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Introduction to Sociology - 1

BASCC101

CENTRE FOR DISTANCE AND ONLINE EDUCATION



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**INTRODUCTION TO
SOCIOLOGY - 1
(BASCC101)**

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SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

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INTRODUCTION

Sociology is a science based on the study of humans and their culture. It is a combination of the organized study of the growth, architecture, relationships and attitudes of systematic groups of human beings. Sociology paves the way for scientists, social thinkers and activists in understanding the society. It also helps them in improving the quality of life of the people living in the society.

The basic principles of sociology are as follows:

- The behaviour of individuals in social groups is different than that when they are independent.
- Individuals who are part of a social group follow the rules of that social group.
- These rules are created and implemented socially.
- Some people have more authority in the creation of rules than others.
- Those who follow the rules are awarded and those who break them are penalized.
- The rules of social groups have a scientific base.

In a society, culture is responsible for giving an identity to the individual. Culture is imbibed in an individual at the time of his birth and persists till his death.

This book—*Introduction of Sociology*—focuses on the scope, nature and definitions of sociology and society, behaviour of individuals in societies, effects of culture on the human personality, characteristics, and types and functions of culture. It also analyses the relationship between social interaction and socialization. It familiarizes the reader with the basic concepts in sociology, such as customs, competition and conflict, social institutions, roles, social control, formal and informal agencies of social control, polity and religion, and social conflict and social change.

This book is written in a self-instructional format and is divided into seven units. Each unit begins with an *Introduction* to the topic followed by an outline of the *Unit Objectives*. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with *Check Your Progress* questions to test the reader's understanding of the topic. A list of *Questions and Exercises* is also provided at the end of each unit, and includes short-answer as well as long-answer questions. The *Summary* and *Key Terms* section are useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

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UNIT 1 NATURE AND SCOPE OF SOCIOLOGY

*Nature and Scope
of Sociology*

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Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Unit Objectives
- 1.2 Sociology: Meaning and Definition
- 1.3 Nature and Scope of Sociology
 - 1.3.1 Scope of Sociology; 1.3.2 Sociology as a Science
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Sociology is one of the first social sciences to be acknowledged. The word 'sociology' owes its origin to the Latin word *socius* (companion) and the Greek word *logy* (study of). Sociology incorporates the study of social phenomena, social life, groups, institutions, associations and societies. It focuses on society from a scientific point of view. Sociology has a vast scope. It ranges from Individual to grouped social systems. The principles of sociology explain the behaviour of human beings and their existence with respect to their mutual interaction.

In fact, sociology has always studied societies, both taken separately and together, as 'human societies'. The balance between the two aspects may vary, but at the end, the study of the one absolutely requires study of the other. Neither of them makes sense independently. For instance, considering India as a society, one can think of it in terms of cities, factories, schools, farms or prisons. One can also think of it in terms of politics, media or divinity. It is simple to connect all these factors. They can also be visualized as confined within the boundaries of Indian states and referred under the general heading of Indian society. In this unit, you will get acquainted with the nature and scope of sociology.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Examine the term 'sociology' as a new academic discipline among the social sciences
- Describe the nature of sociology
- Discuss the scope and importance of sociology
- Explain the relation of sociology with other social sciences

*Self-Instructional
Material*

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1.2 SOCIOLOGY: MEANING AND DEFINITION

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Sociology is a relatively new academic discipline among the social sciences, which include economics, political science, anthropology, history and psychology. The ideas behind it, however, have a long history and can trace their origins to a mixture of common human knowledge and philosophy.

Sociology emerged as a scientific discipline in the early 19th century, as a fundamentally new type of society based on new principles of social organization and new ideas of enlightenment. This led to a change in the mindset of people. Sociologists hoped not only to understand what held social groups together but also to develop an antidote to the social breakdown. In terms of science, sociology pertains to social groups, their hierarchies or forms of organization. It combines functions which are inclined to maintain or modify these forms of organization and their inter-group network. Sociology is concerned with interaction itself. A social group is a system of social interaction. Sociology is interested in social relationships, not because they are economic, political, religious, legal or educational, but because they are social at the same time. Further, in sociology, we do not study everything that happens in a society or under social conditions, but we study culture, social relationships, their specific forms, varieties and patterns. We study the combination of relations, how they build up smaller or greater systems, and how they respond to changes and changing demands or needs.

French philosopher and sociologist Auguste Comte invented the term 'sociology' in the year 1838. Comte attempted to combine all the faculties of mankind, including history, psychology and economics. His own pattern of sociology was typical of the 19th century; he put across the theory that every man had experienced the same distinct historical stages and that the success of this progress was the solution to every social ill. Sociology would lead social sciences in the future. Comte defined sociology as the science of social phenomena, subject to natural invariable laws, the discovery of which is the object of investigation. He advocated for sociology to be used as a positive method as in natural sciences. He further believed that social evolution went hand in hand with progress, in accordance with the law of three stages. These three stages are: the **theological**-military, the **metaphysical**-legalistic and the **positive**-industrial laws. According to Comte's hierarchy of sciences, sociology occupies the summit. This is because it is considered to be the most complex of sciences, as it deals with humanity.

The systematic study of society gained prominence due to the upheavals caused by the French and industrial revolutions. The intellectual community of that time attempted to analyse and establish reasons for these rapid changes. So the study of sociology emerged as a distinct discipline dealing with social order and change. Although all social sciences study different aspects of social life, the approach of sociology is distinct. It is a more detailed picture explaining why things are the way they are. Sociology has also been labelled as a 'debunking science' because a sociologist is interested in looking beyond the commonly accepted meaning of social phenomenon and understands reality as a social construction; that is, how reality gets established in the way we understand it. American sociologist Peter Berger argued that 'sociology is a distinctive way of thinking, a particular awareness of the nature of social life, an unwillingness to accept the superficial and the apparently obvious'.

French sociologist Emile Durkheim was a pioneer in demonstrating scientific methodology in sociology. In his most acclaimed work, *Rules of Sociological Method*

(1897), he emphasized on the methodology that he has described in his study, *Suicide* (1897).

The discipline of sociology appeared in many universities in the 1890s. Urbanization and industrialization were posing several social issues and the sociologists of those times were trying hard to find a scientific solution. However, they did not succeed. It was their strong belief that sociology was the key to the scientific growth of the society. Later, sociology emerged as a branch of scientific knowledge with theories resulting from scientific inferences, rather than mere guesswork or comments that were based on impressions.

Popular definitions of Sociology

Sociology is the science of social phenomena ‘subject to natural and invariable laws, the discovery of which is the object of investigation’.

—Auguste Comte

‘Sociology... is a science which attempts the interpretative understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects.’

—Max Weber

‘In the broadest sense, sociology is the study of human interactions and interrelations, their conditions and consequences.’

—Morris Ginsberg

‘Sociology is the study of man and his human environment in their relations to each other.’

—Henry Fairchild

1.3 NATURE AND SCOPE OF SOCIOLOGY

On a broader platform, sociology is the study of human interactions, their conditions and consequences. It is a type of science that comprises investigative techniques which are objective and systematic. It gives rise to the evolution of the social truth that is based on empirical evidence and interpretation. However, it cannot be directly based on natural sciences, since human behaviour is a unique phenomenon. It also differs from natural sciences such that the contents of natural sciences are constant, while human behaviour, exhibits variations and flexibility.

Sociology as a branch of knowledge has its own unique characteristics. It is different from other sciences in certain respects. An analysis of internal logical characteristics helps one to understand its main characteristics, which are discussed as follows:

- (i) **Sociology is an independent science:** It is not treated and studied as a branch of any other science. As an independent science, it has its own field of study, boundary and method.
- (ii) **Sociology is a social science and not a physical science:** As a social science, it focuses its attention on man, his social behaviour, social activities and social life. It is related to other social sciences such as history, political science, economics, and so on.

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Check Your Progress

1. State the origin of sociology.
2. Who invented the term 'sociology'?
3. Why has sociology been labelled as a 'debunking science'?

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- (iii) **Sociology is a categorical and not a normative discipline:** Sociology does not make any kind of value judgments. Its approach is neither moral nor immoral but amoral. It is ethically neutral. It makes no recommendations on matters of social policy or legislation or programme. Sociology cannot deal with problems of good and evil, right and wrong, moral and immoral.
- (iv) **Sociology is a pure science and not an applied science:** The main aim of pure science is acquisition of knowledge, irrespective of whether the acquired knowledge is useful or can be put to use. On the other hand, applied science applies acquired knowledge into life.
- (v) **Sociology is relatively abstract and not concrete science:** It is not interested in concrete manifestation of human events. It is more concerned with the form of human events and their patterns. For instance, sociology is not specifically concerned with wars and revolutions but in the general social phenomena, as types of social conflict.
- (vi) **Sociology is not based on particular subjects or individuals, but is a general science:** Sociology tries to find out general laws or principles about human interaction and associations about the nature, forms, and content and structure of human groups and societies. It adopts a general approach on the basis of a study of some selected events.
- (vii) **Sociology is a rational and empirical science:** There are two broad ways of approach to scientific knowledge: one is empiricism and the other is rationalism. Empiricism emphasizes experiences and facts that result from observation and experiment. Rationalism stresses on reason and theories that result from logical inference. In sociological inquiry, both are significant.

1.3.1 Scope of Sociology

According to the British sociologist Morris Ginsberg, the scope of sociology includes a broad study of human interactions, their conditions and consequences. Some writers would restrict its scope to the relations arising out of acts of will, but this is an unjustifiable and unworkable limitation. Many interactions between individuals are not consciously determined or apprehended. One of the most interesting problems confronting the student of society is to determine the respective roles of reason or rational purpose, and of impulse and the unconsciousness in social life.

In this case, sociology must be capable of dealing with the complete issue or network of social relationships. However, these relationships are assumed to be dependent on the nature of individuals, to one another, to the community, and to the external environment. This can be explained if every social event can be traced back to its origin, as influenced by complex interactions. A combination of these interactions is comprised within a community, with respect to external influences. But this ideal, if generously conceived, is clearly too ambitious.

Sociology involves a systematic and objective study of human society. Sociologists study individuals' social actions. Social relationships, for instance, those between a husband and a wife, a teacher and a student, a buyer and a seller, and social processes, namely, cooperation, competition, conflict and organizations, communities and nations, and social structures (family, class and state), give rise to sociological queries. Explanations that are derived from norms and values result in the formation of social institutions. Thus, sociology can be defined as the study of social life. Sociology comprises a variety of apprehensions and interests. It is aimed at providing classified forms of relationships

within societies, institutions and associations. These relationships pertain to economic, political, moral, religious and social aspects of human life. Although, so far no collective agreement has been reached on the essence of sociology, so far yet it is established that sociology deals with the study of interaction systems, which shape social institutions, the state and the non-native order. Therefore, in sociology, we study about social organization, social structure, institutions and culture.

Sociology was defined differently by two schools of thought, pertaining to its range and theme:

- (i) Formal school
- (ii) Synthetic school

(i) Formal school

The formal school defined sociology as a social science that has definite characteristics. This school was advocated by eminent sociologists including George Simmel, Ferdinand Tonnies, Alfred Vierkandt and Leopold Von Wiese. On the other hand, the synthetic school with well-known sociologists, namely, Durkheim, Hobhouse and Sorokin attempted to bring together a type of coordination among all social sciences.

The formal school supported the idea of giving sociology a suitable subject matter to make it a distinct discipline. It stressed on the study of forms of social relationships and considered sociology as independent. Simmel defined sociology as a specific social science that describes, organizes, analyses and visually explains the forms of social relationships. To put it in a different way, social interactions should be classified into various forms or types and analysed. Simmel argued that social interactions have various forms. He conducted researches on formal relationships such as cooperation, competition, sub and super ordinate relationships, and so on. He said, 'however diverse the interests are that give rise to these sociations, the forms in which the interests are realized may yet be identical.' His main emphasis was to conceptualize these forms from human relationships which are not affected by different scenarios. Vierkandt believed that sociology should pertain to people being extremely attached mentally or psychically. Von Wiese believed in the existence of two types of basic social processes in a human society. These are as follows:

- (i) Associative processes that are related to contact, approach, adaptation, and so on.
- (ii) Disassociative processes like competition and conflict

Additionally, a blend of associative and disassociative processes also exists. Each of these processes can be further segregated into subclasses. These subclasses result in 650 categories of human relationships. Sociology should concentrate on discovering a basic force of change and consistency, and should be influenced by the history of concrete societies. Tonnies suggested two types of societies, namely Gemeinschaft (community) and Gesellschaft (association). These were based on the level of closeness between members of the society. Based on the types of relationships, he attempted to differ between community and society. German sociologist Max Weber outlined a particular field for sociology. He recommended that the aim of sociology was to identify or explain social behaviour. However, social behaviour does cover all aspects human relations, since all exchanges between human beings cannot be called social. Sociology deals with learning and identifying the different types of social relationships.

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Criticism of formal school

The formal school has come under criticism because it has focused only on abstract forms and ignored the more feasible parts of social life. It is not possible to study abstract forms that have been alienated from concrete relations. According to Ginsberg, the study of social relationships would never be complete if it is carried out in isolation, without a thorough knowledge of the terms that are associated with it. Sociology is not the only branch of social sciences that focuses on the types of social relationships. Political science and international law also study the same. Since it is not possible to study social sciences as a separate entity from other sciences, the concept of pure sociology is not practical.

(ii) Synthetic school of sociology

The synthetic school defines sociology as a combination of social sciences. It stresses on widening the range of sociology. Durkheim divided sociology into three main sections. These were social morphology, social physiology and general sociology. **Social morphology** pertains to the lifestyle of people on the basis of their location or region. It comprises factors like population, density, distribution and so on. One can further divide this into two categories: (i) analysis of density and type of population that influences social relationships and social groups, and (ii) learning about social hierarchy or details related to the main categories of social groups and institutions, along with their operation. **Social physiology** deals with the origin and character of different social institutions, namely religion, morals, law, economic institutions, and so on. The prime objective of **general sociology** is to frame general social laws. Efforts are still on to find out the links between different types of institutions that are treated independently in social physiology and the possibilities of emergence of general social laws as a byproduct.

Hobhouse, a British sociologist, defined sociology as a field of science which focuses on the whole social life of man. It relates to other social sciences in a way that can be regarded as a blend of mutual exchange and stimulation. Classical sociologist Karl Mannheim has explained sociology in terms of two key divisions: systematic, and general sociology and historical sociology. Systematic sociology provides a methodical review of the main factors of coexistence, such that they are evident in every kind of society. Historical sociology deals with the historical array and existence of general forms of the society. This can be divided into two sectors: comparative sociology and social dynamics. Comparative sociology basically deals with identical historical changes and tries to highlight the general features by comparing them. It also separates general features from industrial features. Social dynamics is concerned with the interrelations that exist among different social factors and institutions in a given society, for example, in an ancient society.

Ginsberg has combined the main features of sociology in a way that they classify the different types and structures of social relations, specifically those that are clearly specified as institutions and associations. He tried to find connectivity between various parameters of social life, for example, economic, political, moral and legal, intellectual and social elements. It attempts to make the basic conditions of social change and persistence simpler, and evaluates the sociological principles that influence social life.

Thus, on the basis of the viewpoints of many sociologists, the scope of sociology can be generally defined. To begin with, sociology should be concerned with the analysis of various institutions, associations and social groups, which have resulted from social relationships of individuals. The second step is an understanding of the different links

between various sections of the society. This objective is catered to by the functionalist school of sociology, as required. The Marxist school also exhibits the same opinion. Thus, the main area of discussion of sociology pertains to social structure. Sociology should also focus on aspects which are important in bringing about social stability and social change. Finally, sociology should also tackle issues related to the changes in pattern and the consequences of societal changes.

1.3.2 Sociology as a Science

The nature of sociology as a science has become a controversial issue. Some critics do not support the ideology of sociology being regarded as a science like all other social sciences. Sociology can be regarded as a science since it comprises objective and systematic methodologies of examination and assessment. It can also be evaluated as a social reality on the basis of empirical data and explanation. However, it cannot be directly compared to natural sciences, since human behaviour is not similar to natural sciences. A science may be defined in at least two ways:

- (i) A body of organized, verified knowledge which has been secured through scientific investigation
- (ii) A method of study whereby a body of organized and verified knowledge is discovered

However, if the first definition is accepted, then sociology can be termed as a science, based on the theory that it creates a body of organized and verified knowledge, after scientific investigation. To the extent that sociology forsakes myth, folklore and wishful thinking and bases its conclusions on scientific evidence, it is a science. If science is defined as methods of study, then sociology can be defined as a science because it uses scientific techniques of study.

In the history of human thinking, few of our actions have been based on verified knowledge, for people through the ages have been guided mainly by folklore, norms, values and anticipations. Recently, very few people accepted the idea of systematic observations and analysis. W. F. Ogburn, an American sociologist, opines that sociology is a science. According to him, science is to be judged on the basis of the following three criteria:

- The reliability of its body of knowledge
- Its organization
- Its method

Sociology depends on reliable knowledge. Thus, sociological studies of population, families, group behaviour, evolution of institutions and the process of social change are regarded as considerably reliable. Secondly, disjointed collection of facts cannot be a science. Science should be organized and the organization of science rests upon relationships. Sociology provides a scope for interrelationships, which is enough to encourage more discoveries. Moreover, with reference to method, a branch of knowledge can be called a science if it follows a scientific method in its studies and investigations. Sociological studies employ various methods such as the historical method, case study method, social survey method, functional method and statistical method.

Though sociology can be considered as a science, its scientific character cannot be established because it is not as accurate as natural sciences. There is no denying the fact that sociology cannot experiment and predict in the same way in which physical sciences do because human behaviour and relationships are peculiar and uncertain. Objectivity in sociology is not possible as man has his own prejudices and bias. Social

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phenomena cannot be exact as it is too vast and human motivations are complex, and it is difficult to make predictions about human behaviour.

However, such objectives raised against sociology as a science are refutable. Sociology does make use of scientific methods in the study of its subject matter. Though sociology does not support laboratory experiments, yet it does employ the techniques of science, such as the measures of sociometry, schedule, questionnaire, interview and case history. These relate measures of quantity with social phenomenon. Moreover, a sociologist also uses observation and comparison. Sociology delineates the cause-effect relationship. So sociology is a scientific discipline which obeys the demands of validity that are implied by the word 'science'. It classifies the form of social relationships and determines the connectivity between different sectors of social life. American sociologist Robert Bierstedt in his book, *The Social Order*, considered sociology as a social and not a natural science.

Thus, it can be said that science is a way to find out the truth, and if sociology involves application of a range of techniques and methods in the right manner, then it will achieve a scientific character.

Human social activities can be observed through scientific exploration just like any other natural phenomenon. This exploration uses scientific techniques, such as scales of sociometry, schedule, questionnaire, interview and case history. These, in turn, apply quantitative measurements to social phenomenon. Hence, they can be compared to the technique of experimentation. Sociology attempts to identify the types and forms of social relationships, especially of institutions and associations.

It tries to establish relations between different factors of social life. It also involves the deduction of general laws through a systematic study of its material. The outcome of the study of sociological principles is used as a means to resolve social problems. Consequently, sociology can be compared to a science, such as social psychology, clinical psychology and other sciences that relate to the existence of mankind. A sociologist can also make optimum use of two other fundamental techniques of scientific reasoning, which are observation and comparison. Sociology can also be used in the building of laws and for futuristic calculations. These laws are usually relevant and are independent of cultural changes. Sociology also explains the cause-effect relationships by the analysis of social procedures and relationships.

1.3.3 Importance of Sociology

The discipline of sociology is recognized widely today. Nowadays, there is a growing realization about the importance of the scientific study of social phenomena and means of promoting what American sociologist and economist Franklin Henry Giddings calls 'human adequacy'. It is of great value in modern complex society.

- **Sociology makes a scientific study of society:** Sociology has made it possible to study society in a systematic and scientific manner. Scientific knowledge about human society is needed in order to achieve progress in various fields.
- **Sociology throws more light on the social nature of man:** Sociology delves deep into the social nature of man. It tells us why man is a social animal and why he lives in groups. It examines the relationships between individuals and the society.
- **Sociology improves our understanding of society and increases the power of social action:** The science of society assists an individual to understand himself, his capacities, talents and limitations. It enables him to adjust to the environment. Knowledge of society and social groups helps us to lead an effective social life.

- **Sociology has contributed generously to enhance the value of human culture:** Sociology has trained us in building a rational approach to questions that concern ourselves, our religion and customs. It teaches one to have an object-oriented and balanced approach. It emphasizes the importance of ignoring petty personal prejudices and ambitions that are influenced by ego and envy.
- **Sociology studies the role of institutions in the development of the individual:** The home and family, school and education, church and religion, states and government, and marriage and family are important institutions through which a society functions. Furthermore, they are conditioners of an individual's knowledge of sociology.
- **Sociological knowledge is indispensable for understanding and planning of the society:** Sociological planning has been made easier by sociology. Sociology is often considered a vehicle of social reform and social organization. It plays an important role in reconstruction of the society.
- **The need for sociology in underdeveloped countries:** Sociologists have drawn the attention of economists regarding the social factors that have contributed to the economic backwardness of a few countries. Economists have now realized the importance of sociological knowledge in analysing the economic affairs of a country.
- **Study of society has helped several governments to promote the welfare of tribal people:** Not only civilized societies but tribal societies also have several socio-economic problems. Studies conducted by sociologists and anthropologists regarding tribal societies have helped many governments in undertaking various social measures to promote the welfare of tribal people.

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1.4 SOCIOLOGY AND ITS RELATION WITH OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES

Sociology could be considered to be a method of objective inquiry that involves testing of beliefs against evidence. Sociology and other social sciences focus on certain aspects of human behaviour. All of us can claim to be familiar with human behaviour. All of us rely on our common sense to function in our daily lives. Even when faced with an obstacle, we tend to use our common sense to cross that hurdle. Common sense does not rely upon any specific education as it is believed to be shared by all. However, sociologists believe that this common sense that we depend upon may not always be reliable as it is based on commonly-held beliefs rather than a systematic analysis of facts. Sociology is the systematic study of society, its people and their behaviour.

Critics often claim that all that sociology does is repeat the obvious; things that we can witness and analyse through common sense, and as such, there is not much difference between sociology and common sense. However, there are some major differences between sociology and common sense. They are as follows:

- Common sense views are built upon people's limited experiences and give an inaccurate view of society. Sociological views, on the other hand, are based on thorough qualitative or quantitative research and evidence.
- Common sense views are built upon social tradition and customs, and are resistant to change. Sociological views often raise serious questions that challenge the status quo.

Check Your Progress

4. Differentiate between empiricism and rationalism.
5. Define sociology according to the formal school.
6. Distinguish between comparative sociology and social dynamics.

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- Common sense views are specific and particular to time and place, thus, they are culture-specific and full of stereotypes. Sociological views recognize the fact that many stereotypes are social constructs.
- Common sense views lack academic credibility and reliability. Sociological views, since they are based on data and research, have academic credibility and validity.

Sociologists, like other scientists, are unwilling to accept something as fact simply because it is common knowledge. They believe that all information must be tested and analysed in relation to the data at hand.

Ethnomethodology is a recent sociological theory. It is the study of 'folk' or common sense methods employed by people to make sense of everyday activities by constructing and maintaining social reality. It means that common sense is so important that it helps in understanding the methods of constructing reality.

1.4.1 Sociology and Social Anthropology

Sociology and social anthropology are related but different fields with dissimilar origins. While sociology has its roots in philosophy and history, anthropology began as a study of physical measurements of humans. However, the two subjects have developed hand-in-hand, especially when it comes to concepts and scientific methods.

Social anthropologists generally study small societies that are often considered primitive, such as in the Pacific Islands. They tend to live in the particular community they are studying, witnessing their daily activities and almost becoming a part of the community themselves.

Sociologists, on the other hand, study facets of a society, such as family or social mobility, and their organization and processes. A sociologist uses methods that are loaded with values, therefore, their conclusions are lined with ethical considerations.

Perhaps, the biggest difference between sociology and social anthropology is in their method of research. A social anthropologist uses qualitative methods to collect information, usually by immersing oneself into the society that is being studied (see Figure 1.1). Sociologists generally collect quantitative data based on which they make their conclusions.



Fig. 1.1 Social and Cultural Anthropologists often Immerse Themselves in the Subjects of Their Study

1.4.2 Sociology and Social Psychology

Social psychology involves the study of social and mental processes, and how they act together to determine action. Essentially, it studies the interaction between psychological and sociological processes. It is the ground where sociology and psychology converge.

Psychologists look at the mental processes and personality characteristics that make people act in a certain manner. Sociologists tend to look at not just the social setting and structure, and the processes that go on within them but the influence they exert upon individuals. Sociology particularly looks at human connections and interrelationships.

Social psychologists look into the following factors to study how an individual's behaviour, beliefs, moralities and identity are determined by his/her position in social space:

- Culture
- Time period
- Gender
- Class
- Race
- Age
- Peers

1.4.3 Sociology and History

Sociology as a discipline owes a lot to history. History has influenced the way sociology views and classifies historical types of society. The two subjects interact and overlap with each other to a great degree. A large volume of data that sociologists use is provided by historians. At the same time, historians also draw upon a lot of sociological research.

Does that mean there is very little difference between the two disciplines? According to English social anthropologist Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, 'Sociology is nomothetic, while history is idiographic', which means that a historian describes unique events, while the sociologist derives generalizations.

A sociologist utilizes quantitative data to infer generalizations about the social forces at work. A historian, on the other hand, is concerned with the interplay of these social forces and personality. History is concerned with the past and looks at the changes that take place over time. A sociologist looks for patterns to build generalizations.

1.4.4 Sociology and Political Science

Political sociology lies at the intersection of the disciplines of political science and sociology. Giovanni Sartori, an Italian political scientist, had suggested that there was an ambiguity in the term 'political sociology' because it could be construed as a synonym for 'sociology of politics'. There was ambiguity concerning the objects of study and the approaches of inquiry within the field of political sociology. Therefore, there arose the need for clarification.

For Sartori, such a clarification would be possible only 'when the sociological and "politicological" approaches are combined at their point of intersection'. This point of intersection is a site of interdisciplinary studies. However, to understand the dynamics of such a site, one must delineate the contours of the two parent disciplines—political science and sociology. Although the discipline of political science traces its history back to the Greek philosopher Aristotle, it evolved into an academic field of study in the

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United States of America. According to American political sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset, one of the earliest usages of the term 'political science' occurred with the founding of the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia University, New York, in the late 19th century. A few years later, in 1903, the American Political Science Association was founded. Not much later, the first issue of the *American Political Science Review* was published, and is now more than a century old.

Gradually, as the 20th century unfolded, political science acquired many a focus. It included a historical study of political thought, an analytic and comparative study of distinct polities as well as a normative approach to politics. Notwithstanding such a broad scope, if one were to narrow down the object of study of the discipline of political science to a single theme, it would be the State.

If political science is largely focussed on the study of the state, sociology may be understood as the study of the society. The latter discipline was the consequence of the Enlightenment—an intellectual epoch in the history of Europe that awarded primacy to the critical application of human reason as opposed to blindly following the dictates of human and divine authorities.

Nature: Political sociology seeks to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision-making authorities, and conflicting social forces and interests. It is the study of interactions and linkages between politics and society, and between the political system and its social, economic and cultural environment. It is concerned with problems regarding the management of conflict, the articulation of interest and issues, and political integration and organization. The focal point in all these concerns is the independence of the interplay of socio-cultural, economic and political elements.

The perspective of political sociology is distinguished from that of institutionalism and behaviouralism. The institutionalists have been concerned primarily with institutional types of political organization, and their study has been characterized by legality and formality. The behaviouralists have focussed on the individual actor in the political arena; and their central concern has been the psychological trait, namely, motives, attitudes, perception and the role of individuals. The task of political sociologists is to study the political process as a continuum of interactions between society and its decision-makers, and between the decision-making institutions and social forces.

Political sociology provides a new vista in political analysis. Yet, it is closely linked with the issues which have been raised in political philosophy. Political philosophy has a rich and long tradition of political thought that began with the ancient Indian and Greek philosophers, and that has amply followed since the Italian historian Machiavelli, who made a bold departure from Greek idealism and medieval scholasticism. It was German sociologist Karl Marx, however, who strongly focussed on issues concerning the nature of political power and its relationship with social or economic organization. The Marxist theory of economic determinism of political power laid the foundation for the sociology of politics. Marx was, however, neither the first nor the only thinker to conceive of government as an organ of the dominant economic class. The Arabian scholar Ibn Khaldun and several European predecessors of Marx had argued that ideology and power were superstructures of economy.

The early origins of sociology are often traced to Auguste Comte's six-volume work *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (1830–42). This work offered an encyclopedic treatment of sciences. It expounded positivism and initiated the use of the term 'sociology' to signify a certain method of studying human societies. Comte proposed a historical law of social development, and according to this scheme, human societies pass from an

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initial stage of interpreting phenomena theologically to an intermediate stage of metaphysical interpretation before arriving at the final stage of positivist interpretation (see Figure 1.2). This is known as Comte's law of three stages. In the theological stage, which Comte divided into three sub-stages of animism, polytheism and monotheism, humans blindly followed what they believed was the law of god and supernatural powers. In the metaphysical stage, humans started questioning such concepts and also started offering impersonal, abstract explanations of various concepts. In the positivist stage, humans started relying on what was called the scientific method, based on observation, experiment and comparison. This idea of a historical development of human societies obeying laws of nature was adopted by Karl Marx.

