performance would have looked far more impressive. Some other experts follow a different line of argument. Their main contention is that due to rapid growth of population over the years, its pressure on agricultural land has increased and cultivable land per capita has declined. In their opinion, this situation is hardly conducive to development. The growing pressure of population on land has also resulted in subdivision and fragmentation of holdings. On these fragmented holdings, there is not much scope for raising the farm productivity. ii. Population Growth and Capital Formation. The other argument which finds extensive support in academic as well as non-academic circles is that rapidly growing population makes increasing demands on resources for unproductive purposes and thus hinders capital accumulation. And since growth is assumed to be a function of capital accumulation, it is quite logical to infer from the fact that in a country like India, where rate of population growth continues to be high, and much development would not materialise. This argument though not entirely wrong misses two basic points having great relevance for any backward economy, including India. In the first place, savings in such an economy are done mostly by the people in relatively higher income brackets. From whatever limited information is available about birth rates among various sections of people, it is clear that the birth rate is far lower among the relatively well-off people than the overall birth rate for the country. Therefore, the overall high birth rate in a country like ours does not erode the saving potential of the country. Secondly, for the poor people an additional child is not a liability, as they hope to derive greater benefit from him in terms of income, services and security than the cost they would be required to incur on his upbringing. Even if their expectations prove to be incorrect, the country's savings would not be affected; the only thing that might happen then would be that their personal consumption would fall. Under these circumstances, many of these people will find themselves being pushed below the poverty line. Thus, in spite of the fact that rapid population growth may not necessarily adversely affect the capital formation and also the rate

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 291 of economic growth, the well-being of the people particularly of those in the lower income category, will receive a severe knock. India's case clearly proves this point. iii. Other Adverse Effects of Population Growth. In addition to the above arguments, it has been asserted that rapid population growth adversely impacts employment situation, poverty, environment, and standard of living. It also results in food shortage and import of food grains and usually prevents change in occupational distribution of a backward economy. a. Adverse Impact on Employment Situation. The rapidly increasing population of the developing countries has resulted in large-scale unemployment and underemployment. Because of the failure of the secondary and tertiary sectors to expand employment opportunities at a fast enough rate, more and more people have to fall back on agriculture to eke out a living. The pressure on agriculture increases leading to the problem of disguised unemployment. In a labour surplus economy like India, disguised unemployment is said to have assumed serious proportions with the result that the marginal productivity of labour falls to very low levels and may even touch zero. b. Adverse Impact on Per Capita Income and Standard of Living. Rapid growth of population developing countries has made it difficult to raise the level of per capita income and the standard of living of the masses. As noted above, the pressure of population on land has increased leading, in turn, to low agricultural productivity and large-scale disguised unemployment. Naturally, these result in low per capita income and low standard of living. The dependency burden in the developing countries is greater than in the developed countries since the working force in the former is required to support almost twice as many children as they do in the latter countries. This also results in a lower standard of living in the developing countries. c. Food Problem. Increased population means more mouths to feed which, in turn, creates pressure upon available stock of food. This is the reason,
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 292 the under-developed countries with rapid growing population are generally faced with a

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problem of food shortage. Despite all their efforts for raising agricultural production, they

are not able to feed their growing population. Food scarcity effects economic development in two respects. Firstly, inadequate supply of food leads to undernourishment of the people which lowers their productivity. It further reduces the production capacity of the workers, Secondly, the deficiency of food compels to import food grains which places as unnecessarily strain on their foreign exchange resources. Ever since Malthus wrote his celebrated Essay on Population attention was focused on the problem of population versus food supply. There is no doubt that per capita cultivated area is gradually on the decline in India. Between 1921 and 2001, the cultivated area per capita dropped from 1.11 acres to 0.32 acres, indicating a fall of 71 per cent. To compensate for this fall in cultivated land-man ratio, it is imperative that efforts be made to raise productivity. Table 18.2 Output of Food Grains and Per Capita Availability of Food Grains Census Year Population in Output of food Per capita Per capita Crore grains output of availability (Million tone) cereals and of cereals pulses and pulses (in grams) (in grams) 1961 43.92 82.0 512 469 1971 54.82 108. 4 547 469 1981 68.33 129.6 520 455 1991 84.64 176.4 571 510 2001 102.87 196.8 524 419 2011 121.02 235.0 532 NA Note: Net availability includes net domestic production plus net imports plus change in government stocks. Net production has been taken as 87.5% of the gross production, 12.5% being provided for feed, seed requirements and wastage. Source: Datt & Sundaram Indian Economy, Datt & Mahajan, 2013

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 293 From Table 18.2, it is clear that between 1961 and 2011, total output of food grains (cereals and pulses) increased from 82 million tone to 235 million tones, showing an increase of 187 per cent. But during the same period, population also increased from 439 million to 1210 million, showing an increase of 176 per cent. Consequently, though per capita output of food grains in grams did show an increase, but only marginally from 512 to 532 grams during this period. It may be noted here that actually it cannot be considered as per capita availability of food grains for the people, net availability includes net domestic production plus net imports plus change in government stocks. Net production has been taken as 87.5 per cent of the gross production, 12.5 per cent being provided for feed, seed requirements and wastage. Since a major part of the increase in population takes place in the rural areas, it also signifies that the share of family consumption in total food production will increase and much less will be left over as marketable surplus. These are gloomy forebodings which stress the necessity of family limitation. d. Issues of Import of Food Grains & Food Subsidy. Because of their rising population, the demand for food in many developing countries is increasing rapidly. However, because of low agricultural productivity, the supply of food grains has failed to keep pace with their increasing demand. This has led to serious food crises in many developing countries pushing a number of persons in them to the verge of starvation at times. This has forced these countries to resort to large-scale imports of food grains off and on. Because their export earnings are limited, such imports of food grains have created serious balance of payments crisis for the developing countries. Their programmes of industrialization have also suffered a setback because foreign exchange resources which could have been used to import capital goods to speed up the pace of industrialization are used up for the imports of food grains. With rapidly growing population, it becomes necessary for the government to arrange for adequate surplus of food grains for the growing masses. Thus, price incentives must be provided to farmers to encourage them to produce more. At the same time, it becomes necessary to provide ample quantity of food grains at low prices to many people whose incomes are very low. As a result, the burden of food subsidy increases to very high levels and the resources that could have been used for
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 294 increasing production and productivity levels in the economy are used up just to provide for the consumption needs of the population. e. Prevents Change in Occupational Distribution of Population. Rapid population growth prevents change in occupational distribution of population in a backward economy as long as employment creation important goal of economic policy. Since most low-income economies cannot afford to risk large-scale unemployment rapid population growth in these countries postpones the transformation of traditional economy into one dominated by the manufacturing sector. This is not only because of the agricultural requirements of growing numbers but also because of the relative investment costs of job creation in agriculture and manufacturing. f. Population and the Burden of Education, Medical Care and Housing. A welfare state like India is pledged to meet social needs of the people adequately and for this, the government has to spend a lot on providing basic facilities like education, housing, medical aid, water, and sanitation. In other, words, it requires colossal investment to build up a commensurate social overhead. But rapid increase in population make burden all the heavier. Rising population increases the number of children and hence demands higher expenditure on education. There is no doubt that expenditure on education can be viewed as social investment in human beings that ultimately enhances the productivity of the labour force, but it may be emphasized that the time-lag in this respect is quite long and hence the direct effect in raising output per unit of investment is very low. India's public expenditure on education was 3.7% GDP in 2005. This is considered to be low, because the Education Commission (1964-65) stipulated to increase it to 6% of GDP in 1984-85. Obviously, it impacts on creating educational institutions at the primary, secondary and tertiary level to meet the needs of the growing knowledge economy. The onset of the computer revolution also necessitates higher expenditures on skill and training so as take advantage of new and emerging technologies. Moreover, India spent only 0.9 percent of its GDP on public health expenditure. This is much below the level required for achieving the goals of removing malnutrition
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 295 and control of diseases. The poor are specially affected because they cannot incur higher out-of-pocket private expenditure on health. The burden of raising public health expenditure to 2-3 percent of GDP indicates the need to improve medical facilities. Not only that, the burden of providing housing to additional population also requires additional resources. If population growth could be reduced, some of these resources could then be diverted to other projects. Coale and Hoover had shown that if India could reduce its population growth by half between 1956 and 1981, the country could save as much as Rs.60-65 billion during the thirty-year period of 1956-86, from housing and education alone. g. Adverse Effect on Environment. Another problem associated with population growth, which might lead to a decrease in economic growth, is the problem of environmental degradation and resource scarcity. Earth is comprised of 75 percent water, the rest is comprised of land, with a majority of it used for agriculture. According to Malthus, population growth of a nation is detrimental to economic growth, primarily due to the factor of finite resources in an economy. With a rise in the number of people, a nation can expect a decline in the natural resources and in the end a lowering of the production of goods.

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Rapid population growth leads to the environmental change. Rapid population growth has swelled the ranks of unemployed men and women at an alarming rate. Due to this, a large number of people are being pushed in ecologically sensitive areas such as hill sides and tropical forests. It leads to the cutting of forests for cultivation leading to several environmental change. Besides all this, the increasing population growth leads to the migration of large number to urban areas with industrialization. This results in polluted air, water, noise and population in big cities and towns.

h. Impact on Poverty. Rapid growth of population is largely responsible for the perpetuation of vicious circle of poverty in underdeveloped countries. On account of rapid growth of population people are required to spend a major part of their income on bringing up their children. Thus, savings and rate of capital formation remain low accompanied by reduction in per capita income, no improvement in agricultural and industrial technology, shortage of essential commodities, low standard of
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 296 living, mass unemployment etc. As a result, the entire economy of an underdeveloped country is surrounded by the vicious circle of poverty. 18.4.2 Population Growth—As Resources It is true that population growth often acts as a major impediment of the development of an economy. At the same time there are theories stating that population increase, and growth help a nation's economy by stimulating economic growth and development. Cases of population growth as resources can be documented in the following way: i. Increased Innovation and Impact on Trade. Population growth opponents often have decried the burden on resources. However, Danish economist Ester Boserup has argued that growing populations pressure society to innovate in order to better serve the masses. For instance, high-yield crops were developed to increase food production largely in response to growing populations. In India, government resorted to introduction of high yielding varieties in 1960's with a view to meeting up the rising demand for food of the teeming population. Another sign of prosperity from population growth can be seen by countries improving their trade structures. Countries that have higher populations also have more people working and most of all, innovating. If we consider the case of China, we see that China has had a massive population growth, and today, the country has one of the biggest sharing economies in the world and thus one of the top exporters. ii. Manpower. One of the benefits of a surging population growth means that the country can conscript more people into its armed forces and should be in a better position to protect itself. On the other hand, the nation can put the extra manpower to good use, from using them to develop and build infrastructure to ensuring that they all pay tax on time, thereby ensuring that they get more in terms of tax receipts. with more skilled manpower being available, there should be no shortage of essential manpower across various industries. More to the point, the government would be able to utilize this ready-made manpower across various industry verticals. With cheap labor being available, companies should be able to save big by hiring the same.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 297 iii. Demographic Dividend. In consideration of the population growth as resource of development the question of demographic dividend is a major to be taken care of.

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Demographic dividend as defined by the United Nations Population Fund means- the economic growth potential that can result from shifts in a population's age structure, mainly when the share of the working-age population is larger than the non-working age share of the population.

While studying the population, it is customary to classify the population into three age groups. Population in the age-group below 15 years is considered as child population. The working age pertains to 15-64 years - productive age group. Age group 65 & above comprises of old persons. Both the child population and old population are dependent on the productive age group for their maintenance and sustenance. Hence, the dependence ratio is the number of dependents in the population divided by the number of working age people. According to the Technical Group on Population Projections constituted by the National Population Commission, annual growth rate of population is expected to gradually decline from 1.6 percent in 2001 to 0.9 percent in 2026. Consequently, India's population which was 1,029 million in 2001 as per the 2001 census is expected to increase to 1,400 million by 2026. But there is a structural change expected in the population. About 60 percent of the population was in the working age group in 2001, this is expected to increase gradually and will be 68.4 percent in 2026. Demographic Dividend is likely to manifest in the gradual increase in the working age group of 15- 64 years. Table 18.3 Population Projections in Millions 2001 2006 2011 2016 2021 2026 Total 1029(100) 1112(100) 1193(100) 1269(100) 1340(100) 1400(100) Below 15 years 365(35.5) 357(32.1) 347(29.1) 340(26.8) 337(25.1) 327(23.3) 15-64 years 619(60.1) 699(62.9) 780(65.4) 851(67.1) 908(67.8) 957(68.4) Above 65 years 45(4.4) 56(5.0) 66(5.5) 78(6.1) 95(7.1) 116(8.3) Source: Datt & Sundaram Indian Economy, Datt & Mahajan, 2013 NSOU ? GE-SO-21 298 Present demographic data show that India is enjoying the demographic dividend which will last for up to 2055. An improvement in the dependency ratio due to the demographic dividend leads to the hypothesis that the increase in the working age population would lead to acceleration in growth. But is there a concerted effort to build human capital to take advantage of the demographic dividend on the part of policymakers? Since the production structure of the Indian economy is also undergoing a transformation from agriculture to industry and services, there would be a strong need to develop new skills so that the economy can absorb the growing working age group population in newly emerging areas of development. The benefits of the demographic dividend can be reaped only if sufficient investments are made for basic infrastructure, health, educational attainment, and skill upgradation of the workforce, apart from the creation of sufficient numbers of suitable jobs to provide employment to the burgeoning workforce. This is because the available workers would not be absorbed spontaneously to deliver high growth. So,

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the capacity of the economy to harness the growing working age population in productive activities will determine the

actual realization of the demographic dividend. iv. Population Growth-not an Obstacle. There are some social scientists who believe that that population growth should not be considered an obstacle to development. They argue in the following manner: a. It is often argued that underdevelopment and not population is the real problem. Population growth should always be seen in relation to development of productive forces. In an economy where productive forces remain arrested due to retrogressive socioeconomic relations, favourable land-man ratio will be of little help. The inability to increase food supplies as fast as the population grows is no longer a bottleneck. This argument put forward by Malthus and his followers was proved to be wrong long ago in Europe. It evinces lack of faith in the capabilities of mankind and the technological progress. Economists such as Kuznets, Spengler and Houthakker have convincingly dispelled all doubts about mankind's ability to cope with scarcity of natural resources. As far as India is concerned, yields per hectare of most of the crops are very low vis-à-vis many developed and developing countries. This shows that a considerable scope exists for increasing the production of many crops. Accordingly, larger population can be easily supported if yield levels increase.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 299 Some economists of the Third World have pointed that developed countries having only one-fourth of world's population consume almost 80 per cent of the world's resources. Therefore, an average consumer of the developed countries uses up almost sixteen times as as much of the world's food, energy and material resources as his counterpart in the Third World countries. This shows that the addition of another child in the developed countries is worth the addition of sixteen children in the developing countries. Therefore, it is the rich nations who need to curb their overconsumption. The low levels of living in the developing countries are due to this overconsumption by the rich. Thus, this combination of rising affluence and extravagant consumption habits in rich countries and among rich people in poor countries, and not population growth should be the major world concern. b. Population growth is a false issue deliberated by dominant rich-country agencies and institutions to keep the less developed countries in their underdeveloped and dependent condition. It is argued that the cry of overpopulation is raised by the rich countries in order to hold down the development of the poor countries and maintain the international status quo for their own special self-interest. By blaming the poor countries for their own poverty, the rich nations get an easy escape for their own 'misdeeds' and 'imperialist policies' which have been responsible historically, to a large extent, for the underdevelopment of the poor countries. c. For many developing countries and regions population growth is, in fact, desirable. There are some sparsely populated underdeveloped countries where development has been held back due to deficiency of aggregate demand. A number of countries in Africa and Latin America has small populations. In all of them, it is 'under-population' that is holding back growth because it leads to non-utilisation of cultivable land, low demand for industrial goods resulting in low industrial production, etc. 18.5 TOWARDS A CONSENSUS Recent years have seen the emergence of a consensus among the social thinkers who have so far held opposite positions on the relationship between population and economic development. Now, all agree that the world at large would be much better off if population were to grow more slowly. The consequences of rapid population
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 300 growth should neither be exaggerated nor minimised. The essential components of the intermediate or consensus opinion are as follows: i. Population growth is not the primary cause of low levels of living, inequalities in income and wealth, or the limited freedom of choice that characterise most of the developing countries. The fundamental causes of these problems must be sought, rather, in the 'dualistic' nature of the world economic order and the inability of the economic planning processes in the developing world to create jobs and income for poor families, especially women. ii. The problem of population is not simply a question of numbers but involves the questions of quality of life and material well-being as well. Therefore, instead of viewing the problems of the developing countries within the framework of their own indigenous resources, one must view them in conjunction with developed-country affluence in relation to the quantity, distribution, and utilisation of world resources. iii. Nevertheless, rapid population growth intensifies the problems of underdevelopment and makes prospects for development that much more difficult. Therefore, the developing countries must undertake serious efforts to control the population growth. iv. Many of the real problems of population arise not due to its overall size, but from its concentration in urban areas (especially in large metropolitan areas) as a result of accelerated rural-urban migration. The swelling population of large urban areas leads to the large-scale emergence of slums where conditions of living area, to say the least, inhuman. The slums have no sewer systems, no proper drainage facilities, no sanitation, and no proper roads and other civic amenities. The heavy pressure of population on urban areas also creates many other problems (like mental diseases, crime, prostitution, alcoholism, drug addition, social unrest, etc.), insufficient health and medical care facilities, unwholesome environment, pressure on administrative services and urban infrastructure, etc. A more rational and more efficient spatial distribution of national population thus becomes an alternative, in some countries, to the slowdown of overall population growth. 18.6 Conclusion Overpopulation is a growing problem throughout the world at this stage in time. What does this do to the status of nations' economies? There are two different views

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 301 in this behalf. One group of experts argues that population increase, and growth help a nation's economy by stimulating economic growth and development while other group bases their arguments on Malthus' findings. It is very much true that population growth has retarding impact on the overall development of the economy. The theoretical elements suggest that more population retard the growth by reducing output per worker. Apart from this, in the short run population growth creates a few numbers of problems including scarcity of food, poverty, unemployment and environmental degradation. However, population growth, in the long run, leads to new developments, through advancement in technology that leave countries better off. With the increased populace, economies are blessed with a large labour force, making it cheaper as well, due to its immense availability. An increase in labour availability and a low cost for labour results in a huge rise in employment as businesses are more inclined to the cheap labour. Thus, it generates demands for goods and results in overall economic growth. For example, India, has become one of the world's fastest growing economies, primarily due to the rise in population growth creating a positive effect on its long run economic growth. 18.7 Summary Population is the resource of labour force. The larger the size of population, the larger will be the labour force. Labour alone cannot produce anything. If other resources are not available in sufficient quantities, then large labour force can become an obstruction to faster economy growth. Some countries particularly the developing countries have fast growth rate of population. In this unit, we have tried to highlight how the fast growth of population affects the economic development of the country like India and have suggested some measures to control population explosion so that economic development may not be hindered. Population is growing rapidly in India and increasing population is constraint for development. Population growth hampers the economic development in many ways. Over population in putting an incredible strain on our environment. One of the largest environmental effects of population growth is the population of global warming.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 302 With the increase in populationthe depletion of natural resources (sunlight, atmosphere, water, land i.e., all minerals) will also increase. Deforestation causes the decrease in rainfall and the amount of firewood. High growth rate of population has slowed down the pace of economic develop- ment in the developing countries like India. So, the correlation between population growth and economic development could be favourable only when increasing population is proportionate to resources available in the country and resources are to be exploited in its full capacityin effective and efficient manner by the skillful, talented human resources in the countries like India. 18.8 Questions Answer the following in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. Write a note on demographic dividend. ii. Discuss size and growth trends of India's population. iii. Discuss the adverse impacts of population growth. iv. Discuss why population growth should be regarded as resource for development. G-B (10 Marks each) v. Evaluate the relation between the population growth and the declining land- man ratio. vi. What arguments have been put forwarded by social scientists in view of population growth not an obstacle to development? 18.9 Suggested Readings i. Agrawal, A. N. (2010): "Indian Economy- Problems of Development and Planning", 36th Edition, New Age International (P) Ltd. ii. Bhende, A. A. and T. Kanitkar (1996): "Principals of Population Studies", Himalaya Publishing House.
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NSOU ? GE-SO-21 304 Unit 19 ? Population Programme and Policies Structure 19.1 Objectives 19.2 Introduction 19.3 Family Planning Programme 19.4 Population Policies 19.4.1 Family Planning under Five Year Plans: The Earlier Phase 19.4.2 National Population Policy, 1976 19.4.3 Family Planning during the Eighties 19.4.4 The New Strategy 19.4.5 National Population Policy, 2000 19.5 Appraisal of the Population Policy 19.6 Conclusion 19.7 Summary 19.8 Questions 19.9 Suggested Readings 19.1 Objectives ? To understand the family Planning Programme ? To understand the population policies ? To understand the family planning under Five Year Plans: The Earlier Phase ? To understand the National Population Policy, 1976 ? To understand the family planning during the eighties ? To understand the new strategy ? To understand the National Population Policy, 2000 ? To make an appraisal of the population policy

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 305 19.2 Introduction In India, there has been serious concern about the population growth since independence among the policy makers. So, the country resorted to family planning since very inception of planning process. In a country like India where overall literacy in general and female literacy in particular are very high, exclusive reliance on family planning may not prove to be very effective. Moreover, it is rather difficult to implement family planning programme both due to poverty and low level of consciousness. Nevertheless, family planning has been incorporated in the population policy of the government. Despite various limitations, the facts remains that it has helped in keeping growth of population under check to a large extent. The adhoc Consultative Group of Experts on Population Policy, set up by the Population Commission of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, has included in the Population Policy "measures and programmes designed to contribute to the achievement of economic, social, demographic, political and other collective goals, through effective critical demographic variables, namely, the size and growth of population, its demographic distribution (national and international) and its demographic characteristics." It has also been suggested that it should include measures and programmes that are likely to affect critical demographic variables as well as those specifically designed to do so, thus covering both direct and indirect measures affecting these variables. Of particular importance, in the context of population policy, are three components of population change- fertility, mortality and migration- because all demographic variables are influenced only through them. While considering the population policy of India, it is necessary to concentrate on fertility as the single most importance factor contributing to population change. Of the other two components of population change, mortality and migration, the latter does not warrant serious consideration in the context of population policy of India. As for international migration, the volume of such migration is not very large and as for migration within the country, it is a constitutional privilege and the question of any special policy in this regard does not arise. An important development relating to mortality- influencing policy of the country is the National Health Policy adopted in 1981 which has been updated later for several times. This mortality dimension of population policy is not so much considered in this chapter. The chapter will basically devote only to the fertility aspect of population policy of the country.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 306 19.3 Family Planning Programme Importance of the family planning programme as a device to control population explosion is now universally recognised. In China, for example, the State has approved of one-child norm and has thus succeeded in bringing down the birth rate to 12 per thousand as against 22 per thousand in India in 2009. The factor which has contributed most to China's success on this front is widespread use of contraception. According to UNFPA's State of World Population Report 2012, 85 per cent of married women of child-bearing age in China used contraception during the period 1990-2011 as against 55 per cent in India 26 Even Sri Lanka has done better than India in this regard where 68 per cent women use contraceptives, and as a result birth rate has come down to 18. It is, thus, clear that in India (with the exception of the States of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Goa), the masses are not presently aware of the need of family planning. The decision-makers in the government, however, recognise its importance at this critical juncture. The following aspects of the family planning programme in this country deserve particular mention: i. Public Information Programme(PIP): Under PIP couples in the reproductive age are explained the usefulness of family planning. This is considered necessary for raising the level of consciousness of the people without which they will not accept any family planning programme. Hence the govt has decided to use all media of publicity, including cinema, radio, television, posters, and newspapers to publicise the importance of family planning. Once the idea of family planning catches up the imagination of the people, they will themselves voluntarily start practising it. ii. Incentives and disincentives: The government has introduced various schemes under which incentives are being given to those who accept family planning. The system of cash prizes has given some inducement to the people to go in for sterilisation. Since family planning is completely voluntary in this country, coercive methods have been generally avoided. During the emergency some excesses were

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 307 committed and forcible sterilisation were done. This caused widespread resentment among the people and there was setback to voluntary family planning. Under the exiting situation, if small cash prizes fail to provide incentive to people to accept family planning, the government can take decision that preference for employment will be given to the people who accept small family norm. Moreover, those who reject family planning may be denied certain facilities. iii. Family Planning Centres: Establishment of family planning centres is an integral part of any family planning programme. Some attention has been given to this aspect of the programme in India. These centres provide various clinical facilities needed for family planning. In addition to these clinical centres a large number of contraceptive distribution centres should also be located in both urban and rural areas. iv. Research: Research in the field of demography, communication action, reproductive biology and fertility control must be given a high priority in any family planning programme. Generally, this aspect is ignored in underdeveloped countries and undue reliance is placed on family planning devices more suitable for developed countries. The Government of India, however, realizes the importance of research to obtain maximum results within the constraints of resources allocated to the family planning programme. 19.4 Population Policies The policy to control population growth was adopted by the government as far as back as 1952. Initially it was taken up in a modest way. It gathered momentum after 1961 census which showed a higher growth in population than anticipated. Since then, the family planning became the "kingpin" of the population-policy. 19.4.1 Family Planning under Five Year Plans: The Earlier Phase During the first decade of economic planning, family planning programme was taken up on a modest scale with clinical approach. The emphasis was mainly on
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 308 research in the field of demography, physiology, reproduction, motivation, communication and establishing Central and State organisations in providing clinical services. In pursuance of this policy, 549 and 1100 family planning centres were opened in the urban and rural areas respectively. In addition to these clinical facilities were provided in hospitals and health centres. Although in this way a beginning was made in the field of family planning but considering the size of the country many demographers rightly believed that the family planning programme on this scale was of little consequences. An urgency with regard to family planning was felt after the publication of the 1961 Census results which showed a higher rate of population growth than anticipated. The Third Plan stated clearly that the objective of stabilising the growth of population should be the central feather of planning and the family planning programme has to be adopted as the principal measure to realise this objective. Experts thought that the clinical approach was not enough, and the government thus decided to supplement it by the extension approach. The allocation of funds to the family planning programme was also increased but looking at the dimension of the problem total outlay (Rs. 24.86 crore) was not adequate. A full-fledged Department of Family Planning was created in 1966 in the Ministry of Health, Family Planning and Urban Development. The administrative structure included the State family planning department which operated through a machinery at the district level. A series of service points aided by an extension system of male and female family planning workers was required to provide alternative contraceptive methods. Since family planning was voluntary, the acceptors had the freedom to choose any of the contraceptive methods offered. This has been known as the 'cafeteria approach'. To increase the motivational effect, mass media campaign was also organised. During the period 1966-69 the family planning programme was made target oriented and more funds were allocated to it, yet the results were far from satisfactory. The Fourth Five Year Plan provided a high priority to the family planning programme and allocated Rs. 330 crores to it. The programme aimed at reducing birth rate from 39 per thousand to 25 per thousand population within the next 10-12 years. In order to attain this objective a concrete programme was carried out for creating facilities for the couples in their reproductive period. The emphasis in the programme was on group acceptance of a small family norm, personal knowledge
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about family planning methods, and ready availability of supplies and services. The basic approach of the

government, however, did not change, as it continued to follow clinical approach aided with extension services. There was a significant shift in the strategy of the government under fifth Five Year Plan. In the first place, the government decided to carry forward the family planning programme in an integrated manner along with health, maternity and child health care, and nutrition services at all levels. With this perspective, a decision was taken to convert vertical programmes' workers into multipurpose workers who were required to pay special attention to family planning work. Secondly, keeping in view the bold measures envisaged in the 1976 National Population Policy to restrict the rate of population growth, the Fifth Plan made a provision of Rs. 497.36 crore for the family planning programmes. 19.4.2 National Population Policy, 1976 The National Population Policy was announced on April 16, 1976. It was completely at variance with the earlier population policy of the government. In the past the importance of development and education had been recognised for restricting the rate of population growth, though the government's own programme was confined singularly to family planning. Until the declaration of the Population Policy, 1976 the family planning was entirely voluntary; the government's role was restricted to motivating the people to accept the family planning and to providing clinical facilities and other services to its acceptors. The government, however, gave up this approach in 1976. Rejecting the view that development and family planning go hand in hand, it declared that rapid population growth was thwarting economic development and thus a more positive approach was needed to check it. This change in approach was clearly reflected in the policy statement of the government-to wait for education and economic development to bring about a drop in fertility is not a practical solution. The very increase in population makes economic development slow and more difficult of achievement. The time factor is so pressing, and the population growth so formidable, that we must get out of the vicious circle through a direct assault upon this problem as a national commitment. The policy statement reaffirmed the government's commitment to bring down the birth rate to 25 per thousand by the end of the Sixth Plan period. On the basis of the past experience it was obvious that this objective could not be attained by placing reliance entirely on voluntary family planning. Therefore, some more direct measures
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 310 were conceived and announced. Raising the legal minimum age of marriage to 21 years for males and 18 years for females was a welcome measure, but its implementation was a doubtful proposition from the very beginning. Similarly, introducing population values in the education system and increasing the monetary incentive for sterilisation were certainly desirable measures, but in a conservative society like ours, these were not expected to contribute much to the success of family planning drive. The government thus rightly involve the Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samities, cooperatives, teachers, workers' organisation and a number of voluntary agencies including women and youth organisations. The questionable measures were drawing of all government departments into the motivation of citizens to adopt responsible reproductive behaviour, and permission to State legislatures to pass legislation for compulsory sterilisation. In an authoritarian political system, the corrupt administrative machinery invariably misuses its powers if it is drawn into the implementation of some social programme. In India this actually happened during emergency. In this period, in spite of the impressive figures of the persons covered under the family planning programme, the use of coercive methods discredited the entire family planning programme. Thus, the experience of the government to pursue the so-called bold measures for lowering down the birth rate in a relatively short period ended in a fiasco. 19.4.3 Family Planning during the Eighties The experience during the emergency once again proved that the family planning programme cannot be a substitute for development and any attempt to force its pace without ameliorating the economic condition of the poor and changing the consciousness of the people by educating them will have little chance of success. The Planning Commission in the Sixth Plan admitted the fact that this programme did not inspire the confidence of the people who viewed it as a government activity. Therefore, the need for projecting family planning programme as a people's programme was felt. On the recommendation of the Working Group on Population Policy set up by the Planning Commission, the long-term demographic goal of lowering down the net reproductive rate from the prevailing level of 1.67 to 1 by 1996 in the country as a whole and by 2001 in all the Sates was adopted. Keeping in view this goal, efforts

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 311 were made to raise the proportion of eligible couples protected with family planning from 22 percent at the beginning of the Plan to 41.2 percent in 1984-85. This was certainly an ambitious target and could not be realised. In 1984-85 out of estimated 126.7 million couples, 45.1 million couples were protected from conception. They constituted 35.6 percent of the eligible couples. This failed to make any significant impact on crude birth rate which remained stuck at 33.5 per thousand. The government, as indicated in the Sixth Plan, wanted population programme to be accepted as a national programme of all people, and for this purpose considered it necessary to develop national consensus on this subject. In order to bring about a fall in fertility rate the Plan, however, did not envisage the use of coercive methods. As explained above, nothing significant happened during Sixth Plan period and the crude birth rate did not register any decline. But undaunted, the health policy fixed the target of the net reproduction rate of 1 by the year 2000 A.D. The Planning Commission, however, felt that this goal could be reached only by the period 2006- 11. In order to make an advance towards this target at the desired rate during the Seventh Plan period, 42 percent couples in the reproduction group should have accepted family planning methods, and this could have enabled crude birth rate to come down to 29.1 per thousand by the year 1990. Interestingly the Seventh Plan target of achieving couple protection rate of 42 percent was achieved, but the crude birth rate remained marginally higher at 29.9 per thousand. 19.4.4 The New Strategy Restricting population growth was one of the most important objectives of the Eight Plan. The Plan had aimed at bringing down the birth rate from 29.9 per thousand in 1990 to 26 per thousand by 1997. This was a modest target and was realisable provided the government had succeeded in carrying out its strategy. Under the Eight Plan, for population control there was stress on decentralized planning and implementation. The advantage of area specific strategy is that it allows scope for flexibility of approach. Under the Ninth Plan the Central government's role is being limited to general policy planning and providing technological inputs. Thus, the approach of the government is to make family planning programme as one of "people's operation with government cooperation". Another important aspect of the strategy is to make