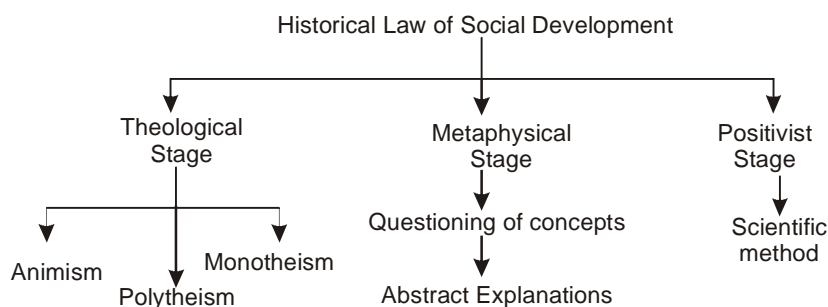


Fig. 1.2 Comte's Law of Three Stages

The work of Marx, which emphasized the role of capitalist mode of production, and Marxism in general were important stimuli for the development of sociology. The early Marxist contribution to sociology included the works of well-known philosopher Karl Kautsky on the French Revolution; German historian Franz Erdmann Mehring's analysis of art, literature and intellectual history; and German Marxist philosopher Carl Grunberg's early studies on agrarian history and labour movements. It is important to note that Marxist studies of society also developed independent of universities as they were intimately related to political movements and party organizations.

In the decades following the death of Marx, sociology was gaining ground as an academic discipline, and the critics of Marxism had an important role to play in its development. The most notable critics were Max Weber and Emile Durkheim. Weber's work on capitalism, the State, and methodological writings were largely directed against historical materialism. In the later works of Durkheim, an attempt was made to distinguish the social functions of religion from the explanation provided by historical materialism.

Given the inevitability of political role in society, thinkers from Aristotle to Tocqueville (French political thinker and historian) have rightly emphasized the point that instead of deploring the evils of human nature or social circumstances, it is more prudent and worthwhile to accept the 'given' and improve it for the good of man and society. It is wiser to face it and to manage it so as to achieve reconciliation and accommodation. Conflict, though apparently an evil, is a condition of freedom, as it prevents the concentration of power. This kind of political realism recognizes the necessity and utility of the political management of conflict through compromise and adjustment among various social forces and interests. Political sociology aims at understanding the sources and the social bases of conflict, as well as the process of management of conflict.

Scope: The broad aim of political sociology is to study and examine the interactions between social and political structures. The determination of the boundaries of what is social and political, however, raises some questions. The relevant question in delineating

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the scope of political sociology is of the kinds of groups which form part of the study of the discipline of political sociology. Some scholars believe that politics depends on some settled order created by the state. Hence, the state is political and is the subject matter of political sociology, and not the groups.

There is another school according to which politics is present in almost all social relations. Individuals and small groups try to enforce their preferences on their parent organizations, family, club or college, and, thus, indulge in the exercise of 'power'.

Sheldon S. Wolin, a political philosopher, takes quite a reasonable view of the word 'political', which according to him, means the following three things:

- (i) A form of activity that centres around the quest for competitive advantage between groups, individuals or societies
- (ii) A form of activity conditioned by the fact that it occurs within a situation of change and relative scarcity
- (iii) A form of activity in which the pursuit of advantage produces consequences of such a magnitude that they affect, in a significant way, the whole society or a substantial portion of it

Two groups of scholars have discussed the scope of political sociology in two different ways. According to Greer and Orleans, political sociology is concerned with the structure of the state; the nature and condition of legitimacy; nature of the monopoly of force and its use by the state; and the nature of the subunits and their relation with the state. They treat political sociology in terms of consensus and legitimacy, participation and representation, and the relationship between economic development and political change. By implication, whatever is related to the state is alone held as the subject matter of political sociology. Eminent sociologist Andreu Effrat takes a broader view of the picture and suggests that political sociology is concerned with the causes, patterns and consequences of the distribution and process of power and authority 'in all social systems'. Among social systems, he includes small groups and families, educational and religious groups, as well as governmental and political institutions.

Lipset and Reinhard Bendix (German American sociologist) suggest a more representative catalogue of topics when they describe the main areas of interest to political sociologists as voting behaviour, concentration of economic power and political decision-making; ideologies of political movement and interest groups; political parties, voluntary associations, the problems of oligarchy and psychological correlates of political behaviour; and the problem of bureaucracy. To sociologist thinkers Dowse and Hughes, one area of substantive concern for the political sociologist is the problem of social order and political obedience.

Sociologist Richard G. Braungart has pointed out that political sociologists are concerned with the dynamic association among and between (a) the social origin of politics, (b) the structure of political process, and (c) the effects of politics on the surrounding society and culture. Political sociology should include four areas that are as follows:

- (i) Political structures (social class/caste, elite, interest groups, bureaucracy, political parties and factions)
- (ii) Political life (electoral process, political communication, opinion formation, and so on)

- (iii) Political leadership (bases, types and operation of community power structure)
- (iv) Political development (concept and indices of its measurement, its social bases and prerequisites, and its relationship to social change and modernization)

To illustrate, it can be pointed out that on one hand, sociologists focus their attention on the sub-areas of the social system, and political scientists concentrate on the study of law, local, state and national governments, comparative government, political systems, public administration and international relations. On the other hand, political sociologists ought to be concerned with topics of social stratification and political power: socio-economic systems and political regimes, interest groups, political parties, bureaucracy, political socialization, electoral behaviour, social movements and political mobilization.

A significant concern of political sociology is the analysis of socio-political factors in economic development.

Importance: There are four main areas of research that are important in present-day political sociology. They are as follows:

- (i) The socio-political formation of the modern state.
- (ii) 'Who rules?' How social inequality between groups (class, race, gender, and so on) influences politics.
- (iii) How public personalities, social movements and trends outside of the formal institutions of political power affect politics.
- (iv) Power relationships within and between social groups (e.g., families, workplaces, bureaucracy, media, and so on). Contemporary theorists include Robert A. Dahl, Seymour Martin Lipset, Theda Skocpol, Luc Boltanski and Nicos Poulantzas.

This introductory purview of the disciplines of political science and sociology should allow us to now characterize the field of political sociology. The latter may be understood as the study of the varied and multiple relationships between the state and society. In this sense, political sociology evolved into an interdisciplinary field lying between the academic disciplines of political science and sociology.

1.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Sociology is a relatively new academic discipline among the social sciences, which include economics, political science, anthropology, history and psychology.
- Sociology emerged as a scientific discipline in the early 19th century as a fundamentally new type of society based on new principles of social organization and new ideas of enlightenment.
- Auguste Comte invented the term 'sociology' in the year 1838. He was a French philosopher and sociologist. Comte attempted to combine all the faculties of mankind, including history, psychology and economics.
- On a broader platform, sociology is the study of human interactions, their conditions and consequences. It is a type of science that comprises investigative techniques which are objective and systematic.
- Sociology involves a systematic and objective study of human society. Sociologists study individuals' social actions.

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Check Your Progress

7. Define ethnomethodology.
8. State the concept of social psychology.
9. What are the fields of concern of the institutionalists and behaviouralists?
10. State the broad aim of political sociology.

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- Sociology comprises a variety of apprehensions and interests. It is aimed at providing classified forms of relationships within societies, institutions and associations.
- The formal school defined sociology as a social science that has definite characteristics. This school was advocated by George Simmel, Ferdinand Tonnies, Alfred Vierkandt and Leopold Von Wiese.
- The synthetic school defines sociology as a combination of social sciences. It stresses on widening the range of sociology.
- Sociology could be considered to be a method of objective inquiry that involves testing of beliefs against evidence. Sociology and other social sciences focus on certain aspects of human behaviour.
- While sociology has its roots in philosophy and history, anthropology began as a study of physical measurements of humans.
- Social psychology involves the study of social and mental processes and how they act together to determine action. Essentially, it studies the interaction between psychological and sociological processes.
- Political sociology seeks to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision-making authorities, and conflicting social forces and interests.
- The broad aim of political sociology is to study and examine the interactions between social and political structures.
- Although sociology may appear to be a rerun of common sense, there is a significant difference between the two. Common sense views are built upon people's limited experiences and give an inaccurate view of society. Sociological views, on the other hand, are based on thorough qualitative or quantitative research and evidence.
- A social anthropologist uses qualitative methods to collect information, usually by immersing himself into the society that is being studied. Sociologists generally collect quantitative data based on which they make their conclusions.
- Psychologists look at the mental processes and personality characteristics that make people act in a certain manner. Sociologists tend to look at the social setting and structure, the processes that go on within them, and the influence they exert upon individuals.
- History is concerned with the past and looks at the changes that take place over time. A sociologist looks for patterns to build generalizations.
- Political science is largely focussed on the study of the state, while sociology may be understood as the study of society.

1.6 KEY TERMS

- **Sociology:** It is a method of objective inquiry that involves testing of beliefs against evidence.
- **Social anthropology:** It is the immersive study of small, isolated societies.
- **Political sociology:** It is the study of the process of interaction between government and society, decision-making authorities, and conflicting social forces and interests.

- **Politology:** It is an alternative term offered for political science which argues that politics is more of a cultural aesthetic than a science.
- **Positivism:** It is a philosophical system recognizing only that which can be scientifically verified or which is capable of logical or mathematical proof, and, therefore, rejecting metaphysics and theism.
- **Historical materialism:** It is a methodological approach to the study of human societies and their development over time first articulated by Karl Marx (1818–1883) as the materialist conception of history.

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1.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Sociology emerged as a scientific discipline in the early 19th century, as a fundamentally new type of society based on new principles of social organization and new ideas of enlightenment.
2. French philosopher and sociologist Auguste Comte invented the term ‘sociology’ in the year 1838. Comte defined sociology as the science of social phenomena, subject to natural invariable laws, the discovery of which is the object of investigation.
3. Sociology has been labelled as a ‘debunking science’ because a sociologist is interested in looking beyond the commonly accepted meaning of social phenomenon and understands reality as a social construction; that is, how reality gets established in the way we understand it.
4. Empiricism emphasizes experiences and facts that result from observation and experiment. Rationalism, on the other hand, stresses on reason and theories that result from logical inference. In sociological inquiry, both are significant.
5. The formal school defined sociology as a social science that has definite characteristics. This school was advocated by George Simmel, Ferdinand Tonnies, Alfred Vierkandt and Leopold Von Wiese.
6. Comparative sociology basically deals with identical historical changes and tries to highlight the general features by comparing them. It also separates general features from industrial features. Social dynamics is concerned with the interrelations that exist among different social factors and institutions in a given society, for example in an ancient society.
7. Ethnomethodology is a recent sociological theory. It is the study of ‘folk’ or common sense methods employed by people to make sense of everyday activities by constructing and maintaining social reality. It means that common sense is so important that it helps in understanding the methods of constructing reality.
8. Social psychology involves the study of social and mental processes and how they act together to determine action. Essentially, it studies the interaction between psychological and sociological processes. It is the ground where sociology and psychology converge.
9. The institutionalists have been concerned primarily with institutional types of political organization, and their study has been characterized by legality and formality. The behaviouralists have focussed on the individual actor in the political arena; and their central concern has been the psychological trait, namely, motives, attitudes, perception and the role of individuals.
10. The broad aim of political sociology is to study and examine the interactions between social and political structures.

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1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Briefly describe how the word 'sociology' originated.
2. List the main characteristics of sociology as a branch of knowledge.
3. Name the two schools of thought that had different perspectives with respect to the scope and theme of sociology.
4. Write a short note on the criticism of the formal school.
5. Outline the major differences between sociology and common sense.
6. Briefly describe Comte's law of three stages.
7. What are the four areas of political sociology?
8. Outline the four main areas of research in political sociology.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the development of sociology as a scientific discipline.
2. Describe the nature and scope of sociology.
3. 'Sociology was defined different by two schools of thought, pertaining to its range and theme'. Explain in detail.
4. What is social anthropology? What can sociology learn from psychology?
5. What is political sociology? Explain the concept of political sociology in terms of its nature, scope and importance.

1.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 BASIC CONCEPTS

Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Concept of Society
- 2.3 Community
 - 2.3.1 Characteristics of Community
 - 2.3.2 Community and Association
 - 2.3.3 State and Community
 - 2.3.4 Communitarianism and Social Order
 - 2.3.5 Community Power and Social Structure: Status and Role
- 2.4 Institution
 - 2.4.1 Features of Social Institutions
 - 2.4.2 Functions of Social Institutions
- 2.5 Association and groups in Society
 - 2.5.1 Association
 - 2.5.2 Groups
- 2.6 Culture
 - 2.6.1 Types of Culture
 - 2.6.2 Cultural Lag
 - 2.6.3 Culture and Personality
 - 2.6.4 Culture and Civilization
- 2.7 Summary
- 2.8 Key Terms
- 2.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.10 Questions and Exercises
- 2.11 Further Reading

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2.0 INTRODUCTION

Sociology is the study of human society or societies. But such a simple initial definition of the subject poses the question, 'What is human society?' There is a difference of emphasis between the singular form of a society and its plural form. Society, as a singular term, appears general and unlimited. The plural term, societies, sounds more like a set of container units distinct from each other, such that you can take them one by one to inspect their contents.

As stated before, sociology has always studied societies, both taken separately and together, as 'human societies'. The balance between the two aspects may vary, but at the end, the study of the one absolutely requires study of the other. Neither of them makes sense independently.

Human society in general extends to all human beings, that is, the total number of members of the animal species—Homo sapiens. However, we should not equate all human species with the human society. As with other animals, the qualities of the species are distributed among individual members. In total, they make up humankind. It is through their social relations that they constitute societies. The total set of relations at any time makes up the world society. For any animal species, the essential requirements for survival include genetic inheritance, functioning organisms, a favourable environment and social relations. Society, as such, is not especially human. If we take our closest

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animal relatives, chimpanzees, in their natural habitat in Africa, they constantly form and reform social relations based on the practices of fission–fusion; theirs are male-dominated societies within larger territorially based exclusive communities. In captivity, female coalitions develop to reduce male dominance. But both, in the wild and in captivity, chimpanzees exhibit a diversity and adaptability in their social behaviour which permits wide variation in prevalent social relations.

This adaptability, which is also possessed by human beings, makes it impossible to show that any particular type of society is determined by biology. Individuals, during their lives, are capable of sustaining and experimenting with vastly differing types of social relations. Societies can undergo total social transformation as the history of revolutions shows. In evolutionary terms, the human organism has not just adapted but has evolved adaptability. It provides for versatility and a collective freedom to draw on a vast repertoire of possible social behaviour in different conditions. The range of social relations which human behaviour can support extends from individual freedom of choice to the arbitrary rule of a few over others. Hence, the variations in human society are vast even while the biology remains stable.

Explaining the sources of these variations is a distinct field of inquiry in its own right. The development of culture, ways of acting, thinking and feeling makes human society a special case as compared with the societies of other species. These features are transmitted from one generation to the next and across societies through learning, not through inheritance. Culture includes language and technology, both of which involve the communication of ideas and the possibility of sophisticated coordination of action. This vastly enhances adaptability.

Only when a set of research practices and exchange of ideas and results among members of an organized occupation begin to take place, we can talk of the arrival of sociology as a discipline. So the invention of the word ‘sociology’ in 1839 by the French philosopher Auguste Comte (1798–1857) was only a preliminary first step, though his idea that there was a law of three stages governing the development of society became widely known.

In this unit, you will study about the basic concepts of sociology. You will also learn about the importance of various social institutions and social structures.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the concept of society
- Describe the forms of social institutions and social structures
- Differentiate between communities and associations
- Evaluate the concepts of social values, norms, groups, associations and social class
- Discuss the meaning of the term ‘culture’

2.2 CONCEPT OF SOCIETY

The term ‘society’ is not easy to define. In general, it refers to people and their community. Man is a social animal who relies on others around him for his basic needs. People form

society. The interaction between people brings them closer to each other and makes them mutually dependent. Society can, thus, be defined as a formal association of people having the same interests. British sociologist Morris Ginsberg has defined society, thus: 'A society is a collection of individuals united by certain relations or mode of behaviours which mark them off from others who do not enter into these relations or who differ from them in behaviour.' Well-known sociologist R. M. MacIver has defined society as 'Society is a web of social relationships'.

The origin or emergence of society may be viewed as one of the great steps in evolution. However, this step was taken only by a few species. Like other steps, it represents a new synthesis of old materials, possessing unique qualities that are not found in old materials which are considered separately. It is, thus, a true example of what is known as an emergent evolution. To realize that society is a true emergent, one needs to trace its independent origin in countless animal types. One merely needs to grasp the difference between it and the organisms which it is composed of. Several decades ago, it was normal to compare society with an organism. The idea was to demonstrate that a social system, after all, is a system. The analogy was helpful but never perfect. The cells of an organism are rigidly fixed in their mutual relations, completely subordinated to the organism and too specialized to be called members of the society. They are not spatially detached and independently mobile. So the organism is not, strictly speaking, a society of cells. The organism possesses a consciousness, which no society possesses.

Like an organism, a society is a system of relations between organisms themselves rather than between cells. Like the organism, a society has a determined structure and the parts of this structure, when in operation, contribute to the existence of the whole. This gives it continuity, which is apart from that of the constituent individuals. It is this possession of continuity and structure of its own that makes it impossible to reduce the study of society merely to a study of its individual members. It is like a house which, though composed of bricks, nails, mortar and pieces of lumber, cannot be understood purely in terms of these materials, as it has a form and functions as a complete house.

A **society**, or a **human society**, is a group of people related to each other through persistent relations, or a large social group, sharing the same geographical or virtual territory, subject to the same political authority and dominant cultural expectations. Human societies are characterized by patterns of relationships between individuals who share a distinctive institutions and culture. A given society may be described as the sum total of such relationships among its constituent members. In social sciences, a society invariably entails stratification and hierarchy. A society helps its members benefit in ways not possible had the members existed individually. It consists of like-minded people governed by their own values and norms. Within a society one almost always finds smaller cultures or sub societies with their own idiosyncratic set of rules.

Broadly, a society may be described as a social, economic and industrial infrastructure made up with varied kinds of people. A society may constitute of different ethnic groups, a nation state or a broader cultural group.

Definitions

Society has been differently defined by different sociologists. Here are a few definitions: American sociologist Gerhard Lenski defined society as is a form of organization involving:

- (1) Relatively sustained ties of interaction among its members.
- (2) Relatively high degree of interdependence among its members.
- (3) A high degree of autonomy.

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Gerhard Lenski (1970) *Human Societies*. New York: McGraw-Hill

The Latin word *socius* denotes a companion or ally, and in their specific sense, the words 'society' and 'social' refer to associations of individuals to group relations. When we speak of social structure, or the organization of society, it is clear what is meant: the way a mass of people is constituted into families, clans, tribes, states, classes, sets, clubs, communities, and the like. A society is a group of interrelated individuals.

A. L. Kroeber (1948) *Anthropology*. New York: Harcourt, Brace

A society is a collection of people who are linked to one another, either directly or indirectly, through social interaction...The term society can be applied to the total human community, encompassing all of humanity. Alternatively, we may speak of American or Canadian society, or we may restrict ourselves to even smaller geographical or social groupings.

Michael Howard and Patrick McKim (1983) *Contemporary Cultural Anthropology*

For convenience of study, aggregates of individuals in their relational aspects are arbitrarily isolated as social units. Where these show a number of common features in distinction from other such units, they are conveniently termed societies.

Raymond Firth (1951) *Elements of Social Organization*. Boston: Beacon Press**Social Contract Theory**

The **social contract theory** is unique, giving importance to individuals as architects of society. This theory was propounded by three eminent philosophers: Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and J. J. Rousseau. According to this theory, all men were born free and equal, and individuals made a mutual agreement and created a society.

English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, in his book, *The Leviathan*, discusses the state of nature. He gives a very gloomy picture of the state of nature. According to him, society is a means of protection for men against the consequence of their own untrammelled nature. In the state of nature, man was in perpetual conflict with his neighbours on account of his essentially selfish nature. Man's actions were motivated by selfish interests. According to Hobbes, the state of nature was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. There was liberty without license. The stronger enjoyed a privileged position. As a result, man's life became miserable and totally insecure. In order to come out of these evil consequences and to ensure peaceful coexistence, a civil society was needed. So men came out of the state of nature to set up a civil society. By such contract, men gave up their liberty to a single individual who would give them security. Thus, the individual became the 'great monster', i.e., repository of all power and he was known as the *leviathan*. Thus, man, with his fellow men, organized society in order to be at love and peace with all.

English philosopher John Locke, in his book, *Two Treatises of Civil Government*, gave an optimistic view about the state of nature. He tried to justify that the state of nature was not so perverted, and it was a state of peace, goodwill, mutual existence and preservation. The only disadvantage of the state of nature was that there was no recognized system of law. To overcome this deficiency and to ensure the exercise of his liberty, man entered into a contract by which certain powers were conformed upon a community.

J. J. Rosseau, in his book, *Contract Social*, gave a classical opinion about the social contract theory. He started with Hobbes and ended with Locke. He held that all men, in the state of nature, were equally self-sufficient and contended. Man was a noble

savage and was untouched by all negative vices of life. Man lived a life of idyllic happiness and primitive simplicity. However, with the growth of population, quarrels arose which necessitated the establishment of a civil society. Consequently, men entered into a contract and, thus, society originated.

The criticisms of social contract theory are as follows:

- Eminent sociologist R. M. MacIver argues that the theory is not historical because history has not supported the existence of the state of nature anywhere.
- This theory is considered illogical. The theory seems to assume that man existed before society, but such an assumption is erroneous.
- This theory suppresses the sociable character of individuals.
- Society emerged gradually; thus, this theory does not offer a valid explanation of the origin of society.

Organismic Theory

Organismic theory is another vital theory about the origin of human society. Great philosophers, namely Plato, Aristotle, Herbert Spencer and Novicow were the exponents of this theory. However, Spencer occupies a unique place. This theory states that society is never man-made. It is a natural creation and has started through the process of evolution. Spencer conceives society as a biological system, a greater organism alike in its structure and functions, exhibiting the same kind of unity as the individual organism, and subject to similar laws of development, maturation and decline. Thus, the basic assumption is society is like a biological organism and the only difference is in the size. Spencer tries to draw analogy between the organism and the society on the basis of the following points:

Ñ Evolution

Evolution or development is the basic characteristic of a biological organism. Society, like an organism, grows or develops gradually. As an organism passes through the laws of development, maturation and decline, so does society.

Ñ Systems

The biological organism consists of different systems such as the circulatory, nervous, respiratory, and so on, which correspond to similar systems in society. For instance, the circulatory system corresponds to the system of transport and communication in the society, the nervous system corresponds to the government of the state, and so on.

Ñ Structural differentiation and function integration

In both society and biological organisms, there exists close integration or interdependence of parts. The institutions are parts of the society. Just as different parts of an organism are mutually dependent, so are the individuals mutually dependent upon each other. If any part of the structure is affected, the entire system is paralyzed.

Ñ Cellular formation of both society and individual

The individual or organism is made up of cells; similarly, the society is also composed of cells and people are the cells of society.

Thus, Spencer concluded that society is like an organism. Spencer observed the following differences between the organism and the society:

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- In organic growth, nature plays a dominant role and the organism grows naturally, while social growth may be checked.
- An organism is composed of many cells, whereas a society is composed of a collection of individuals.
- Society is abstract, whereas organism is concrete.
- The units of society are not fixed, like those of an individual organism.

Criticism

MacIver argues that the theory does not explain the relationship between society and individual in social life. He also argues that this theory is the unreal death of an individual organism, which does not correspond in a proper sense to the death of society.

Human beings have grouped themselves throughout human history in various types of groups. One of these social groups is a society. There are different types of societies. According to anthropologists, societies may be divided into pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial.

1. Pre-industrial societies

The main economic activity of a pre-industrial society is using animal labour to produce food. These societies may be further divided into hunting-gathering, pastoral, horticultural, agricultural and feudal. In the hunting-gathering society, the main activities of the members were hunting wild animals, and gathering edible fruits and vegetables. Hunter-gatherers were nomads, moving from one place to another in search of food. So, there were never these permanent dwellings in clusters (later to be termed as villages) during this age. In the next stage, we find pastoral societies which had domesticated animals to plough the lands and produce foods. Pastorals also lead a nomadic life, moving from one pasture to another. Pastoral societies were larger as they could support the members by cultivating their food. Some people in these societies also worked as craft smith, jeweller and traders. Some families gathered more wealth than others in these societies and often, as a result, became more powerful. Over time, these powerful wealthy families emerged as the new chiefs of the tribes and former leadership came into being.

In horticultural societies, people grew fruits and vegetables, along with staple crops in their garden plots. These societies used slash and burn techniques for growing crops, and their techniques and technologies were more advanced than those used in the pastoral societies. When a horticulturist society found that the land has become barren, they would move to a fresh piece of land. They often came back to their original piece of land after many years. Hence, by rotating the piece of land, they would manage to stay in the same area for many years at a stretch. The villages that were built during this period could inhabit thirty to 2000 people. As in the pastoral societies, in the horticulturist society also, a discrepancy was noticed in the possession of wealth.

In agricultural societies, advanced technology was used to cultivate crops over a large area. Advancement in technology ensured increases in food supplies and, thereby, a support for a larger society. Surplus production created centres for trade and exchange of grains, thereby, establishing towns and cities. These towns saw rulers, craftsmen, merchants and religious leaders gather together to propagate their economic activities. Agricultural societies had greater degrees of social stratification than the previous societies. In the previous societies, women were considered equal to men as they shared the same role. However, as granaries and food storage became rampant, women lost

their position and became subordinates to men as they were not required anymore in cultivation. As villages and towns expanded, constant tussles with the neighbouring population ensued. Food was provided by farmers to warriors in exchange for protection against invasion by enemies. These societies also saw the emergence of a ruler and nobility that ensured that the lesser members were taxed in every way possible to fill their coffers.

Feudalism was a form of society that thrived from the 9th to the 15th centuries. This type of society was based on ownership of land. Vassals under feudalism were made to cultivate the land and hand over all produce to their ruler in exchange for military protection. The peasants were exploited by the lords who expected food, crafts, homage and total subservience to them. In the 14th century, feudalism was replaced by capitalism.

2. Industrial societies

As an aftermath of the industrial revolution, a greater surplus of food as well as manufactured goods became available. Again, inequality in the society became more pronounced. The decadence of the agrarian society prompted people to leave the villages and flock to industrial towns in search of lucrative jobs. This created a surplus of labour and gave capitalists the opportunity to exploit the working class. Workers were hired at extremely low wages, their quality of life was greatly compromised, and the capitalists did not care about the working and living conditions of their workers as long as the production went on.

3. Post-industrial societies

The societies that were formed after the industrial revolution were mostly dominated by services, high technological advancement and information, more than surplus production. Societies with an advanced industrial twist have a major part of the workforce in research, education, health, law, sales, banking, and so on.

2.3 COMMUNITY

Human society is a group of people related to each other through persistent relations. Societies are characterized by patterns of relationships between individuals sharing a distinctive culture and institutions.

Community is also an important concept in social and political life. The social life led by people is affected and influenced by the kind of community in which they live. The word 'community' is derived from Latin, where the prefix 'com' signifies 'together' and the noun *munia*, *munium* means 'duty'. Thus, community refers to fulfilling duties together. It implies that the 'community' is an organization of human beings framed for the purpose of serving together. According to a widely quoted definition, 'a community is a local grouping within which people carry out a full round of life activities.'

Other definitions of community

Community is 'any circle of people who live together and belong together in such a way that they do not share this or that particular interest only, but a whole set of interests'.

–Karl Mannheim

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Check Your Progress

1. Define society.
2. State the significance of the Social Contract Theory.
3. What is feudalism?

Community is ‘a group of social beings living a common life including all the infinite variety and complexity of relations which result from that common life which constitutes it’.

–Morris Ginsberg

Community is ‘the smallest territorial group that can embrace all aspects of social life’.

–Kingsley Davis

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MacIver’s conception of community

R. M. MacIver has given one of the most salient definitions and analyses of community. According to him, ‘Wherever the members of any group, small or large, live together in such a way that they share, not this or that particular interest, but the basic conditions of a common life, we call that group a community.’

A village, a city, a tribe and a nation are examples of community. The mark of a community, according to MacIver, is that one’s life may be lived wholly within it. One cannot live wholly within a business organization or a church; but one can live wholly within a tribe or a city. The basic criterion of community is that all of one’s social relationship may be found within it. However, all communities need not be self-sufficient.

While some communities, especially among primitive people, are all-inclusive and independent of others, modern communities, even very large ones, are much less self contained. Economic and political interdependence is a major characteristic of modern communities. As MacIver has stated, ‘Communities exist within greater communities: the town within a region, the region within a nation, and the nation within the world community, which, perhaps, is in the process of development.’

According to MacIver, the basis of community is locality and community sentiment. A community always occupies a territory. The members of a community derive from the conditions of their locality a strong bond of solidarity. Locality, however, is not enough to create a community. A community is an area of common living. There must be common living along with its awareness of sharing a way of life as well as the common earth which is known as community sentiment.

Integral elements of community sentiments

- **We-feeling:** This is the feeling that leads men to identify themselves with others so that when they say ‘we’, there is no thought of distinction and when they say ‘ours’, there is no thought of division.
- **Role-feeling:** This involves the subordination to the whole on the part of the individual.
- **Dependence-feeling:** This refers to the individual’s sense of dependence upon the community as a necessary condition of his own life.

2.3.1 Characteristics of Community

Like most things in sociology, the term ‘community’ is difficult to define with any degree of accuracy or certainty. The term is a construct, a model. We cannot touch, see or experience a community. It may come in varying shapes, sizes, colours, and so on with no two communities being alike.

Also, a community is much more than the people who already exist in it. That community, more likely than not, was already in existence much before the current residents were born, and will continue to flourish long after they are all gone. A community will have members who go to other places and who may eventually return.

A 'community' sometimes may not be any tangible location but a group of people with similar interests. Let us now look at some characteristics of a community.

Sociological construct: A community is a 'sociological construct'. In other words, it is a set of human interactions and behaviours that have meaning between the members. They have actions that are based on shared expectations, values, beliefs, and so on between individuals.

Blurred boundaries: When a community is a tiny village, separated by a few kilometres from other villages, in a rural region, its boundaries appear simple. That pattern of human interaction may seem to consist only of relations between community members inside that village. The residents, however, may interact with people outside the village. They may marry and move out or bring a partner with them to the community. At any one time, the village may have residents living elsewhere.

Communities within communities: There may be communities within bigger communities, such as districts, regions, nations, and so on. There may be interaction that connects villages on different countries.

Movement of communities: Community residents may be nomadic herders walking with their cattle. They may be mobile fishing groups and may also be hunters.

Urban Communities: A community may be a small group in urban areas, consisting of a few people of a common origin. That community may be a subpart of a neighbourhood community or a local urban division and so on. As the boundaries become bigger, one will find differences in origin, language, religion, and so on. In general, urban communities are more difficult to demarcate, are varied, and more difficult to organize, than rural communities.

A human community is more than a collection of houses. It is a social and cultural organization. Also, it is not merely a collection of human beings but a socio-cultural system.

A key characteristic of a community is its social cohesion and its willingness to set and strive for common goals. This depends on various factors, such as historical, social, economic and cultural factors.

These characteristics provide the necessary incentives to cooperate and obey community rules, and consider the needs of future generations of the community.

Historical factors: All activities in a community take place in a historical backdrop. How well a community functions and how its members strive towards a common goal depends on factors such as population history and the history of conflict, or the lack thereof, in the community.

Social factors: These may include ethnicity and language, caste, class and other social divisions, family structure and gender relations.

Economic factors: These include differences or similarities in livelihood strategies, and the degree of economic stratification in the community.

Cultural factors: Cultural factors such as religion, tradition and custom can determine the extent to which members of a community share common goals and cooperate with each other.

Traditional, socialist and liberal conceptions of community

Traditional or conservative thought emphasizes the idea that community is based upon commonality of origin—the blood, kinship and historic ties—of people living in a particular

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location. Village localities as much as national groups are considered to exist on such basis. This commonality of origin may also be derived in another locality or by reference to a homeland as is the case in the 'Jewish community'.

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Socialist thought identifies conservative versions of community as hegemonic devices to bind members of different classes together in capitalist society, preventing them from seeing their real clash of economic interests, and, thus, averting social conflict. Conservatives and socialists may stress different basis for the existence of community, but both identify the social relations inherent in community as something greater than the concerns and interests of each individual living in it added together, and as providing the basis for the longevity of a community.

Liberals are reluctant to conceptualize community on the same elevated basis because of their commitment to individual freedom. Instead, they see community as based on the freely chosen associations of individuals with common interests and needs.

2.3.2 Community and Association

MacIver has distinguished community from association. An association is a group of people organized for the pursuit of a specific purpose or a limited number of purposes. An association is not a community but an organization within a community. A community is more than any specific organizations that arise within it. It is a permanent social group embracing a totality of ends or purposes. As the association is organized for particular purposes for the pursuit of specific interests, one belongs to it only by virtue of these interests. Membership in an association has a limited significance. A community, on the other hand, is a permanent social group embracing a totality of ends or purposes.

This distinction between community and association is also in evidence in German sociologist and philosopher Ferdinand Tonnies' concept of *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (association). Societies characterized by *Gemeinschaft* relations are homogenous, largely based on kinship ties and have a moral cohesion often founded on common religious sentiment. In small homogenous societies, members interacted with one another on face to face on an informal basis. In these groups, tradition dictated social behaviour. Relationships seemed to be more natural, organic and emotional. They seemed to have more meaning than today. These relationships are dissolved by the division of labour, individualism and competitiveness, i.e., by the growth of *Gesellschaft* relationships.

In societies that are large and heterogenous, such as modern industrial societies, relationships among members are impersonal, formal, functional and specialized. According to Tonnies, these societies have contractual relationships, which are based on clear-cut, legal contracts rather than being governed by traditions. Impersonal, superficial and transitory (utilitarian) relationships tend to characterize modern urban life. He called these societies *Gesellschaft*, or 'associational societies'.

2.3.3 State and Community

The state is frequently confused with the community. MacIver has stressed the associational character of the state. The state is one form of social organization, not the whole community in all its aspects. The state is an agency of peculiarly wide range, but nevertheless an agency. It may assume at times an absolutist or totalitarian form, claiming to control every aspect of human life. Even if this claim was fully realized, which could never be the case, the state would not become the community, but an association controlling the community.

People are certainly citizens or subjects of the state. Yet, however, significant the citizen role may be, it is only one of the many roles each person exercises as a social being. The state, it should also be recognized, is different in important respects from all other associations. Its peculiarities, its power, its limitations and the interests that it can and does pursue, are all different in important respects from those common to other associations. However, we should keep in mind that the state as a form of social organization is, like the church or business organization, an association.

Recently, however, the term ‘community’ has been used to indicate a sense of identity or belonging that may or may not be tied into geographical location. In this sense, a community is formed when people have a reasonably clear idea of who has something in common with them and who has not. The tremendous advance in communication technology has contributed to the reduced importance of the territorial aspect. The growth of information technology has led to the growth of cyber communities. Communities are, therefore, essentially mental constructs formed by imagined boundaries between groups.

2.3.4 Communitarianism and Social Order

Communitarianism is the ‘advocacy of a social order in which human beings are bound together by common values that foster close communal’ (community) bonds. This term is used to describe the ideas of a number of writers, who attach importance to the value of community. They are critical of modern liberal political thought on account of its apparent lack of emphasis on this important aspect of social and political life.

The commitment to the individual and his rights forms the core of liberalism. It is the individual, rather than any social group or collective body, who is of supreme importance in liberalism. Human beings are seen as individuals who are of equal moral worth, and each individual possesses a separate and unique identity.

The origins of communitarianism are usually traced to German philosopher Friedrich Hegel and the English idealists, especially T. H. Green. Hegel’s concept of *sittlichkeit* or shared values of the community, and the English idealists’ emphasis on the obligations of citizenship are important ingredients that have formed the nucleus of communitarian philosophy. The socialist and anarchist traditions have also influenced communitarian ideas, especially with its focus on the possibility of community in the absence of state coercion. Ferdinand Tonnies’ work on community and association drew attention to the value of community and the threat posed to it by the industrial society.

Alasdair MacIntyre, Michael Sandel, Charles Taylor, and Michael Walzer—outstanding philosophers of the Anglo-American world—are some of the leading philosophers of communitarianism today. Not all critics of liberal theory identified with the communitarian movement. Neither did they envisage a grand communitarian theory as a viable alternative to liberalism. Nevertheless, certain core arguments meant to contrast with liberalism’s devaluation of community recur in the works of these four theorists.

Communitarians have sought to critique the universal claims of liberal theory. They argue that liberal theory uses a ‘universalist’ perspective, disregarding the social and cultural particularities of specific societies and communities. While many liberal thinkers have insisted that ideas of justice have universal validity, communitarians argue that the parameters of justice must be found in ways and modes of life, and traditions of particular societies. As these practices vary considerably, so do notions of justice. Thus, there can be no single universal system for measuring notions of what is morally right, or just, which would be applicable to all societies and communities.

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The British political philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre and the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor have insisted that value judgments are determined by the languages of reason and worldviews of those who inhabit these sites. Therefore, one ought not to abstract ideas from the interpretative dimensions of human beliefs, practices and institutions. American political theorist Michael Walzer developed the argument that effective social criticism must derive from the habits and traditions of actual people living in specific times and places.

There are reasons that support the communitarian argument for cultural particularism that contrast with traditional arguments of liberal universalism. The prioritization of rights is determined by cultural factors. Consequently, different societies would have a correspondingly different ordering of rights. This explains why American citizens may be inclined to compromise an economic benefit to protect a civil right. This case may be contrasted with the case of Chinese citizens. Being more nationalistic, the Chinese are wont to surrender political liberties for the economic interests of their nation-state.

Cultural factors can also affect the justification of rights. Even when the same rights are acknowledged in different societies, those rights may be justified on different grounds in different societies. This has led communitarians like Michael Walzer to argue that justifications for particular practices of liberal democracy, when applied to Asian and African societies, should not be made by relying on an abstract and unhistorical universalism, but rather should be made from the inside, from specific examples and argumentative strategies relevant to particular societies.

Cultural factors can provide moral foundations for distinctive political practices and institutions, which differ from those found in Western-style liberal democracies.

American moral and political philosopher John Rawls has tried to eliminate or tone down the 'universalist' pre-suppositions from his theory. He explicitly allows for the possibility that liberalism may not be exportable at all times and places, sketching a vision of a 'decent, well-ordered society' that liberal societies must tolerate in the international realm. He argues that such a society need not be democratic but it must be non-aggressive towards other communities, and internally, it must have a 'common good conception of justice'. It must also secure basic human rights. However, the ultimate view one gets is that though there may be justifiable non-liberal regimes, these should be regarded as second best to be tolerated and perhaps respected, not idealized or emulated.

Another fundamental difference between communitarianism and liberalism is about the nature of the self. Communitarians argue that traditional liberalism rests on an individualistic conception of the self. Communitarianism insists upon the interaction of the social context and individuals' self-conceptions, while liberalism works with an atomized individual artificially divorced from his or her social surroundings.

While liberals like John Rawls argue that we have a supreme interest in shaping, pursuing and revising our life plans, communitarians argue that such a view neglects the fact that our individual selves tend to be defined or constituted by various communal attachments (e.g., ties to the family or to a religious tradition) so close to us that they can only be set aside at great cost, if at all.

This insight led to the view that politics should not be concerned solely with securing the conditions for individuals to exercise their powers of autonomous choice, as we also need to sustain and promote the social attachments crucial to our sense of well-being and respect, many of which have been involuntarily picked up during the course of our upbringing.

Communitarians are critics of rights theory and claim that liberal individualism cannot provide an adequate theory of rights as universal entitlements. Communitarianism proposes to develop a new theory of rights which gives appropriate attention to community and the social structure. Communitarians argue that there are important collective rights, which apply to social groups such as ethnic communities, religious groups or trade unions.

Although there is no necessary connection between communitarianism and welfare rights, there is a relationship between communitarianism and the benefit theory of rights. The communitarian view of welfare is that it is an expression of the common values that bind otherwise disparate individuals together. This is contrasted to the more individualistic conception of welfare derived from the theory of citizenship, which implies that claims to welfare resources are simply an extension of the legal and political rights that are characteristic of liberal democracies and, therefore, that collective welfare is quite consistent to the theory of liberal pluralism.

Welfare states are simply adjuncts to markets; that is, rational deprivation-alleviating mechanisms and policies resting on the individualistic principles of reciprocal obligations and exchange. Communitarianism by contrast embodies a vision of a social order that fosters intimate communal bonds. This view is expressed by British social researcher Richard Titmuss in *The Gift Relationship*, which argues that people should receive welfare as a gift from strangers, an expression of social solidarity, rather than as mere entitlement or right derived from a complex network of reciprocal relationships.

Well-known philosophers A. MacIntyre and M. Sandel argue that in liberal capitalism, there are disagreements about values, and that the values that underpin individualistic traditions of rights cannot be judged comparatively and, hence, the legitimization of rights doctrine is uncertain. There is no common morality that could provide a general endorsement of rights. Communitarianism involves a quest to reconstitute the values and moral codes which individualism has disrupted.

Although there are many versions of communitarianism, they share the notion that communities as much as individuals can be rights-bearers. Thus, in *The Spirit of Community*, eminent sociologist A. Etzioni argues that a communitarian moral system is required to rebuild American society, which has been undermined by individualism. He claims that individualistic interpretations of rights have encouraged the erosion of the family, which is an essential basis of social order.

Etzioni argues that advanced industrial societies of the capitalist West suffer from 'rampant moral confusion and social anarchy' because individuals have been given too much freedom and not enough responsibilities. Communitarians favour a social order in which 'the community' identifies the common good and persuades its members to act towards it.

Influence of communitarianism: Communitarians claim to have influenced the development of social policy in America and Britain, where communitarian ideas are said to have found favour with New Labour Party. Community policing is a policy consistent with communitarian ideas. Critics have, however, suggested that communitarian arguments are both vague and naïve. What happens if 'the community' endorses values such as racism and homophobia? What happens to dissenters who refuse to conform to community values and are not persuaded by mere exhortation alone? Communitarian social policies are also said to be authoritarian in effect, if not in intention.

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2.3.5 Community Power and Social Structure: Status and Role

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Community power is a theory of power which promotes the view that the elites no longer enjoy a monopoly over decision-making. It claims that democracy has dispersed the control of resources to the 'community'. Decision-making occurs in a variety of voluntary associations and opinion formation is shaped by local interest groups. It claims that power is not exercised exclusively through centralized processes associated with the state and bureaucracy. In studying community power, we have to examine decision-making and who influences its outcome.

The question of who makes decisions within a community was a debate prominent in American political science in the 1950s and 1960s, and reflected in discussions in other countries like Britain. In 1953, respected social worker and communist activist Floyd Hunter's *Community Power Structure* suggested that power in the community he studied (not named in the book, but believed to be Atlanta, Georgia) was dominated by business elites to the exclusion of ordinary people, and the total exclusion of black people. The primarily economic elite ruled these people by 'persuasion, intimidation, coercion, and if necessary force'. Through its finance of local political parties, it directly influenced who was elected and largely controlled local politicians from the State governor. It also had considerable control over the media through its patronage power and had a major influence on the formation of local opinion. This control provided a powerful lever to influence decisions in its favour.

In 1961, political theorist Robert Dahl's work *Who Governs?*, in response to Hunter's work, suggested that in New Haven, Connecticut, no one group dominated decision-making as power was dispersed among interest communities. Dahl used the 'decision-making' method to argue that the only way to discover the distribution of power is to examine actual decisions. Dahl found no evidence of a ruling elite in New Haven. He claimed that power is dispersed among various interest groups and that this plurality of elites did not form a unified group with common interests.

Dahl concluded that the advent of representative democracy has shifted power from the elite to various organized interest groups, i.e., from oligarchy to pluralism. Differently constituted groups exercise control depending upon the issue in question. Dahl claims that local politics is a business of bargaining and compromise with no group dominating decision-making.

This view was echoed in a study on the national level by American sociologist Arnold Rose in *The Power Structure* (1967). Rose rejected the view that the USA is ruled by a unified power elite, arguing instead for a 'multi-influence hypothesis'. This approach conceives of society as consisting of many elites, each relatively small numerically and operating in different spheres of life.

Political theorists Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz in *Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice* (1970) deem the 'decision-making' approach as inadequate in studying community power. A second dimension to power — so called 'non-decision making' — involves the 'mobilization of bias' or the manipulation of the political agenda by powerful groups, taking decisions that prevent issues from emerging and are subject to formal decision-making.

Political and social theorist Stephen Lukes in *Power: A Radical View* proposes that power can also be exercised by preventing people from having grievances in the first place, or as Lukes puts it 'by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the order of things'. The fact that a variety of

interest groups are then able to influence these safe decisions does not, therefore, provide evidence of a wide diffusion of power. In the last instance, the community power approach does not present a very true picture of the power distribution in communities.

Institutions

An institution is a structure of social order and cooperation, governing the behaviour of a set of individuals within a human community. Institutions are generally identified with a social purpose and permanence.

Social Interaction

Social interaction refers to a relationship between two, three or more individuals.

2.4 INSTITUTION

Socially established ways of doing things are called institutions. Generally, the term 'institution' refers to a group of people who have some specific purpose. However, the sociological understanding is quite different from common usage. Every society is characterized by certain social norms. These norms are very important in interactive social systems. In fact, they are institutionalized, i.e., they are widely accepted among members of the society. In this context, it can be said that an institution is neither a building, nor a people, nor an organization. An institution is a system of norms aimed at achieving some goal or activity that people feel is important. It focuses on major human activities. Institutions are structured processes through which people carry on their activities.

Institutions have been defined by MacIver as 'established forms or conditions of procedure characteristic of group activity'. So, it can be said that social institutions are the social structures and machinery, through which the society organizes, directs and executes multiple activities that are required to fulfil human needs. An institution is an organized system of social relationships which embodies certain common values and procedures and meets certain basic needs of the society (Horton and Hunt, 1984).

Every organization is dependent on certain established norms that are accepted and recognized by the society. These norms govern socio-cultural and interpersonal relationships. They are institutions in different forms such as marriage, family, economy, polity, religion, and so on. These institutions govern social life.

2.4.1 Features of Social Institutions

A social norm is said to be institutionalized in a particular social system when three conditions are fulfilled:

- (i) Many members of the social system accept the norm.
- (ii) Many of those who accept the norm take it seriously. In psychological terms, they internalize it.
- (iii) The norm is sanctioned. This means that certain members of the system are expected to be guided by the norm in appropriate circumstances.

However, the process of institutionalization involves the following characteristics:

- Institutions emerge as largely unplanned products of social living. People struggle to search for practical ways of meeting their needs; they find some

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Check Your Progress

4. What are the integral elements of community sentiments?
5. Give a key characteristic of community.
6. Define communitarianism.

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patterns that work and become regular by repeated practice. These patterns are converted into standardized customs. As time passes, these patterns become part of customs and rituals which justify and sanction them. For example, the system of lending has paved the way for banks to emerge as institutions for borrowing, lending and transferring money in a standardized manner.

- Institutions are means of controlling individuals.
- Institutionalized role behaviour is guided by expectations of the role and not by personal preferences. For example, all judges act in a similar manner when they are practising, but it is not necessary for them to behave in the same manner in every situation as well.
- Institutions have some proceedings, which are formed on the basis of certain customs.
- Institutions have certain cultural symbols. People adhere to certain symbols which serve as convenient reminders of the institution. For example, the citizen is reminded of loyalty to the government by the sign of the flag. Similarly, national anthems, national songs, national flags, and so on, strengthen institutional ties.
- Institutions have certain codes of behaviour. The people involved in certain institutions are expected to carry out some roles which are often expressed in formal codes, such as the oath of loyalty to one's country, marriage vows, and so on.
- Every institution is based on certain ideological principles. An ideology may be defined as any set of ideas that explains or justifies social arrangements, structures of power or ways of life. These are explained in terms of goals, interests or social position of the groups, or activities in which they collectively appear. The ideology of an institution includes both the central beliefs of the institution and a rational justification for the application of institutional norms to the problems of life.
- Institutions are formed to satisfy the primary needs of the members of the society and they have social recognition.

2.4.2 Functions of Social Institutions

A society is so complex and interrelated that it is impossible to foresee all consequences of any action pertaining to it. Institutions have a list of functions, which are the professed objectives of the institution. They also have latent functions, which are unintended and may not be recognized. If they are recognized, then they may be regarded as by-products.

Manifest functions of social institutions

These are functions which people assume and expect the institution to fulfil, for instance, families should care for their children, economic institutions should produce and distribute goods, and direct the flow of capital where it is needed, schools should educate the young, and so on. Manifest functions are obvious, admitted and generally applauded.

Latent functions of social institutions

These are unintended and unforeseen consequences of institutions. Economic institutions not only produce and distribute goods but sometimes also promote technological change and philanthropy. Sometimes they promote unemployment and inequality. Latent functions of an institution may support manifest functions.

Apart from these functions, social institutions have some other common functions like provision of food, power, maintenance of law and order, shaping of personalities of individuals, manufacture and supply of commodities and services, regulation of morals, provision of recreation, and so on.

Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski has remarked, 'Every institution centres around a fundamental need, permanently unites a group of people in a cooperative task, and has its particular set of doctrines and techniques or craft. Institutions are not correlated simply and directly to new functions; one need not receive satisfaction in one institution.'

2.5 ASSOCIATION AND GROUPS IN SOCIETY

Association and groups play a vital role in a society. The importance and functions of these social structures are discussed in the following sections.

2.5.1 Association

An association is an assembly of people planned for a particular purpose or a limited number of purposes. To constitute an association, there must be, firstly, a group of people; secondly, these people must be organized, i.e., there must be certain rules for their conduct in the groups, and thirdly, they must have a common purpose of a specific nature to pursue. Thus, family, church, trade union and music club are the instances of association.

Associations may be formed on several bases, for example, on the basis of duration, i.e., temporary or permanent, such as Flood Relief Association which is temporary and State which is permanent; or on the basis of power, i.e., sovereign like state, semi-sovereign like university and non-sovereign like club, or 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 societies, and so on.

Some of the definitions of association by eminent sociologists are mentioned below:

According to Maclver, 'An organization deliberately formed for the collective pursuit of some interest or set of interest, which the members of it share, is termed as association.'

Ginsberg writes, '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 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 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.'

2.5.2 Groups

A social group comprises two or more people who interact with each other and identify themselves as a well-defined social unit. Although this definition is simple, it has important implications. Regular interactions among people allow them to share values and beliefs. This similarity and interaction also allow them to identify with one another. Sequentially, attachment and identification motivate more strong and frequent interactions. Each group maintains unity with all other groups and other types of social systems.

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Check Your Progress

7. Define institution.
8. State the conditions required for institutionalizing social norms in a particular social system.
9. What do you mean by ideology?

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Groups are among the steadiest and enduring of social units. They are not only important for the members but also to the society at large. Groups are considered to establish the foundation upon which the society rests. This is possible by motivating continuous and predictable behaviour. Therefore, a family, a village, a political party or a trade union are all social groups. However, it should be noted that these groups are different from social classes, status groups or crowds, which not only lack structure but whose members are also less aware or even unaware of the existence of the group. These have been called quasi-groups or groupings. However, the difference between social groups and quasi-groups is unstable and inconstant since very often, quasi-groups lead to the formation of social groups, for example, social classes lead to the formation of political parties.

Primary groups

A small group in a society who share a close relationship is termed as a primary group. There is a concern for each other among the members of this group and they share a common culture. Herein, the groups usually comprise family members, close friends or highly influential social groups. This concept of primary group was first coined by a sociologist from the Chicago School of Sociology, Charles Cooley in his book *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind*. Initially, the concept of the group was associated with only childhood associations or friends, but later, this was extended to a larger intimate group of people. This kind of group is significant in the development of an individual’s personal identity. Herein, the members of the group share unspoken and implied feelings, such as love, caring, compassion, support and animosity. The relationship shared in these groups are long-lasting and are goals in themselves. It acts as a supporting system to the members of the group and make them feel at home.

Secondary groups

Secondary groups comprises people who interact with each other on a less personal manner and the interaction formed is not that long-lasting. The relationship between the members of the group is also not long-lasting. These groups are usually formed to carry out a certain task or a function and, hence, the roles played by the members of the group are more interchangeable. It is the individual who chooses to be a part of the secondary group. This kind of group is based on personal interests and tasks. In such groups, the members are either casual friends or just acquaintances. In this group, the members exchange explicit items such as salary, wages and services for payments. Example of such a group would be employment, vendor-to-client relationships, and so on.

Check Your Progress

- 10. What factors should be considered for constituting an association?
- 11. Differentiate between social groups and quasi-groups.
- 12. What is a primary group?

2.6 CULTURE

With the evolution of homo sapiens, a number of biological characteristics emerged in species. These characteristics supported the growth of culture. A few of these characteristics were: upright posture, well developed constitution of the brain, the ability to see objects with length, width and depth, development of the hand, and so on. Any one of these biological features, if considered in isolation, cannot contribute to the development of culture. Even in totality, the most they can assure is that human beings would be the most privileged species of the animal kingdom. The evolution of culture has been gradual.

In experiences during their life, people develop an array of regulations and processes. This is accompanied by a sustained collection of concepts and ethics known as culture. Sir Edward Tylor (1871) defined culture in a classical and sociological manner.

According to him, 'Culture is that complex entirety which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and other capabilities and habits, that are acquired by man, as a member of society.' One can define culture as that factor, which is absorbed by society. It is a trait that is adopted collectively and practiced by all members of a society. An individual inherits culture as part of social legacy. This inherited legacy is altered and restructured with slight changes and modifications, before it is again inherited by the future generations.

According to notable sociologist David Bidney, culture is the product of agrofacts (product of civilization), artifacts (product of industry), sociofacts (social organization) and mentifacts (language, religion, art, and so on). According to Marett, culture is communicable intelligence. Robert Redfield, an American anthropologist and ethnologist, has emphasized a symbolic view of culture. According to him, culture is an organized body of conventional understanding, which is manifested in art and artifacts, and characterizes a human group. For Redfield, culture is the complete conventional meaning which is embodied in artifacts, social structure and symbols. Ruth Benedict, an anthropologist of culture and personality, in her book, *Pattern of Culture* (1936), has defined culture from personality's point of view. According to her, 'A culture, like an individual, is more or less consistent pattern of thought and action.' Thus, she has defined culture from a formal and aesthetic view point. Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown have proposed an instrumental and humanistic definition of culture. According to Malinowski, culture is an instrument for the satisfaction of the needs of man.

Malinowski defines culture as the tool that facilitates mankind to protect and realize his bio-psychic survival. This consequently results in more developed rational and logical mode of survival. All economic, social, religious and linguistic needs of mankind originate from one general and basic need, i.e., human need; hence, they are all related to each other. Since all factors within a culture are interrelated, there are no loose strings. Thus, it is evident that any single trait cannot exist all by itself. Its identity emerges when it is seen as part of the whole and not in isolation. Malinowski stressed that culture has a broad range and is self-reliant.

According to him, if a slight change occurs in any of the features of a culture, the whole of it will reflect a corresponding change. He was a staunch believer of cultural pluralism, in which the bio-physical requirements of individuals impact the growth of every culture. He recommended that culture can be studied on the basis of these requirements and not on the basis of any fixed standards. Sufficiency, based on basic requirements, is a quality of a culture in which many different parts are closely connected and work successfully together. This is a result of widespread knowledge.

On the other hand, English social anthropologist Radcliffe Brown regards culture as a social heritage which perpetuates social life. Sociologists who belong to the structural functional school have regarded the whole of culture as a unit of study. They assume a holistic view of the entire culture. American anthropologist R. H. Lowie said, 'Culture is nothing but total or whole of social tradition.' American anthropologist Kluckhohn defined culture as all those designs which have been historically created for life. These designs may be explicit, implicit, rational, irrational or those which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behaviour of men.

Culture defines a typical way in which human beings live. This did not have a single point of origin. This means that no member of the human species emerged all of a sudden on this earth. The evolution of culture was as gradual as was the conversion of primates to human beings.

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Culture can be characterized in the following ways:

- Culture is man-made.
- Culture is learned.
- Culture is transmitted.
- Every society has its own culture.
- Culture is social, not individualistic.
- Culture is an ideal for a group.
- Culture satisfies human need.
- Culture has adaptability.
- Culture has integrative quality.
- Culture shapes human personality.
- Culture is both super-individual and super-organic.

Culture is not a simple accumulation of folkways and mores; it is an organized system of behaviour. Culture is always organized with cultural traits and complexes. Cultural traits are basically the smallest units of culture, for instance, shaking hands, offering prayer, saluting a flag, and so on. Every culture includes thousands of traits. Culture complex is a combination of different elements like religious ceremonies, magical rites, a courtship activity and a festivity, and so on. The culture complex is intermediate between the trait and the institution.

Folkways

William Graham Sumner, in his book, *Folkways (1906)*, defined folkways as the usual, established, routine and regular way in which a group performs its activities. These activities can range from shaking hands, eating with knives and forks, driving in the left side of streets, and so on.

Folkways are established ways in which a social group behaves. This pattern of behaviour is exhibited to counter the problems faced by a group which lives in a society. Life in society has many problems, and different problems give rise to different efforts made by man to tackle them. Various societies come up with a variety of operational models for resolving their problems. Social groups may achieve a probable set of solutions through an experimental approach or some strange observation. Irrespective of the means by which they come upon a solution, its success establishes its acceptance as a normal way of behaviour. It is inherited by successive generations and surfaces as a behavioural tendency of the group of the folk; thus, it is known as a folkway. As stated by Sumner, psycho-physical traits have been transmitted genetically into men from their brutish ancestors. These traits include skills, nature of character and temperament that provide a solution to the problem of food supply, sex, business, and self-importance. The outcome of this is a collection of occurrences such as, flows of likelihood, harmony and collective inputs, which result in folkways. Folkways are, thus, outcomes of continuous recurrences that are seemingly insignificant activities, generally in large numbers. These activities arise when similar needs are experienced by a group.

The American sociologist George A. Lundberg agrees that folkways assign similarities in group behaviour to the way of life of individuals in that group. These are born out of recurring or occasional needs or happenings. In this manner, it is believed that the collection of instinctive behavioural patterns governs and protects the existence and development of a social group. This collection includes rituals and practices that

have been transmitted from one generation to the other, along with alteration and addition of new features, corresponding to the fluctuating needs of time. These symbolize man's exclusive trait of changing himself to become accustomed to the environment. None of the individuals within the group is ever skeptical about a folkway nor is he required to introduce a folkway forcefully.

The concept of culture can be visualized as an ongoing repository, which keeps on adding material and non-material elements that have been socially inherited by future generations from past generations. Culture is incessant because its patterns have surpassed the boundaries of time to recur in succeeding generations. Culture keeps on getting updated since every generation adds a new feature or quality to it. Accordingly, an outstanding equivalence comes into focus, which connects the evolution of homo sapiens with the growth and prosperity of culture. This similarity cannot be elaborated upon, since most conclusions about the prehistoric period are based on material facts, which reveal only part of the way of life of the people of those times. In addition, the biological and cultural evolution should not be aligned next to each other. Cro-Magnon man's ability to think was great, but other characteristics related to the development played an active role in restricting a visible growth in learned behaviour.

Diffusion

Though invention contributed largely to cultural development, over a period of time, diffusion benefited it more. Diffusion means adopting the characteristics of culture from other societies, irrespective of their means of emergence in the source society.

For diffusion to prevail on a large scale, the societies should be segregated and their origin should be old enough so as to support the development of unique cultures. In addition to this, it is important for these societies to be in touch mutually. This would provide options for substantial borrowing. Such scenarios have gained momentum only in the later stages of evolution. Once the process of cultural borrowing began, it turned so persistent that a large number of elements of modern cultures were borrowed.

Both invention and diffusion have contributed to the development of culture. The initial start was slow, because it was mostly caused by invention. However, with the growth of the culture base, societies were further set apart. This caused an expanded increase in the diffusion of traits and a simultaneous increase in the growth factor. At present, the growth factor of culture has scaled spectacular heights, especially in western countries.