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 312 the younger couples, who are productively most active, the focus of attention. This has become necessary because under the Seventh Plan while target of couple protection rate was achieved, it was not matched by a commensurate decline in the birth rate, possibly because of the lower coverage of the younger couples. The younger couples will now have to be prepared to accept small family norm as a social responsibility. In the future, targeted reduction in the birth rate will be the basis of designing and implementing the family planning programme against the existing approach of couple protection rate. From this point of view, the out-reach and quality of family planning services will be improved. So far the system of cash incentives to adopters of sterilisation programme has failed to make any impact on population growth. Therefore, the entire package of incentives and awards has to be restructured to make it more meaningful. The possibilities of introducing certain disincentives to the non-adopters of family planning programme, the role of education, information and communications is widely recognised. These are now being considered as critical inputs by the planners and will thus be strengthened and explained in the coming years. The research and development of methods aimed at regulation of fertility both in males and female will also be given a new thrust. 19.4.5 National Population Policy, 2000 The policy to control the rapidly growing popu-lation and to stabilize it at a reasonable level has been there since the early 1950's, with some variations in it. The latest in the series is the National Population Policy. National Population Policy, 2000 is a comprehensive document that for the first time in the post-Independence history of the country, addresses itself to the problem of population growth not in isolation but in integration with all such related issues as child survival, maternal health, women empowerment & employment, and contraception. As in any policy statement, the features of the National Population Policy, (NPP) can be explained in terms of its objectives and the means to achieve them. Objectives: The National Population Policy, 2000 has specifically outlined immediate, medium-term and long-term objectives. i. The immediate objective is to provide for facilities to meet the unmet needs for contraception, health care infrastructure and health personnel, and an integrated service delivery for basic reproductive and child health care.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 313 ii. The medium-term objective is to bring the Total Fertility Rate, (TFR), i.e., the average number of children per woman in the reproductive age-group, to replacement level by 2010. iii. The long-term objective is to achieve a stable population by 2045, at a level consistent with the requirements of sustainable economic growth, social development, and environmental protection. In pursuing these objectives, the policy stipulates the fulfilment of the following goals (or quantified targets) by 2010. The growth of population is to be reduced so that it could reach a size of 1107 million (110 crores) in 2010, as against projected size of 1162 million (116 crores) at the current rates of births and deaths. A smallersize of population is to be achieved through a reduction in the birth rate from 27.2 in 1997 to 21.0 in 2010; in the infant Mortality Rate from 71 (per one thousand) in 1997 to 42 in 2010; and in the Total Fertility Rate, from 3.3 in 1997 to 2.1 in 2010. Apart from this, the national population policy, 2000 also aims at the following : i. Reduce maternal mortality ratio to below 100 per one lakh live births. ii. Reduce infant mortality rate to below 30 per one thousand live births in the long run. iii. Achieve universal immunisation of children against all vaccine preventable diseases. iv. Achieve universal access to information/counselling and services for fertility regularisation and contraception with a wide basket of choices. v. Promote delayed marriage for girls not earlier than age 18 and preferably after 20 years of age. vi. Prevent and control communicable diseases. vii. Promote the small family norm to achieve replacement levels of total fertility rates. viii. Bring about convergence in implementation of related social sector programmes to make family welfare a people centred programme. Means; To achieve these objectives, the policy lays down several means. One set of means identifies 12 themes (or tasks) and the measures to put them through. It is provided that the preparation and execution of programmes should be decentralized

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 314 by entrusting this work to the Panchayats and Nagar Palikas. The policy also seeks the help of non-government organizations, as also the private sector, including the private medical practitioner. Provision has also been made for the use of Indian systems of medicine and Homeopathy. The policy takes care of the hitherto under-served population (urban slums, tribal communities etc.) Emphasis has also been laid on the need to make up the deficiencies in respect of the services related to population-control such as contraceptives, health personnel etc. The policy aims at providing services in an integrated manner. Women are also to be empowered through an increase in the opportunities of employment, as also in respect of their health and nutrition. Contraceptive technology and research in reproductive and child health are to be encouraged. The policy also provides for the spread of the message of small family through dissemination of information, education and communication. To ensure coordination of work between the Panchayats and Nagar Palikas with the governments of the states and centre, as also between the various departments, the policy has provided for new structures, like the National Commission on Population & similar commission at the level of States and Union Territories. A coordination cell for the same purpose has also been set up in the Planning Commission. To enhance performance, particularly in the states with the below average socio-demographic indices, a Technology Mission in the Department of Family Welfare has been set up. The policy is also to seek public support in favour of the small family norm through demonstration and personal example by political community, business, profession, and religious leaders, media, and film stars etc. The policy also promises adequate funding of the programme, as also subsidies for preventive and promotive services. There are then incentives described as promotional and Motivational Measures, for popularizing the Small Family Norm. These consist of payments in cash, in kind, and in the form of Insurance-benefits, besides the public applause. These are to be given to the acceptors, motivators, and organizers of small family programmes. Quite a significant part of the incentives is meant for families with one or two girls, for couples, those below the poverty-line, who marry late, and for those who bear children late, and for those who adopt a terminal method after the birth of a second child. As a motivational measure, the freeze on the number of seats to the Lok Sabha on the basis of 1971 census, valid till 2001, has been extended to 2026 so that the state governments fearlessly pursue the agenda for population-stabilization.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 315 19.5 Appraisal of the Population Policy In India there is need for an imaginative population policy to deal with the present population problem. Unfortunately, the government has failed to formulate such a policy. Nowhere in the world, rate of population growth has declined without the spread of education among the masses and substantial improvement in their standard of living, and yet in India these aspects have been very much ignored in the government's drive to bring about a fall in the fertility rate. Greater reliance on family planning programme to realise this objective in a social environment which is non-receptive to the programme, clearly betrays the understanding of the problem. To be more specific, three major defects in the approach of the government are as follows: i. Overemphasis on contraceptives. According to B.R. Sen, the population problem has not been correctly understood in India. The programmes which were formulated in the country to restrict the population growth from time to-time were invariably based on the assumption that by increasing the supply of contraceptives and popularising their use, the problem could be solved. No one ever seriously thought of raising the standard of living of the mass of the people in the countryside to bring about a fall in the rate of population growth. B.R. Sen rightly asserts that poverty of these people provides them an inducement to have more children and perhaps this is the major cause of our population problem. Therefore, if population problem is to be solved in this country, frontal attack has to be made on poverty, particularly in rural areas. This will require extra developmental efforts in the countryside. Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Goa, among the States in India, have successfully brought down the birth rates from 35 to about 20 per thousand in a period of 25 years. Attitudinal changes to health and family size in these States reducing the birth rates became possible largely due to spread of literacy, especially among women and their better health care. On the basis of Kerala- Goa demographic experience, T.N. Krishnan has thus rightly stressed, "Both in Kerala and Goa, their demographic transitions were preceded by health and educational transitions." The governments in most of the States have refused to draw any lessons from the experiences of these two States.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 316 ii. Inappropriateness of coercive methods. No one disputes the urgency of restricting population growth in this country. In fact, people belonging to various strata of the society and subscribing to different ideologies now favour that on the question of population control, national consensus must be evolved. But there is less agreement on measures. There are many experts who believe that development is the only effective measure to restrict population growth. Some others would like to continue family planning drive with developmental efforts. However, most of the demographers and economists who favour pursuit of a vigorous family planning programme do not approve of the coercive methods which the government had adopted in 1976. The experience in respect of forced sterilisation clearly suggests that coercive methods hurt the dignity of people and are counter productive. iii. Ad hocism and shifting family planning approach. Analysis of the family planning programme during the period of planning reveals very clearly that the objective of bringing down the birth rate to a sustainable level remains as elusive as it was three decades before. This is particularly true because of the arbitrary, uninformed, and unimaginative nature of the decision-making at the highest level of organisation. D. Banerji has rightly attributed the failures of the family planning programme to the lapses in the decision making which got compounded by a succession of blunders by successive decision-makers. Box-1 Population Policy of the Government of India ? In India, the government has not relied on economic and social measures to control the size of population. ? Its entire reliance is on family planning programme. ? Pravin Visaria, a noted Indian demographer, has pertinently argued that, but for family planning programme, the rate of growth of India's population could have risen sharply, as has happened in several countries of Africa. ? In the earlier phase of economic planning, the government felt the need for family planning programme only after the publication of 1961 Census results which showed a higher rate of population growth than anticipated.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 317 ? The government in the earlier phase pursued an ad hoc policy under which first it pursued clinical approach, then extension approach and finally the cafeteria approach. ? Since this policy did not show impressive results, the government decided to pursue a 'bold national population policy' in 1976. ?Under this 'bold policy', the government pursued questionable measures particularly involving government departments and motivating citizens to adopt responsible reproductive behaviour. ? In an authoritarian political system, the corrupt administrative machinery misused its powers during the emergency that was proclaimed by the government. ? The use of coercive methods discredited the entire family planning programme and the experiment of the government to pursue the so-called bold measures for lowering down the birth rate in a relatively short period ended in a fiasco. ? Restricting population growth was one of the main objectives of the Eighth Plan. ? Under the Eighth Plan for population control there was stress on decentralized planning and implementation. ? The National Population Policy of 2000 has outlined immediate, medium-term, and long-term objectives. ? The immediate objective of this policy is to meet needs of health infrastructure and health personnel. ? The medium-term objective is to lower down fertility rate to the replacement level by 2010. ? The long-term objective is to achieve stable population by 2045. In the early 1950s, following the Planned Parenthood movement of the Western countries, the "clinic approach" was adopted. This approach did not work as the conditions in India were quite different from those in European countries and the United States. On discovering that the clinic approach would not advance family planning movement, the decision makers switched over to "the extension approach". The idea of extension approach was imported from the United States and like any other policy imported from the West was assumed to be an answer to the problem. Having discovered the failure of even this approach, the concern about human dignity and the individual's right to take decisions about one's own family got mellowed. At this stage, thinking in official circles started favouring introduction of an element of coercion in family planning programme. Naturally, there was once

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 318 again a change in approach. The new policy was characterised as the "camp approach", which in practice meant herding a large number of motivated persons into camps by offering them cash incentives or compensation. Its ugliest form was seen in this country during the emergency when, backed by authoritarian methods, its implementation proved to be disastrous for the entire family planning movement. In India, the family planning programme, in all its limitations, has made some impact in the urban areas. Total fertility has declined in all States early 1970s. By the late 1990s, total fertility declined to 1.8 births in Kerala and 2.0 births Nadu. However, replication of the experience of Kerala and Tamil Nadu elsewhere in the country, particularly in the four large States in North India, was a formidable task. Nevertheless, as noted by Tim Dyson, "Continuing attention to the provision of high quality family planning and reproductive health care services will benefit the poor- and especially women... Faster, rather than slower, fertility decline will make it easier to bring education of better quality to all people. It will reduce urban population increase, and growth of the labour force-making it easier to provide better living conditions in the urban sector and better employment prospects. It will reduce pressure on environmental resources, and it may also enhance economic growth." According to Pravin Visaria, a noted Indian demographer, for lowering down the total fertility rates in the country, policy shifts are essential. He particularly suggests the following measures: a. A well-designed programme of increasing the efficacy of the large body of health workers for the difficult task of persuading their clientele to modify their reproductive behaviour. b. A shift from family planning method specific targets to an emphasis on the evaluation of the change in the birth rates and mortality rates. c. The adoption of a scheme of incentives and disincentives to delay marriage and to limit the number of children after marriage. These measures if adopted earnestly will change the reproductive behaviour of the people. The people will learn the advantages of a small family and for limiting the number of children will voluntarily use one method or the other on family planning. This strategy in turn will lower down to fertility rate and arrest the population growth of the country in the long run.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 319 19.6 Conclusion In India, there has been serious concern among the policy makers about the population growth since independence. So, the family planning programmes were initiated since very inception of planning process. However, even after almost the seventy years of family planning programme, it is felt that in India there is need for an imaginative population policy to deal with the present population problem. Apart from designing a programme for increasing the efficacy of the large body of health workers for the difficult task of persuading their clientele to modify their reproductive behaviour, it is necessary to take initiative for the spread of education among the masses and substantial improvement in their standard of living. Government should create jobs and income for poor families, especially women. It is also necessary to adopt scheme of incentives and disincentives to delay marriage and to limit the number of children after marriage. 19.7 Summary As far as the population is concerned, India ranks second in the world next only to China. India and many other third world countries are now passing through the phase of population explosion. Rapid population growth is likely to reduce per-capita income growth and welling which tends to increase poverty. More people mean an increased demand for food, water, housing, energy, healthcare, transportation, and more. All that consumption contributes to ecological degradation, increased conflicts and higher risk of large-scale disasters like pandemics. Population policy and the five years plans since 1951 in India are reviewed and evaluated in terms of limiting population growth. India is the first country in the world to begin a population control programme in 1952. It emphasized the use of natural devices for family planning. Population policies formulated to address the unmet needs for contraception, healthcare infrastructure, and health personnel, and to provide integrated service delivery for basic reproductive and child healthcare. The main objective is to achieve a stable population at any cost in an overpopulated country like India.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 320 19.8 Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. What is the New Strategy of India's population policy? ii. Write a note on National Population Policy, 1976. iii. Discuss the National population policy 2000. G-B (10 Marks each) iv. What Family Planning measures were taken during the 1980's? v. Discuss the different aspects of the family planning programme in India. vi. Critically evaluate population policy of India. 19.9 Suggested Readings i. Agrawal, A. N. (2010): "Indian Economy-Problems of Development and Planning", 36th Edition, New Age International (P) Ltd. ii. Banerji, D. (1976): "Health Services and Population Policies", Economic and Political Weekly, Special Number, August 1976. iii. Bhende, A. A. and T. Kanitkar (1996): "Principals of Population Studies", Himalaya Publishing House. iv. Chandna, R. C. (2006): "Geography of Population-Concepts, Determinants and Pattern", Kalyani Publishers. v. Datt, G. and A. Mahajan (2013): "Datt& Sundaram Indian Economy", 69th Revised Edition, S. Chand & Company Pvt. Ltd. vi. Dyson, T. (2008): "India's Demographic Transition and its Consequences for Development", Third Lecture in the Golden Jubilee Lecture Series of the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi, March 24, 2008. vii. EPW (2019): "Declining Fertility and Demographic Dividend", Economic & Political Weekly, August 3, 2019. viii.