Custom

A habit, once formed, becomes a normal way of life. Customs usually comprise mutual give and take, accompanied by compulsive responsibilities. Additionally, customs also abide by the law, in the absence of which they would be worthless. According to Maclver and Page, custom sets up its own kind of social order which curbs the disagreements that rise between custom and law. Thus, customs streamline the entire social life of an individual. Law is not equipped enough to cover all activities of social behaviour. Practices of rituals and customs add to the harmony within a social group. Often, the effect of customs crosses the boundaries of one's own community. In certain cases, custom is the measure of the relations between two enemy communities. For instance, it is the custom of the Bedouins of the Arabian desert not to damage any water well, even if it belongs to the enemy.

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However, a few of the customs have no impact on social control. These customs exist simply because they have been there since ancient times and people of all generations have been practicing them. A perfect example of this is the custom of people bathing in an unclean pond or lagoon simply because it has been an age-old religious practice. However, in many traditional societies, religious rituals and customs are losing their significance. In other words, custom is viewed just like public opinion. It has a strong impact on life in social groups simply because it is the only factor which textually influences social behaviour. Let us now briefly look at culture in the north eastern part of India.

Culture in the Northeast

The north-eastern part of India is a residence to innumerable tribes with their distinct cultures. The Nagas are a conglomeration of a number of tribes like Ao, Angami, Chang, Konyak, Mao, and so on. They mostly inhabit the state of Nagaland. The Nagas are simple, hardworking and honest people with high integrity. The Nagas mostly live in villages with ornately decorated wooden houses. Each tribe has a distinct way of decorating their huts. The tribes make their own clothes, own medicines, cooking vessels, and so on, which make them self-sufficient in all ways possible. Colourful woollen and cotton shawls are made by Naga women of almost all tribes. Folk songs and dance make up the Naga culture. However, the spread of Christianity in these tribes is bringing a slow death to the indigenous Naga culture.

The state of Assam is nestled beneath the sub-Himalayan range of hills in the North and North East. Assam is encircled by the states of Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh and West Bengal. Assam is a mixing pot where culture, heritage, tradition, lifestyle, faith and belief of numerous tribes and sub-tribes have lent an exotic recipe of delightful heritage. The Assamese population can be divided into two broad groups: the non-tribal people who constitute the majority of the population and the tribals. The tribals mainly live in the hills; most important among these tribes being the Boro-Kacharis, the Deori, the Misings, the Dimasas, the Karbis, the Lalungs, the Rabhas, and so on. Ahkhomiya or Assamese is the language of Assam. Assam has a reputation for warm hospitality. People of Assam are warm, homely and openhearted. Most of the festivals celebrated in Assam have their roots in the varied faith and belief of its people. Besides the religious and national festivals observed throughout the country, Assam has a large number of colourful festivals of its own replete with fun, music and dances. Assam's fairs and festivals are as varied as its population, which comes from different racial origins, both tribal and non-tribal.

Bihu, the agricultural festival of Assam, is celebrated by all Assamese, irrespective of caste, creed or religion. There are three Bihus that come off at various stages of cultivation of paddy, the principal crop of Assam. These are Bahag (Baisakh) Bihu, Kati (Kartika) Bihu and Magh (Magha) Bihu.

From time immemorial, the people of Assam have traditionally been craftsmen. The magic of art of Assamese craftsmen is a common passion inspiring the deep senses with its age-old simplicity and sophistication. Assam is renowned for its exquisite silks, bamboo and cane products. However, the colourful Assamese *japi* (headgear), terracotta of Gauripur and various decorative items bear witness to the craftsmanship of this land. Assamese handloom is noteworthy offering a mosaic of colours and contours with pleasing motifs and designs. Dance, music, woodwork, pottery and the art of mat making have survived through centuries with fewer changes since it remained an integral part of the locals.

Mizoram, nestled into the southern part of the north-eastern part of India, is a land of rolling hills, rivers and lakes. The state's closeness to the numerous international borders has made Mizoram a blend of various tribes that migrated primarily from China and Myanmar. The Lushai, Hmars, Paithes, Raltes, Pang, Mara, Lakher, Kukis and Pawis of Mizoram are the tribes who were originally the believers of the Pathan (good spirit). With the immigration of the British and consequently the settling of the Christian missionaries in the region, most people got converted to Christianity. Thus, due to the influence of the British in this region, most of the population speaks in English besides Mizo. This is an impregnable society with no class difference and no discrimination on the grounds of sex. Majority of the society are into cultivation and the village seems like a big family. The Birth of a child, marriage in the village, death of a person or a community feast organized by a member of the village are prime events in which the whole village takes part. The traditional crafts of Mizoram are weaving, cane and bamboo work. The Mizo women weave intricate traditional designs and patterns on their looms. The shawls carrying tribal clan motifs are woven into them and are passed down the generations.

The Khasi, Garo and Jaintia people residing in the different parts of Meghalaya portray the rich culture of the state. Meghalaya is, basically, a Christian dominated area. Many Christian missionaries had immigrated to Meghalaya during the 19th century. Yet, besides the Christians, other predominant people in Meghalaya are the Garo, Jaintia and Khasi tribes. Arts and craft as well as dance and music also form an integral part of the culture in Meghalaya. Meghalaya is the home of music and dances. The dances are associated with their festivals or seasons and, hence, are to be enjoyed throughout the year. The dances are social, religious, agricultural and recreational in nature. The land echoes the sound of perfect tempo, beautiful songs and traditional instruments. The Garos usually sing folk songs relating to birth, festivals, marriage, love and heroic deeds along with the beats of various types of drums and flutes. The Khasis and Jaintias are generally fond of songs lauding the nature surrounding them and also expressing love for their land. At the time of singing, different types of musical instruments like drums, duitara and instruments similar to guitar, flutes, pipes and cymbals are also played.

Arunachal Pradesh is a land to many tribes, the most important of whom are the Adi, Apatani, Bugun, Galo, Khamba, Koro, and so on. It is a land of beautiful handicrafts comprising a wide range in variety. Majority of the population follows a tradition of artistic craftsmanship. A wide variety of crafts such as weaving, painting, pottery, basketry, woodcarving, and so on, are found among the indigenous people. From the point of view of art and culture, the area may very conveniently be divided into three zones. The first zone includes the Buddhist tribes, i.e., the Sherdukpens and Monpas, and also to some extent the Khowa, Aka and Miji group, and the Membas, Khambas, the Khamtis and Singphos. The people of the first zone make beautiful masks. They also periodically stage pantomimes and mask dances. Making of beautiful carpets, painted wooden vessels and silver articles are, however, the specialty of the Monpas. The people of the second zone are expert workers in cane and bamboo. The Apantanis, Hill Miris and Adis make beautiful articles of these materials, which speak eloquently about their skill in handicrafts. The second cultural zone occupies the central part from East Kameng in the west to Lohit in the east. The third zone is formed by the southeastern part of the territory. They also weave articles that are in common use in their daily life. The shawls and Jackets of the Apantanis, the Adis Gale and shoulder bag, and the Mishmi's coat and shawl are

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symbolic of the high weaving talents and artistic sense of the people. The people of the third zone are famous for their woodcarving. The Wanchos, however, weave beautiful bag and loin cloth also. Goat's hair, ivory, boar's tusks, beads of agats and other stones as well as of brass and glass are special fascinations of the people of this zone.

Among all the north-eastern states, there may be seen a unity in the manner of expressing their craftsmanship and culture. Most of the tribes, though influenced by Christianity and foreign influences, have held on to their traditional beliefs and customs. Though a large part of the younger generation has moved to bigger towns and cities in search of better amenities, education and economic conditions, there remains a certain part of these tribes that would still continue with their folk songs and dances, and mat and shawl weaving irrespective of the fact that these may or may not fetch them monetary assurances just because they love their culture. As long as these tribes prevail, we can rest being assured that the north-eastern culture will thrive too.

2.6.1 Types of Culture

Cultural relativism is a concept of analysing various societies of cultures in an objective way without comparing them with each other. It is not possible to study the activities of another group if they are analysed on the basis of our motives and values. Their activities must be analysed on the basis of their motives and values for an unbiased understanding. Cultural relativism can be defined as the function that measures trait on the basis of its cultural environment. In an isolated form, a trait is neither positive nor negative. It can be regarded as positive or negative only on the basis of the culture in which it exists and thrives, for instance, fur clothes are important in the Polar region, but serve no purpose in deserts. In some societies, being fat is considered to be a sign of health and prosperity. However, in other societies, being fat is not only a waste but it also signifies bad health and ugliness. Thus, the idea of cultural relativism does not make all customs equally important or harmful. It believes that some customs may be extremely beneficial in some places and may be very harmful elsewhere. It is a phenomenon that is related to the environment. The most prominent feature of cultural relativism is that in a certain type of environment, specific traits are just right because they are beneficial to that environment. However, if the same traits are shifted to an entirely different setting, they may result in a disaster by colliding with other traits of that culture.

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism is interrelated with cultural relativity. The word *ethno* is derived from a Greek terminology which means, people, country and cultural bonding; *centric* is derived from a Latin word, which means centre. Thus, ethnocentrism means the inclination of every society to place its own culture patterns at the centre of things. Ethnocentrism is the act of evaluating other cultural practices in terms of one's own and obviously rating them as inferior. It is the tendency of considering one's own culture superior. This converts one's own culture into a yardstick which can be used to gauge all other cultures and rate them as right or wrong.

Ethnocentrism is the way humans respond in every society, group and walk of life. It is a part of the growth of every individual. It is reflected in the possessive nature of a child, who learns the difference between the toys which belong to him and which do not belong to him. He exhibits a superiority complex when he feels that his toys are better than those of other children, unless corrected by his parents or elders. Though parents may not encourage such ideas in their children in public, but in the privacy of

their homes, they may give him the feeling that his possessions are genuinely nice. The teaching of ethnocentrism may either be direct and intentional or indirect and unintentional. But at least a small part of it is purposeful. History has several evidences where it often teaches to place the accomplishments of one's own country higher than those of other countries. Religious, civic and other groups belittle their rivals in the most explicit ways. In the case of fully developed individuals, ethnocentrism simply translates as a reality of life.

As the awareness of ethnocentrism spreads, the urge to validate it in moral terms rises. By the way, this is also a variety of ethnocentrism. However, it is to be noted that ethnocentrism is one of the characteristics of culture. Thus, similar to the remaining part of culture, it can be appraised only on the basis of its involvement in the maintenance of social order and in the promotion of social change.

Ethnocentrism has largely contributed to the maintaining of social order than for promoting social changes. Similarly, the efforts of ethnocentrism for maintaining social order too are much obvious. It begins by consolidating the unity of the group. This is based on the level of faith between companions. Ethnocentrism has both positive and negative influences. On the positive side, it brings about a steady status quo and on the negative side, it put off change.

Ethnocentrism also obstructs the importance of collaboration between different groups. It believes that if one group functions in the best way, it does not need to interact with other groups which have lower standards of functioning. In reality, this stimulates the mental outlook of skepticism, disregard and animosity. Generally, disputes and clashes are caused by severe levels of ethnocentrism. This is evident by the historical details pertaining to wars and religious and racial conflicts.

Conflict brings about social changes through ethnocentrism, which in turn, promotes this change. There are cases when these changes are encouraged through peaceful evolution. In general, scientists advocate a peaceful evolution of social changes. They are against conflicts. As a result, they use diplomatic means to disregard ethnocentrism. They discourage their students to support and adopt ethnocentrism by defining it as a hindrance to the learning process. For this purpose, sociologists use a blend of the concepts of evolution and functionalism. On the other hand, ethnocentrism is used by radical groups (belonging to the downtrodden blacks, the poor, women and young people) to intensify their power and functioning. This is clearly visible in the form of slogans like 'black power'.

Acculturation

Acculturation is an expression that explains the manner in which different cultures interact with each other. It also defines the customs of such interactions. These interactive processes between cultures may either be socially interactive in a direct way or through media, or other forms of communication. As a result of these interactions, the identity and culture of the interacting groups change. In some cases, hostility between both the cultures may result in the emergence of a new form of culture. This new culture may adopt the characteristics of both the cultures.

2.6.2 Cultural Lag

According to American sociologist William F. Ogburn, objective inventions (technology) have greatly influenced social changes. Ogburn played a key role in promoting the theory that the number of inventions within a society is directly proportional to the magnitude of

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the existent culture. He also observed that the number of material inventions was growing with the passage of time. Ogburn held that both material and non-material cultures experience different changes. Changes that are affected in material culture have a particular direction and are dynamic in nature. This is because they have specific values of effectiveness, which are used as a base for estimating them. An instance of this can be seen in the use of airplanes. The development of airplanes involves continuous efforts to produce planes that can fly higher and faster, and can carry heavier cargo at minimum cost. Since these standards can be applied to the development of airplanes, all related inventions are directed to achieve these goals. On the contrary, in the case of non-material culture, such accepted standards are not a general occurrence. For instance, a person interested in paintings may prefer the work of either M.F. Hussain, or Picasso, or Gainsborough. This choice is a result of his liking and preference. Additionally, it is not necessary for these choices to remain constant. Likewise, government or economic organizations comprise contending forms of styles. These styles may be dictatorships, oligarchies, republics or democracies.

The economic system may have communist, socialist, feudal or capitalist style of functioning. Target-oriented changes, which are a feature of material culture, do not exist in most of the areas of non-material culture. Thus, Ogburn and other sociologists were of the opinion that changes in material culture are more dynamic than those in non-material culture. Surely, one of the most obvious highlights of modern life is the continuous growth of technology. Man's life has undergone tremendous changes with inventions like radio, TV, automobiles, airplanes, rockets, transistors, computers, and so on. These changes are within material culture. On the other hand, transformations in governments, economic systems, family lives, education and religion have been very gradual. These changes are non-material in nature. Ogburn introduced the concept of cultural lag after observing this disparity in the rates of cultural changes. According to him, material inventions promoted changes that required amendments to different domains of non-material culture. An invention like the automobile led to two different types of changes. On the one hand, it made travelling easier and on the other, it provided an easy escape for criminals.

Culture lag is the duration or gap of time that exists between the emergence of a new material invention and the process of adapting it to the corresponding non-material culture. This duration is usually long, for instance, the period between the invention of the typewriter and its practical use in offices was fifty years. Even today, most of the family systems are more suited to an agricultural economy rather than an industrial one. Thus, the theory of cultural lag is related to the type of social problems that are associated with it. Academics have visualized an equilibrium and tuning between material and non-material cultures. This tuning is disturbed when raw material objects appear. This disturbance results in a disproportion which is known as a social problem. This social problem continues till the non-material culture adapts itself to the new technology.

2.6.3 Culture and Personality

Culture is the hallmark of every society. It is the distinguishing mark of human society. The term 'personality' has been used in several terms, both popularly and psychologically. However, its comprehensive and satisfactory use is integrated. The dynamic organization of physical, mental and social qualities of an individual is apparent to others, in the exchange of social life.

One can define personality as the collection of habits, mindsets, behaviour and qualities of a person. These focus externally on specific and general roles and statuses. Internally, they are focused around self-consciousness and the concepts of self, ideas, values and purpose.

The following are the characteristics of personality:

- It is influenced by social interaction.
- It is acquired.
- It refers to persistent qualities of an individual.
- It is an individual unit.
- It is not related to bodily structure alone.

The type of personality is generally defined by the culture that prevails in a specific social group. Culture plays a vital role in influencing the personality of a group. This has attracted the attention of the scholars of culture and various schools of thought that are concerned with personality.

The relationship between culture and personality involves, on one side, the total social heritage available to the individual and to which he consciously and unconsciously responds, and on the other, the integral character of the individual being. It can be argued that personality is everything that makes an individual. Personality comprises the total 'organized aggregate of psychological processes and states pertaining to the individual'. The culture personality focus is one that reminds us that the pattern of any culture basically determines the broad contours of individual personalities. These individual personalities, in turn, provide evidence of the culture pattern and tend to strive for its perpetuation.

Studies in culture and personalities

American anthropologist Ruth Fulton Benedict, in her famous book, *Patterns of Culture*, developed the concept of culture pattern. She has also focused on the significance of culture. The culture which is described in her book illustrates Benedict's idea that culture can be viewed as consisting of cultural configurations. These configurations are integrated under the domination of one general matter pattern. Therefore, a culture is analogous to individual beings, such that it is a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action. According to Benedict, integration of any culture is due to the arrangement of its content in a contemporary or permanent style, or design. This arrangement is defined as pattern by Benedict. There is a particular style or design in every part of a culture. These separate designs, together, present a grand design of culture as a whole. This is the configuration of culture. The emergence of this reunion in culture is due to a common tendency to see all aspects of culture. Benedict termed this main tendency as a 'special genius' of culture. It is this 'genius of culture' that brings about its integration. This alone is the basis of integration of form. Benedict proposed that two kinds of 'geniuses' are found in human society. One is 'Appollonian' and the other is 'Dionysian'. The word 'Appollonian' has been derived from the word Apollo, which means peaceful sun god. The Greeks regarded sun as the god of peace, discipline, kindness and humanity. Therefore, in the Appollonian pattern of culture, one finds the existence of peace, discipline and kindness. Benedict has cited the example of Pueblo (a term used to describe modern and ancient communities of Native Americans). They are peace loving and disciplined. They extend help and cooperation to each other. Not only in Pueblo, but the Appollonian genius is also found in all societies, which have peace and tranquility as their main

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qualities. These are the causes of their integration. The term 'Dionysian' has been derived from the Greek God Dionysius, who appeared to be connected to drinking and a luxurious way of life. In his way, the Dionysian genius is found in a culture, which experiences many storms and changes. Benedict cited the example of the Dobu and the Kwakwaka'wakw cultures of the north-west coast of America as representatives of the Dionysian genius. Thus, Benedict has accepted patterns or geniuses as an ideal or an induced theory, which determines the behaviour of human beings.

Benedict was also concerned with showing the influence of personality on culture. She argued that Appollonian and Dionysian geniuses are integrated personalities of two cultural groups. These groups are quite opposite in their behaviour pattern. She also held how these two geniuses molded the personality of members of their cultural groups. The Appollonian personality compels the members of the group to behave peacefully and in a disciplined way. This ultimately forms special cultural characteristics of the concerned group. In the same way, the Dionysian personality shows its influence on the characteristics of the culture of a particular group. In this way, personality influences culture.

The American cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead, through her studies, has attempted to show the impact of culture on the formation of personalities. According to her individual is born in a particular culture and he or she enters into a preformed cultural environment, which plays a significant role in the formation of his or her personality. An individual adopts not only the material aspects of a culture, i.e., house, tool, furniture, art, and so on, but also its non-material aspects. The non-material aspects may include parts of culture, such as, religion, tradition, custom, rituals, beliefs, norms, values, ideals, and so on. It is culture which teaches an individual to behave in society in a systematic way. An individual adopts culture through the processes of enculturation and assimilation. Mead studied the impact of culture on the personality formation of three primitive groups of New Guinea. These groups were Mundugumor, Arapesh and Tschambuli. Though these tribes lived in the same geographical region, they had different character and personalities. This was due to differences in their culture.

American anthropologist Ralph Linton, in his famous book, *Cultural Background of Personality* (1945), attempted to define and classify culture on the basis of behaviour. He also defined personality and attempted to show how it was formed in a given cultural situation. He also emphasized how personality influenced culture. According to Linton, 'Culture may be defined as the sum total of knowledge, attitudes and natural behaviour pattern, shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society.' He divided culture into three groups, based on the behaviour of their members. These groups are as follows:

- (i) Real culture (Actual behaviour)
- (ii) Ideal culture (philosophical and traditional culture)
- (iii) Culture construct (what is written about culture)

Real culture is the aggregate of the behaviour of the members of a society, which are learned and shared in particular situations. It is the way of life of a community member. The ways of life differ from culture to culture. Ideal culture pattern is formed by philosophical traditions. In this, some traits of culture are regarded as ideals. When a culture is studied, it also reflects our understanding of that culture, which is to be written. This is known as culture-construct. Linton also differentiated among cultural universals, cultural alternatives and cultural specialties. He argued that some cultural traits are necessary for all members of the society, while the other traits are shared only by some

members. The traits which are followed by all members are called universals of culture. For instance, man must clothe certain parts of his body. This is a universal culture. On the other hand, a person may choose among a number of religious beliefs or even adopt none. Specialists are the elements of culture, which are shared by some, but not all groups, within a society. Linton used the term 'contra-culture pattern' to designate those groups, which not only differ from the prevailing pattern, but sharply challenge them. For instance, a group of thieves has its own norms and standards, which are compelling for all members of the group. However, these norms and standards sharply differ from the conventional prevailing patterns.

2.6.4 Culture and Civilization

According to McIver and Page, two great areas of human experience and of human activity are 'culture' and 'civilization'. All that man does, all that he creates, all his artifacts, and so on, fall permanently into one order or the other. It would include not only our systems of social organization, but also our techniques and our material instruments. It would include the ballot box and the telephone alike, our laws as well as our schools and our banking systems as well as our banks. They argued that technology is a part of civilization. Within the order of civilization, they distinguished between basic technology and social technology. Basic technology is directed towards man's control over natural phenomena. It is the area of the engineer and the mechanic. It applies the laws of physics, chemistry and biology to the service of human objectives. It rules the process of production in industry, agriculture and extractive industries. It constructs ships, planes, armaments, tractors and elevators, and an endless variety of artifacts. It shapes and assembles the objects of every scale. It plans the modernized city and its parkways, and also the newest design of women's hats. Social technology, on the other hand, is a collection of techniques that are directed to the regulation of the behaviour of human beings. It has two essential divisions, economic technology and political technology. Economic technology is concerned with economic processes and the immediate relationships between men, for the pursuit of economic means. Political technology regulates a wide range of human relationships. While MacIver and Page describe culture, they believe that, just as the typewriter belongs to one great order, similarly the book that has been typed on it belongs to another great order. All material things that we bring into existence give us something that we crave for or we need. All of them are expressions of us. They have been created to satisfy the need within us. This need is not an outer necessity. They belong to the realm of culture. This is the kingdom of principles, styles, emotional strings and intellectual ventures. They argue that culture is then the antithesis of civilization. It is the expression of our nature in our modes of living and thinking, in our everyday intercourse, in art, in literature, in religion, in recreation and in enjoyment.

MacIver and Page pointed the difference between culture and civilization in the following ways:

- **Civilization has precise standard of measurement, but not culture:** When we compare the product of civilization, we can prove which is superior and which is inferior. Since they are means to ends, their degree of efficiency can be readily estimated. This efficiency can be measured only if the end is clearly postulated. For instance, a lorry runs faster than a bullock cart, an aeroplane runs faster than a lorry, a power loom produces more than a handloom, and so on. On the other hand, cultural aspects that raise the ultimate problem of value cannot measure the culture.

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- **Civilization is always advancing, but not culture:** Civilization not only marches, but it marches continuously, provided there is no catastrophic break of social continuity in the same direction. An achievement of civilization is generally exploited and improved, until it is superseded or rendered obsolete by some new invention. It is true that in the past, some achievements of civilization have again been lost. Men forgot the art which raised the pyramids of Egypt, and constructed the roads and aqueducts of Rome. The reason for this was that these losses were a result of catastrophic changes which blotted out the records of civilization. With a wide area of civilization and superior methods of recording discoveries, any utilitarian or technical gain becomes a permanent possession within the social heritage. It then conditions further gains. It is otherwise a cultural achievement. Since man first invented the automobile, it has continuously improved. Our means of transportation develop constantly. They are much superior to those which the ancient Greeks employed. But the same cannot be opined about our dramas and sculptures, our conversation and our recreation, and so on. Here certitude fails us. There are no automobiles which are today comparatively inefficient as the first vehicle of Henry Ford. His work and that of other inventors inevitably prepared the way for better cars. But our plays are not necessarily better today because of the achievements of Shakespeare. Culture is subject to retrogression as well as advancement. Its past does not assure its future.
- **Civilization is passed on without effort, but not culture:** Culture can only be assimilated by the like-minded. It can be had only by those who are worthy of it. No one can appreciate art without the quality of an artist. Civilization, in general, makes no such demand. We can enjoy its products without sharing the capacity which creates them. Civilization is the vehicle of culture; its improvement is no guarantee of finer quality in that which it conveys. Television can show movies, but there is no guarantee of their quality.
- **Civilization is external and mechanical, while culture is internal and organic:** Civilization is inclusive of external things. Culture is related to internal thoughts, feelings, ideals, values, and so on. According to MacIver, 'Civilization is what we have, culture is what we are.'

Though culture and civilization have certain demarcation lines, they are interdependent. One can believe that they hardly exist apart from each other. Both are not only interdependent but also interactive. The articles of civilization called 'artifacts' are influenced by articles of culture known as 'mentifacts'. Similarly, culture is influenced by articles of civilization. The objects of civilization gradually acquire cultural aspects. The tools and artifacts of primitive communities are not just tools, but they are symbols of culture as well.

2.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Like an organism, a society is a system of relations between organisms themselves rather than between cells. Like the organism, a society has a determined structure and the parts of this structure, when in operation, contribute to the existence of the whole.
- A society, or a human society, is a group of people related to each other through persistent relations, or a large social group sharing the same geographical or

virtual territory, subject to the same political authority and dominant cultural expectations.

- The social contract Theory is unique, giving importance to individuals as architects of society. This theory was propounded by three eminent philosophers: Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and J. J. Rousseau.
- Organismic theory is another vital theory about the origin of human society. Plato, Aristotle, Herbert Spencer and Novicow were the exponents of this theory.
- The societies that were formed after the industrial revolution were mostly dominated by services, high technological advancement and information, more than surplus production.
- Human society is a group of people related to each other through persistent relations. Societies are characterized by patterns of relationships between individuals sharing a distinctive culture and institutions.
- Traditional or conservative thought emphasizes the idea that community is based upon commonality of origin—the blood, kinship, and historic ties—of a people living in a particular location.
- Communitarianism is the ‘advocacy of a social order in which human beings are bound together by common values that foster close communal’ (community) bonds.
- Community power is a theory of power that promotes the view that the elites no longer enjoy a monopoly over decision-making.
- Socially established ways of doing things are called institutions. Generally, the term ‘institution’ refers to a group of people who have some specific purpose.
- Culture is not a simple accumulation of folkways and mores; it is an organized system of behaviour. Culture is always organized with cultural traits and complexes.
- Cultural relativism is a concept of analysing various societies of cultures in an objective way without comparing them with each other.
- Culture lag is the duration or gap of time that exists between the emergence of a new material invention and the process of adapting it to the corresponding non-material culture.
- Community is an important concept in social and political life. The social life people lead is affected and influenced by the kind of community in which they live.
- The state is frequently confused with the community. MacIver has stressed the associational character of the state.
- Communitarianism is the ‘advocacy of a social order in which human beings are bound together by common values that foster close communal’ (community) bonds.
- Community power is a theory of power that promotes the view that the elites no longer enjoy a monopoly over decision-making.

2.8 KEY TERMS

- **Cultural anthropology:** It is a branch of anthropology focused on the study of cultural variation among humans and is in contrast to social anthropology which perceives cultural variation as a subset of the anthropological constant.

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Check Your Progress

13. What do you mean by folkways?
14. What step should be taken for diffusion to prevail on a large scale?
15. Define Cultural relativism.

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- **Community:** It is a local grouping within which people carry out a full round of life activities.
- **Communitarianism:** It refers to the advocacy of a social order in which human beings are bound together by common values that foster close communal bonds.
- **Associational society:** It is a society characterized by impersonal, superficial and transitory relationships.
- **Social capital:** It refers to the collective value of all social networks and species and the inclinations that arise from these works to do things for each other.
- **Gemeinschaft society:** Societies based on kinship ties and moral cohesion founded on common religious sentiment.

2.9 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. A society, or a human society, is a group of people related to each other through persistent relations, or a large social group sharing the same geographical or virtual territory, subject to the same political authority and dominant cultural expectations.
2. The social contract theory is unique, giving importance to individuals as architects of society. This theory was propounded by three eminent philosophers: Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and J. J. Rousseau. According to this theory, all men were born free and equal and individuals made a mutual agreement and created a society.
3. Feudalism was a form of society that thrived from the 9th to the 15th centuries. This type of society was based on ownership of land. Vassals under feudalism were made to cultivate the land and hand over all produce to their ruler in exchange for military protection. The peasants were exploited by the lords who expected food, crafts, homage and total subservience to them. In the 14th century, feudalism was replaced by capitalism.
4. The integral elements of community sentiments are as follows:
 - (a) We-feeling: This is the feeling that leads men to identify themselves with others so that when they say ‘we’, there is no thought of distinction and, when they say ‘ours’, there is no thought of division.
 - (b) Role-feeling: This involves the subordination to the whole on the part of the individual.
 - (c) Dependence-feeling: This refers to the individual’s sense of dependence upon the community as a necessary condition of his own life.
5. A key characteristic of a community is its social cohesion and its willingness to set and strive for common goals. This depends on various factors, such as historical, social, economic and cultural factors.
6. Communitarianism is the ‘advocacy of a social order in which human beings are bound together by common values that foster close communal’ (community) bonds.
7. An institution is a system of norms aimed at achieving some goal or activity that people feel is important. It focuses on major human activities. Institutions are structured processes through which people carry on their activities.

8. A social norm is said to be institutionalized in a particular social system when three conditions are fulfilled. These are as follows:
 - (a) Many members of the social system accept the norm.
 - (b) Many of those who accept the norm take it seriously. In psychological terms, they internalize it.
 - (c) The norm is sanctioned. This means that certain members of the system are expected to be guided by the norm in appropriate circumstances.
9. An ideology may be defined as any set of ideas that explains or justifies social arrangements, structures of power, or ways of life.
10. To constitute an association, there must be, firstly, a group of people; secondly, these people must be organized, i.e., there must be certain rules for their conduct in the groups, and thirdly, they must have a common purpose of a specific nature to pursue. Thus, family, church, trade union and music club are the instances of association.
11. A family, a village, a political party or a trade union are all social groups. However, it should be noted that these groups are different from social classes, status groups or crowds, which not only lack structure but whose members are also less aware or even unaware of the existence of the group. These have been called quasi-groups or groupings.
12. A small group in a society who share a close relationship is termed as a primary group. There is a concern for each other among the members of this group and they share a common culture. Herein, the groups usually comprise family members, close friends or highly influential social groups.
13. Folkways are established ways in which a social group behaves. This pattern of behaviour is exhibited to counter the problems faced by a group which lives in a society.
14. For diffusion to prevail on a large scale, the societies should be segregated and their origin should be old enough so as to support the development of unique cultures. In addition to this, it is important for these societies to be in touch mutually. This would provide options for substantial borrowing.
15. Cultural relativism can be defined as the function that measures trait on the basis of its cultural environment.

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2.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Briefly describe the social contract theory.
2. Write a short note on the categories of societies as pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial.
3. Summarize MacIver's conception of society.
4. What are the characteristics of community?
5. Outline the major differences between communitarianism and liberalism.
6. List the features of social institutions.

7. Distinguish between primary group and secondary group.
8. What do you mean by ethnocentrism? How does it contribute to the maintaining of social order?

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the important theories of the origin of society.
2. Define institutions. Also, explain its important features.
3. What is culture? Discuss the characteristic features of culture.
4. Define and explain the types of cultures.
5. What is acculturation? How is it different from cultural lag?
6. Analyse the relationship between culture and personality.

2.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Family
 - 3.2.1 Forms of Families
- 3.3 Marriage
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- 3.8 Summary
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- 3.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 3.11 Questions and Exercises
- 3.12 Further Reading

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3.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we will learn about the various social institutions in a society. One can find social institutions all over the world. A social institution is an organized collection of statuses, roles, values and norms that are designed to fulfil one or many basic needs of the society. Social institutions vary from region to region.

Social institutions are established or standardized patterns of rule-governed behaviour. They include the family, education, religion, and economic and political institutions. Sociologists often reserve the term 'institution' to describe normative systems that operate in five basic areas of life, which may be referred to as the primary institutions:

1. In determining kinship
2. In providing for the legitimate use of power
3. In regulating the distribution of goods and services
4. In transmitting knowledge from one generation to the next
5. In regulating our relation to the supernatural

In shorthand form, or as concepts, these five basic institutions are called the family, government, economy, education and religion.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the various forms of social institutions
- Discuss the concept of a family
- Describe the various forms and functions of marriage
- Analyse the various social perspectives on education

- Describe the role of political institutions in societies
- Discuss the viewpoints of various sociologists on the role of economy in societies

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3.2 FAMILY

The institution of a family is the basic and fundamental institution in the life of an individual. It is the primary group and an important agency of socialization. Historically, the institution of a family has undergone many changes. The term 'family' has been defined by many sociologists and anthropologists. American anthropologist George Murdock (in 1949), after studying about 250 multi-cultural societies, defined family as a social group that is characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adults of both the sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship and one or more children are owned or adopted by the sexually cohabiting adults.

A family, according to sociologists MacIver and Page, is a group defined by a sexual relationship that is sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children. They also bring out certain characteristic features of a family:

- It is a relationship that originates from and is bound by marriage. It is formed when two individuals mate and produce offspring.
- It is a system of finding the hierarchy of ancestry.
- A family must have the financial sufficiency to achieve its economical wants and necessities that pertain to the birth and upbringing of children.
- A family should have a habitat, home or a household which it may either own solely or share with others.

3.2.1 Forms of Families

Various sociologists have studied different forms of families. They have taken into consideration different factors for the classification of families. The following are the different types of families:

- Marriage classifies families into monogamous and polygamous categories.
- Based on the location of their residence, families are categorized into two main types: family of matrilineal residence and family of patrilineal residence.
- On the basis of ancestry or descent, families are classified into matrilineal and patrilineal types.
- According to the type of authority, families may be identified as matriarchal and patriarchal types.
- In terms of size or structure, there may be two types of families: nuclear or joint.
- Families can be divided into conjugal and consanguineous types, based on the relations between the members. In a conjugal family, relations between the husband and the wife are private and their ties with the extended family are voluntarily. A consanguine family consists of close relatives other than parents and children.

Table 3.1 Forms/Types of Family

Basis of Categorization	Types
Marriage	1. Monogamous family 2. Polygamous family
Location of residence	1. Family of matrilocal residence 2. Family of patrilocal residence
Ancestry/Descent	1. Matrilineal family 2. Patrilineal family
Type of authority	1. Matriarchal family 2. Patriarchal family
Size/structure	1. Nuclear 2. Joint
Relations between members	1. Conjugal family 2. Consanguineous family

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3.3 MARRIAGE

Marriage as an institution has developed over a long period of time. There cannot be one comprehensive definition of marriage which finds the consent of all sociologists. Marriage as an institution can have varied implications in varied societies and cultures. It can be defined as a socially-sanctioned sexual relationship between a man and a woman whose relationship is expected to lead to the birth of children. Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski defined marriage as a contract for producing children and rearing them. Sociologists P. B. Horton and C. L. Hunt defined marriage as an approved social pattern where two or more individuals set up a family.

Marriage is a social institution under which a man and a woman establish their decision to live as husband and wife by law, often through religious commitments and ceremonies. It is a secure association between a man and a woman who are permitted by the society to have children, without affecting their reputation in the society.

Marriage is a universal social institution. It is a deep personal commitment to another human being, and a public celebration of the ideals of mutuality, companionship, fidelity and family. Marriage is a socially approved way of acquiring a family. It is only through the establishment of culturally controlled and sanctioned marital relations that a family comes into being. The institutionalized form of sexual relations is called marriage. Marriage and family are two sides of the same social reality. From a broader and more collective perspective, marriage ensures survival of the species of the group and its culture.

3.3.1 Functions of Marriage

Marriage brings about a sense of discipline in not just the individual but also the society. The functions of marriage are as follows:

- (a) **Functional division of labour:** With marriage, there is a functional division of labour. The wife may take care of the household work and the children, while the husband goes out to work. This way, both can devote time fully to their responsibilities.
- (b) **Financial security:** When two people get married, they bring together all the savings and assets accumulated over the years. This combined wealth increases the purchasing power and subsequently leads to a higher standard of living.

Check Your Progress

1. What is the importance of the institution of the family?
2. List the characteristic features of a family.
3. Differentiate between a conjugal family and a consanguineous family.

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- (c) **Emotional support:** When a partner is depressed, he or she will have the spouse who will provide support through words of encouragement. In fact, it is believed that married people live substantially longer and have better health compared to individuals who never marry.
- (d) **Rearing children:** There is no better option than getting married in order to have children. The children benefit in that environment and grow up into healthy adults. They get emotional support from their parents, which is very healthy for their psychological development. Generally, the father ensures discipline, while the mother offers intimacy and affection.
- (e) **Social and legal recognition:** Marriage is an institution accepted by law and society, unlike live-in relationships. Marriage is also recognized by the law. If the partners want to split, there are specific procedures to follow related to division of assets, child custody, and so on, apart from the divorce itself.

3.3.2 Forms of Marriage

The forms of marriage are diverse in nature. A cross-cultural study of marriage practices in different societies would include rules. These rules lay down preferences, prescriptions as well as proscriptions in deciding the form of marriage.

On the basis of the number of mates, marriage is classified into two types: monogamy and polygamy. Monogamy is the marriage between single partners (i.e., a husband having one wife or a wife having one husband). Monogamy is a prevalent form of marriage in most societies. It is also considered an ideal form of marriage. Polygamy is the practice of having more than one partner in marriage. Polygamy may be of two types: polygyny and polyandry. When one man has two or more wives at a time, the practice is known as polygyny. When two or more sisters share one husband, the practice is known as sororal polygyny.

When one woman gets married to more than one man simultaneously, the practice is known as polyandry. Polyandry may be of two types: fraternal polyandry and non-fraternal polyandry. When one woman marries several brothers at the same time, the practice is known as fraternal polyandry. This practice is prevalent among the Toda community in India. When a woman has several husbands, none of whom are necessarily brothers, the practice is known as non-fraternal polyandry.

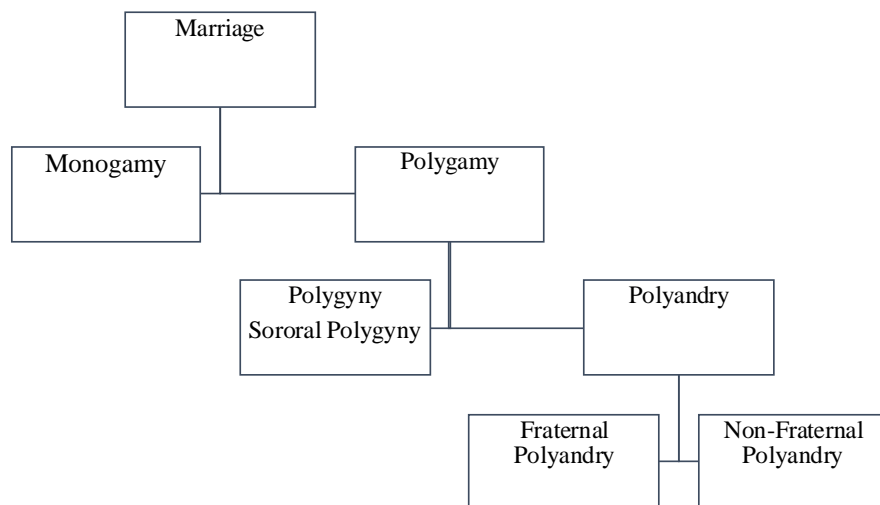


Fig. 3.1 Forms of Marriage

One may consider this with reference to two types of polygamous marriages, namely levirate and sororate.

Levirate and Sororate

Marriage of a man with the childless widow of his deceased brother is known as levirate marriage. When a levirate marriage prevails, on the death of a husband, it is the duty of one of his brothers to marry his widow and any children that are born as a result of this union are counted as progeny of the deceased man.

When a sororate marriage prevails, the husband of a childless woman marries her sister and at least some of the children that are born as a result of this union are counted as children of the childless wife. The term ‘sororate’ is also used with reference to the custom whereby, upon the death of a wife, her kin provide her sister as wife to the widower. However, any children that are born as a result of this union are recognized as her own.

Levirate and sororate customs emphasize the acceptance of inter-familial obligations and recognition of marriage as a tie between two families and not simply between two individuals.

3.4 RELIGION

Since the days of the primitive society, religion has always existed in one form or another. There are mysteries and perplexities of life for which there is no adequate explanation. The elements of nature, sunshine, wind and rain affect man in a number of ways. Religion is the expression of the manner and type of adjustment that is effected by people in terms of their conception of the supernatural. In the words of James George Frazer, the author of the book *The Golden Bough*, religion has been explained as ‘a belief in powers superior to man, which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life.’ According of eminent sociologists W.R. Ogburn and M.F. Nimkoff, ‘Religion is the attitude towards superhuman powers’. Such attitude gives rise to coherent systems of beliefs and practices that concern the supernatural order. Thus, religion is more or less a coherent system of beliefs and practices that concerns a supernatural order of beings, forces, places or other entities. It is a system that, for its adherents, has implications for their behaviour and welfare implications that the adherents in varying degrees and ways take seriously in their private and collective lives.

3.4.1 The Origin and Evolution of Religion

The early sociological studies of religion had three distinctive methodological characteristics: evolutionist, positivist and psychological. These are shown in the works of well-known philosophers Comte, Tylor and Spencer. According to French philosopher Auguste Comte, sociology is one of the fundamental conceptions of the so called law of three stages, according to which human thought had passed through theological, metaphysical and positive stages. Comte treats theological thinking as an intellectual error which is dispersed by the rise of modern science. He traces, within the theological stage, a development from animism to monotheism, and he explains religious belief in psychological terms by reference to the perception and thought processes of early man. Later, Comte propounded his own religion of humanity and, thus, recognized, in some sense, a universal need for religion.

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Check Your Progress

- 4. Define marriage.
- 5. What are the two types of polyandry?
- 6. Define levirate marriage.

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However, the works of English anthropologist E.B. Tylor and English philosopher Herbert Spencer were rigorous as they were concerned with explaining the origin of religion. They believed that the idea of the soul was the principal feature in a religious belief. They set out to give an account, in rationalist terms, of how such an idea might have originated in the mind of primitive man. According to this, men obtained their idea of the soul from a misinterpretation of dream and death. According to Spencer's ghost theory of religion, the supposed reality of dreams led to a reality of ghosts. Tylor believes that animism was the oldest practice of religion. He argues that animism was a result of the efforts of mankind to answer two questions of the difference between a living body and a dead one, and the human shapes which appear in dreams and visions. The soul is a spirit which leaves the body temporarily during dreams and visions. Animals were invested with spirits as were human tribes, such as Australian aborigines. Tylor points out that religion assumes the form of animism with the purpose of satisfying the intellectual capacity of mankind, and meet his quest for knowledge about death, dreams and vision. Similarly, naturism endorses the concept that the forces of nature are supernatural. Notable philologist and orientalist Max Miiller believes this to be the earliest form of religion. He argues that naturism came to exist as a result of man's interaction with nature, typically as the outcome of the reaction of nature on man's emotions. According to him, animism tries to find the source of religion in man's intellectual requirements; naturism seeks it in his emotional needs. Naturism is how man responds to the effect of the power of nature on his emotions.

However, there is a lot of criticism about the evolutionary approach. The origin of religion is lost in the past. However, theories about the origin of religion can only be based on speculation and intelligent guess work, according to some critics. Moreover, the exact phases of the evolution of religion do not match with the facts. Well-known anthropologist Andrew Lang has highlighted that the religion of a large number of simplest societies is monotheistic in nature, which according to Tylor was restricted to modern societies.

The sacred and the profane

French sociologist David Emile Durkheim held that the essence of religion is to sustain divisions into the phenomena of sacred and profane ideologies. He does not believe that the essence of religion lies in the belief of a transcendent God. He proclaims that the true aim of religion is to establish the phenomena of the sacred and the profane in the society. The 'sacred' consists of a body of things, beliefs and rites. Supernatural entities are always sacred, that is, they are worthy of being treated with respect, whether they are good or evil. Supernatural beings and forces are invisible and intangible, but certain sacred objects are quite tangible and visible, for instance, the alter in a Christian church. On the other hand, everything that is not holy is profane. Profanity is using names without proper respect.

3.4.2 Functions and Dysfunctions of Religion

Religion has various social functions. It is an agency of social control. It disciplines human behaviour in terms of sacred and profane. The performance of rituals and ceremonies gives a sense of collectivity to the society. The law of karma, the fear of retribution and such other prescriptions always has a moderating and civilizing impact on human action. The norms of conduct, once established, regulate social relations. Religion has unified the principles of every society. It is an integrating and unifying force of the human society. American sociologists Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore reason why

religion is necessary and is apparently to be found in the fact that human society achieves its unity through the possession by its members of certain ultimate values in common. Although these values and ends are subjective, the influence of behaviour and its integration enables the society to operate as a system.

Though the direct impact of religion remains healthy, elevating and socializing, its indirect effect may be dysfunctional for the society. In Europe, religion hindered the growth of science and inquiry till decline of the organized church in the 19th century. The superstitious superstructure that developed successively caused immense harm to the society at all levels. Religion inhibits protests and impedes social changes. Religion has resulted in wars, devastations and genocides. While fulfilling the identity function of religion, certain loyalties arise which may actually impede the development of new identities that are more appropriate to new situations.

3.5 EDUCATION

The word 'education' is derived from the Latin word *educare* meaning 'bring up', which is related to *educare* ('bring out-potential') and *ducere*, which means 'to lead'. Education means developing of and cultivating various physical, intellectual, aesthetic and moral faculties of an individual. Durkheim defines education as 'the action exercised by the older generations on those who are not yet ready for social life.

Its objective is to awaken and develop in the child, those physical, intellectual and moral values which are required of him, both, by his society as a whole and by the milieu for which he is specially destined. It is a social process. Education is imparted by both formal and informal means. It is an important means of socialization. Greek philosopher Aristotle's famous concept of education says, 'Education develops man's faculties, especially his mind, so that he may be able to enjoy the contemplation of the supreme truth, goodness and beauty, in which perfect happiness essentially consists.' Durkheim further conceives education as socialization of the younger generation. According to him, it is a continuous effort to impose on the child, ways of seeing, feeling and acting which he could not have achieved spontaneously.

Education as a social process

Education is viewed as an integral fragment of socialization. Such a process of social learning is continuous. Education is also considered an agent of cultural transmission. The elements of culture are transmitted from one generation to another through education. Education not only helps in acquiring knowledge but also inculcates the values of morality among individuals. Educational institutions are instrumental in shaping the personality of individuals and also formulation of ideologies. On the whole, education helps in reforming the attitudes of individuals and encourages them by inculcating a spirit of competitiveness in them.

Primitive and ancient societies had no educational institutions. Children learnt from their surroundings. Schools appeared when cultures became too complex for the learning to be handled within the family. Thus, educational institutions grew as time passed by. In India, the historical roots of educational institutions are referred to in the *guru-shishya* tradition. In this tradition, students had the advantage of being in personal contact with the teacher. The image of the guru was personified and the students were obliged to the guru or teacher.

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Check Your Progress

7. Define religion.
8. What are the distinctive methodological characteristics of the early sociological studies of religion?
9. State the functions of religion.

Sociological perspectives on education

NOTES

From a functionalist perspective, it is argued that education contributes to the maintenance of the social system. Emile Durkheim saw the major function of education as transmission of the society's norms and values. He maintained that the society can survive only if a sufficient degree of homogeneity exists among its members. Education functions to strengthen this homogeneity by maintaining a balance of these similarities in an individual since his childhood. Due to these similarities, the demands of life in all individuals are similar. Cooperation and social solidarity would never have existed in the absence of these essential similarities. Drawing conclusions from Durkheim's concept, American sociologist Talcott Parsons gave a functionalist view of education. Parsons put across the theory that after the spread of primary socialization within a family, the school assumes the role of a central socializing agency. School brings the family closer to the society. It prepares the child for his role as an adult. Davis and Moore shared Parson's view with reference to education. They too considered education to be useful in providing suitable roles to individuals. However, they hold the educational system directly responsible for creating divisions in the society. According to Davis, the education system has proved that it is able to select people on the basis of their capacities and allocate appropriate positions to them. Thus, the process of educational filtering organizes and categorizes individuals on the basis of their skills and capacities. The people with the highest level of talent get the highest level of qualification. Consequently, this leads them to better occupations which are most important in terms of functions to the society.

However, the Marxian perspective provides a radical alternative to the functionalist position. French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser presents a general framework for the analysis of education from a Marxian perspective. Being a section of the superstructure, the infrastructure finally gives shape to education. According to him, education benefits only the ruling class. For survival and prosperity, it is very important to reproduce the power of labour. Two steps are involved in the process of reproducing labour. The first step is the reproduction of skills that are required for a capable labour force. The second step is the reproduction of the ideology of the ruling class and socialization of workers. These processes combine to reproduce a technically efficient, submissive and obedient workforce. In a social structure that is dominated by capitalism, education reproduces such a workforce. Althusser stresses that reproduction of labour power not only requires reproduction of its skills but also a simultaneous reproduction of its submission to the ruling ideology. This submission is reproduced by a number of 'ideological state apparatuses' which include the mass media, law, religion and education. The ideological state apparatus is a trademark of the ideology of the ruling class which creates artificial class awareness. This awareness maintains the subject class in its subordinate position to a large extent. Education, according to Althusser, not only transmits ideologies of the general ruling class (which justifies and legitimates the capitalist system) but also reproduces the attitudes and behaviour that are required by major groups in the division of labour.

Austrian philosopher Ivan Illich has been critical of both functionalist and liberal views of education. In *Deschooling Society*, which was published in 1971, he raises issues on the incapability of schools in matching educational ideals. In his opinion, schools are institutions that teach students about various means of exploitation. According to him, schools instigate compliance to the society and create a belief in students, to accept the interests of the powerful. However, real learning can never

prevail through a set of instructions. It can be inculcated only when an individual is involved in every part of the learning process on his own. To conclude, the majority of learning processes require no teaching. Illich blames the educational system as the main cause of all problems that have emerged in the modern industrial society. School teaches the individual to delay authority, assume isolation, to absorb and accept the services of the institution, and neglect his own needs and wants. He is instructed to view education as a precious product such that it should be taken in large amounts. He, however, also presents a solution. According to him, to resolve this issue, it is important to abolish the present system of education, since schools form the base of education. Deschooling is the primary step towards the liberation of mankind. Finally, Illich confirms that deschooling will create a society where every man can be truly liberated and can experience a sense of fulfillment.

Education as an instrument of social control and social change

The general character of formal education has undergone a rapid change through modern science and technology. Technological development today is quite unlike the development that took place in the 19th century. Unlike the present day society, in ancient societies, education was considered as the learning related to a way of life. However, in primitive societies, the terminology of science comprised the production and distribution of labour. Formal education quickens the overall process of education. However, it is incapable of transmitting any practical knowledge. In societies of recent times, the content of education is more scientifically inclined and less scholarly. Thus, it can be concluded that education in modern societies inculcates freedom of thought and values that have an important role in streamlining the attitude of an individual.

It has been argued that education by itself does not bring about social change; rather it is an instrument which performs the functions that are entrusted to it. Innovations in the education system may lead to structural changes in the society. The Indian society has deep-rooted customs and traditions which are strongly embedded in the Indian lifestyle. Changes are resisted because they conflict with traditional values and beliefs.

3.6 POLITY

Every individual is involved in some kind of political institution as a member of the society. Political systems have existed since ancient times. Our political institutions are amalgamations of modern superstructure, historical delegation of authority, decentralization and inculcation of the basic level of the Panchayati system. These are characterized by the traditional consensus pattern of decision-making and are held together by a charismatic leadership. The state has been an important governing institution. No study of society is complete without study of the state or the governing institutions of society, because the government occupies an important place in the social lives of people.

The state

The relation between state and other associations has been a matter of debate among scholars. Some scholars argue that the state is the supreme social institution and all other associations owe their origin to its initiative, acquiescence and support. They exist because the state allows them to exist. On the other hand, the pluralists recognize the special role of the state as a regulator of social life. The British political theorist Laski has argued that the state does not exhaust the associative impulses of men. In his opinion,

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Check Your Progress

10. What do you mean by education?
11. What was the *guru-shishya* tradition in India?
12. State the steps involved in the process of reproducing labour.
13. State the role of education in modern societies.

the society should be regarded as essentially federal in its nature. The other associations are real in the sense that the state is real. State is viewed as a community agency that is charged with the responsibility of coordinating and adjusting the claims and activities of various associations.

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This distinctive function gives the state its unique character.

Nature of power

Power, in general, means the ability to carry out ones wishes despite opposition. In any process of interaction, some participants usually have more power than others. When we assert that someone has more power than someone else, we usually imply the existence of a more or less extended field of potential conflict. We often have to specify the field of potential conflict. However, it is often true that A has more power than B in some situations, while B has more than A in others. Power is a relative matter. Weber's definition of power implies that those who hold power do so at the expense of others. It suggests that there is a fixed amount of power and, therefore, everyone does not have access to it. This view is sometimes known as the constant sum of power. Since the amount of power is constant, power is held by an individual or group to the extent that it is not held by others. Arguing from a functionalist perspective, Talcott Parsons rejects the 'constant-sum' concept of power. They view that power is employed in the furtherance of sectional interests. A Marxian analysis of power provides a radical alternative to Parson's functionalist approach. From a Marxian perspective, the source of power in societies is the economic infrastructure. In all stratified societies, the forces of production are owned and controlled by the minority ruling class. This relationship to the forces of production provides the basis for dominance. It, therefore, follows that the only way to return power to the people involves communal ownership of the forces of production. Since everyone will now bear some relationship to the forces of production, power will be shared by all members of the society. From a Marxian perspective, the use of power to exploit others is defined as coercion. It is seen as an illegitimate use of power which forces the subject class to submit to a situation which is against its interest. If the power of the ruling class is accepted as legitimate by the subject class, it indicates false consciousness.

Power of random groups

Power is the capability of a person or a group to achieve its goals, irrespective of any resistance from any other person or group. Weber recommends that the access of power is based on the party. Party is a united category of organizational structure that focuses on a common interest. This interest may be on the basis of a class, a status or any similar type. Very few persons are able to act individually in order to achieve their interests.

Voting behaviour

Marx predicted that class struggle has turned western society into an institution that would end in the proletarian revolution. With the extension of franchise and the proliferation of interest groups, members of the working class are drawn into the political process. Their interests are represented by political parties and interest groups such as trade unions. They are able to express their discontent with an institutional framework and,

as a result, more violent expressions of class conflicts are unlikely. Political sociologist S. M. Lipset sees national elections as an expression of class struggle and competition between political parties as the institutionalization of class conflict. He argues that more than anything else, the party struggle is a conflict among classes and the most impressive thing about party support is that in virtually every country, it is economically sound. The lower income groups vote mainly for parties of the left front, while higher income groups vote mainly for parties of the right front.

Pressure groups and political parties

Pressure groups are associations or groups which have objectives that are different from political parties. These pressure groups or interest group have important political functions in all modern societies. These functions may either be useful or harmful to the stability or progress of the society. Interest groups may be based on economic, ethnic, linguistic, religious, regional or other considerations. Sometimes they would convert themselves into political parties or win over some members of the government and pressurize the government to give in to their demands. In this case, the group could be considered as a pressure group. At times, when the government introduces a bill or a budget proposal in the Parliament, the interest groups will use their influence and lobby to pressurize the government to either withdraw or to amend it to a form that is acceptable to them. Interest groups and pressure groups use a number of strategies to influence the government and to get their demands accepted. These strategies include threats of direct action like boycott, threat of holding back essential services, protest closure of shops, and agitations such as street demonstrations and strikes.

Political parties are organized groups of citizens who hold common views on public issues and act as political units. They seek to obtain control of the government with a view to encourage the programme and policy, which they profess. A political party is essentially a social group that has an associative type of social relationship. A political party primarily strives to secure political power and to hold it either singly or in cooperation with other political parties. Political parties are indispensable for the working of a democratic government. They are the connecting link between people and the government. They are the vehicles which individuals and groups use to secure and exercise political power. Political parties are seen as representing diverse elements in a national tradition and as being concerned to some degree with general, rather than class or sectional interests.

Political participation

A political system functions on the basis of political participation. Well-known environmentalist Lester Milbrath has suggested that members of the society can be divided into four categories, in terms of their degree of political participation. Firstly, the politically apathetic who are literally unaware of the politics around them; secondly, those involved in spectator activities, which include voting and taking part in discussions about politics; thirdly, those involved in transitional activities, which include attending a political meetings or making financial contributions to a political party; and finally, those who enter the political arena and participate in activities, such as standing for and holding public and party offices.

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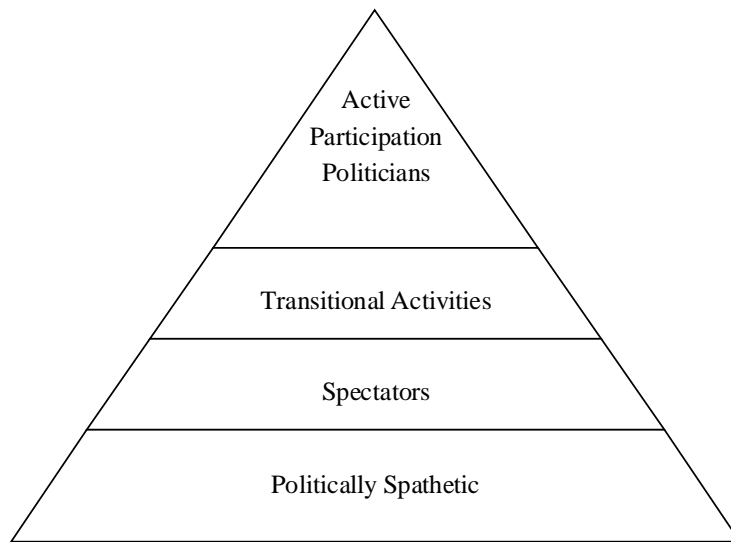


Fig. 3.2 Degree of Political Participation

These levels of political participation are not uniformly distributed throughout the population. In general, higher is an individual's position in the class structure, greater is his degree of participation. Studies have shown that political participation is directly proportional to income level, occupational status and educational qualification. It has also been associated with a variety of other factors. For example, men are likely to have higher levels of participation than women, married people than single people, middle-aged people than either young or old, members of clubs and associations than non-members, long-term residents in a community than short-term residents, and so on. However, those with low levels of participation often lack the resources and opportunities to become more directly involved in politics. They lack the experience of higher education, which brings a greater awareness of the political process and knowledge of the mechanics of participation. Secondly, individuals are unlikely to participate in politics if they are likely to be rewarded for their involvement.

Political theorist Robert Dahl argues that an individual is unlikely to participate in politics, if he feels that the probability of his influencing the outcome of events is low. Moreover, levels of political participation appear to be related to the degree of involvement and integration of an individual in the society. Thus, an individual who is not likely to be involved in local or national politics, does not feel a part of either the local community or the wider society. Finally, Dahl suggests that individuals are not likely to have high levels of political participation if they believe that the outcome of events will be satisfactory without their involvement.

However, the significance of differential political participation varies. Pluralists have argued that low participation may be an indication that interests of the politically inactive are adequately represented. Lipset proclaims that the combination of a low vote and a relative absence of organization among the low-status groups means that they will be neglected by politicians who are receptive to the wishes of the more privileged, participative and organized strata.