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NSOU ? GE-SO-21 322 Unit 20 ? Women Empowerment: Its Demographic Consequences Structure 20.1 Objectives 20.2 Introduction 20.3 Empowerment—The Concept 20.4 Need for Women Empowerment 20.5 Dimensions of Women Empowerment 20.5.1 Political Empowerment of Women 20.5.2 Social Empowerment of Women 20.5.3 Economic Empowerment of Women 20.5.4 Legal Empowerment of Women 20.5.5 Cultural Empowerment of Women 20.6 Demographic Consequences 20.7 Conclusion 20.8 Summary 20.9 Questions 20.10 Suggested Readings 20.1 Objectives ? To understand Empowerment as a concept ? To understand the need for women empowerment ? To understand the dimensions of women empowerment ? To understand the political empowerment of women ? To understand the social empowerment of women ? To understand the economic empowerment of women ? To understand the legal empowerment of women ? To understand the cultural empowerment of women ? To understand the demographic consequences of such empowerments.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 323 20.2 Introduction In recent time, empowerment of women has emerged as an important issue in our society. Generally speaking, empowerment is a redistribution of power and control of resources in favour of women through positive intervention. Women empowerment has a considerable impact on the demography. Women social empowerment in terms of education and the economic empowerment rigorously affect the demographic and social variables such as fertility, mortality, and marriage. 20.3 Empowerment—The Concept In recent time, empowerment of women has emerged as an important issue in our society. The concept of empowerment was first brought at the International Women's Conference in 1985, at Nairobi. The conference maintained that empowerment is a redistribution of power and control of resources in favour of women through positive intervention. In broader sense, empowerment, means individuals acquiring the power to think and act freely, exercise choice, and to fulfil their potential as full and equal members of society. In defining empowerment the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNDFW) includes the following factors: i. Acquiring knowledge and understanding of gender relations and the ways in which these relations may be changed; ii. Developing a sense of self-worth, a belief in one's ability to secure desired changes and the right to control one's life. It's true that the term empowerment has gained popularity and wide usage in the recent time, but there is not any concrete or authoritative definition of it. In different literature it is defined from varied angles. Very often the term empowerment is used to describe a process whereby the powerless or disempowered gain greater control of resources and decision making. This is because the most crucial feature of the term empowerment is that it contains within it the word power. So, empowerment basically is about power and about changing the balance of power. Mosedale identifies four aspects which seem to be generally accepted in case of empowerment. i. Firstly, to be empowered one must have been disempowered. When we talk of empowering women it is accepted that they are disempowered relative to men.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 324 ii. Secondly, empowerment cannot be bestowed by a third party, it is to be gained. So, the role of development agencies is to create conditions conducive for empowerment and facilitate women empowering themselves. iii. Thirdly, definitions of empowerment generally include a sense of people making decisions on matters which are thought to be important in their lives and being able to carry them out. Therefore, reflection, analysis and action are involved in this process which may happen on individual or a collective level. iv. Finally, empowerment is not like reaching a destination rather a continuous process or unending journey. It cannot be taken as an absolute phase. People are empowered relative to others or relative to themselves at a previous time. So, empowerment can be briefed as a process by which women gain greater control over material and intellectual resources which helps them increase their self- reliance and emboldens them to claim their independent rights and challenge the patriarchal ideology and the gender-based discrimination against them. It also enables them to organise themselves to achieve their autonomy to make decisions and choices, and ultimately eliminate their own subordination in all the institutions and structure of society. 20.4 Need for Women Empowerment Women constitute half of any country's human endowment. Women are in a sense the social conscience of a country. But in contrary, if we look around in our society, it is obvious that women are enclosed and brought up in the culture of silence, their life starting, continuing, and ending up in this darkness of silence. They have control over neither resource around them whether it is physical resources; human resources; intellectual resources; financial resources and the self nor over ideology. Therefore, empowering of women presupposes a drastic, dynamic, and democratic change in the perception of and expectation from men and women in our society. As the women comprise almost half of the population, without their development and progress there cannot be true development in the world. It is also obvious that greater gender inequality undermines the process of economic development of the developing and the backward countries. So, it is of dire need for equality and

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 325 empowerment of women in the society. To achieve the goal of women's equality and empowerment, they must be provided with wholesome opportunities and rights. Gender sensitisation is required at every level for men and women. They are to be provided with all the accesses so that they can live a life of dignity. All the discriminatory socialisation process and oppressive social structural forces that obstruct such access are to be confronted and reversed. 20.5 Dimensions of Women Empowerment Women empowerment is a multi-faceted concept involving varied dimensions. Women issues should be viewed from five different angles, all of which are related to the status of women, namely political recognition, access to education, access to employment, legal recognition, and cultural recognition. Women need to be empowered in almost all of them; otherwise, they will not get their rightful share of the productive resources or participate in the decisions that affect their lives. Women having all of these recognitions and accesses can be branded as 'empowered'. So the concept of empowerment can be broadly classified into five dimensions such as, political, social, economic, legal and cultural. 20.5.1 Political Empowerment of Women The most important aspect of women's empowerment is their active participation in the political process of the country. Gender equality—political and social—is enshrined in the Fundamental Rights the Constitution together with equality of opportunity to employment and appointment to office. Political equality includes not only the equal right to franchise but also the more important right to gain access to the formal institutionalized centres of power. Therefore, political empowerment of women is nothing but giving women the capacity to influence the decision-making process by integrating them into the political system. Despite their fast numerical strength, women occupy a marginalized position in society because of several socio-economic constraints. This has inhibited effective participation of women in political processes and the institutional structure of democracy. Even after several decades of the grant of political equality, statistics have over the years revealed that while there is an acceptable visible manifestation of gender equality at the voter level, gender visibility within the power structures show cause for women concern.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 326 However, with the Panchayati Raj Institutions getting Constitutional status by way of the 73rd Amendment Act, it is hoped that the women will have greater participation in the political process and decision-making capacity as the Act made such a role mandatory and universal in the whole of India. But is must be remembered that a change cannot be brought about overnight. Women have been subjected to exploitation for ages and thus cannot break free of all the shackles of illiteracy, poverty, and tradition at one stroke. Even today, most of the women are uneducated, have little or no property and live in a traditional-bound society. In such case, the politically powerful can make them contest elections for their own political gains. Another problem is that women, especially in rural areas would not come forward to fight the elections. In case they do come forward it would be along the patriarchal whip, under the command and guidance of the males, as proxies and assigning or stamping on the dotted lines. But it is a fact that a breakthrough has been made. Gender Empowerment strategies under these circumstances require structural systematic change and basic attitudinal and value change. The real empowerment of women requires a thorough going renewal of the political process on a democratic basis. Unless women are equipped with the necessary skill in political decision- making, their increased representation in the local bodies may not alter the existing setup. It is therefore necessary to sensitize the women in the women's perspective, not in the narrow feminist sense, but in the sense of honorable co-existence with men for this will enable women to exercise their 'will' and advance towards their complete emancipation. This, of course, requires sensitizing men as well, as they are currently the holders of power. Besides, the success of the Panchayati Raj institutions largely depends on the collective participation. They are at a take-off point, where the basic indicators are positive and the women who will be elected in the election have a challenging and an onerous task ahead. And thus, there is a need to extend greater affirmative action from the Panchayat level to the state and national level and political conscious raising and supportive action by women's organisations at the voter level to enhance self-potency and political efficacy. If these measures are followed political participation of women will open new vistas of development, which will automatically result in the political empowerment of women in the society.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 327 20.5.2 Social Empowerment of Women Coming to the social aspect of empowerment of women, nobody could deny the role of education, as it is a powerful instrument since it enables women to gain more knowledge about the outside world, skills, self-image, and self-confidence. Education is a major force in redefining women's role and status, and it is an important aspect for increasing and bettering the chances of women employability and empowering women to think for themselves, become confident in also develop the capability of recognizing more accurately the area of exploitation. It is often argued that education is a powerful tool in the emancipation and empowerment of women. Indeed, the different organs of the United Nations (e.g., UNICEF) and experts on women's liberation argue for women's education as the basic step in women's equality. It has been reported as a crucial factor for development of women as it not only helps women to gain knowledge but also provides the necessary courage and inner strength to face the challenges of life. It will also enable them to procure a job and supplement the income of family and achieve social status. Education, especially of woman, has a major impact on health and nutrition, and is the key of developing a sustainable strategy for population control. Moreover, educated women could play an equally important role as men in nation building. Thus, there is no denying the fact that education empowers women. One of the recommendations of the National Policy on Education (1986) by the Government of India is to promote "empowerment' of women through the agency of education and it is considered to be a landmark in the approach to women's education. Women's education has assumed special significance in the context of planned development as education was included in the Sixth Five-Year Plan as a major programme for the development of women. There is a need for encouraging more women to participate not only in general education but also in vocational, technical, and professional education. Women's education should be treated as a special priority in all programmes of development. The government can open more places in schools for girls, lessen the financial burdens of education for women, reform curricula and educational system, in order to encourage girls to formulate non-traditional career goals and centralize the educational system to ensure greater equivalence of educational experiences for girls. Besides, education for women must be practical and well adapted to their needs, especially in relation to health, nutrition, and legal rights.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 328 20.5.3 Economic Empowerment of Women If it is aimed at changing the life of women, it is the economic independence that should be given the first priority for such a change. When a woman attains economic independence, she naturally becomes the author of her own decisions, and no one can use her for their pleasure and benefit. A scientific perception of women's needs is essential for the process, which leads to empowering. Job centered socio-economic development would provide self-respect to women and initiate and strengthen the empowerment process. Economic independence or access to an inherited or self-generated income is considered to be the major means of empowerment of women. And the contribution of employment to the improvement of women's position is largely contributed by the modern sector and they enable women to move out of their homes to an extended plane, express their ideas, exchange their problems, and evaluate their position vis- a-vis men in many areas of social life. This would result in an awareness of their position in society and an urge to do something about it. Full employment of a woman assures her a better, more enriching and rewarding life and human relationship. The government has taken certain positive steps in full employment of women and payment of equal remuneration to them. The Equal Remuneration Act, 1976 (India) was a major step towards protective legislation and establishing the principles of equality, as it provides for equal remuneration to men and women workers and prevention of discrimination against women in the matter of employment. In addition, to enabling women to stand on their own legs, the Government of India and the Indian States have introduced a several number of women-oriented income generation programmes. The recognition of national responsibility towards the economic empowerment of women cannot be anything but to the advantage of women. But there seems to be a little link between the level of economic development and women's economic opportunities. In India, the labour force participation of women is very low. One of the major hurdles to the development of employment opportunities for women is the lack of adequate training. Women should have the access to productive resources such as land, building, credit, housing, and skill development. Supporting service provisions would make women more functional and productive by reducing their drudgery and provide them with more time for employment. Programmers for women, consisting of skill building and skill upgrading

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 329 can be more fruitful for enhancing their economic status and make them to have a superior bargaining power as far as employment is concerned. Therefore, it is crucial for raising the female earning power to increase the effective demand for education, health and family planning services, which are necessary for improving the status of women to a great extent 20.5.4 Legal Empowerment of Women Laws empower women. They provide legal redressal in cases where conciliation fails. And, it is important machinery at all levels, as it has an ability to sensitize women to fulfill their needs. The concept of gender equality was accepted in principle by the great Indian political leaders of the twentieth century. With the adoption of the Constitution in India, there has been a spate of legislation to protect women and to give them an equal status. A lot of legislations have been enacted which are women-specific and women-related to protect women against social discrimination, violence, and atrocities and also to prevent social evils like child marriages, dowry, rape, practice of sati, etc. Legal rights of women in India are of very high order and in certain respects more than what is available for women in other countries. But seldom are these laws followed. Violations are the order of the day than adherence to these laws. For many of the laws, which reinforce equality between men and women, social acceptance is yet to come. Personal Laws are the laws, which govern marriage, divorce, inheritance, succession, and adoption. Personal Laws do vary based on the religion practiced. So legislation is an important instrument towards social change, but experience has shown that statutory change alone is not adequate. Moreover, legislation in itself has only a limited impact and cannot be carried out in isolation. A change in social attitude is a must. Legal equality without social or economic equality is meaningless and women have been socially, morally, economically, and physically exploited in the name of tradition, religion or by social sanctions. This should come to an end. Women have been defined by the sex and until this social attitude changes there will be no change in the status of women. Besides awareness and knowledge of women's rights to equality must to be created not only among women but also in the society at large. Moreover, women should become aware of their legal rights and demand their unbiased implementation. In addition, women must themselves be involved in a much bigger way in the judicial and the law enforcement process as judicial officers, lawyers, or police. The constitutional vision of gender justice can be realized NSOU ? GE-SO-21 330 only by a set of multiple strategies, which include more affirmative action. Women's movement, therefore, could play a vital role in such a context and perhaps that could be the most effective instrument in achieving the legal empowerment of women. 20.5.5 Cultural Empowerment of Women The most basic factor which inhibited women from being empowered till recently was the attitude of society towards a woman's role and her place in society. These social values and attitudes get reflected in the education and socialization of girls, and in the institutional arrangements of society. Traditionally, a woman's reproductive role was considered as her primary role and her role as producer secondary, unless as in the low-income classes, economic necessity forced a woman to support the family. Coupled with this was the idealized image of the woman as the one who subordinated self to the family. Women were socialized into accepting these role definitions, and expectations through stories from mythology, epics, and folklore, which glorified women who conformed to the ideal image. Thus, women were conditioned to sacrifice their own goals and ambitions, deny themselves their legitimate space and surrender any resources, which might have contributed to their independence. They were told to always adjust, accept, and accommodate. This was hardly conducive to the development of self-confidence, self-image, and initiative for willingness to take risks, characteristics essential for empowerment. These values and attitudes also meant that girls were often given less education than boys, and even when girls were educated up to school or beyond, the aspirations of the parents and even of the girls themselves were lower both as to educational attainments and future prospects. For a young girl marriage and children were considered the only lifelong activity and education was imparted either to make her a better wife and mother or to secure a better husband, since husbands preferred educated wives. So, it is not enough if women empower themselves through education, employment, and participation in decision-making. There should be cultural empowerment of women. To make this a reality, there should be social recognition, which requires attitudinal change. Freedom is necessary for women. It does not mean breaking away from home and tradition, but it means searching for one's own identity and making the people around her to accept her as a human person.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 331 Moreover, there is a necessity of “conscious raising” or “awareness creation” for the achievement of cultural empowerment of women. This can be done through powerful means of communication, mobilization and organization of both men and women by helping them to think about themselves, identify the oppressive forces working against their improvement and enjoy a feeling of “oneness” and identification with the rest of the members of their group The mobilization process could be successfully carried out by the non-governmental organizations working for the development of women. Thus, creating awareness among women about their freedom is invaluable. In addition, unless patriarchal values die and principles of justice are enshrined in the minds of each individual in the society, it is impossible to reap the fruits of empowerment of women. 20.6 Demographic Consequences Women empowerment has a considerable impact on the demography. Women social empowerment in terms of education and the economic empowerment have some effects on the demographic and social variables such as fertility, mortality, and marriage. i. Women’s Education and Childbearing Throughout many parts of the developing economies, girls generally receive less schooling than boys. The educational gender gap is usually widest after primary school, and it is not uncommon for fewer than half as many girls as boys to be enrolled in secondary school. And even in countries where functional literacy levels are quite low for both sexes, many fewer women than men know how to read and write. The schooling gap affecting many girls in developing countries is of particular concern because a woman’s educational level is usually associated with the key factors that influence the number of children she will have and the number who will survive to adulthood. These factors include her views (and those of her community) about the importance of marriage and childbearing, the age at which she marries or starts having sexual relation, her use of birth control methods, and her breastfeeding and child-care practices. More educated women want fewer children than less educated women. There are many possible reasons for this well-established relationship :

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 332 a. Women who have acquired the ability to think and reason for themselves are less likely to defer unquestioningly to prevailing community and cultural beliefs about the ideal family size. They are less likely, for example, to believe, as many women in traditional settings do, that the number of children they bear is “up to God”; b. The more educated a woman is, the less likely she is to think that her only value comes from having children, and the less likely she is to believe that having boys confers more prestige than having girls. In societies with strong preferences for male children, women tend to have children until at least one son is born, which, in turn, elevates fertility levels; c. Better-educated women probably have higher expectations for their children and so plan to have fewer children and to invest more in each child’s food, shelter, health care and education; d. In very poor families (those in which women are likely to have little schooling), each new child represents an additional potential worker, and the more hands the better. But educated women who can hope to educate their children are likely to perceive that having a few skilled, well- schooled children will better serve the family’s interests than having many unskilled and unschooled ones. ii. Women’s Education and Marriage Women with little schooling tend to marry earlier and start having children sooner than women with more education. The younger a woman is when she marries and has her first child, the more years of exposure to pregnancy she has ahead of her, and the more likely she is to have a large number of children before her reproductive years are over. There are various ways through which increased education can lead a woman to marry at a later age: a. Education empowers women to develop as individuals, not just as appendices to a husband or as low-ranking members of an extended family. It gives them the confidence and the practical basis to believe that marriage at a young age to obtain the support and protection of a husband is not their only option in life; b. In parts of the world in which arranged marriages are customary, the choice of a spouse is considered an important indication of social class or caste. Because a girl without much education will be unable to make a good