Democratic and authoritarian forms

Abraham Lincoln, the 16th President of the United States, defined democracy as a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Democracy is a mixture of

the rational, legal and charismatic types, with a touch of traditionalism in some instances. However, democracy is an emotive term which means for many as freedom of the individual to participate in those decisions which affect his life. This suggests that the individual should be directly and regularly involved in the political process. From a pluralist's perspective, democracy is seen as a system of representative government, whereby many elites represent a range of interests in the society. It implies that the representative government is the only way in which the democratic ideal can be realized in a contemporary society. British Marxist sociologist Thomas Burton Bottomore regards the western system of governance as an imperfect realization of democracy, as it permanently excludes many from the experience of governance. He argues that only when the democratic ideal becomes an established feature of everyday life, a democratic system of national government can be created. This would involve 'social democracy' where people directly participate in the management of their firms. He further argues that a truly democratic national government will only be possible when all major institutions of the society operate on the principles of democracy.

Therefore, democracy can be seen as a system in which every individual has an equal opportunity to participate in the political process and an equal say in governance of the society. Democracy often means easy, egalitarian manners with no expectation that anyone will show a marked deference to another. In a democratic society, power is distributed among many groups. Democratic governance is characterized by emphasizing on the autonomy of individuals and subsystems. An important feature of the democratic government is rule by the law and equal treatment by the law.

3.7 ECONOMY

In considering the historical development of sociology, a few figures are taken from a vast interplay of schools of social thought. Any division of labour which leads people to pursue diverse and possibly conflicting lines of economic activity may generate conditions of social dislocation and inequity. Here, the social arrangements that are aimed at establishing peaceful, cooperative and equitable interchange among economic agents are taken into consideration.

English philosopher Herbert Spencer marked a confluence of two great traditions of evolution and classical economics. Spencer, from his evolutionary tradition, saw many similarities between biological and social organisms. Both are capable of growth; both increase the complexity of the structure as they grow in size and both display a close interdependence of parts. He viewed social evolution as similar to biological evolution. Establishing his evolutionary scheme, he introduced a distinction between two types of societies, the militant and the industrial. The militant society is integrated by force and is characterized by compulsory cooperation. On the other hand, the industrial society contrasts with the militant one on many fronts. The political machinery is no longer subordinated to the single military principle. The principle of integration of industrial society is based on voluntary cooperation.

In industrial society, men interact by forming contractual arrangements. Spencer viewed industrial society like Smith viewed the competitive economy. So his characterization of industrial society indicates that political regulation is almost unnecessary in such a society, since social coordination is guaranteed by voluntary cooperation among individuals.

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Check Your Progress

14. Give a distinctive function of the state.
15. What do you mean by party?
16. Define pressure groups.
17. What type of strategies do interest groups and pressure groups use to influence the government?

NOTES

Emile Durkheim: Solidarity as an active force in economic life

Most of the insights of Durkheim that concern economic integration are found in his book, *The Division of Labour in Society*. In this book, he has analysed the integration of social life. Durkheim set up a dichotomy between two types of societies: segmental and complex. To him, a segmental society is a homogeneous society with the presence of mechanical solidarity. There is a presence of repressive law. It has subordination of the individual to the undifferentiated collective conscience of the society. On the other hand, it differentiates complex societies as powerful forms of integration. He is different from Spencer such that he stressed the increased salience of integration in complex societies, rather than tending to regard it as a by-product of individual interactions.

Max Weber: The origins and sustaining conditions for capitalism

Max Weber made a comparative analysis of societies by using the method of ideals. Weber mentioned a historically unique configuration, such as *rational bourgeoisie capitalism*. This refers to systematic and rational organization of the production itself. While identifying the historical conditions that gave rise to industrial capitalism, Weber rejected the belief that the rise of capitalism could be explained by the increase of population. On the positive side, he considered the rise of ascetic Protestantism, especially Calvinism. He established social and psychological conditions that were conducive to this form of capitalism. To him, bureaucracy also forms the most rational form of social organization for perpetuating industrial capitalism. Weber also found out certain institutional structures that were permissive for industrial capitalism. He found these structures in the political legal complex. So, Weber specified certain institutional conditions under which maximum mobility is both permitted and regulated. Weber also stressed the political legal regulation of money and exchange. Above all, he believed that rational capitalism cannot flourish unless the political authority guarantees the supply of money with relatively stable values. As to the type of medium of exchange, Weber saw the advantage of a generalized money currency since it allows for the expansion of market and the creation of credit. However, unlike traditional economists, Weber was not interested in the regularities that were produced within the capitalist system of production. He believed in establishing an important background of institutional conditions, under which the capitalist system and its regularities could exist.

Social aspects of division of labour and types of exchange

One of the best known works of Durkheim is his study of division of labour, in which he analysed social functions of the division of labour. He also sought to show how in modern societies, it is the principal source of social cohesion or solidarity. In the course of his enquiry, Durkheim distinguished two kinds of solidarities: mechanical and organic. He associated these with two types of laws, which he called repressive and restitutive. He also analysed the abnormal forms of division of labour, i.e., the anomic and the forced division of labour. By the first, he meant a condition of extreme specialization of labour. In this condition, the individual became isolated in his specialty and particularly a condition in which there was permanent division between capital and labour. Durkheim proposed the fostering of regular and prolonged contacts through professional associations and corporations, and through institutional arrangement for discussion and negotiation between capital and labour. By the second form, Durkheim meant a condition in which individuals did not freely choose their occupations, but were forced into them. He regarded this discrepancy between the abilities of individuals and the functions imposed upon

them as the principal source of class conflict. Durkheim thought that modern societies could and would get rid of these abnormal forms of division of labour.

However, division of labour has not become so extensive in India, as in advanced industrial countries. Division of labour affects the caste system. In the caste system, the division of labour had the integrative functions, which Durkheim emphasised. In the village economy, caste, like the medieval guilds, ensured the performance of necessary functions (by passing on craft, skills, and so on). These functions were organized by the direct exchange of services between castes (the *jajmani* system). In an industrial and money economy, the division of labour becomes far more complex and the exchange of services is accomplished through the market or by central planning. The caste system retains some integrative functions on the cultural level. However, these are likely to be less important as social cohesion comes to depend increasingly on the economic division of labour.

Types of exchange

The division of labour and possession by different individuals and groups makes exchange necessary for higher levels of efficiency in production. It is equally true that exchange makes division of labour possible. Exchange is found in every economy, no matter how primitive. There are six possible kinds of exchanges, according to the items exchanged, These are goods for goods, services for services, goods for services, money for goods, money for services and money for money. The use of money occurs only in advanced economies. Interest was stirred in comparative exchange by the appearance of a volume, edited by sociologists Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg and Harry W. Pearson, in the late 1950s. Going through the records of Babylon, Mesopotamia, Greece, Mexico, Yucatan, the Guinea Coast and rural India, they depicted how trading practices were separate from the familiar practices of free market exchange. They criticized the traditional economic theory and suggested an alternative framework for better comparative economics of exchange. Polanyi and his associates identified three major patterns of exchange: reciprocative, redistributive and exchange.

Reciprocative exchange is the most common form of exchange among primitive people. It is illustrated by ritualistic gifting practice among families, clans and tribes, as analysed by anthropologists Malinowski and Marcel Mauss. Exchange of gifts like *kula* exchange is ceremonial in nature. Another illustration is found among farmers of many civilizations, who frequently work for one another, especially during the time of harvest. Economic calculation, price payments and wages are typically absent. Goods or services are given because it is traditional to do so. The only principle of calculation is that giving and receiving should balance among exchanging parties in the long run.

Redistributive exchange means that the produce of the group is brought together, either physically or by appropriation. This is then distributed among the members again. This brings economic goods and services to a central source that is often governmental. It then redistributes them throughout the populace. Polyani, Arensberg and Pearson identified several instances of this exchange pattern in ancient Asian and African civilizations. Any system of redistribution involves some economic exchange, but redistribution at the same time is political. Modern illustrations of such type of exchanges are tax institutions which redistribute wealth in the society. Potlatch among the Trobriand islanders and *jajmani* system in traditional India are also examples of redistributive exchange.

The third pattern, which is more familiar in the modern West, is termed exchange. In this case, economic goods and services are brought into the market. Prices are not standardized on the basis of tradition, but as a result of bargaining for economic advantage.

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3.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Marriage is a socially approved way of acquiring a family. It is only through the establishment of culturally controlled and sanctioned marital relations that a family comes into being.
- The forms of marriage are diverse in nature; on the basis of the number of mates, marriage is classified into two types: monogamy and polygamy.
- Levirate and sororate customs emphasize the acceptance of inter-familial obligations and recognition of marriage as a tie between two families and not simply between two individuals.
- The institution of a family is the basic and fundamental institution in the life of an individual.
- Families can be divided into conjugal and consanguineous types, based on the relations between the members. In a conjugal family, relations between the husband and the wife are private and their ties with the extended family are voluntarily. A consanguine family consists of close relatives other than parents and children.
- Education means developing of and cultivating various physical, intellectual, aesthetic and moral faculties of an individual.
- Education is viewed as an integral fragment of socialization. Such a process of social learning is continuous. Education is also considered an agent of cultural transmission. The elements of culture are transmitted from one generation to another through education.
- Any division of labour which leads people to pursue diverse and possibly conflicting lines of economic activity may generate conditions of social dislocation and inequity.
- Most of the insights of Durkheim that concern economic integration are found in his book, *The Division of Labour in Society*. In this book, he has analysed the integration of social life. Durkheim set up a dichotomy between two types of societies, segmental and complex.
- One of the best known works of Durkheim is his study of division of labour, in which he analysed social functions of the division of labour. He also sought to show how in modern societies, it is the principal source of social cohesion or solidarity.
- Our political institutions are amalgamations of modern superstructure, historical delegation of authority, decentralization and inculcation of the basic level of Panchayati system. These are characterized by the traditional consensus pattern of decision making and are held together by a charismatic leadership.
- Pressure groups are associations or groups which have objectives that are different from political parties. These pressure groups or interest group have important political functions in all modern societies.

Check Your Progress

18. Who wrote the book *The Division of Labour in Society*?
19. What are the different kinds of exchanges, according to the items exchanged?
20. What do you mean by reciprocative exchange?

- Democracy is a mixture of the rational, legal and charismatic types, with a touch of traditionalism in some instances. However, democracy is an emotive term which means for many as freedom of the individual to participate in those decisions which affect his life.
- Religion is the expression of the manner and type of adjustment that is effected by people in terms of their conception of the supernatural.

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3.9 KEY TERMS

- **Sororate marriage:** It is a type of marriage in which a husband engages in marriage or sexual relations with the sister of his wife, usually after the death of his wife or if his wife has proven infertile.
- **Animism:** It is the belief that natural objects, natural phenomena and the universe itself possess souls.
- **Monotheism:** It is the doctrine or belief that there is only one God.
- **Polity:** It is the condition of being constituted as a state or other organized community or body.
- **Classical economics:** It is a school of economic thought, exemplified by Adam Smith's writings in the 18th century, which states that a change in supply will eventually be matched by a change in demand, so that the economy is always moving towards equilibrium.
- **Jajmani system:** Also, known as Yardman system, it was an Indian social caste system and its interaction between upper castes and lower castes. It was an economic system where lower castes performed various functions for upper castes and received grain in return.

3.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The institution of a family is the basic and fundamental institution in the life of an individual. It is the basic primary group and an important agency of socialization.
2. The characteristic features of a family are as follows:
 - (a) It is a relationship that originates from and is bound by marriage. It is formed when two individuals mate and produce offspring.
 - (b) It is a system of finding the hierarchy of ancestry.
 - (c) A family must have the financial sufficiency to achieve its economical wants and necessities that pertain to the birth and upbringing of children.
 - (d) A family should have a habitat, home or a household which it may either own solely or share with others.
3. In a conjugal family, relations between the husband and the wife are private and their ties with the extended family are voluntarily. A consanguine family consists of close relatives other than parents and children.
4. Marriage is a universal social institution. It is a deep personal commitment to another human being, and a public celebration of the ideals of mutuality, companionship, fidelity and family. Marriage is a socially approved way of acquiring a family.

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5. Polyandry may be of two types: fraternal or adelphic polyandry and non-fraternal polyandry. When one woman marries several brothers at the same time, the practice is known as fraternal polyandry. This practice is prevalent among the Toda community in India. When a woman has several husbands, none of whom are necessarily brothers, the practice is known as non-fraternal polyandry.
6. Marriage of a man with the childless widow of his deceased brother is known as levirate marriage. When a levirate marriage prevails, on the death of a husband, it is the duty of one of his brothers to marry his widow and any children that are born as a result of this union are counted as progeny of the deceased man.
7. Religion is the expression of the manner and type of adjustment that is effected by people in terms of their conception of the supernatural.
8. The early sociological studies of religion had three distinctive methodological characteristics, these were evolutionist, positivist and psychological. These are shown in the works of Comte, Tylor and Spencer.
9. Religion has various social functions. It is an agency of social control. It disciplines human behaviour in terms of sacred and profane. Religion has unified the principles of every society. It is an integrating and unifying force of the human society.
10. Education means developing of and cultivating various physical, intellectual, aesthetic and moral faculties of an individual. Its objective is to awaken and develop in the child, those physical, intellectual and moral values which are required of him, both, by his society as a whole and by the milieu for which he is specially destined.
11. In India, the historical roots of educational institutions are referred to in the *guru-shishya* tradition. In this tradition, students had the advantage of being in personal contact with the teacher. The image of the guru was personified and the students were obliged to the guru or teacher.
12. Two steps are involved in the process of reproducing labour. The first step is reproduction of skills that are required for a capable labour force. The second step is reproduction of the ideology of the ruling class and socialization of workers. These processes combine to reproduce a technically efficient, submissive and obedient workforce.
13. Education in modern societies inculcates freedom of thought and values that have an important role in streamlining the attitude of an individual.
14. State is viewed as a community agency that is charged with the responsibility of coordinating and adjusting the claims and activities of various associations. This distinctive function gives the state its unique character.
15. Party is a united category of organizational structure that focuses on a common interest. This interest may be on the basis of a class, a status or any similar type.
16. Pressure groups are associations or groups which have objectives that are different from political parties. These pressure groups or interest group have important political functions in all modern societies.

17. Interest groups and pressure groups use a number of strategies to influence the government and to get their demands accepted. These strategies include threats of direct action like boycott, threat of holding back essential services, protest closure of shops, and agitations such as street demonstrations and strikes.
18. French sociologist David Émile Durkheim wrote the book *The Division of Labour in Society*. In this book, he has analysed the integration of social life. Durkheim set up a dichotomy between two types of societies, segmental and complex.
19. There are six possible kinds of exchanges, according to the items exchanged. These are goods for goods, services for services, goods for services, money for goods, money for services and money for money.
20. Reciprocal exchange is the most common form of exchange among primitive people. It is illustrated by ritualistic gifting practice among families, clans and tribes.

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3.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. State the various forms of family.
2. What are the functions of marriage?
3. List the functions and dysfunctions of religion.
4. Write a short note on education as a social process.
5. Briefly describe the role of state as an important social institution.
6. What do you mean by democracy?
7. Summarize Weber's concept on the origins and sustaining conditions for capitalism.
8. Write a brief note on Durkheim's study of division of labour.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Analyse the various types of institutions.
2. 'The forms of marriage are diverse in nature.' Explain.
3. Discuss the origin and evolution of religion in detail.
4. Examine the sociological perspectives on education.
5. Evaluate the role of pressure groups and political parties in societies.
6. Describe the various types of exchange.

3.12 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 SOCIALIZATION

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Meaning and Definition
 - 4.2.1 Processes of Socialization
 - 4.2.2 Theories of Socialization
 - 4.2.3 Types of Socialization
 - 4.2.4 Re-socialization
 - 4.2.5 Stages of Socialization
- 4.3 Relation between Individual and Society
 - 4.3.1 Individual Dependence on Social Heritage
 - 4.3.2 Individual and Society
 - 4.3.3 Life of Individuals—Heredity and Environment
- 4.4 Agencies of Socialization
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 Key Terms
- 4.7 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 4.8 Questions and Exercises
- 4.9 Further Reading

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4.0 INTRODUCTION

The process that teaches an individual his culture is called socialization. In this unit, you will learn about the importance of socialization. This process goes on throughout one’s life, and it develops a sense of self and converts the individual into a member of the society. For the success of this process, the individual needs consistent and organized interaction with his culture and social surroundings. The growth of the self is influenced by contact with family, peers and the media.

Infants are born without any culture. It is through the process of socialization that individuals acquire culture and this is done with the help of parents, teachers, books, media, and so on. Socialization teaches us language, as well as the roles that we are expected to play or fit into, in society. It also teaches individuals about the norms of the society of which one is a member. Socialization also contributes to the formation of one’s personality. Although personality type may depend on one’s genes, it is the process of socialization that can shape it into particular directions.

The unit will also discuss the relationship between an individual and society. Finally, it will talk about the agencies of socialization.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the importance and processes of socialization
- Discuss the theories and types of socialization
- Assess the relationship between individual and society

- Examine the role of heredity and environment on the life of individuals
- Critically analyse the agencies of socialization

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4.2 MEANING AND DEFINITION

The term 'socialization' refers to the processes whereby individuals are taught the skills, behaviour patterns, values and motivations that are needed for competent functioning in the culture in which they are growing up. The most dominant among these are social skills, social understandings and emotional maturity. These are needed for interaction with other individuals to fit in with the functioning of social dyads and larger groups. Socialization includes all those processes in which culture is transmitted from one generation to the next, including training for specific roles in specific occupations.

According to well-known sociologist Robert Morrison Maclver, 'Socialization is the process by which social beings establish wider and profounder relationships with one another, in which they come closer to each other and build a complex structure of association.'

According to American sociologist Kimball Young, 'Socialization means the process of inducting the individual into the social and cultural world of making him a particular member of a society and its various groups and inducing him to accept the norms and values of that society. Socialization is definitely a matter of learning and not of biological inheritance.'

Importance of socialization

A new born individual (human infant) comes into the world as a biological organism with animal needs. He/she is gradually moulded into a social being and learns the social ways of acting and feeling. Without this process of moulding, neither the society nor the culture would exist, nor would the individual become a social person.

4.2.1 Processes of Socialization

Once we study socialization, we tend to question about the processes. As we know, every man tries to adjust himself to the conditions of his social environment. The process of adjustment itself is socialization. Socialization is the process of transforming a biological being to a social being. Direct socialization begins only after birth.

Socialization is a continuous and unending process. It is a process of inducting an individual into the social world. It consists of learning cultural values and norms which he/she must learn and share. Socialization is social learning.

The fundamental process of socialization is the emergence and gradual development of the 'self'. It is in terms of the self that a personality takes shape and the mind begins to function. The notion of self begins to arise as a child learns about the feeling of sensation. According to eminent sociologist Harry M. Johnson, the 'self might be regarded as the internalized object representing ones own personality'. Self is an internalized object that includes ones own conception of ones abilities and characteristics, and an evaluation of both.

4.2.2 Theories of Socialization

Some important theories of socialization were developed by American sociologists Charles Horton Cooley and George Herbert Mead, and Austrian neurologist Sigmund Freud.

Charles Horton Cooley

Cooley, in his book *Social Organization*, writes that the construction of self and society are twin born, and that we know one as immediately as we know the other. He further says that 'the notion of a separate and independent ego is an illusion'. He reiterates that self consciousness can arise only in a society and it is inseparable from social consciousness. According to him, the self is social. The basic idea of the conception is, 'the way we imagine ourselves to appear to another person is an essential element in our conception of ourselves.' He believes that there are three steps in the process of building the 'looking-glass self'. These steps are as follows:

- (i) Our perception of how we look to others
- (ii) Our perception of their judgement of how we look
- (iii) Our feeling about these judgements

Thus, we are constantly revising our perception of how we look. Just like a mirror that gives an image of the physical self, so the perception of the reaction of others gives an image of the social self. Another important point is that the perception of the judgement of others is the active factor in the self-image forming process.

George Herbert Mead

G. H. Mead, basically a psychologist, agreed completely with Cooley that it is absurd to look at the self or the mind from the viewpoint of an individual organism. Although it may have its focus on the organism, it is undoubtedly a social product and a social phenomenon. He believes that the self arises in interaction with the social and nonsocial environment. The social environment is particularly important.

The basic argument which Mead developed was in support of this conclusion and also in support of his theory of 'Me' and 'I'. For Mead, 'Me' is that group of organized attitudes to which the individual responds. He called the acting self the 'I'. The 'Me', on the other hand, is part of the self which consists of the internal attitudes of others.

The process of personalizing the attitudes of others has been aptly described by Mead, who developed the concept of the 'generalized other'. This generalized other is composite of the expectations that one believes, others hold towards one. Awareness of the generalized other is developed through the process of taking and plying roles. Taking role is an attempt to act out the behaviour that would be expected of a person who actually holds the role. Playing a role is acting out the behaviour of a role that one actually holds, whereas in taking a role, one only pretends to hold the role.

Mead argues that a three-stage process is through which one learns to play adult roles. These three stages are as follows:

- (i) **Preparatory stage (1–3 years):** In this stage, a child imitates adult behaviour without any real understanding.
- (ii) **Play stage (3–4 years):** In this stage, children have some understanding of the behaviour but switch roles erratically. At one moment, the boy is a builder who is piling blocks and a moment later, he knocks them apart. Similarly, at one moment, he is a policeman and a moment later, he becomes an astronaut.
- (iii) **Game stage (4–5 years):** This stage is one where the role behaviour becomes consistent and purposeful, and the child has the ability to sense the role of the other players. To play baseball, each player must understand his

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or her own role, as well as the role of all other players. Thus, one develops an ability to see one's own behaviour in its relation to others and senses the reaction of the people who are involved.

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Mead's theory of role taking is an essential learning process in socialization. Both Cooley and Mead explain the process of interaction. They saw personality as shaped through our social interaction with others. Both assumed a basic harmony between self and society. To Cooley, the separate individual was an abstract idea that had no existence apart from society, just as society has no meaning apart from individuals. The socialized self is shaped by the society and the society is an organization of the persons it socializes. Thus, self and society were two aspects of the same thing.

Sigmund Freud

Sigmund Freud saw self and society in basic conflict, not harmony. He believed that self is the product of the ways in which basic human motives and impulses are denied and repressed by the society. Freud believed that the rational portion of human motivation was like the visible part of an iceberg. The larger part of human motivation that rests within the unseen forces has a powerful affect on human conduct. He divided the self into three parts:

- (a) The Id
- (b) The ego
- (c) The super ego

The Id is the pool of instinctive and unsocial desires and impulses, which are selfish and antisocial.

Ego is the conscious and rational part of the self, which oversees the super ego's restraint of the Id.

Super ego is the complex of social ideals and values which one has internalized and which forms a part of consciousness.

Ego is the control centre, whereas super ego is the police officer, and Id is a combination of selfish, destructive desire. Since society restricts the expressions of aggression, sexuality and other impulses, the Id is continually at war with the super ego. The Id is usually repressed, but at times, it breaks through in open defiance of the super ego, creating burden of guilt that is difficult for the self to carry. At other times, the forces of the Id find expression in misguided forms, which enables the ego to be unaware of the real and underlying reasons for its actions, as when a parent relieves hostility by beating the child, believing that this is for its own good. Thus, Freud finds that self and society are often opponents and not merely different aspects of the same thing. Freud sees self and society in eternal conflict.

4.2.3 Types of Socialization

According to clinical psychologist Ian Robertson, the socialization that a person undergoes in the course of his lifetime may be divided into four types:

- (i) **Primary socialization** is the most fundamental and essential type of socialization. It takes place in early childhood. In this stage, a child internalizes norms and learns language and cognitive skills.
- (ii) **Anticipatory socialization** is where human beings learn the culture of a group of which they are immediate members. They also learn the culture of a group

with the anticipation of joining that group. This is referred to by American sociologist R. K. Merton as 'anticipatory socialization'.

- (iii) **Developmental socialization** is the kind of socialization that is based on the achievement of primary socialization. It builds on already acquired skills and knowledge as the adult progresses through new situations, such as marriage or new jobs. These require new expectations, obligations and roles. New learning is added to and blended with old in a relatively smooth and continuous process of development.
- (iv) **Re-socialization** takes place mostly when a social role radically changes. An individual not only changes roles within a group but also changes groups.

4.2.4 Re-socialization

As discussed above, re-socialization is one of the types of socialization. The influential American sociologist Erving Goffman defined re-socialization as 'a process of tearing down and rebuilding an individual's role and socially constructed sense of self'. The socialization process consists of many stages where primary socialization that is acquired by a child is just a part of the entire socialization process. A process named re-socialization takes place when an individual or adult learns new ideas and values on joining a new group or when the individual enters a different life situation. This process involves many other processes like adapting to the new environment or even going against certain norms that were previously acquired by the individual.

Change is a process that never remains constant and, hence, an individual experiences change throughout his lifetime. There are factors like age and certain diseases that impair the ability of an individual to learn and adapt in a new environment. Even then, an adult continues learning new things with every new experience throughout his lifetime. Entering a new phase of life, like going to college, a job, marriage, loss of someone, retirement, all these processes require re-socialization.

Total institution and re-socialization

A total institution is an enclosed space where many people situated in near-by locations lead a life cut-off from the society for a particular time and, hence, lead a formerly administered life. This term was coined by Erving Goffman. People often lead a life of bureaucratic control within a total institution. The needs of these people are handled in an impersonal and strict manner.

The objective behind these institutions is re-socialization which refers to the alteration of an individual's behaviour by purposefully manipulating the surrounding situations and environment. An example of this would be the process of re-socializing new army men in the army so that they can be better soldiers. The process of re-socializing consists of a twofold process. First, where the people engaged in the institution try to erase the identity of the residents of the institution; their freedom is also hampered by the forces of the institution. Second is where an organized effort takes place to shape a different personality or self. These two processes are usually carried out by the system of reward and punishment.

4.2.5 Stages of Socialization

Socialization takes place within a 'simplified' social world. The social system in which the infant or the child is being trained is much less complex than the society as a whole.

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This simplification makes it possible for the child to attend to relatively few things at a time. There are four stages of socialization from infancy to adulthood. The names given to these stages have become fixed in usage and they are fairly appropriate, although far from being adequately descriptive. They are as follows:

- First stage—The oral stage
- Second stage—The anal stage
- Third stage—The oedipal stage and latency
- Fourth stage—Adolescence or adult socialization

In all these stages, especially in the first three, the family is the main socializing group. Therefore, one can consider the structure of the family as it bears on socialization. The family varies in composition from one society to another, but the nuclear family is universal. One can ignore the variation in particular families and concentrate on the institutional structure of the nuclear family. A nuclear family has four roles: husband-father, wife-mother, son-brother and daughter-sister. The details of these roles vary from one society to another. One obvious feature is the division according to generation. This division is also according to the relative power to control interaction; father and mother are able to control their son and daughter more than the son and daughter being able to control parents.

(i) First stage—the oral stage

In the womb, the foetus is presumably warm and comfortable. At birth, the infant faces its first crisis—it must breathe, exert itself to be fed, it is susceptible to cold, and other discomforts; it cries a lot. The essential goal of the first stage of socialization is to establish oral dependency. The infant builds up fairly definite expectations about feeding time and it learns to signal its pressing needs for care. During this stage, the infant is not involved in the family as a whole. It is involved only in the sub-system consisting of itself and its mother. For other members of the family, as said by American sociologist Talcott Parsons, 'the baby is little more than a possession'. If the father or anyone else shares the task of caring for the baby with the mother, no role differentiation is involved. The person will also be performing the role of a mother.

Freud called this stage as the 'primary identification'. In the personality of the infant, by the time oral dependency has been established, its own role and that of the mother are probably not clearly distinguished. Mother and infant are merged and some control over the hunger drive has been established.

(ii) Second stage—the anal stage

The crisis with which this stage begins is caused by the imposition of new demands. These are the demands for the child to take over some degree of care for himself. Toilet training is the main focus of new concern. During this stage, the child recognizes two roles: its own and that of its mother. The child not only receives care but receives love and gives love in return.

In this stage, one can clearly see the importance of a general fact about socialization; the socializing agent always has a dual role. During this stage, the mother first participates in a limited social system. She is the instrumental leader relative to the child, for she is still chiefly responsible for meeting his specific needs. The child's contribution to the system is mainly expressive. He helps to integrate the system by

cooperating and giving love. He is still too young and dependent to contribute much to the accomplishment of tasks.

The dual role of the socializing agent is to train the child so that he will ultimately be able to participate in a more complex social system. Obviously, the socializing agent has to know the roles and common values of the larger system.

Secondly, socialization is an unpleasant task, to some extent for the socializing agent as well as for the child. The mother does not enjoy seeing her child suffer through the process of weaning and toilet training. Though she can console herself with thoughts of the final accomplishment, but probably she is forced to some extent, by pressure from the larger social system, of which she is a member.

At the same time, the mother as a socializing agent, mediates between the subsystem and the larger system. She is also supported by that larger system. Her husband will understand the strain she is undergoing and will relieve her off some other burdens, for instance, by spending more time with other children.

(iii) Third stage—the oedipal stage and latency

The third stage extends from the fourth year to puberty (the age of twelve or thirteen). The 'Oedipal crisis' occurs typically during the fourth and fifth years, followed by the latency period.

In the course of the third stage, the child becomes a member of the family as a whole. He must accept all the four roles of the family and he must, above all, identify himself with the social role ascribed to him on the basis of his biological sex.

The 'Oedipus complex', as Freud named it, is the feeling of jealousy the boy is believed to have towards his father on account of their rivalry for the mother. For a girl, the 'Electra complex' is the corresponding set of feelings that she has for her father and is, therefore, jealous of her mother.

When the proper stage of socialization has been reached, many social pressures are brought to bear on the child, to identify with the appropriate sex. Boys begin to get rewarded for behaviour that is appropriate towards boys, and girls are rewarded for acting feminine. Moreover, the toys given to boys are different from those given to their sisters. Fairly striking anatomical differences make the correct identification easy, yet the correct identification is largely an achievement of socialization.