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 333 marriage, parents with ambitions for their daughters to marry well have a strong incentive to keep them in school; c. Educated daughters probably have a greater say about arranged marriages in general, and about whom and when they will marry. They are more likely to insist on a certain basic level of compatibility with a prospective husband. Meeting these more stringent standards can take time; d. Girls who understand that staying in school will improve their life prospects are less likely to want their educational careers to be interrupted, or their broader life opportunities derailed, by marriage; e. Girls whose education helps them obtain work once they leave school are likely-as their parents-to find the prospect of earning their own money more attractive than the prospect of early marriage. iii. Women's Education and Child Mortality Many of the same factors that influence the number of children a woman has also determine whether those children live or die, and this is particularly true of her educational level. In addition, high birth rates and high child mortality rates are closely connected phenomena. Women living in countries where large numbers of babies routinely die in infancy are often believed to want a lot of children to ensure that a least a few will survive. The perception that infants have only a fragile hold on life deters some women from practicing birth control. In this way, prevailing infant mortality rates, or expectations of the likelihood of death in the first months or years of a baby's life, can indirectly influence people's views about what constitutes an ideal family size. In addition, women who begin having children at a very young age, who do not space their pregnancies and who have frequent pregnancies are more likely to have low birth weight or sickly babies. Such babies are at high risk of dying in their first year of life. For these reasons, high infant mortality levels are often both a conditioning factor and a consequence of high fertility. Not surprisingly, the more year of schooling a woman has, the less likely she is to experience the death of a child. In fact, researchers have characterized this "pervasive and persistent" relationship between a mother's longer schooling and her child's lessened risk of dying as inverse. Studies found that each additional year of schooling a woman has results in a 7-9 per-cent decline in infant and child mortality. Following are the specific correlates of longer schooling accounting for its consistent relationship with improved child survival.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 334 a. Because more educated women start childbearing at a later age, space their pregnancies more widely apart and have fewer children, their children are less likely to die than the children of less well educated women; b. Moderately educated women are more aware than uneducated women of ways to improve family health and hygiene, household sanitation, the treatment and prevention of illness, and are aware of the importance of correct infant feeding. They are also less likely to accept illness as the will of the supernatural, and more likely to do something about it; c. More educated women can take more responsibility for decisions regarding the health of their children. Their greater self-assertiveness and confidence in dealing with the outside world and their greater chance of having an outside income that they can spend on their families also contribute to the improved health and survival of children; d. The more education a woman has, the more likely she is to be able to identify appropriate sources of medical care for a sick child, and to persist in obtaining accurate diagnoses and treatment; e. Better educated women are considerably more likely than less educated women to use modern preventive and curative health services, to do so early enough for these to take effect, to demand a higher quality of medical care, and to continue treatment correctly and with greater persistence; f. Because better educated women tend to be better off economically and probably have smaller families, they can spend more money and more time caring for each child. iv. Women's Employment and Childbearing Even though most poor women in developing countries have always been responsible for growing food for the family, fetching water and firewood, cooking, cleaning, caring for children and for the old, and working in the fields, they rarely received any monetary compensation for their efforts. Until the early 1960s, women's likelihood of being in the labour market or working for pay was typically quite limited. However, with increasing urbanization, industrialization, and modernization, and in response to growing economic hardship in many parts of the world, women in developing regions are joining the ranks of the employed in ever-increasing numbers.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 335 There are millions of women in developing countries who are formally employed or self-employed, although they often work for very low levels of pay, and often under difficult and oppressive conditions. And in some societies, women have paying work but little control over the money they bring home. Nevertheless, a woman who earns a small amount each week is no longer totally dependent for survival on her parents, on a man, or on marriage. This can mean that the old rules of submission to senior members of the family, or sexual favours given in exchange for economic support, start to change or cease to apply. Even some small degree of financial autonomy means that women can begin to make decisions about sexual relation, marriage and childbearing on their own. Thus, through its potentially empowering impact, paying work is another aspect of women's status believed to have important implications for the number of children they want and have. There are two major reasons to explain why women who earn an income from their work might be expected to have fewer children than those who do not. a. Although most women want children at some point in their lives, because their incomes decline when they give up or reduce paid work to bear and raise children, and because it is difficult for a woman to combine child- rearing with work outside the home, to reduce this incompatibility between the two roles women will often choose to have fewer children. Economists refer to this trade-off, familiar to many women, as being based on a realistic calculation of the "opportunity costs" of having children; b. Women who earn their own money acquire both the financial means and the increased personal confidence to be able to decide for themselves both when to marry and have children and whether to practice family planning. So, it appears that socially empowered women having higher education usually marry later, marry more educated men, are more likely to practice family planning and have greater access to and understanding of the value of health care treatments and services than less educated women. For these, they have smaller families and experience fewer infant and child deaths which usually has high bearing on the demography of an economy. Similarly, if a woman is empowered economically, it lends high impact on her age at marriage and childbearing and rearing. More educated women with better earning potential are likely to value their time more highly and to appreciate the high opportunity costs of having a large family. These also affect the demographic dimension of a country.
NSOU ? GE-SO-21 336 20.7 Conclusion In India, there has been serious concern among the policy makers about the population growth since independence. So, the family planning programmes were initiated since very inception of planning process. However, even after almost the seventy years of family planning programme, it is felt that in India there is need for an imaginative population policy to deal with the present population problem. Apart from designing a programme for increasing the efficacy of the large body of health workers for the difficult task of persuading their clientele to modify their reproductive behaviour, it is necessary to take initiative for the spread of education among the masses and substantial improvement in their standard of living. Government should create jobs and income for poor families, especially women. It is also necessary to adopt scheme of incentives and disincentives to delay marriage and to limit the number of children after marriage. Here lies the need of empowerment of women. It appears that socially empowered women having higher education usually marry later and are more likely to practice family planning than less educated women. They have smaller families and experience fewer infant and child deaths which usually has high bearing on the demography of an economy. Similarly, if a woman is empowered economically, it lends high impact on her age at marriage and childbearing and rearing. More educated women with better earning potential are likely to value their time more highly and to appreciate the high opportunity costs of having a large family. These also lead to fall in fertility rate which in turn affects the population growth of a country. 20.8 Summary Global Empowerment of women is a new concept. Since the second half of the twentieth century, the issue of women's empowerment has gained importance among scholars of universities and in national and international platforms.Women empowerment refers to increasing the spiritual, political, social, educational, gender or economic strength of individuals and communities of women Women's

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 337 empowerment in India is heavily dependent on many different variables that include geographical location (urban/rural), educational status, social status (caste and class) and age. Women empowerment is the process and the outcom of the process by which women challenge gender based discrimination in every institutionand structures of the society. It means freedom of women from the vicious grips of social, economic, political, caste and gender-based discrimination. It means granting women the freedom to make life choices. Women's empowerment has five components— Why need of women empowerment? Women are worshiped as goddess in India,but not given her true position. The main problems that were faced by women in the past days (and still today up to some extent). Gender discrimination, women education, female infanticide, dowry, marriage in same caste and child marriage (still existing), atrocities on women, raped, kicked, killed, subdued and humiliated almost daily. Ways to empower women: Promoting education,training and professional development for women. Providing self-employment and self-help groups; providing minimum needs like nutrition, health, sanitation, housing; in other words, six 'S' for women empowerment i.e. Shiksha/education, Swastha/health, Swavlamban/Self-reliance, Samajik Nyay/ justice, Samvedan/Sensivity and Samata/Equality to be established. Other than these, society should change the mentality towards the word "women". Role of Government and NGOs:Just a few years after Independence,the Governmentset up the Central Social Welfare Board, an apex body of the voluntary sector that aids more than 10000 NGOs across the country helping women stand on their own through such Programme as socio-economic programme, And Non- Governmental Organisations are alsoplaying a significant role in the empowerment of women. A programme of Support to Training -cum-Employment for Women(STEP) was launched in 1987 to strengthen and improve the skills for employment opportunities for women below the poverty line.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 338 20.9 Questions Answer the following questions in your own words. G-A (5 Marks each) i. What do you mean by women empowerment? ii. What are the aspects of empowerment? iii. What is the need of women empowerment? iv. Give the idea of political empowerment. v. Write a note on economic empowerment. vi. Write a note on cultural empowerment. G-B (10 Marks each) vii. Elucidate the role of education for social empowerment of women. viii. How social empowerment of women affect demography? ix. Discuss the various dimensions of women empowerment. x. Discuss the demographic consequences of women empowerment. 20.10 Suggested Readings i. Batliwala, S. (1994): "The Meaning of Women's Empowerment: New Concepts From Action", in G. Sen, A. Germain & L. C. Chen (Eds.), Population Policies Reconsidered, Health, Empowerment and Rights. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press ii.

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Kothare, R. (1999): "Does India's Population Growth Has a Positive Effect on Economic Growth?",

Social Science 410, November, 1999. iii. Mosedale, S. (2003): "Towards a Framework for Assessing Empowerment", Internet Access. iv. Parvin, M. R. (2012): "Empowerment of Women- Strategies & Systems for Gender Justice", New Delhi: Dominant Publishers & Distributors Pvt. Ltd.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 339 v. Program on Population East West Center (1996): "Women's Empowerment and Demographic Change: What Do We Know?" Honolulu, Hawaii, USA, 1996. vi. ShashiKumar, R. (2008): "Women Empowerment in India: Deficiencies, Imbalances and Required Changes", in V. S. Ganesahmurthy (Ed.) Empowerment of Women in India-Social, Economic and Political, New Central Publications, New Delhi.

NSOU ? GE-SO-21 340 NOTES

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of population 38-52 Unit 4 ? Malthusian theories of population 53-66 Unit 5 ? Theory of optimum population 67-81 Unit 6 ? Marxist theory of population 82-91 Unit 7 ? Theory of Demographic transition 92-106					

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3/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 18 WORDS **91%** **MATCHING TEXT** 18 WORDS

Demography is the statistical and mathematical study of the size, composition, and spatial distribution of human populations and

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4/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 56 WORDS **85%** **MATCHING TEXT** 56 WORDS

education, nationality, religion and ethnicity. Institutionally, demography is usually considered a field of sociology, though there are a number of independent demography departments. Formal demography limits its object of study to the measurement of population's processes, while the broader field of social demography population studies also analyze the relationships between economic, social, cultural, and biological processes influencing a population. 1.3

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5/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 31 WORDS **54%** **MATCHING TEXT** 31 WORDS

Writers like William Peterson, Hauser and Duncan consider "population studies" and "demography" to be different, according to them, "Demography" encompasses limited is spheres and it studies only the decisive factors of population growth,

writers like William Peterson, Hauser and Duncan conclude that "population studies" and "demography" are two different concepts. According to them, 'Demography' plays a minor role and takes into consideration only the decisive factors of population growth

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6/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 59 WORDS **73%** **MATCHING TEXT** 59 WORDS

and mathematical study of the size composition spatial distribution of human population and of changes over time in this aspect through the operation of the five processes of fertility, mortality, marriage, migration and social mobility. Although it maintains continuous descriptive and comparative analysis of trends, in each of these processes and in its net result its long run goal is to develop

and statistical study of the size, composition, and spatial distribution of human population and of changes overtime is these aspects through the operations of the five processes of fertility, mortality, marriage, migration and social mobility. It maintains a Introduction Unit 1 11 Social Demography continuous descriptive and comparative analysis of trends, in each of these processes and in their net result. Its long run goal is to develop

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a body of theory to explain the events that it charts and

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8/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

the United Nation multilingual demographic dictionary, "Demography is the scientific study of human populations primarily with respect to their size, their structure and their development".

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composition and distribution and in changes in these aspects through time and causes of these changes". According to

composition and distribution; and in changes in these aspects through time and causes of these changes." According to

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and how do those in one group differ from those in the

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is also implied in this description that the subject matter of population studies includes the study of fertility mortality migration and social mobility that is the components of change in the size, structure, characteristics, and distribution of population.

is also implied in this description that the subject matter of population studies includes the study of fertility, mortality, migration and social mobility, that is, the components of change in the size, structure, characteristics and distribution of population.

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understanding of Biology, genetics, mathematics, statistics, economics, sociology, cultural anthropology, psychology, politics, geography, medicine, public health, ecology etc.

understanding of biology, genetics, mathematics, statistics, economics, sociology, cultural anthropology, psychology, politics, geography, medicine, public health, ecology, etc.

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13/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	75%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

of population studies. The discipline of the study of human population is known by two terms: i. Population studies ii. Demography Population studies

of population studies with other social sciences: 1. Demography: The discipline of the study of population is known by two terms; population studies and demography. Population studies

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some scholars have tried to distinguish between “demographic analysis” and “population studies”.

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study of the components of population, population variation and change. Population studies concerned

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demographic analysis” or “formal demography”, which is primarily concerned with quantitative relations among demographic phenomena in obstruction from their association with other phenomena. Democracy may also be concept in a broad sense to include,

demographic analysis’ or ‘formal demography’, which is ‘primarily concerned with quantitative relations among demographic phenomena in abstraction from their association with other phenomena.’ Demography may also be conceived in a broad sense to include

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the study of interrelationship between population and socio economic, cultural, and other variables.

the study of interrelationships between population and socio-economic, cultural and other variables.

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18/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	148 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	148 WORDS

On the one hand, this subject is concerned with a quantitative study of the size, structure, characteristics and territorial distribution of human population and the changes occurring in them in the other hand; it is concerned with the study of the underlying causes of population phenomena. This student of population is engaged is describing and comparing the size, structure, characteristics and territorial distribution of population, and the changes occurring in it through the study of fertility, mortality, migration, and social mobility. He also attends to explain population phenomena and situations and the changes in them in the context of the biological, social, economic, and other setting. For instance, NSOU ? GE-SO-21 12 population phenomena take place in a social setting and cannot be studied in isolation. Hence, while describing comparing for explaining the determinants and consequences of population phenomena, social phenomena have to be taken into consideration. It can be seen that the study of population is multidisciplinary in nature, involving

On the one hand, this subject is concerned with a quantitative study of the size, structure characteristics and territorial distribution of human populations and the changes occurring them. On the other hand, it is concerned with the study of the underlying causes of population phenomena. Thus, a student of population is engaged in describing and comparing the size, structure, characteristics and territorial distribution of the population, and the changes occurring in it through the study of fertility, mortality, migration and social mobility. He also attempts to explain population phenomena and situations and the changes in them in the context of the biological, social, economic and other setting. For instance, population phenomena take place in a social setting and cannot be studied in isolation. Hence, while describing, comparing or explaining the determinants and consequences of population phenomena, social phenomena have to be taken into consideration. It can be seen that the study of population is multidisciplinary in nature, involving

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19/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	77 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	77 WORDS

The birth rate in India has been lower in the urban areas compared to the rural areas. However, prior to 1965, it was essentially due to the age, sex, and marital status composition of the urban population. The lower marital fertility of urban women is a recent phenomenon, observed after 1965. The available evidence is clearly indicative of an inverse relationship between women's education and fertility. Development, which promotes urbanization and education, will have the effect of reducing marital fertility in India.

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Data on Population became available on a regular basis in India only after the establishment of the system of decennial census in 1872. The beginning of census

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Arthashastra, a treatise on policy attributed to Kautilya, the prime minister of Chandragupta

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and mathematical study of the size, composition, special distribution of human population and of changes over time in this aspect through the operation of the five processes of fertility, mortality, marriage, migration, and social mobility. Although it maintains continuous descriptive and comparative analysis of trends, in each of these processes and in its net result, its long run goal is to develop

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a body of theory to explain the events that it charts and compares." 1.4

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like William Peterson, Hauser and Duncan think 'population studies and demography to be different. According to them demography studies only the factors of population growth whereas population studies

like William Peterson, Hauser and Duncan conclude that "population studies" and "demography" are two different concepts. According to them, 'Demography' plays a minor role and takes into consideration only the decisive factors of population growth but, 'Population Studies'

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The future growth India's population will depend largely upon the future prosperity of the fertility decline. The birth rate in India has been

The future growth of India's population will depend largely upon the future prospects of the fertility decline. The analysis shows that the birth rate as well as fertility in India has been

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is the scientific study of human populations, primarily with respect to their size, their structure, and their development.

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the question of the desirable size of population and the need for either encouraging or discouraging

the question of desirable size of population and the need for either encouraging or discouraging

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In the Greek scheme of political life, the individual was only a part of the state and had to play subordinate role to it.

In the Greek scheme of political life, the individual was only a part of the state and had to play a subordinate role to it.

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is usually considered a field of sociology, though there are a number of independent demography

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that if the highest good was to be achieved the city state should have 5040 citizens

that if the so-called “highest good” was to be achieved the city-state should have 5,040 citizens.

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population. The size and growth of population has been viewed as an important factor underlying the development of any country.

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more from the point of view of defense security and

more from the point of view of defense, security and

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33/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 37 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 37 WORDS

The Malthusian Theory of Population is a theory of exponential population growth and arithmetic food supply growth. Thomas Robert Malthus, an English cleric, and scholar, published this theory in his 1798 writings, An Essay on the Principle of Population.