The term 'identification' has been used in different ways. Firstly, one is said to identify with a social role, if one not only recognizes the role but also adopts it as one's own. One strives to attain the necessary skills and to conform to the role norms. Secondly, one is said to identify with a social group if one recognizes the role system of the group and considers oneself to be a member of it. Identification in its first sense links a boy with his father and brother, for example, but not with his mother. Identification in its second sense links a boy with his family, including both parents and all siblings.

(iv) Fourth stage—adolescence/adult socialization

The fourth stage is adolescence which is roughly at puberty. This is the stage during which young boys or girls are ordinarily more and more 'emancipated' from parental control. The crisis of this period is the strain that is produced by greater demands for independence. At the same time, in the middle class of a different society, the adolescent may still be controlled to some extent by his parents in many activities wherein he might like greater freedom. This is especially true when individuals become aware of their

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sexuality. The psychological changes that accompany adolescence would not produce problems till sexual maturity.

The goal of adulthood is considered to be attained when a person can support himself or herself, entirely independent of the parental family. Full adulthood also implies the ability to form a family.

4.3 RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

As we have seen, a society, especially human society, comprises a group of people who are related to each other through persistent relations and share the same geographical or virtual territory, subject to the same political authority and dominant cultural expectations.

Society has the capacity to encourage personal growth and development of individuals through the process of socialization. It provides an opportunity to individuals to develop their potential to the fullest extent. It is society that orients the individuals towards conformity to institutionalized norms and keeps them in limits. It makes a person worth calling a human being. Society is external to individuals and exerts a pressure on them to act according to norms also counteracts deviant behaviour in individuals. The honour killings by Khap panchayats is a case in point. Individuals gain immensely from being a part of the society. Man becomes man by being in company with other men. A child picks up everything from its surroundings and from things he is taught by the family he is born in. As every family is part of some society, it has to adhere to certain acceptable social norms. The family, consciously or otherwise, passes these norms to the child in his impressionable years, gradually moulding him to become suitable for living in the society. An individual gains fulfilment and empowerment only by being a part of the society that recognizes his abilities and respects his individualism.

The following cases have been discussed here to highlight the importance of society for individuals.

Case I

The famous case of the German youth Kaspar Hauser is peculiarly significant because this ill-starred youth was in all probability bereft of human contacts through political machinations. Therefore, his condition could not be attributed to a defect of innate mentality. When Hauser, at the age of seventeen, wandered into the city of Nuremberg in 1828, he could hardly walk, had the mind of an infant and could mutter only a meaningless phrase or two. Sociologically, it is noteworthy that Kaspar mistook inanimate objects for living beings. And when he was killed five years later, his post-mortem revealed that the development of his brain was subnormal. The denial of society to Kaspar Hauser was the denial of human nature itself.

Case II

One of the most interesting of the feral cases involved two Indian children in 1920. These children, who were eight and two years old respectively, were discovered in a wolf's den. The younger child died within few months of the discovery but the elder, Kamala, as she became named, survived until 1929. Her history has been carefully recorded in human society. Kamala brought with her almost none of the traits that we associate with human behaviour. She would walk on all four of her limbs and could not

Check Your Progress

1. Define socialization.
2. State the fundamental process of socialization.
3. What do you mean by anticipatory socialization?

speak any language other than wolf-like growls. Like any other undomesticated animal, she too was shy of humans. However, as a result of the most careful and apparently sympathetic training, she was taught rudimentary social habits. Before her death, she had slowly learned some amount of simple speech, human eating and dressing habits, and so on. This wolf child utterly lacked human habits when she was first found, but her individuality emerged when she interacted with the human society.

Case III

Recently, sociologists and psychologists have studied the case of Anna and her illegitimate American child, who were isolated since the child was six months old, until her discovery five years later, in 1938. During her confinement, Anna was fed little else than milk, was not given any general training and had no contact with other human beings. This extreme and cruel social isolation provided scientists with a laboratory case and left the child with few attributes of a normal, five-year-old child. When Anna was discovered, she could not walk or speak, she was completely apathetic and indifferent to people around her. As in the case of Kamala, Anna responded to the careful treatment provided to her after she was released. However, because of her young age and limited contacts while she was a prisoner, she interacted with humans much more rapidly before she died in 1942. Anna's case illustrates once again that human nature develops in man only when he is a social being, only when he is a part of the society and shares a common life.

4.3.1 Individual Dependence on Social Heritage

Each individual is the offspring of social relationships, itself determined by pre-established mores. Further, man or woman are essential terms in relationships. The individual is neither a beginning nor an end, but a link in the succession of life. This is a sociological as well as a biological truth. But yet, it does not express the depth of our dependence as individuals on society, for society is more than a necessary environment and more than just the soil in which we are nurtured. Our relation to social heritage is more intimate than that of a seed to the earth in which it grows. We are born in a society, the processes of which determine our heredity and part of which becomes our internal mental equipment in time and not merely an external possession. Social heritage continuously changes because of our social experiences. It evokes and directs our personality. Society both liberates and limits our potentialities as individuals, not only by affording definite opportunities and stimulations or by placing definite and interferences restraints on us, but also subtly and imperceptibly, by molding our attitudes, beliefs, morals and ideals.

Comprehension of this fundamental and dynamic interdependence of individual and social heritage permits us to appreciate the truth of Greek philosopher Aristotle's famous phrase that man is a social animal. However, this does not mean that man is a sociable animal. Man is greater than that, in this respect. This also does not mean that man is altruistic in his impulse toward society, nor does it mean that he is social by virtue of some original constitution of human nature. This means that without society, without the support of social heritage, the individual personality does not and cannot come into existence.

4.3.2 Individual and Society

The Systems Approach of Talcott Parsons claims that the governance of individual relationships at the micro level is taken care of by the macro level. Moreover, the functional contribution of an individual to the society is so indispensable that the society cannot live

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without the individual and vice versa. The entire interactive approach in sociology and even social psychology revolves around this concept of relationships between individuals and society. This relationship paves the way for framing the most acceptable definition of society which is given by sociologist R. M. MacIver and Charles Page: 'Society is a system of usages and procedures of authority and mutual aid, of many groupings and divisions of controls of human behaviour and of liberties.'

We will discuss the relationship of individual and society through the following points:

- (i) **The nature of social unity:** The unique quality of social unity is revealed when it is contrasted with other types of unities. Various forms of unities may be distinguished by viewing the nature of the functional relations of the units or parts of the whole. A type of unity is the organism, to which the society itself is assigned, mistakenly. In this type, one can interpret the cells, organs and various systems that these compose, for instance, circulatory, glandular, nervous, and so on. These derive their significance solely from their utility to the life of the organism, as a whole. Mechanism is another type of unity, the specific form of which is a man-made machine. The machine is not autonomous or self sustaining or self reproducing, like the organism. However, its various parts like wheels, gears, transmission belts, and so on, can be understood in terms of their contribution to the functioning of the whole machine. Like organic unity, mechanical unity has been attributed to the society or parts of it. However, the social system must be distinguished from these types. For a social system, social relationships grow and change in accordance with the changing attitudes and interests of its members of some or all of the units or individuals who compose it. Here, the system derives its significance from its support of and contribution to the final purpose of individuals themselves. Without this purpose, social unity cannot be envisaged. This principle makes the harmonization of society and individuality possible.
- (ii) **Understanding individuality:** When we extend the meaning of individuality to man, we find it essential to use the term in its sociological reference. Here, one can argue that a social being has more individuality in the following circumstances:
 - (a) His conduct is not imitative nor is it the result of suggestion.
 - (b) He is not entirely the slave of custom or even of habit.
 - (c) His responses to the social environment are not altogether automatic and subservient.
 - (d) His personal purpose are factors in his real-life activities.
 - (e) Individuality in sociological sense is that attribute which reveals the member of a group as more than merely a member.
 - (f) He is a self, a centre of activity and response, expressive of a nature that is his own. This concept supports the admonition that we often give to others or to ourselves.
 - (g) The factor of 'being yourself'. Being oneself need not mean just originality; it certainly does not mean eccentricity. A strong individuality may, in fact, express more fully the spirit or quality of his country or his time, but he does so, not because he is quickly imitative or easily suggestible, but because of his sensitivity to the age itself.

It is true that when members of a group are more individualized, they will exhibit greater differences and will express themselves in a greater variety of ways. However, the criterion of individuality is not the extent to which each individual differs from the rest. It

is rather, how far each acts autonomously in his own consciousness and with his own interpretation of the claims of others. When the possessor of individuality does as others do, at least in those matters which he deems important, he does it simply. This is not because others do it, but because he himself approves that particular behaviour. When he follows authority, except as far as he is compelled to, he follows it partly because of conviction and not because of authority. He does not specifically accept or reflect the opinions of others. He has certain independence of judgment, initiative, discrimination, strength of character, and so on. The extent to which he exhibits these qualities is directly proportional to his individuality.

4.3.3 Life of Individuals—Heredity and Environment

Since ancient times, man has experienced irregular relations between broad physical conditions and modes of living. The inhabitants of tropical regions, for instance, exhibited characteristic differences from those of temperate or of arctic regions. However, recently, these observations have been gradually refined and turned more systematic. French sociology has been especially prominent in the development of such studies since the time of Montesquieu, inspired by leaders like Le Play, Demolins and Brunhes. The relationship between physical environment and social phenomena has been of particular interest to two groups of American sociologists in recent times. The development of an ecological school has been stimulated by the investigations of American sociologists R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess at the University of Chicago. Human or social ecology that found suggestive analogies in plant and animal ecologies have been particularly interested in the social and cultural phenomena that is associated with various urban areas.

There are several levels of adaptation to the environment. It has been argued that 'man adapts himself to his environment'. The adaptation may be employed in physical, biological and a social reference.

- **Physical adaptation:** Purely physical adaptation is independent of our striving and our aims. The sun will tan our skin if we expose ourselves to it. This is a form of physical adaptation, irrespective of whether it helps us or not. Similarly, fresh air will stimulate our lungs and poisonous gases will destroy them. Strength or weakness, health or sickness is an equal expression of natural law. Everywhere, nature makes such demands; death itself being the final statement of physical adaptation. Irrespective of the conditions, whether wild or civilized, poor or prosperous, favourable or unfavorable, good or evil, this unconditional physical adaptation remains with all its compulsion.
- **Biological adaptation:** Biological adaptation means that a particular form of life is suited to survive or to prosper in environmental conditions. One can argue that fish is adapted to marine environment or tigers to the conditions of life in a jungle. In this sense, we can also speak of the inability to adapt. For instance, when it is said that a tiger is unable to adapt to the conditions of the desert or those of the polar snows, it means that the conditions do not permit adequate functioning of the organism. This implies that inevitable physical adaptation is detrimental to biological demands. In order to attain certain equilibrium, which involves the survival or fulfilment of an organism, environment support is required.
- **Social adaptation:** Social adaptation reveals an extension of biological use. Social adaptation is conditional adaptation when it involves some standards of value. When various sociologists speak about the process of adjustment or of

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accommodation, they basically refer to the conditions that are associated with it. In social sense, adaptation definitely implies valuation. Social adaptation involves man's continuous adjustment to his changing life conditions, and his evaluation of both his own adjustments and social conditions.

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To understand the overall environmental conditions of human beings, one needs to focus on two important components of total environment: external environment and internal or social environment. Outer environment specifically refers to material culture. Inner or social environment consists of organizations and regulations, traditions and institutions, repression and liberation of social life. This is collectively referred to as social heritage. Man adapted himself to this through conscious response and habituation.

Heredity and environment

It is ancient observation which confirms that in almost all human groups, the traits or habits of parents are inherited by their children. The difference in heredity then might account for the difference in the traits or qualities of individuals or groups, even in different environments. Some biologists have been supported by a number of psychologists and a few sociologists, while the students of environment studies have generally stressed on other aspects. Therefore, a major dispute pertaining to the relative importance of the two arose and continues even today. In explaining the variations of human beings and their societies, some claim that heredity is the stronger determinant, while others belittle heredity in comparison to environment. Some argue that certain qualities, such as those of health and intelligence, depend mainly on heredity, while they admit that other qualities, particularly social qualities that extend in morals, customs and beliefs, depend more directly on environment.

The whole issue was raised in a definite form by well-known sociologist and polymath Francis Galton in his pioneer work *Hereditary Genius* (1869) in which he sought to show that the probability of the occurrence of greatly gifted children is vastly higher when the fathers are of a superior intelligence. Galton's work was carried on by English mathematician and biostatistician Karl Pearson, who applied his method of correlation to this theory. He concluded that in the determination of important human differences, the influence of environment is far less than that of heredity. Pearson claimed that it was even possible to measure the relative efficacy of the two and gave evidences purporting to show that for people of the same race, within a given community, heredity is seven times more important than environment. Many other researchers have followed the path of Pearson. Some have taken class or occupational categories and have shown that the groups with higher social or intellectual rating have produced more geniuses or persons of distinction. This positive correlation has been illustrated in studies showing that royal families produce more geniuses in comparison to others; families of the clergy in the US produce the largest number of notable men, followed by those of professionals, businessmen, farmers and labourers. American men of science emanate in largest numbers from professional classes and in smaller numbers from agricultural class, and so forth. Other psychologists have chosen racial or national categories and applications of psychological tests. Intelligence tests have typically brought about considerable differences between them, as in the well-known army tests of an immigrant group in the US and more generally of native-born, foreign-born and Negro section of the population.

MacIver argues that from such studies, conclusions are frequently drawn to indicate a superficial analysis of the problem of heredity and environment. A large number of earlier researchers have given us more precise evidence with reference to a common

observation that those who are born in families or groups which possess distinction or prestige are more likely to develop intellectual or other attainments.

Heredity contains all potentialities of life, but all its actualities are evoked within and under the conditions of environment. A biologist is interested in tracing the inheritance of those unit characteristics, such as blue eyes, albinism, hemophilia, and so on, which suggest separable specific determinants in the mechanism of heredity. Biologists are also interested in the manner in which specific organic predispositions, such as the tendency to certain disease, reveal themselves under varying conditions of environment. On the other hand, sociologists are interested in the way in which a group deals with another group, which is brought up in a given environment and is affected by changes occurring within it or by their transference to a different environment. An immigrant group, irrespective of its hereditary characteristics, exhibits entirely different characteristics, when transported from Italy, Greece or Ireland to North America. One cannot but be impressed by the way in which customs, attitudes and modes of life change to new occupational activities and so forth, in response to changes in economic conditions.

Heredity is the potentiality which is made within the actual environment. All qualities of life are present in heredity. The evocation of qualities depends on environment. It follows from this initial principle that the higher the potentiality, greater is the demand on environment. Instead of seeking to exalt the importance of one factor over the other, it is easier to analyse the importance of the fitness of the environment. Thus, though more subtle differences in environment may have little effect on beings with low potentialities, they are vastly significant for beings which are more responsive to them. A seemingly minor change in a situation, a stimulus to success, an encouragement, a rebuff, may prove decisive to a sensitive nature while scarcely affecting a less sensitive one. Hence, the imponderables of the social environment become more important for civilized individuals and groups.

4.4 AGENCIES OF SOCIALIZATION

One can conceive of socialization, then, as a succession of processes occurring at various stages of development, with the child's family of origin being the first.

There are various agencies of the socialization process. These are as follows:

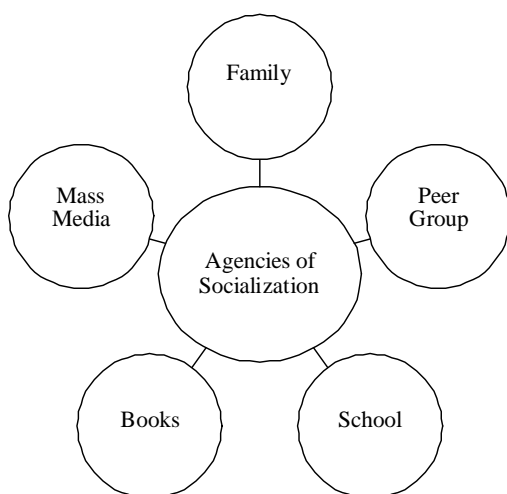


Fig. 4.1 Agencies of Socialization

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Check Your Progress

4. What does the Systems Approach of Talcott Parsons state?
5. What is the criterion of individuality?
6. What do you mean by biological adaptation?
7. Define social heritage.

NOTES**(i) Family**

The family gets the baby first. Therefore, the process of socialization begins in the family. The child is born with some basic abilities that are genetically transmitted from his parents. These abilities and capacities are shaped in a way that is determined by culture. The mother, with whom the relation of child is most intimate, plays a significant role in the process of moulding the child in the initial stages. Subsequently, the father and older siblings transmit other values to the child. Values like knowledge and skill are transmitted that children are expected to acquire in a particular society.

(ii) Peer group

As the child grows older, his contemporaries begin to influence him. He spends most of his spare hours outside his work and study schedule, with his peers in the playground and places outside his/her home. The attraction of peers is virtually irresistible to him. He learns from them and they also learn from him. As time passes, the peer group influence surpasses that of his parents significantly. Teenage is the stage when misunderstanding occurs between parents and children. In socialization of the child, the members of the family, particularly those who exercise authority over him, and members of his peer group exercise two different types of influences on him. Both authoritarian and equalitarian relationships are equally significant to him. He acquires the virtues of respect, constraint and obedience from the first type of relationships, and the virtues of cooperation that is based on trust and mutual understanding, from the second.

The importance of equalitarian element in the socialization process rests on altogether different grounds. There is free and spontaneous interaction instead of coercion among those who have equalitarian relationships. They view the world in the same way, share the same subjective attitude and consequently have perfect understanding of one another. They learn shades of meaning, fads and crazes, secret modes of gratification and forbidden knowledge from one another. Part of this knowledge is often socially useful and yet socially tabooed. American sociologist Kingsley Davis has given the instance of knowledge of sex which is supposed to remain undisclosed until marriage. If this were followed, the problems of maladjustment and aberration of many kinds would not have been infrequent. Fortunately, such knowledge is transmitted as a part of the lore that passes from child to child. However, the disadvantage of such imperfect knowledge is that the child gathers wrong information from his friends of same age.

(iii) School

The school is the second agency of socialization. When a child comes to school, his formal indoctrination into the culture of the society begins. In school, the child gets his education, which moulds his ideas and attitudes. He is formally introduced to the lore and the learning, the arts and the science, the values and beliefs, the customs and taboos of the society from a wider circle. His teachers play a very significant role. Education is of great importance in socialization. A well-planned system of education can produce a socialized person.

(iv) Books

In literate societies, another important agency of socialization is the printed word in books and magazines. Experiences and knowledge of the cultural world, values and beliefs, superstitions and prejudices are expressed in words. According to American

sociologist Robert Bierstedt, 'Words rush at us in torrent and cascade; they leap into our vision as in newspaper, magazine and text book.' Textbooks are written by authors. They join the teachers, the peers and the parents in the socialization process of every young individual.

(v) Mass media

Apart from newspapers which carry printed words, the two other mass media, viz., radio and television, exercise tremendous influence in the socialization process.

4.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The process that teaches an individual his culture is called socialization. This process goes on throughout one's life and it develops a sense of self and converts the individual into a member of society.
- Socialization teaches us language as well as the roles that we are expected to play or fit into, in society. Socialization also teaches individuals about the norms of the society of which one is a member.
- Socialization involves the processes by which an individual is taught the skills, behaviour patterns, values and motivations needed to competently function in a culture one is part of.
- Cooley, in his book *Social Organization*, writes that the construction of self and society are twin-born and that we know one as immediately as we know the other.
- G. H. Mead, basically a psychologist, agreed completely with Cooley that it is absurd to look at the self or the mind from the viewpoint of an individual organism. Although it may have its focus on the organism, it is undoubtedly a social product and a social phenomenon.
- Mead's theory of role taking is an essential learning process in socialization. Both Cooley and Mead explain the process of interaction. They saw personality as shaped through our social interaction with others.
- Sigmund Freud saw the self and society in basic conflict, not harmony. He believed that the self is the product of the ways in which basic human motives and impulses are denied and repressed by the society.
- Freud believed that the rational portion of human motivation was like the visible part of an iceberg. The larger part of human motivation that rests within the unseen forces has a powerful effect on human conduct. He divided the self into three parts:
 - o The Id
 - o The ego
 - o The super ego
- Primary socialization is the most fundamental and essential type of socialization. It takes place in early childhood. In this stage, a child internalizes norms and learns language and cognitive skills.
- Anticipatory socialization is where human beings learn the culture of a group of which they are immediate members.

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Check Your Progress

8. Where does the process of socialization begin?
9. State the role of authoritarian and equalitarian relationship in the growth of a child.
10. How are books an important agency of socialization?

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- Developmental socialization is the kind of socialization that is based on the achievement of primary socialization. It builds on the already acquired skills and knowledge as the adult progresses through new situations, such as marriage or new jobs.
- Re-socialization takes place mostly when a social role radically changes. An individual not only changes roles within a group, but also changes groups.
- A total institution is an enclosed space where many people situated in near-by locations lead a life cut-off from the society for a particular time and, hence, lead a formerly administered life.
- Socialization takes place within a 'simplified' social world. The social system in which the infant or the child is being trained is much less complex than the society as a whole.
- There are four stages of socialization from infancy to adulthood. The names given to these stages have become fixed in usage and they are fairly appropriate, although far from being adequately descriptive. They are as follows:
 - o First stage—The oral stage
 - o Second stage—The anal stage
 - o Third stage—The oedipal stage and latency
 - o Fourth stage—Adolescence or adult socialization
- In the womb, the foetus is presumably warm and comfortable. At birth, the infant faces its first crisis—it must breathe, exert itself to be fed, it is susceptible to cold, and other discomforts; it cries a lot. The essential goal of the first stage of socialization is to establish oral dependency.
- The crisis with which this stage begins is caused by the imposition of new demands. These are the demands for the child to take over some degree of care for himself. Toilet training is the main focus of new concern.
- The third stage extends from the fourth year to puberty (the age of twelve or thirteen). The 'Oedipal crisis' occurs typically during the fourth and fifth years, followed by the latency period.
- The fourth stage is adolescence which is roughly at puberty. This is the stage during which young boys or girls are ordinarily more and more 'emancipated' from parental control.
- The family gets the baby first. Therefore, the process of socialization begins in the family. The child is born with some basic abilities that are genetically transmitted from his parents.
- As the child grows older, his contemporaries begin to influence him. He spends most of his spare hours outside his work and study schedule, with his peers in the playground and places outside his/her home.
- The school is the second agency of socialization. When a child comes to school, his/her formal indoctrination into the culture of the society begins.
- In literate societies, another important agency of socialization is the printed word in books and magazines. Experiences and knowledge of the cultural world, values and beliefs, superstitions and prejudices are expressed in words.
- Apart from newspapers which carry printed words, the two other mass media, viz., radio and television, exercise tremendous influence in the socialization process.

4.6 KEY TERMS

- **Socialization:** The process by which somebody, especially a child, learns to behave in a way that is acceptable to the society is called socialization.
- **Interaction:** The activity of communicating is referred to as interaction.
- **Assimilation:** Assimilation is the activity of someone becoming a part of a group rather than a separate entity.
- **The Id:** The Id is the pool of instinctive and unsocial desires and impulses, which are selfish and anti-social.
- **Ego:** Ego is the conscious and rational part of the self, which oversees the super ego's restraint of the Id.
- **Super ego:** Super ego is the complex of social ideals and values which one has internalized and which forms a part of consciousness.
- **Developmental socialization:** Developmental socialization is a kind of socialization that is based on the achievement of primary socialization. It builds on already acquired skills and knowledge as the adult progresses through new situations, such as marriage or new jobs.

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4.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Socialization involves the processes by which an individual is taught the skills, behaviour patterns, values and motivations needed to competently function in a culture one is part of.
2. The fundamental process of socialization is the emergence and gradual development of the 'self'. It is in terms of the self that a personality takes shape and mind begins to function. The notion of self begins to arise as a child learns about the feeling of sensation.
3. Anticipatory socialization is where human beings learn the culture of a group of which they are immediate members. They also learn the culture of a group with the anticipation of joining that group. This is referred to by R. K. Merton as 'anticipatory socialization'.
4. The Systems Approach of Talcott Parsons claims that the governance of individual relationships at the micro level is taken care of by the macro level. Moreover, the functional contribution of an individual to the society is so indispensable that the society cannot live without the individual and vice versa.
5. The criterion of individuality is not the extent to which each individual differs from the rest. It is rather, how far each acts autonomously in his own consciousness and with his own interpretation of the claims of others.
6. Biological adaptation means that a particular form of life is suited to survive or to prosper in environmental conditions.
7. Outer environment specifically refers to material culture. Inner or social environment consists of organizations and regulations, traditions and institutions, repression and liberation of social life. This is collectively referred to as social heritage.

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8. The process of socialization begins in the family. The child is born with some basic abilities that are genetically transmitted from his parents. These abilities and capacities are shaped in a way that is determined by culture.
9. Both authoritarian and equalitarian relationships are equally significant to the growth of the child. He acquires the virtues of respect, constraint and obedience from the first type of relationships and the virtues of cooperation that is based on trust and mutual understanding, from the second.
10. In literate societies, another important agency of socialization is the printed word in books and magazines. Experiences and knowledge of the cultural world, values and beliefs, superstitions and prejudices are expressed in words.

4.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What according to Kimball Young is socialization?
2. Write a short note on the process of socialization.
3. What is George Herbert's theory of socialization?
4. What are the types of socialization?
5. Write a brief note on adult socialization.
6. What is re-socialization?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the theories and types of socialization.
2. Examine the four stages of socialization.
3. Critically analyse the agencies of socialization.

4.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Meaning of Social Stratification
 - 5.2.1 Characteristics of Social Stratification
 - 5.2.2 Principles of Social Stratification
 - 5.2.3 Social Stratification: Social Difference and Social Inequality
 - 5.2.4 Major Dimensions of Social Stratification
 - 5.2.5 Bases of Social Stratification
- 5.3 Forms of Social Stratification
 - 5.3.1 Slavery
 - 5.3.2 Social Class
 - 5.3.3 Caste
- 5.4 Theories: Fundamental, Marxism, and Weberian
 - 5.4.1 Natural Superiority Theory
 - 5.4.2 Functionalist Theory of Social Stratification
 - 5.4.3 Marxian Theory of Social Stratification
 - 5.4.4 Weberian Theory of Social Stratification
- 5.5 Functions of Social Stratification
- 5.6 Summary
- 5.7 Key Terms
- 5.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 5.9 Questions and Exercises
- 5.10 Further Reading

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5.0 INTRODUCTION

In sociology, social stratification is a concept of class, involving the 'classification of persons into groups based on shared socio-economic conditions'. In Western societies, stratification is generally categorized into upper class, middle class, and lower class. These classes may be subdivided into smaller categories. Stratification can also be defined by kinship ties as well as castes. For Max Weber, social class related to material wealth was different from status class based on honour, prestige and religious affiliation.

The concept of social stratification can be interpreted in many ways. Proponents of action theory deem that as social stratification is found in developed societies, only the presence of a hierarchy can stabilize social structure. Conflict theories, such as Marxism, point out the inaccessibility of resources and no social mobility in stratified societies. Here, many sociological theorists have criticized the degree to which the working classes will not advance socio-economically, with the wealthy holding excessive political power. Ralf Dahrendorf sees hope though, and has noted the tendency toward an enlarged middle-class due to the requirement of educated labour in technological and service economies.

The concept of social mobility is not merely significant to sociology but to other disciplines as well like economics and political science. Different individuals and groups who occupy a certain social position may not remain in that position permanently. Some may move from higher social class position to lower social class position, and others may move from lower position to higher position. Social mobility implies a set of changes

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in opportunities, incomes, lifestyles, personal relationships, social status, and ultimately in class membership. The main idea of social mobility is concerned with the movement of individuals or groups within the stratification system, which is usually measured by changes in occupational status. In this unit, you will learn about the meaning, nature and types of social stratification and theories and types of social mobility.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning, nature and principles of social stratification
- Evaluate the bases of social stratification
- Discuss the various forms of social stratification
- Explain practical applications of theories of stratification
- List the roles and functions of stratification

5.2 MEANING OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Differentiation is the law of nature. This is true in the case of human society. Human society is not homogeneous but heterogeneous. Men differ from one another in many respects. Human beings are equal so far as their bodily structure is concerned. But the physical appearance of individuals, their intellectual, moral, philosophical, mental, economic, religious, political and other aspects are different. No two individuals are exactly alike. Diversity and inequality are inherent in society. Hence, human society is everywhere stratified.

All societies assign their members to roles in terms of superiority, inferiority and equality. This vertical scale of evaluation and placement of people in strata, or levels, is called **stratification**. Those in the top stratum have more power, privilege and prestige than those below.

Society compares and ranks individuals and groups

Members of a group compare different individuals, as when selecting a mate, or employing a worker, or dealing with a neighbour, or developing friendship with an individual. They also compare groups such as castes, races, colleges, cities and athletic teams. These comparisons are valuations, and when members of a group agree, these judgments are social evaluations.

All societies differentiate members in terms of roles and all societies evaluate roles differently. Some roles are regarded as more important or socially more valuable than others. The persons who perform the more highly esteemed roles are rewarded more highly. Thus, stratification is simply a process of interaction of differentiation whereby some people come to rank higher than others.

The concept of social stratification came into existence in the 1940s. The term 'stratification' was borrowed from geology. Geologists viewed the earth as the layering of rocks, wherein each layer had its own composition and was distinct from other layers. Similarly, sociologists opine that society consists of different strata in a hierarchy where the most privileged are at the top and the least privileged are at the bottom.

Sociologists believe that the rich have better 'life chances' than the poor because of their accessibility to quality education, safe neighbourhood, nutritional diet, health care facilities, police protection, and a wide range of goods and services. German sociologist Max Weber's term 'life chances' refers to the extent to which individuals have access to important societal resources, such as food, clothing, shelter, education and health care. There is scarcity of resources in the society due to their unequal distribution among different social groups.

Societies distinguish people by their race, caste, age and gender as well. This kind of stratification results in inequality. A nation's position in the system of global stratification also affects the system of stratification in a society. Thus, we can say that the division of society into strata results in social stratification. Now, let us see how different sociologists and critics define stratification.