The Malthusian Theory of Population is a theory of exponential population growth and arithmetic food supply growth. Thomas Robert Malthus, an English cleric, and scholar, published this theory in his 1798 writings, An Essay on the Principle of Population.

W https://www.intelligenteconomist.com/malthusian-theory/

34/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 25 WORDS **78%** **MATCHING TEXT** 25 WORDS

An Essay on the Principle of Population as at affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr Godwin, Mr. Clandorcet and

An essay on the principle of population" which emphasizes that population affects the future improvement of society with remarks on the speculations of Mr. Godwin, Mr. Condorcet and

W http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/9836/1/Unit-4.pdf

35/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 10 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 10 WORDS

came to be known as the Malthusian theory of population.

SA Demographic Transition and Development in India_after trackchanges - Copy.docx (D110958861)

36/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 31 WORDS **88%** **MATCHING TEXT** 31 WORDS

Malthus began with two postulates: “first that food is necessary to the existence of man. Secondly the passion between the sexes is necessary and will remain nearly in its present state.” Assuming

SA Chapter for Sustainable development book.docx (D34778632)

37/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 24 WORDS **87%** **MATCHING TEXT** 24 WORDS

that the power of population is definitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man. Population when unchecked increases in

SA Demography_Final.docx (D110581594)

38/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 127 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 127 WORDS

Population and Food Supply Thomas Malthus theorized that populations grew in geometric progression. A geometric progression is a sequence of numbers where each term after the first is found by multiplying the previous one by a fixed, non-zero number called the common ratio. For example, in the sequence 2, 10, 50, 250, 1250, the common ratio is 5. Additionally, he stated that food production increases in arithmetic progression. An arithmetic progression is a sequence of numbers such that the difference between the consecutive terms is constant. For example, in series 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, the common difference of 3. He derived this conclusion due to the Law of Diminishing Returns. From this, we can conclude that populations will grow faster than the supply of food. This exponential population growth will lead to a shortage of food. 4.6

Population and Food Supply Thomas Malthus theorized that populations grew in geometric progression. A geometric progression is a sequence of numbers where each term after the first is found by multiplying the previous one by a fixed, non-zero number called the common ratio. For example, in the sequence 2, 10, 50, 250, 1250, the common ratio is 5. Additionally, he stated that food production increases in arithmetic progression. An arithmetic progression is a sequence of numbers such that the difference between the consecutive terms is constant. For example, in series 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, the common difference of 3. He derived this conclusion due to the Law of Diminishing Returns. From this, we can conclude that populations will grow faster than the supply of food. This exponential population growth will lead to a shortage of food. 2.

W https://www.intelligenteconomist.com/malthusian-theory/

39/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 117 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 117 WORDS

Malthusian Trap The Malthusian Trap (or "Malthusian Population Trap") is the idea that higher levels of food production created by more advanced agricultural techniques create higher population levels, which then lead to food shortages because the higher population needs to live on land that would have previously used to grow crops. Even as technological advancement would normally lead to per capita income gains, theorizes Malthus, these gains are not achieved because in practice the advancement also creates population growth. Once the population exceeds what food supplies can support, this supposedly creates a Malthusian crisis with widespread famine as well as rampant disease. This ends up decreasing the population to earlier levels. The reality, however, has been that population growth has not itself created the crisis that Malthus predicted.

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W https://www.intelligenteconomist.com/malthusian-theory/

40/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 21 WORDS **87%** **MATCHING TEXT** 21 WORDS

Malthus concluded that population would double in a period of 25 years was based on the evidence of doubtful American statistics.

Malthus' that population would double in a period of twenty five years was based on the evidence of doubtful American statistics.

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

41/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	43 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	43 WORDS

the classification of checks on population growth into the two categories of preventive and positive also came in for criticism and was cited as an example of "poor classification" for the two do not form "independent categories". It was pointed out that Malthus had not

The classification of checks on population growth into the two categories of preventive and positive also came in for criticism and was cited as an example of "poor classification", for the two do not form "independent categories". Moreover, it was observed that Malthus could not

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

42/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	44 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	44 WORDS

means of subsistence increases unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks: (3) These checks and the cheques which repress the superior power up population and its effects on a level with the means of subsistence are all resolvable into moral restraint vice and misery." (Malthus

SA BEC-14, Blk -1 MY OWN.docx (D139799522)

43/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

not only with a mouth and a stomach, but also with a pair of hands".

not only with a mouth and a stomach but also with a pair of hands'.

W https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/population/the-optimum-theory-of-population-economics/10891

44/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	72%	MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS

The term neo-Malthusianism was first used in 1877 by Dr. Samuel Van Houten, one of the vice- presidents of the Malthusian League. Neo- Malthusianism was not just a campaign in favour of birth control;

SA BLOCK I MSO 304.docx (D49764054)

45/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 89 WORDS **96%** **MATCHING TEXT** 89 WORDS

Reduction of population became a priority with the UN. The focus was on raising nutrition levels in developing countries and providing better health facilities to women and children. The proposal to set up the Population Commission came up in 1945, which was opposed by former USSR and Yugoslavia on the grounds that another Commission would only confuse matters, given the proliferation of interna- tional bodies within the UN. But the main reason for opposing the Commission was because it focused primarily on "population changes" and the impending doom following the population explosion, rather than on "growth".

SA Demographic changes in Kashmir (1991-2011).pdf (D34797651)

46/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 25 WORDS **40%** **MATCHING TEXT** 25 WORDS

Given the natural resources, stock of capital and the state of technical knowledge, there will be a definite size of population with the per capita income.

Given the stock of natural resources, the technique of production and the stock of capital in a country, there is a definite size of population corresponding to the highest per capita income.

W https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/population/the-optimum-theory-of-population-economics/10891

47/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 10 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 10 WORDS

came to be known as the Malthusian theory of population.

SA Demographic Transition and Development in India_after trackchanges - Copy.docx (D110958861)

48/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 63 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 63 WORDS

Unlike the Malthusian theory, the optimum theory does not establish relationship between population growth and food supply. Rather, it is concerned with the relation between the size of population and production of wealth. The Malthusian theory is a general theory which studies the population problem of a country in keeping with its economic conditions. Thus, the optimum theory is more realistic than the Malthusian theory of population.

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49/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

The optimum population is the ideal population which combined with other available resources or means of production of the country will yield the maximum returns or income per head.

The optimum population is the ideal population which combined with the other available resources or means of production of the country will yield the maximum returns or income per head.

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50/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	144 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	144 WORDS

the optimum population is that ideal size of population which provides the maximum income per head. Any rise or diminution in the size of the population above or below the optimum level will diminish income per head. Given the stock of natural resources, the technique of production and the stock of capital in a country, there is a definite size of population corresponding to the highest per capita income. Other things beings equal, any deviation from this optimum-sized population will lead to a reduction in the per capita income. If the increase in per capita income, the country is under -populated and it can afford to increase its population till it reaches the optimum level. On the contrary, if the increase in NSOU ? GE-SO-21 69 population leads to diminution in per capita income, the country is over -populated and needs a decline in population till the per capita income is maximised. 5.3

The optimum population is that ideal size of population which provides the maximum income per head. Any rise or diminution in the size of the population above or below the optimum level will diminish income per head. the stock of natural resources, the technique of production and the stock of capital in a country, there is a definite size of population corresponding to the highest per capita income. ADVERTISEMENTS: Other things being equal, any deviation from this optimum-sized population will lead to a reduction in the per capita income. If the increase in population is followed by the in per capita income, the country is under-populated and it can afford to increase its population till it reaches the optimum level. On the contrary, if the increase in population leads to diminution in per capita income, the country is over-populated and needs a decline in population till the per capita income is maximised.

W https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/population/the-optimum-theory-of-population-economics/10891

51/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS

The concept of optimum population has been interpreted in various ways," to mean the size of the population which results in the highest per capita income the highest productivity as measured in different manners. "

The concept of optimum population has been interpreted in several ways, to mean: the size of the population which results in the highest per capita income, the highesL productivity as measured in different manners,

W http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/9836/1/Unit-4.pdf

52/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

total well-being health longevity of a nation the ideal family size the conservation of natural resources power defence and other spiritual cultural and aesthetic factors.

total well-being, health, longevity of a nation, the ideal family size, the conservation of natural resources, power, defense and other spiritual, cultural and aesthetic factors.

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

53/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	49 WORDS	75%	MATCHING TEXT	49 WORDS

gradually the idea of population of optimum size for maximum production was accepted. 1 important aspect the concept of optimum population was that it was a reconciliation of the optimistic and pessimistic theories of population because it implied that the growth of population was beneficial up to a certain point after which

Gradually the idea of a population of optimum size for maximum production was accepted. One aspect of the optimum theory of population was that it was a reconciliation of the optimistic and pessimistic theories of population which indicates that the growth of population is beneficial up to a certain point after which

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

54/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

At any given time the population which can exist on a given extent of land consistent with the greatest productiveness of industry at that time is definite."

SA Demography_Final.docx (D110581594)

55/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

The optimum, population means the best and the most desirable size of a country's population.

The optimum population means the best and most desirable size of a country's population.

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

56/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	42 WORDS	77%	MATCHING TEXT	42 WORDS

Cannan says," at any given time, increase of labour up to a certain point is attended by increasing proportionate returns and beyond that point further increase of labour is attended by diminishing proportionate returns. At that very point where the average productivity of labour

Cannan, " At any given time, increase of labour up to a certain point is attended by increasing proportionate 5 returns and beyond that point further increase of labour is E attended by diminishing proportionate returns." The per capita —income is the highest at the point where the average product of labour

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over Malthusian Theory The optimum theory of population is superior to the Malthusian theory on the following grounds. i. The Malthusian law is a general study of the population problem because it is applicable to all countries irrespective of their economic conditions. The optimum theory is superior to the Malthusian theory because it studies the population problem in relation to the economic conditions of a particular country. ii. Malthus had a narrow vision. He related the growth of population to food supply. Cannan, on the other hand, had a much wider outlook. He related the problem of population to the total production of the country, both industrial and agricultural. iii. The Malthusian theory is a static concept which applies to a period of time. The optimum theory is a dynamic one because over a period of time the per capita income may rise with the expansion in output due to improvements in knowledge, skill, capital equipment and other elements in production. This may raise the optimum level of population. Thus, the optimum theory is more realistic. iv. The Malthusian doctrine is simply theoretical and is devoid of all practical considerations. It regards all increases in population bad, for they bring untold miseries to the people. Malthus wrote, "The table of nature is laid for a limited number of guests and those who come uninvited must starve." On the other hand, the optimum theory is very practical because it regards an increase in population not only desirable but also necessary for the maximum utilisation of the country's natural resources. v. The Malthusian theory of population is based on the unrealistic assumption of the niggardliness of nature. This belief arises from the operation of the law of diminishing returns in agriculture. But the optimum theory takes a realistic view when according to this the law of diminishing returns does not operate in agriculture immediately but after the optimum point is reached. In other NSOU ? GE-SO-21 76 words, first the law of increasing returns operates up to the optimum point and the law of diminishing returns after it. vi. Malthus was so much obsessed by the fear of over-population that he ignored a fundamental fact that a newly born child 'comes not only with a mouth and a stomach but also with a pair of hands'. The optimum population theory allays all such fears of the Malthusians by stressing the fact that increasing population increases the labour force which helps raise the optimum expansion of the country's natural resources.So long as the actual population is less than the optimum, the increase in population is safe and good. It is only when the actual population exceeds the optimum that the increase in population needs control Thus unlike the Malthusian theory which necessitates the use of preventive checks all the time for fear of the country being over- populated, the optimum theory is free from all such taboos and is

over the Malthusian Theory: ADVERTISEMENTS: The optimum theory of population is superior to the Malthusian theory on the following grounds. (1) The Malthusian law is a general study of the population problem because it is applicable to all countries irrespective of their economic conditions. The optimum theory is superior to the Malthusian theory because it studies the population problem in relation to the economic conditions of a particular country. (2) Malthus had a narrow vision. He related the growth of population to food supply. Cannan, on the other hand, had a much wider outlook. He related the problem of population to the total production of the country, both industrial and agricultural. (3) The Malthusian theory is a static concept which applies to a period of time. The optimum theory is a dynamic one because over a period of time the per capita income may rise with the expansion in output due to improvements in knowledge, skill, capital equipment and other elements in production. This may raise the optimum level of population. Thus the optimum theory is more realistic. ADVERTISEMENTS: (4) The Malthusian doctrine is simply theoretical and is devoid of all practical considerations. It regards all increases in population bad, for they bring untold miseries to the people. Malthus wrote, "The table of nature is laid for a limited number of guests and those who come uninvited must starve." On the other hand, the optimum theory is very practical because it regards an increase in population not only desirable but also necessary for the maximum utilisation of the country's natural resources. (5) The Malthusian theory of population is based on the unrealistic assumption of the niggardliness of nature. This belief arises from the operation of the law of diminishing returns in agriculture. But the optimum theory takes a realistic view when according to this the law of diminishing returns does not operate in agriculture immediately but after the optimum point is reached. In other words, first the law of increasing returns operates up to the optimum point and the law of diminishing returns after it. (6) Malthus was so much obsessed by the fear of over-population that he ignored a fundamental fact that a newly born child 'comes not only with a mouth and a stomach but also with a pair of hands'. The optimum population theory allays all such fears of the Malthusians by stressing the fact that increasing population increases the labour force which helps raise the optimum expansion of the country's natural resources. So long as the actual population is less than the optimum, the increase in population is safe and good. It is only when the actual population exceeds the optimum that the increase in population needs control Thus unlike the Malthusian theory which necessitates the use of preventive checks all the time for fear of the country being over-populated, the optimum theory is

silent about any type of checks to control population. vii. Malthus was essentially a pessimist who portrayed a gloomy picture about the future of mankind which was full of misery, vice, floods, droughts, famines, and other natural calamities. The optimum theory: is superior to the Malthusian theory because it does not suffer from any pessimism, rather it adopts an optimised, and realistic attitude towards the problem of population when it relates population to the wealth of the country. 5.11 Merits of the Theory The theory

free from all such taboos and is silent about any type of checks to control population. ADVERTISEMENTS: (7) Malthus was essentially a pessimist who portrayed a gloomy picture about the future of mankind which was full of misery, vice, floods, droughts, famines and other natural calamities. The optimum theory; is superior to the Malthusian theory because it does not suffer from any pessimism, rather it adopts an optimise and realistic attitude towards the problem of population when it relates population to the wealth of the country. Its Criticisms: Despite the superiority of the optimum theory over the Malthusian theory

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58/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 109 WORDS **97%** **MATCHING TEXT** 109 WORDS

of the Theory Despite the superiority of the optimum theory over the Malthusian theory of population, it has serious weaknesses. i. No Evidence of Optimum Level The first weakness of the optimum theory is that it is difficult to whether there is anything like an optimum population. There is no evidence about the optimum population level in any country. In fact, it is impossible to measure it. For optimum population implies a qualitative; well as a quantitative ideal population for the country. The qualitative ideal implies not only physique knowledge and intelligence, but also the best age composition of population. These variables are subject change and are related to an environment. Thus, the optimum level of population is vague.

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59/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	147 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	147 WORDS

Correct Measurement of Per Capita Income not Possible Another difficulty pertains to the measurement of per capita income in the country. It is not an easy task to measure changes in the per capita income. The data on per capita income are often inaccurate, misleading, and unreliable which make the concept of optimum as one of doubtful validity. iii. Neglects the Distributional Aspect of Increase in Per Capita Income Even if it is assumed that per capita income can be measured, it is not certain that the increase in population accompanied by the increase in per capita income would bring prosperity to the country. Rather, the increase in per capita income and population might prove harmful to the economy if the increase in per capita income has been the result of concentration of income in the hands of a few rich. Thus, the optimum theory of population neglects the distributional aspect of increase in the per capita income.

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60/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	73 WORDS	91%	MATCHING TEXT	73 WORDS

Optimum Level not fixed but oscillating The concept of the optimum population assumes that the techniques of produc- tion, the stock of capital and natural resources, the habits and tastes of the people, the ratio of working popula- tion to total population, and the modes of business organisation are constant. But all these factors are constantly changing. As a result, what may be the optimum at a point of time might become less or more than the optimum over a period of time. AP1 is

Optimum Level not fixed but oscillating: The concept of the optimum population assumes that the techniques of the stock of capital and natural resources, the habits and tastes of the people, the ratio of working population to total population, and the modes of business organisation are constant. But all these factors are constantly changing. As a result, what may be the optimum at a point of time might become less or more than the optimum over a period of time. This is

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61/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	220 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	220 WORDS

of labour or per capita income curve. Suppose there is an innovation which brings a change in the techniques of production. It shifts the per capita income curve to AP2. As a result, the optimum level of population rises from OP1 to OP2 with the increase in per capita income E from P1M1 to P2M2. If the per capita income rises further due to a change in any of the above assumed factors, the AP2, curve will shift upward. The AP2 or AP1 curve can also shift downward if, for instance, the capita income falls due to an adverse change in the given factors. If the locus of all such S. points like M1 M2 etc., are joined by a line, we have the PI curve which represents the path of the movement of the optimum population as a result of changes in the economic factors. If, however, the actual level of population is assumed to be OP0 and the optimum level OP1 then the country is over- populated. If OP1 is the optimum level, then the country is under-populated. Thus, the optimum is not a fixed level but an oscillating one. v. Neglects Social and Institutional Conditions The optimum theory considers only the economic factors which determine the level of population. Thus, it fails to take into consideration the social and institutional conditions which greatly influence the level of population in a country. A lower level Size of Population

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62/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Car-Saunders defines optimum population as “that population which produces maximum economic welfare”.

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63/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	117 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	117 WORDS

of optimum population may be justified from the economic viewpoint, but such a level may be harmful keeping into view the defence considerations of the country. For instance, economic consideration may prevent us from having a large population but the danger from foreign aggression may necessitate a very large population to safeguard our territorial integrity. Thus, the optimum theory is imperfect and one- sided. vi. No Place in State Policies The concept of optimum population has no place in the policies of modern states. While fiscal policy aims at increasing or stabilising the level of employment, output and income in a country, no reference is made to the optimum level of population. This theory is, therefore, of no practical use and is regarded as useless. 5.13

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64/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

optimum population as that population which best assures the realization of a

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W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

65/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

as an absolute theoretical concept but as a convenient tool. 5.15

as an absolute theoretical concept but as a convenient tool

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66/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	33 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	33 WORDS

Unlike the Malthusian theory the optimum theory does not establish relationship between population growth and food supply. Rather, it is concerned with the relation between the size of population and production of wealth. 5.16

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67/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	75 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	75 WORDS

The debate about the Malthusian theory has continued down to the present. Economists such as J.S. Mill and J.M. Keynes supported his theory whereas others, especially, sociologists, have argued against it. According to them, the widespread poverty and misery of the working-class people was, not due to an eternal law of nature as propounded by Malthus but to the misconceived organization of society. Karl Marx went one step further and argued that starvation was caused by the unequal distribution of

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W https://lotusarise.com/marxian-theory-of-population-growth-upsc/

68/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	35 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	35 WORDS

an abstract law of population exists for plants and animals only, and only in so far as man has not interfered with them. In Capital he outlined the population law "peculiar to the capitalist mode of production",

An abstract law of population exists for plants and animals only, and only in so far as man has not interfered with them." In this view, the population law was peculiar only to the capitalist systems of production

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

69/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	49 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	49 WORDS

Marx's contention that food production could not increase rapidly was also debated when new technology began to give farmers much greater fields. French sociologist E. Dupreel (1977) argued that an increasing population would spur rapid innovation and development to solve problems, whereas a stable population would be complacent and less likely to progress.

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W https://lotusarise.com/marxian-theory-of-population-growth-upsc/

70/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	116 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	116 WORDS

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was a German philosopher and founder of modern communism. His theory of population was christened as the theory of surplus population. Karl Marx completely rejected the Malthusian Theory. While postulating his general theory of communism and scientific interpretation of history in his book– the Communist Manifesto, and Das Kapital. He gave some ideas about population growth. Karl Marx (1818-1883) is regarded as the Father of Communism. He did not separately propose any theory of population, but his surplus population theory has been deduced from his theory of communism. Marx opposed and criticized the Malthusian theory of population. Karl Marx criticized the capitalist economy had a very different idea about population growth. For Marx, these social problems were not the fault of the poor

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71/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	191 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	191 WORDS

workers, but of the capitalist system that exploited them. Marx made the scientific interpretation of human history. He said just like there are the scientific explanation for the physical phenomenon, the same are there for social phenomenon. He said the essence of history is change in the modes of production in any society and this change is always progressive. Marx considered that society, especially feudal and capitalist society has two major economic classes viz. ? The Rich ? The Poor The Rich was those who have means of production and earn their profit by exploiting the poor. On the other hand, the poor were those who sell their energy & will to work to these rich people in exchange of wages. The employers earn profit by exploiting the poor, this profit is known as surplus profit. According to Marx in no country of world population increase on account of fertility but it increases only on account of capitalist policies. The capitalist makes labour part of their production and still something out of that. By installing labour-saving machines, a capitalist wants to have the maximum surplus-value of that. As a result of this unemployment spreads, wage declines, and poverty increases. The poor population cannot nourish their children on account of

workers, but of the capitalist system that exploited them. Marx made the scientific interpretation of human history. He said just like there are the scientific explanation for the physical phenomenon, the same are there for social phenomenon. He said the essence of history is change in the modes of production in any society and this changes is always progressive. Marx considered that society, especially feudal and capitalist society has two major economic classes viz. • The Rich • The Poor Rich were those who have means of production and earn their profit by exploiting the poor. On the other hand, the poor were those who sell their energy & will to work to these rich people in exchange of wages. Marxian theory of Population GrowthMarxian theory of Population Growth The employers earn profit by exploiting the poor, this profit is known as surplus profit. According to Marx in no country of world population increase on account of fertility but it increases only on account of capitalist policies. The capitalist makes labour part of their production and still something out of that. By installing labour-saving machines a capitalist wants to have the maximum surplus-value of that. As a result of this unemployment spreads, wage declines, and poverty increases. The poor population can not nourish their children on account of

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72/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	123 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	123 WORDS

their poverty thus they try to increase the population by reproduction so that the next generation would also help them to generate extra wages. However due to the increase in the advanced technology and excess labourers the condition of surplus population and Unemployment generates. This is the main cause of misery. He came to the conclusion that the main causes of the surplus population were nothing else but the wrong politics of capitalists. Marx was on the view that in the socialist society reproductive behavior would develop a complete harmony between the individual and the society. Marx suggested that for population control fall of capitalism is the only mean and distributive justice, state control over resources can mitigate the food crisis. Thus, his theory is the socio-economic model of population control. 6.6

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W https://lotusarise.com/marxian-theory-of-population-growth-upsc/

73/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

The theory of Marx was criticised on the following grounds– i. An increase in population does not necessarily lead to a decrease in wages. There are many socio-economic factors which are responsible.

The theory of Marx was criticised on the following grounds – • An increase in population does not necessarily lead to a decrease in wages. There are many socio-economic factors which are responsible. •

W https://lotusarise.com/marxian-theory-of-population-growth-upsc/

74/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	41 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	41 WORDS

The theory of Marx is applicable only in capitalist society and not in other societies. iii. According to Marx, the higher the wages, the lower the birth rate, but faith and religion may also play a significant role. This he did not consider.

The theory of Marx is applicable only in capitalist society and not in other societies. • According to Marx, the higher the wages, the lower the birth rate, but faith and religion may also play a significant role. This he did not consider. •

W https://lotusarise.com/marxian-theory-of-population-growth-upsc/

75/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	124 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	124 WORDS

It is true to a great extent that in a capitalist society there is a surplus population on account of unemployment. But it is not to presume that under a socialist system there will be no need to check population growth at any stage. v. Even in communist countries, population growth is checked on the plea that no mother should have more children so that their mother so that their health does not deteriorate. vi. In the erstwhile USSR, factory workers were provided contraceptives in their factories so that the birth rate was kept low. vii. If economic inequality is the main cause of the birth rate, then in these countries rates should not differ. Because these inequalities have come to an end. The necessity of family planning is felt in these countries. 6.8

It is true to a great extent that in a capitalist society there is a surplus population on account of unemployment. But it is not to presume that under a socialist system there will be no need to check population growth at any stage. • Even in communist countries, population growth is checked on the plea that no mother should have more children so that their mother so that their health does not deteriorate. • In the erstwhile USSR, factory workers were provided contraceptives in their factories so that the birth rate was kept low. • If economic inequality is the main cause of the birth rate then in these countries rates should not differ. Because these inequalities have come to an end. The necessity of family planning is felt in these countries.

W https://lotusarise.com/marxian-theory-of-population-growth-upsc/

76/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

world, population increase on account of fertility, but it increases only on account of capitalist policies. 6.10

world population increase on account of fertility but it increases only on account of capitalist policies.

W https://lotusarise.com/marxian-theory-of-population-growth-upsc/

77/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	66%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

Bhende, Asha A. and Kanitkar, Tara (2015): Principles of Population Studies, New Delhi: Himalaya Publishing House.

Bhende, Asha, A.and Tara Kanitkar. (2006). Principles of Population Studies. Mumbai: Himalaya Publishing House. 2)

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

78/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	47 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	47 WORDS

wealth and its accumulation by capitalists. It has nothing NSOU ? GE-SO-21 83 to do with the population. Population is dependent on economic and social organization. The problems of overpopulation and limits to resources, as enunciated by Malthus, are inherent and inevitable features associated with the capitalist system of production.

wealth and its accumulation by capitalists. It has nothing to do with the population. The population is dependent on economic and social organization. The problems of overpopulation and limits to resources, as enunciated by Malthus, are inherent and inevitable features associated with the capitalist system of production.

W https://lotusarise.com/marxian-theory-of-population-growth-upsc/

79/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

The theory explains the effects of changes in birth rate and death rate on the growth rate of population.

The theory of Demographic Transition explains the effects of changes in birth rate and death rate on the growth rate of population.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

80/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

stage, the birth rate starts falling and tends to equal the death rate. The growth rate of population is

stage, the fertility rate declines and tends to equal the death rate so that the growth rate of population is

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

81/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

The theory of demographic transition is based on the actual population trends of advanced countries of the world.

The theory of demographic transition is based on the actual population trends of advanced countries of the world.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

82/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	35 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	35 WORDS

According to E.G. Dolan, "Demographic transition refers to a population cycle that begins with a fall in the death rate, continues with a phase of rapid population growth and concludes with a decline in the birth rate."

According to E.G. Dolan, "Demographic transition refers to a population cycle that begins with a fall in the death rate, continues with a phase of rapid population growth and concludes with a decline in the birth rate."

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

83/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS

Thompson, p. 959-975) had attempted to construct a typology to describe the transition from conditions of high mortality and high fertility two conditions of low mortality and low fertility.

Thompson (1929) had attempted to construct a typology to describe the transition from conditions of high mortality and high fertility to conditions of low mortality and low fertility.

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

84/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	78%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

The theory of demographic transition is based on the actual population trends of the advanced countries of the world. According to this theory, every country passes through three different stages of population

The theory of demographic transition is based on the actual population trends of advanced countries of the world. This theory states that every country passes through different stages of population

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85/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

In the second stage, the birth rate remains stable, but the death rate

SA Demography_Final.docx (D110581594)

86/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

stage, the birth rate starts falling and tends to equal the death rate. The growth rate of population is

stage, the fertility rate declines and tends to equal the death rate so that the growth rate of population is

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

87/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

In the second stage, the birth rate remains stable, but the death rate

SA Demography_Final.docx (D110581594)

88/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	40 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	40 WORDS

the theory postulates a particular pattern of demographic change from a high fertility and high morality to a low fertility and low morality when a society progresses from a largely rural, agrarian, and illiterate society to a dominantly urban, industrial, and literate

SA Demographic changes in Kashmir (1991-2011).pdf (D34797651)

89/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	97%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

transitional growth" where birth and death rates are still high and growth is rapid but the decline of

transitional growth where birth and death rates are still high and population growth is rapid but the decline of

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/63953/1/Block-1.pdf

90/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	69 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	69 WORDS

p. 88-101) They are: (i) the high stationary phase marked by high fertility and mortality rates; (ii) the early expanding phase marked by high fertility and high but declining mortality; (iii) the late expanding phase with declining fertility but with mortality declining more rapidly; (iv) the low stationary phase with low fertility balanced by equally low mortality; and (v) the declining phase with low mortality, lower fertility and an excess of deaths over births.

P. Blacker, they are: (i) the high stationary phase marked by high fertility and mortality rates; ADVERTISEMENTS: (ii) the early expanding phase marked by high fertility and high but declining mortality; (iii) the late expanding phase with declining fertility but with mortality declining more rapidly; (iv) the low stationary phase with low fertility balanced by equally low mortality; and (v) the declining phase with low mortality, lower fertility and an excess of deaths over births.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

91/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	74%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

process are (i) that the decline in mortality comes before the decline in fertility; (ii) that the fertility eventually declines to match mortality; and (iii) that socio-economic transformation of

SA Demographic changes in Kashmir (1991-2011).pdf (D34797651)

92/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	74%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

In the figure, the time for NSOU ? GE-SO-21 99 different stages is taken on the horizontal axis and annual birth and death rates per thousand on the vertical axis.

In the figure, the time for different stages is taken on the horizontal axis and annual birth and death rates on the vertical axis.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

93/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	97 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	97 WORDS

The First Stage In this stage, the country is backward and is characterized by high birth and death rates with the result that the growth rate of population is low. People mostly live-in rural areas and their main occupation is agriculture which is in a state of backwardness. There are a few simple, light and small consumer goods industries. The tertiary sector consisting of transport, commerce, banking, and insurance is underdeveloped. All these factors are responsible for low-incomes and poverty of the masses. Large family is regarded as a necessity to augment the low family income. Children are an asset to the society and parents.

the figure. First Stage: In this stage the country is backward and is characterised by high birth and death rates with the result that the growth rate of population is low. People mostly live in rural areas and their main occupation is agriculture which is in a state of backwardness. There are a few simple, light and small consumer goods industries. The tertiary sector consisting of transport, commerce, banking and insurance is underdeveloped. All these factors are responsible for low incomes and poverty of the masses. Large family is regarded as a necessity to augment the low family income. Children are an asset to the society and parents.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

94/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

The existence of the joint family system provides employment to all children in keeping with their ages.

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W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

95/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	38 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	38 WORDS

More children in a family are also regarded as an insurance against old age by the parents. People being illiterate, ignorant, and superstitious and fatalist are averse to any methods of birth control. Children are regarded as God- given and

More children in a family are also regarded as an insurance against old age by the parents. People being illiterate, ignorant, superstitious and fatalists are averse to any method of birth control. Children are regarded as God-given and

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

96/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	91 WORDS	82%	MATCHING TEXT	91 WORDS

All these economic and social factors are responsible for a high birth rate in the country. Along with high birth rate, the death rate is also high due to non-nutritional food with a low caloric value, and lack of medical facilities and of any sense NSOU ? GE-SO-21 100 of cleanliness. People live in dirty and unhealthy surroundings in ill-ventilated small houses. As a result, they are disease-ridden and the absence of proper medical care results in large deaths. The mortality rate is the highest among the children and the next among women of child-bearing age. Thus,

All these economic and social factors are responsible for a high birth rate in the country. Along with high birth rate the death rate is also high due to non-nutritional food with a low caloric value, lack of medical facilities and the lack of any sense of cleanliness. ADVERTISEMENTS: People live in dirty and unhealthy surroundings in ill ventilated small houses. As a result, they are disease-ridden and the absence of proper medical care results in large deaths. The mortality rate is the highest among the children and the next among women of child-bearing age. Thus

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

97/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Second Stage In the second stage, the economy enters the phase of economic growth. Agricultural and industrial productivity increase and

Second Stage: In the second stage, the economy enters the phase of economic growth. Agricultural and industrial productivity increases, and

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

98/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	155 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	155 WORDS

means of transport develop. There is greater mobility of labour. Education expands. Incomes increase. People get more and better-quality food products. Medical and health facilities are expanded. Modern drugs are used by the people. All these factors bring down the death rate. But the birth rate is almost stable. People do not have any inclination to reduce the birth of children because with economic growth employment opportunities increase and children are able to add more to the family income. With improvements in the standard of living and the dietary habits of the people, the life expectancy also increases. People do not make any efforts to control the size of family because of the presence of religious dogmas and social taboos towards family planning. Of all the factors in economic growth, it is difficult to break with the past social institutions, customs, and beliefs. As a result of these factors, the birth rate remains at the previous high level. iii. The Third Stage In this stage, the fertility rate declines and

means of transport develop. There is greater mobility of labour. Education expands. Incomes increase. People get more and better quality food products, medical and health facilities are expanded. Modern drugs are used by the people. All these factors bring down the death rate. But the birth rate is almost stable. People do not have any inclination to reduce the birth of children because with economic growth employment opportunities increase and children are able to add more to the family income. With improvements in the standard of living and the dietary habits of the people, the life expectancy also increases. People do not make any effort to control the size of family because of the presence of religious dogmas and social taboos towards family planning. Of all the factors in economic growth it is difficult to break with the past social institutions, customs and beliefs. As a result of these factors, the birth rate remains at the previous high level. With the decline in the death rate and

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

99/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

tends to equal the death rate so that the growth rate of population declines. As growth gains momentum and people

tends to equal the death rate so that the growth rate of population is stationary. As growth gains momentum and people'

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

100/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	98%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

level of income, their standard of living rises. The leading growth sectors expand and lead to an expansion in output in other sectors through technical transformations.

level of income increases, their standard of living rises. The leading growth sectors expand and lead to an expansion in output in other sectors through technical transformations.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

101/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

and develop individualistic spirit and break with the joint family. Men and women prefer to marry late.

and beliefs, develop individualistic spirit and break with the joint family. Men and women prefer to marry late.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

102/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	44 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	44 WORDS

People readily adopt family planning devices. They prefer to go in for a baby car rather than a baby. Moreover, increased specialization following rising income levels and the consequent social and economic mobility make it costly and inconvenient to rear a large number of children. All this tends

People readily adopt family planning devices. They prefer to go in for a baby car rather than a baby. Moreover, increased specialisation following rising income levels and the consequent social and economic mobility make it costly and inconvenient to rear a large number of children. All this tends

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

103/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	93%	MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

reduce the birth rate which along with an already low death rate brings a decline in the growth rate of population. The advanced countries of the world are passing through this

reduce the birth at further which along with an already low death rate brings a decline in the growth rate of population. The advanced countries of the world are passing through this "

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

104/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	63 WORDS	94%	MATCHING TEXT	63 WORDS

The theory of demographic transition is the most acceptable theory of population growth. It neither lays emphasis on food supply like the Malthusian theory, nor does it develop a pessimistic outlook towards population growth. It is also superior to the optimum theory which lays an exclusive emphasis on the increase in per capita income for the growth of population and neglects the other factors which influence it. The

The theory of demographic transition is the most acceptable theory of population growth. It does not lay emphasis on food supply like the Malthusian theory, nor does it develop a pessimistic outlook towards population growth. It is also superior to the optimum theory which lays an exclusive emphasis on the increase in per capita income for the growth of population and neglects the other factors which influence The

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

105/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

theory is also equally applicable to the developing countries of the world. Very backward countries in some of the African states are still in the first stage whereas all the other developing countries

theory is equally applicable to the developing countries of the world. Very backward countries in some of the African states are still in the first stage whereas the other developing countries

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106/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

It is on the basis of this theory that economists have developed economic- demographic models so that underdeveloped countries should enter the final stage

It is on the basis of this theory that economists have developed economic- demographic models so that developing countries should enter the fourth stage.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

107/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	37 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	37 WORDS

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W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

108/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	27 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	27 WORDS

to the optimum theory which lays an exclusive emphasis on the increase in per capita income for the growth of population and neglects the other factors which

to the optimum theory which lays an exclusive emphasis on the increase in per capita income for the growth of population and neglects the other factors which

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

109/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	49 WORDS	70%	MATCHING TEXT	49 WORDS

The demographic transition theory is superior to all the theories of population because it is based on the actual population growth trends of the developed countriesof Europe. Almost all the European countries of the world have passed through thefirst two stages of this theory and are now in the final stage.

the demographic transition theory is superior to all the theories of population because it is based on the actual population growth trends of the developed countries of Europe. Almost all the European countries have passed through the first three stages of this theory and are now in the fourth stage.

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

110/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	85%	MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

equally applicable to the developing countries of the world. Very backward countries in some of the African states are still in the first stage where as all the other developing countries

equally applicable to the developing countries of the world. Very backward countries in some of the African states are still in the first stage whereas the other developing countries

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

111/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	83%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

It is on the basis of this theory that economists have developed economic-demo graphic models so that

It is on the basis of this theory that economists have developed economic- demographic models so that

W https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/demography/population-demography/the-theory-of-demographic-tr ...

112/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	87%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Blacker, C.P. (1947): Stages in Population Growth, The Eugenics Review, Vol. 39. No. 3.

Blacker, C. P. 1947. "Stages in Population Growth", The Eugenics Review, Vo1.39, No.3,

W http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/9836/1/Unit-4.pdf

113/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	80%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Notestein, Frank W. (1945): Population: The Long View, Theodore Schultz (ed.), Food for the World, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Notestein, Frank W. 1945. "Population: The Long View", in Theodore W. Schultz (Ed). Food for the World. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

W http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/9836/1/Unit-4.pdf

114/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

broadly classified as the scientific study of human populations. Major areas studied include broad population dynamics; fertility and family dynamics; health, aging, and mortality; and human capital and labour markets. 8.2

broadly defined as the scientific study of human populations. Major areas studied include broad population dynamics; fertility and family dynamics; health, aging, and mortality; and human capital and labor markets.

W http://www.universityofcalicut.info/SDE/Population_and_society_VI_sem_BA_sociology.pdf

115/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	37 WORDS	84%	MATCHING TEXT	37 WORDS

In the present-day world, as would be true of any point in time, different countries of the world are at different stages of the demographic transition. According to Trewartha, this is largely due to the dual nature of

SA Demographic changes in Kashmir (1991-2011).pdf (D34797651)

116/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	95%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

Population Growth Population growth refers to the increase in number of

SA BEC-14, Blk -1 MY OWN.docx (D139799522)

117/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 47 WORDS **29%** **MATCHING TEXT** 47 WORDS

immense pressure on the world's freshwater supplies. As per the study, the human demand for freshwater would stand at approximately 70% of freshwater available on the planet by 2025. Therefore, people living in impoverished areas that already have limited access to such water will be at great risk. ix. Lower Life Expectancy

SA Archana_Singh GEOG.pdf (D139588912)

118/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 13 WORDS **88%** **MATCHING TEXT** 13 WORDS

reduced the death rate. It has help us to control the spread of

reduced the death rate. It has helped us to control the spread of

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

119/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 9 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 9 WORDS

Social Factors like Universal Marriage Child Marriage and Early Marriage

Social factors like universal marriage, child marriage, and early marriage:

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

120/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 15 WORDS **73%** **MATCHING TEXT** 15 WORDS

marriage as a social application and almost all marriageable persons are in a married state.

marriage as a social obligation and it's quite noticeable that almost all marriageable persons are in a married state.

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

121/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 13 WORDS **80%** **MATCHING TEXT** 13 WORDS

the illiterate masses. People feel that more children are wanted for economic purposes.

The illiterate masses are ignorant about contraceptives use. People feel that more children are wanted for economic purposes. ?

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

122/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 18 WORDS **63%** **MATCHING TEXT** 18 WORDS

in less access to medical care, freshwater, food and jobs, and ultimately in a sharp fall in life expectancy.

SA Archana_Singh GEOG.pdf (D139588912)

123/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

Poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, absence of recreational facilities, attitudes of conservatism, orthodoxy,

Poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, absence of recreational facilities, attitudes of conservatism, orthodoxy,

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

124/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	77%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

the growth of population. Montesquieu said that people of farmland are more sex indulgent. Father girls become physically mature at an early age ranging from 11 to 15 years of age.

the growth of population. The tropical climate stimulates sex urge. Montesquieu said that people of warm land are more sex- indulgent. Further, girls become physically mature at an early age ranging from 11 to 15 years of age.

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

125/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	24 WORDS	50%	MATCHING TEXT	24 WORDS

Some of the main effects of population explanation maybe described here. i. Population and Poverty Poverty and population very often go hand in hand in fact

some of the consequences of rapid population growth are discussed. ? Population and poverty: Poverty and excessive population growth often go hand in hand. In fact

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

126/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	36 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	36 WORDS

rapid growth of population in the country, the government is required to provide the minimum facilities for the people for their comfortable living. Hence it has to increase educational, housing, sanitation, public health, medical, transportation, communication, and other facilities.

rapid growth of population in the country, the government is required to provide the minimum facilities for the people for their comfortable living. Hence it has to increase educational, housing, sanitation, public health, medical, transportation, communication and other facilities. ?

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

127/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	81%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

This will increase the cost of social overheads. Government finds it difficult to find sufficient funds to meet these unproductive expenses.

This will increase the cost of the social overheads. For every government, it is quite difficult to find sufficient funds to meet these unproductive expenses. ?

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

128/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

Slow Economic Development Economic development is bound to be slower in a country in which the population is growing at a very fast rate. Absence of savings results in low

Slow economic Development: economic development is bound to be slower in a country in which the population is growing at a very fast rate. Absence of savings results in low

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

129/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

capital formation. The shortage of capital has restricted investments and contributed to the slow economic growth of the country.

capital formation. The shortage of capital has restricted investments and contributed to the slow economic growth of the country. 92

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

130/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

Increased Unproductive Consumers When there is a rapid growth of population in a country like India, there will be large proportion of unproductive consumers.

Increased Unproductive Consumers: When there is a rapid growth of population in a country like India, there will be large proportion of unproductive consumers.

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

131/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	31 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	31 WORDS

Political Unrest Unmanageable population size may contribute to political instability and unrest. The failure of the government to provide the basic minimum facilities to the people contributes to agitation and unrest among the masses.

Political Unrest: Unmanageable population size may contribute to political instability and unrest. The failure of the government to provide the basic minimum facilities to the people contributes to agitation and unrest among the masses. ?

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

132/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Objectives After going through this Unit, you will be able to: ? Understand the meaning of

SA BLOCK I MSO 304.docx (D49764054)

133/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

women are able to conceive within one year if they have intercourse regularly without contraception.

SA Archana_Singh GEOG.pdf (D139588912)

134/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	88%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

for determining the prospect of potential changes in mortality conditions of the future (

for determining the prospects of potential changes in mortality conditions of the future.

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/63953/1/Block-1.pdf

135/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	23 WORDS	60%	MATCHING TEXT	23 WORDS

women are able to conceive within one year if they have intercourse regularly without contraception. Normal fertility requires the production of enough healthy sperm

SA Archana_Singh GEOG.pdf (D139588912)

136/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

health risks, improvement in the quality of health care and for comparing the overall health of different groups in the population.

SA BLOCK I MSO 304.docx (D49764054)

137/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	26 WORDS	89%	MATCHING TEXT	26 WORDS

population. The United Nations and World Health Organization have defined "Death is the permanent disappearance of all evidence of life at any time after birth has taken place (

SA Demography_Final.docx (D110581594)

138/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

health risks, improvements in the quality of health care and for comparing the overall health of different groups in the population.

SA BLOCK I MSO 304.docx (D49764054)

139/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

in the South Indian states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu

in the south Indian states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/63953/1/Block-1.pdf

140/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 23 WORDS **62%** **MATCHING TEXT** 23 WORDS

Age standardized death rates are calculated separately for male and females to produce overall Standard Mortality Ratios (SMR) for each sex or sexes combined

SA BLOCK I MSO 304.docx (D49764054)

141/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 12 WORDS **83%** **MATCHING TEXT** 12 WORDS

a state of complete physical, mental, and well-being." Health is not

a state of complete physical, mental and social well being. It is not

W http://www.universityofcalicut.info/SDE/Population_and_society_VI_sem_BA_sociology.pdf

142/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 10 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 10 WORDS

in the South Indian states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu

in the south Indian states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/63953/1/Block-1.pdf

143/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 10 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 10 WORDS

Health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social

Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social

W http://www.universityofcalicut.info/SDE/Population_and_society_VI_sem_BA_sociology.pdf

144/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 59 WORDS **89%** **MATCHING TEXT** 59 WORDS

defined migration as "Migration is a form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and another involving a change in residence from the place of the origin or departure to the place of destination or arrival. Such migration is called permanent migration and should be distinguished from other forms of movement which do not involve a permanent change of residence" (

defined migration as 'Migration is a form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and generally involving a change in residence from the place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival. Such migration is called permanent migration and should be distinguished from other forms of movement which do not involve a permanent change of residence'.

W https://kkhsou.ac.in/eslm/E-SLM-for-Learner/4th%20Sem/Master%20Degree/Sociology/Social%20Demograp ...

145/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 11 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 11 WORDS

Infant Mortality Rate The infant mortality rate is the number of

SA CHAPTER.docx (D129895265)

146/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 13 WORDS **87%** **MATCHING TEXT** 13 WORDS

rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to

SA BLOCK I MSO 304.docx (D49764054)

147/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 12 WORDS **87%** **MATCHING TEXT** 12 WORDS

Migration refers to the movement of people from one location to another.

SA BLOCK I MSO 304.docx (D49764054)

148/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 19 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 19 WORDS

more or less) permanent movement of individuals or groups across symbolic or political boundaries into new residential areas and communities" (

SA BLOCK I MSO 304.docx (D49764054)

149/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 15 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 15 WORDS

of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/63953/1/Block-1.pdf

150/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 23 WORDS **68%** **MATCHING TEXT** 23 WORDS

sustainable development seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

Sustainable development refers to the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/63953/1/Block-1.pdf

151/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 13 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 13 WORDS

of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their

of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/63953/1/Block-1.pdf

152/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 13 WORDS **87%** **MATCHING TEXT** 13 WORDS

Migration refers to the movement of people from one location to another.

SA BLOCK I MSO 304.docx (D49764054)

153/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

the real objective of development is to enlarge people's options. Income is

The real objective of development is to increase people's choices. Income is

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/63953/1/Block-1.pdf

154/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

and an extremely important one but it is not the total of human

and an extremely important one- but it is not the sum total of human

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/63953/1/Block-1.pdf

155/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

summary measure of Human Development. It measures the average achievements in

summary measure of human development. It measures the average achievements in

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/63953/1/Block-1.pdf

156/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

the whole number of people or inhabitants in a country or region, the

SA CHAPTER.docx (D129895265)

157/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

problem of food shortage. Despite all their efforts for raising agricultural production, they

SA BEC-14, Blk -1 MY OWN.docx (D139799522)

158/164	SUBMITTED TEXT	87 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	87 WORDS

Rapid population growth leads to the environmental change. Rapid population growth has swelled the ranks of unemployed men and women at an alarming rate. Due to this, a large number of people are being pushed in ecologically sensitive areas such as hill sides and tropical forests. It leads to the cutting of forests for cultivation leading to several environmental change. Besides all this, the increasing population growth leads to the migration of large number to urban areas with industrialization. This results in polluted air, water, noise and population in big cities and towns.

SA BEC-14, Blk -1 MY OWN.docx (D139799522)

159/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 42 WORDS **97%** **MATCHING TEXT** 42 WORDS

Demographic dividend as defined by the United Nations Population Fund means- the economic growth potential that can result from shifts in a population's age structure, mainly when the share of the working-age population is larger than the non-working age share of the population.

SA PAPER 4 TSJSS.docx (D111902325)

160/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 17 WORDS **77%** **MATCHING TEXT** 17 WORDS

the capacity of the economy to harness the growing working age population in productive activities will determine the

SA BEC-14, Blk -1 MY OWN.docx (D139799522)

161/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 14 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 14 WORDS

Kothare, R. (1999): "Does India's Population Growth Has a Positive Effect on Economic Growth?",

SA Demographic Transition and Development in India_after trackchanges - Copy.docx (D110958861)

162/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 16 WORDS **62%** **MATCHING TEXT** 16 WORDS

about family planning methods, and ready availability of supplies and services. The basic approach of the

SA CHAPTER.docx (D129895265)

163/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 14 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 14 WORDS

Kothare, R. (1999): "Does India's Population Growth Has a Positive Effect on Economic Growth?",

SA Demographic Transition and Development in India_after trackchanges - Copy.docx (D110958861)

164/164 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 14 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 14 WORDS

Kothare, R. (1999): "Does India's Population Growth Has a Positive Effect on Economic Growth?",

SA Demographic Transition and Development in India_after trackchanges - Copy.docx (D110958861)