Definitions of Stratification

Eminent sociologist Frank P. Gisbert says, 'Social stratification is the division of society into permanent groups of categories linked to each other by the relationship of superiority and subordination.'

According to American sociologist William J. Goode, 'Stratification is the system through which resources and rewards are distributed and handed down from generation to generation.'

Sociologist and author Chris Barker opines that social stratification involves 'classification of persons into groups based on shared socio-economic conditions... a relational set of inequalities with economic, social, political and ideological dimensions'.

Based on these definitions of social stratification, we can list out the attributes of social stratification as follows:

- Unequal distribution of power, privileges, prestige, resources and rewards
- Rank-status groups based on the criteria by which power, privileges and prestige are distributed
- The notion of high and low positions in the interaction and relations between these groups
- Prevalence of step-wise social inequality among different social groups in a given society

Some other important definitions of stratification by well-known sociologists and philosophers are as follows:

1. **Ogburn and Nimkoff:** The process by which individuals and groups are ranked in a more or less enduring hierarchy of status is known as stratification.
2. **Gisbert:** Social stratification is the division of society into permanent groups of categories linked with each other by the relationship of superiority and subordination.
3. **Melvin M. Tumin:** Social stratification refers to arrangement of any social group or society into a hierarchy of positions that are unequal with regard to power, property, social evaluation and/or psychic gratification.
4. **Lundberg:** A stratified society is one marked by inequality, by differences among people that are evaluated by them as being lower and higher.
5. **Raymond W. Murry:** Social stratification is a horizontal division of society into high and lower social units.

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The universality of social stratification

Social stratification is ubiquitous. In all societies, population is socially differentiated on the basis of age, sex and personal characteristics. The roles and privileges of children differ from those of adults; and those of good hunters or warriors differ from those of the rank and file. It is not customary to speak of a society as stratified if every individual in it has an equal chance to succeed to whatever statuses are open. Strictly speaking, there are no purely equalitarian societies, but only societies differing in degree of stratification. Even Russia which dreamt of a 'classless society' could not, any more than any other society, escape the necessity of ranking people according to their functions. The criterion of rank has changed along with values of society. P. A. Sorokin wrote in his *Social Mobility* that an 'uncertified society with real equality of its members is a myth which has never been realized in the history of mankind'.

Social differentiation and stratification

As it is clear from the above, all societies exhibit some system of hierarchy whereby its members are placed in positions that are higher or lower, superior or inferior, in relation to each other. The two concepts — 'social differentiation' and 'social stratification' — are made use of to refer to such classification or gradation and placement of people in society. In differentiation, society bases status on a certain kind of trait which may be (i) physical or biological, such as skin colour, physical appearance or sex (ii) social and cultural, such as differences in etiquette, manners, values, ideals, ideologies, and so on. Thus, differentiation serves as a sorting process according to which the people are graded on the basis of roles and status.

Stratification tends to perpetuate these differences in status. Hence, through this process, people are fixed in the structure of the society. In some cases (as it is in the case of caste), status may become hereditary. Differentiation may be considered the first stage preceding stratification in society, sorted and classified into groups. It does not, however, mean that all differentiation leads to stratification in society.

5.2.1 Characteristics of Social Stratification

According to American sociologist M. M. Tumin, the main attributes of stratification are as follows:

Social

Stratification is social in the sense that it does not represent biologically caused inequalities. It is true that strength, intelligence, age and sex are also factors that serve as distinguishing features, but this still do not explain why some strata of society receive more power, property and prestige than others. Biological characteristics also do not determine social superiority and inferiority until they are socially recognized and given importance. For example, the manager of an industry attains a dominant position not by his physical strength, nor by his age, but by having socially defined traits. His education, training skills, experience, personality, character, and so on, are found to be more important than his biological equalities.

Further, as Tumin has pointed out, the stratification system is: (i) governed by social norms and sanctions, (ii) is likely to be unstable because it may be disturbed by different factors, and (iii) is intimately connected with the other systems of society such as the political, family, religious, economic, educational and other institutions.

Ancient

The stratification system is quite old. According to historical and archaeological records, stratification was present even in the small wandering bands. Age and sex were the main criterion of stratification then. 'Women and children last' was probably the dominant rule of order. The difference between the rich and poor, powerful and humble, freemen and slaves existed in almost all the ancient civilizations. Ever since the time of Plato and Kautilya, social philosophers have been deeply concerned with economic, social and political inequalities.

Universal

The stratification system is a worldwide phenomenon. The difference between the rich and the poor or the 'haves' and the 'have nots' is evident everywhere. Even in the 'not literate' societies, stratification is very much present. As Russian American sociologist Pitirim Sorokin has said, all permanently organized groups are stratified.

Diverse forms

The stratification system has never been uniform in all the societies. The ancient Roman society was stratified into two sections: the patricians and the plebeians, the ancient Aryan society into four Varnas: the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and the Shudras; the ancient Greek Society into freemen and slaves; the ancient Chinese society into the mandarins, merchants, farmers, soldiers, and so on. Class, caste and estate seem to be the general forms of stratification to be found in the modern world. However, the stratification system seems to be much more complex in the civilized societies.

Consequential

The stratification system has its own consequences. The most important, most desired, and often the scarcest things in human life are distributed unequally because of stratification. The system leads to two main kinds of consequences: (i) 'life chances' and (ii) 'lifestyles'. 'Life chances' refer to such things as infant mortality, longevity, physical and mental illness, childlessness, marital conflict, separation and divorce. 'Lifestyles' include such matters as the mode of housing, residential area, one's education, means of recreation, relationships between the parents and children, the kind of books, magazines and TV shows to which one is exposed, one's mode of conveyance, and so on. Life chances are more involuntary, while lifestyles reflect differences in preferences, tastes and values.

5.2.2 Principles of Social Stratification

Some of the principles of social stratification are as follows:

- **Social stratification is a trait of society, not of an individual:** Social stratification reflects social traits and not individual traits. For example, irrespective of individual traits, children born into wealthy families enjoy better health, better schooling, better career opportunities and improved life chances vis-à-vis those children who are born in poor families.
- **Social stratification continues from generation to generation:** The division of society into a hierarchy is not a one-generation affair; it continues from generation to generation. People who are in higher strata of society pass on their land, properties and titles to their inheritors. There could be upward and downward

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mobility in their status, but they are viewed with respect in the society. In contrast, neo-rich families are not given the same respect.

- **Social stratification is universal but varies from society to society:** Social stratification is found in all societies but the basis of stratification may vary. In primitive society, social stratification was carried out on the basis of physical strength. However, in industrial society and socialist society, the basis of stratification are wealth and power, respectively.
- **Social stratification includes not just inequality but beliefs:** Social stratification not only stratifies society on the basis of inequality but also establishes beliefs and norms among the people. People who are in the lower strata of the society believe that they are in the lower position and behave according to their class position.

5.2.3 Social Stratification: Social Difference and Social Inequality

The existence of certain dissimilarities between the two units, things, individuals or groups causes difference. It does not mean that one group or individual is superior to the other, that is, it does not imply ranking or inequality. For instance, potters are different from carpenters, but they depend on one another for their needs of the respective products.

Social difference

The differences among individuals on the basis of social characteristics and qualities are known as 'social differences'. The concept of 'social stratification' is very broad, and it is possible to include under its ambit all types of 'differences' such as age, health and religion. However, social stratification based on gender or race is substantially different from social stratification based on age as the latter encompasses all people and creates spaces for everyone who occupy them at different stages of their lives. Social difference also involves assigning of tasks and responsibilities after taking into account the existence of differences.

Social inequality

The term 'social inequality' means unequal distribution of privileges and resources in the society, whereby some people possess more wealth, power and privileges than the rest of the people in the society. In most of these societies, people live with pre-existing notions of unequal power, status and economic resources. Those who are privileged with more money, power and superior social status continue to have greater accessibility to resources, for example, going to school, getting a university degree, and receiving technical and professional education that leads to better-paid jobs. Therefore, anyone who cannot afford this kind of education will be in a disadvantageous situation.

Social stratification is a particular form of inequality that refers to hierarchy. It means that the members of a society are assigned high and low ranks in various social groups, where weightage is given on the magnitude of power, prestige and wealth. The social inequality comprises both the vertical and horizontal division of a society, but social stratification only signifies the vertical division of a society. The people belonging to a 'strata' form a group, and they have common interest and a common identity. The people of a strata have some awareness of 'consciousness of kind' and share a similar way of life which distinguishes them from the people of other strata.

The form and the intensity may differ, but the perennial issue of 'social inequality' is a common feature of all world communities. We can say that the prevalence of 'inequality' is a part of human existence.

German-British sociologist and philosopher Ralf Dahrendorf distinguishes between inequalities of natural capabilities and those of social positions, and between inequalities that do not involve evaluative rank-order and those that do. Of these two pairs of distinctions, Dahrendorf works out four types of inequalities:

- Natural differences of kind
- Natural differences of rank
- Social differentiation of positions
- Social stratification based on reputation and wealth

In all the four types, 'individual' is evidently the focal point of status evaluation. Such a conception of social inequality, built on distribution of property, wealth, honour and power among individual members, would imply a certain ideological basis and a structural arrangement of people based upon those non-egalitarian and institutionalized norms. Social inequality is found in the division of labour, differentiation of roles, and even differential evaluation of different tasks and roles assigned to be taken up by the members of a society.

It is to be remembered that social inequality is not monolithic, especially in the context of caste. Also, a continuous structuring and restructuring takes place in social inequality.

It is also to be noted that inequality is a relational phenomenon, that is, it is not to be seen in an absolute sense. For instance, in a family, its members may be unequal on the basis of kinship-based statuses, but they are equal as members of an intimate primary primordial unit. Also, a family structure differs from that of a formal organization. Even when there is unequal distribution of work, or assignment of duties and responsibilities, members in a family are treated as equal. Thus, to evaluate social inequality in India on the basis of Western industrial society would be inappropriate, since this would undermine the role of social structure, culture, history and dialectics in India.

5.2.4 Major Dimensions of Social Stratification

In any society, individuals or groups are ranked along several dimensions of social stratification. It is obvious that rankings along many dimensions of social stratification may all be highly correlated with one another (i.e., 'all high', 'all medium' or 'all low' in rank) or much less highly correlated ('some high', 'some medium' and 'some low' in rank). The former is an example of status consistency. The latter is an example of status inconsistency, because according to some people, one may have a high status; according to some, a medium status; and according to some others, a low status.

Status consistency is the degree of uniformity in a man's/woman's social standing across the various dimensions of social inequality. A caste system has limited social mobility and high status consistency; so the typical person has the same relative ranking with regard to wealth, power and prestige.

The greater mobility of class systems produces less status consistency; so people are ranked higher on some dimensions of social standing and lower on others. For instance, in India, the academicians enjoy high social prestige even though they may be drawing modest salaries.

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Low status consistency means that it is difficult to define people's social position. Therefore, classes are much harder to define than castes. Some examples can throw some light on this phenomenon. If, for example, a high caste Brahmin marries a girl belonging to a comparatively lower caste, a status inconsistency is the likely outcome. Similarly, the marriage of the daughter of the nouveaux riche to man of distinguished lineage may give rise to the problem of status inconsistency. The position of the many high caste Brahmin priests with low occupational prestige is another phenomenon of this nature.

Several research studies and analyses have been conducted to investigate social stratification in these terms. It has been found that status inconsistency results in types of behaviour different from those caused by status consistency. It has also been found that each specific pattern of inconsistency has its own particular consequences. It has also been found that various types of status inconsistency may last long enough; and that there is no universal tendency toward status consistency, that is, toward highly positive correlation among the individual's several rankings.

Race/ethnicity and gender are the key dimensions of social stratification. As such, racial/ethnic and gender stratified opportunity structures result in the accumulation of disadvantages for women and racial/ethnic minorities, and consequently disparate aging experiences (Bird and Rieker, 1999; Moen and Spencer, 2006; Mullings and Schulz, 2006).

In all societies, there are differences between people in terms of the amount of power and wealth which they command. The basis of stratification—the division of people according to a hierarchical system—varies from society to society. In very simple societies, the divisions may be based on age and gender, older people having more power and prestige than younger ones, and men more than women.

In contemporary industrial societies, like Britain, sociologists argue that primary stratification is based on social class. Capitalist industrial societies are still stratified, and theories of social class still provide us with essential insights into the manner in which established inequalities in wealth and power associated with production and markets, access to educational and organizational resources, and so on, have systematically served to perpetuate these inequalities over time (Crompton, 1993).

Nevertheless, class processes are not the only factors contributing to the reproduction and maintenance of social inequalities. In a family, the numbering of birth of a child has got much important place. In some of the societies, if a child is born as the first child of a family, he/she gets special respect and privileges in the family.

In some other societies, the youngest child of the family enjoys some special privileges, rights and authorities. This is why the primogenitor and the ultimo genitor systems are widely prevalent in the society. The sex-gender system also provides a primary form of stratification, with men having more power and prestige than women.

A person's actual or perceived age has real consequences on how people perceive him and what opportunities he may or may not be given in society. The role of age in social stratification can be difficult to sort out because unlike race or caste, age does correspond to real differences in a person's experience and abilities.

For instance, a man is obviously too immature to do well in paying jobs until he grows out of childhood; and as he progresses through adulthood and into old age, he gains skills and experience, though in due course, he loses physical and even mental endurance and agility. Age can also be the basis for unfair discrimination—people may

be ill-treated as they are seen as being ‘too young’ or ‘too old,’ or may be esteemed just for being a certain age.

This has become a popular issue in contemporary society as people’s work lives have become longer and jobs have become less stable. A person who is middle-aged or older may find himself losing a job to a younger person who is no better qualified.

Further, this treatment may vary with other ascribed characteristics—women may face harsher age discrimination than men for some jobs, and vice-versa for others.

5.2.5 Bases of Social Stratification

The anthropologist Ralph Linton first coined the terms ‘ascribed status’ and ‘achieved status’ in his book *The Study of Man*. Ascribed status is the social status which is assigned to a person on his birth and remains fixed throughout his life. Thus, in societies which are based on ascription groups, people have little freedom to move to another group or status, whereas, in a society based on achievement, an individual can work his way up the social ladder through his talents, abilities and skills.

(i) Ascribed or biological bases of stratification

These are the attributes that a person is born with. The position of a person in the society is decided by these attributes. Some of these attributes are sex, race and caste. Now, let us study these bases of ascribed stratification:

- **Race/Caste stratification:** Discrimination on the basis of race or caste is the prime example of ascribed stratification. Here, race refers to the aspects of your physical appearance that make you a part of a particular group which is recognized by the society. Throughout history, people’s caste and the colour of their skin have determined their social status. Today, racism and casteism are considered extreme forms of discrimination.
- **Gender stratification:** Gender is also an important basis of social stratification. In many societies, men are considered more powerful and authoritative than women. Women are considered victims of social inequality. Some feminists point out that women do not form a homogenous group as their social status is also determined by their race, age, sexual preference and class. However, there are other feminists who believe that irrespective of these differences, there are some common characteristics among women across the world.
- Professor Lesley Doyal (University of Bristol, the UK) states that the women’s physique is the real constraint in their lives; and she explains this statement by saying, ‘this is evidenced by the fact that the fight for bodily self-determination has been a central feature of feminist politics across very different cultures.’

(ii) Achieved or socio-cultural bases of stratification

Social stratification is not only based on biological bases but on socio-cultural bases as well. A person can control some of the attributes like power, prestige, wealth and education. According to Max Weber, three Ps form the base of social stratification. These are Property (wealth), Power (influence) and Prestige (status). Generally, these three Ps occur together, that is, people who are wealthy tend to be powerful and have a prestigious status in the society. Yet, this is not always true. For example, a petty contractor may make more money than a school teacher but cannot have a prestigious status like him. Now, let us study the three Ps in detail.

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(a) **Power:** Weber sees power as the capacity of an individual to influence others. Favoured by Weber, the American sociologist Talcott Parsons believes that power is the universalized capacity of social system and is exercised to achieve collective goals. Power is classified into two categories:

1. Individualistic power situations
2. Organizational power situations

Individualistic power relationships are exercised by individuals, and they become organizational when these are exercised by social organizations. Generally, all power relations have individualistic as well as organizational elements. If the head of the family decides where to marry off his daughter, it is an individualistic power; but as a social unit, family exercises organizational power. Power is also classified as purposive and purposeless, and direct and indirect.

Activities which are intended to affect social order or cultural system come under purposive power. If an activity is not deliberately done to influence the society; but it still influences the society, it would be purposeless power. In case of direct use of power, power flows directly from bearer to the affected individual or group. In case of indirect use of power, other people exist between the bearer of power and the affected individuals or group.

(b) **Property or wealth:** It refers to material possessions and other things owned by people which help in producing income. Some of the examples of material possessions are money, land, building, jewellery and livestock. Income refers to money that people receive over a certain period of time, including salaries, rent, interest and wages. In advanced capitalist societies, money plays an important role in people's lives.

(c) **Prestige:** It is also an important basis of social stratification. However, it is subjective in nature unlike property and power. It is because prestige is intangible and depends on other people's perceptions and attitudes. It refers to social honour and respect. Prestige has several aspects. It may result from a person's social roles, socio-political activities, leadership qualities, physical attributes or a property. Social prestige is also related to authority, respect and influence.

Occupation is also an important means of social prestige. For example, doctors and managers enjoy better social prestige than peons or sweepers.

Weber believed that one of the most important factors in the rise of capitalism was the religious belief that wealthy people were smiled upon by God. In the modern capitalist societies, most people believe that people with more wealth have worked harder and are more deserving than people with less wealth.

Besides the three Ps, there are some other bases of social stratification as well. These are as follows:

- **Social network:** Social networks help a person in many social situations. Thus, a person with a good and large social network is considered more powerful than others. People make social network through their classmates, colleagues, acquaintances and neighbours.
- **Education:** Education helps a person in moving up the social ladder. When people attend school or college, they not only earn degrees but also make social network and learn a number of off-course things. All these things help people later in their lives. This is one of the reasons why most countries force children to attend school and strongly encourage adults to attend college.

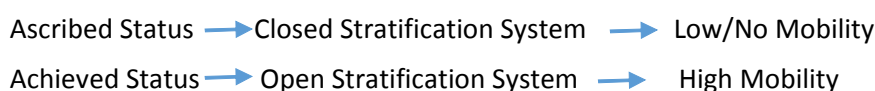
- **Human capital:** Human capital refers to useful skills that a person has learned. Some of the examples of human capital are knowledge about how to use a computer programme, ability to fix a car, knowledge of medical treatments, understanding of a country, state, or city's legal system and knowledge of sociology. Specialized skills are valuable in the job market.
- **Cultural capital:** The term 'cultural capital' was coined by a sociologist named Pierre Bourdieu. It refers to the knowledge of and a liking for high-status culture. According to Bourdieu, some of the examples of cultural capital are knowledge of classical music, ability to identify compositions with their composers, interest in art, and knowledge of fine wine and gourmet food. He states that none of this knowledge has much practical usage, but it shows that the person was raised by relatively wealthy and well-educated parents.

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(iii) Closed and Open Stratification Systems

Corresponding to the ascribed and achieved social stratification, there are two types of stratification systems, namely closed and open systems. Most sociologists agree that there is no stratification system which can be considered perfectly open. This implies that there is no system which is totally based on achieved statuses and where ascribed statuses do not help or hurt people in the long run.

When sociologists look at societies which have open stratification systems, they want to determine the extent to which the society is more open than closed. Sociologists determine the openness of a society's stratification system by finding out its permissible social mobility. These ideas can be understood with the help of following flow charts:



Many sociologists believe that inequality exists in all societies, but the degree of inequality varies from society to society. It implies that inequality is more severe in some societies than in others. David B. Grusky, a leading expert in inequality, notes that social stratification systems vary along a number of dimensions. These dimensions are as follows:

- **Type of assets:** Using this dimension, sociologists look at the main attribute that people high in the stratification order have more than others. In some societies, this attribute is money, and in others, it is human capital. Some societies respect people with political power, while others respect people with cultural prestige.
- **Classes:** Under this dimension, major classes in the society are observed. In a capitalist society, as German philosopher and economist Karl Marx said, there exist two classes namely bourgeoisie and proletariat. Other societies may have class classification such as slaves and slave-owners, or nobles and commoners.
- **Degree of inequality:** While studying this dimension, sociologists observe the extent of inequality between the people in the highest classes and those in the lowest classes. In medieval feudal society, inequality was very high, and in prehistoric tribal society, inequality was relatively low. According to David B. Grusky, Professor of Sociology at Stanford University, in our advanced industrial society, the degree of inequality is in between those two extremes.
- **Rigidity:** In this case, rigidity refers to the permissible social mobility. Traditional caste society allows virtually no mobility unlike modern societies.

Importance of studying social stratification

The study of social stratification is extremely important for sociologists. The importance of studying social stratification can be summed up as follows:

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- It helps in understanding the type of life people live. Knowing what type of life individuals in a given social group or stratum live is very important for sociological analysis.
- It helps in understanding the bases on which a society is stratified.
- It helps in understanding the kind of interaction and relationship that exist between individuals of different strata.
- It assists in investigating the relationship between individuals or groups belonging to the same hierarchy.
- It helps in understanding which type of social system gives rise to a particular type of hierarchy. It implies that the type of social stratification varies across cultures, times and types of social systems.

5.3 FORMS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

This section will examine four major systems of social stratification — slavery, social castes, social classes and estate. These systems can be seen as ideal types for analytical purposes. It may be pointed out that any social stratification system may include elements of more than one type.

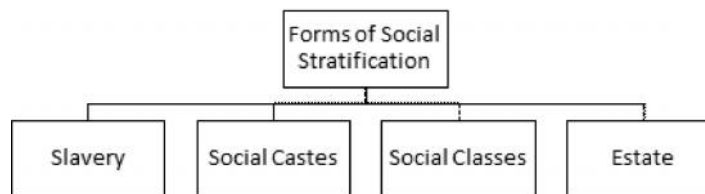


Fig. 5.1 Forms of Social Stratification

5.3.1 Slavery

The most radical, legalized, social inequality for individuals or groups is slavery. The most unique feature of this crushing system of stratification is that one human being owns another. These individuals are treated as possessions, just like household pets or appliances. Slavery has been practised in different forms. In ancient Greece, the main source of slaves consisted of captives of war and piracy. Though the slave status could be inherited, it was not permanent. A person's status might be changed depending on the outcome of the military conflict between kingdoms. On the other hand, in the United States and Latin America, racial and legal barriers were established to prevent the freeing of slaves. In other words, in whatever form it existed, it had required extensive use of coercion in order to maintain the privileges of slave owners.

Some social analysts believe that there have been five slave societies in history. Here, slave societies mean those places where slavery affected the social and economic conditions to a great extent. These societies were ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, the United States, the Caribbean and Brazil.

Check Your Progress

1. Define stratification.
2. List out the attributes of social stratification.
3. What do you mean by 'social inequality'?
4. State the categories of power.

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British liberal political theorist and sociologist L. T. Hobhouse is of the view that a slave is a man whom law and custom regard as property of some other person. He further states that in some cases, slaves do not have any rights, and in other cases, they may be victims of cruelty. According to British Marxist sociologist Thomas Burton Bottomore, the basis of slavery is always economic. In the 1600s, the United States imported slaves, which was a legal practice in the United States in those days. This is evident from the fact that the early US presidents such as George Washington, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson owned slaves.

Some of the characteristics of slavery, as practised in the United States, are as follows:

- Slavery was hereditary in nature, that is, children of slaves were also considered slaves.
- Slaves were not treated like human beings as they were considered the owners' property.
- They did not have any rights.
- They were treated in a cruel manner.

Most of the slaves considered themselves powerless; thus, they did not attempt to bring a change in the system. However, some tried to challenge the system and their position by being careless in their work, working at a slow speed, not working at all, and running away from their master's house. This practice has officially ended many years ago. Many sociologists opine that the ideologies of equality and justice have led to the abolition of slavery from the world. Other reasons behind the abolition of this practice include denunciation of slavery as a barbaric institution and the inefficiency of slave labour.

However, Patricia Hill Collins (Professor of Sociology at the University of Maryland, College Park) opined that the legacy of slavery is deeply embedded in the United States even in the present scenario, which can be seen in the current patterns of prejudice and discrimination against African Americans.

Stanley L. Engerman, an economist, also believes that the world is not completely free from slavery. In this context, he says that slavery cannot end from the world as long as there are 'debt bondage, child labour, contract labour and other varieties of coerced work for limited periods of time, with limited opportunities for mobility, and with limited political and economic power'.

5.3.2 Social Class

A **social class** is a group of individuals who have more or less similar wealth. The possession of wealth enables the individual to obtain those goods and services that are scarce and are valued by others. These goods and services differ from society to society. In traditional society, the wealthy person may buy land and gold, while in modern society, he may invest in the stock market or buy luxurious cars or go aboard for vacations. Wealth allows the person to create more wealth if he invests it prudently. Most modern societies have class based stratification. However, many features of traditional stratification may be observed in modern societies, such as elements of caste system and feudalism found in India. However, with economic development, class based stratification is becoming increasingly important.

Class is a relatively open stratification system

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Any society is said to be relatively open or closed depending on the number of opportunities available to its members for upward social mobility. Equally important is the attitude of the society towards the mobility of its members. If the society offers a large number of opportunities and encourages members to achieve higher positions, then the society can be called an open stratification society. On the other hand, if the society has a limited number of opportunities for upward mobility and its normative values prohibit its members from achieving higher positions, that society is called a closed stratification society. Along with development, the system of stratification becomes open and achievement oriented.

The class system is a form of open stratification system. An individual with his achievements can gain entry to a higher class and acquire prestige. There are examples of individuals who by their hard work and achievements rose from poverty and became millionaires. Modern society appreciates such individuals as they are seen as models for others.

Social mobility in modern societies is based on intelligence, merit, competence and achievement of individuals. However, in every society, in spite of the openness, factors like socio-economic background, parental status and resources, social networks and various ascribed factors play an important role in determining individual motivation, achievement and the availability of opportunities. Since these factors are not in control of the individual and cannot be easily modified to his advantage, it cannot be said that modern societies are fully achievement oriented and open.

That is why we have said class based societies are relatively open, that is, in relation to other societies. We will shortly study the caste system, which is a relatively closed stratification system.

Social hierarchy in traditional societies is formed by ascription, while in class based societies, achievement plays an important role. In other words, the difference between traditional and modern social hierarchies lies in the difference between (status ascribed and status achieved being) the bases of social stratification. Traditional social hierarchies are based on ascribed states, while modern social hierarchies are based on achieved status.

The level of competition in modern society is high and only the fittest can survive.

Social workers have to remember two consequences of an achievement based society. Since achievement is stressed, failures of an individual are looked down upon by others and they lose their self-esteem. You may have read in newspapers about school children committing suicide after failing in school exams. It is the desire for high achievement and fulfilling the high expectations of others that pressurize vulnerable students to take this extreme step. Secondly, an achievement based society should provide the minimum facilities of health, education and housing to individuals to make them fit for competition. In countries like India, we find that these essential facilities are not provided to all and many people are unable to compete with others on an equal basis. This makes the social situation unfair to these people. The government and voluntary organizations implement welfare and development programmes to enable disadvantaged people to enter the mainstream of society.

Impact of class system in India

Membership of particular class groups influences the behaviour of its members. It makes them conscious about their position in society. However, in the Indian context, more importance is given to caste and related issues rather than class factors. The class character in India is quite different from western societies. Here class and caste categories co-exist in India and class categories like upper, middle and lower are parallel to caste categories. They jointly determine the class status, power and prestige of the individual in the society. Studies have shown that the upper classes, predominantly belong to the upper castes, which are an ascribed status. There have been significant changes in the last decades but the pattern still continues. The accumulation and distribution of resources including education is determined by the social position of the individual. Those who are higher in terms of the class and caste terms control available resources to a great extent, leaving behind a section of the Indian population below and around the poverty line. The forces of globalization and liberalization seem to have widened the gap between the haves and have-nots, between the rich and the poor, between urban people, and rural people and the upper caste and the lower class and lower caste.

There are three methods which are used for the determination of social class. These are as follows:

- **Objective method:** Under this method, sociologists use 'hard facts' for the determination of social class.
- **Subjective method:** Under this method, sociologists ask various questions from people to know their perception about their own class.
- **Reputational method:** In this method, various questions are asked from people of different social classes to know their perception about other classes.

According to Barbara Katz Rothman (Professor of Sociology at the City University of New York), 'Class system is a type of stratification based on the ownership and control of resources and on the type of work people do.' This form of social stratification is not fixed as it is achieved by people on the basis of their property, profession and achievements. Thus, it is flexible and changeable. Change of class can take place with the help of social mobility, be it upward mobility or downward mobility.

Members of a class have common economic interest and class consciousness. There is no concrete, objective or scientific criterion of class structure. Sociologists have considered family, property, lifestyle, prestige, residential place, type of house, children's school, membership of associations and clubs for determining class status. Karl Marx analysed two types of class:

- (i) Bourgeoisie
- (ii) Proletariat

According to Marxist theory, bourgeoisie is the ruling class which consists of capitalists, manufacturers, bankers and other employers; and proletariat is the working class. The former class owns the means of production, whereas the latter sells their labour in order to survive.

According to Bottomore, there are four types of classes. These are as follows:

- (i) Upper class
- (ii) Middle class
- (iii) Working class
- (iv) Peasantry

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People who belong to the upper class are exceptionally rich. They live in exclusive regions and send their children to the best schools. They are influential and powerful people. The middle class consists of white-collar workers and professional groups. The working class includes industrial skilled and semi-skilled workers who are minimally educated and engage in manual labour. People who belong to the peasantry class earn their livelihood by cultivation and allied occupations.

5.3.3 Caste

Caste is a much debated topic in India. The word 'caste' refers to the Spanish word 'Casta' which means 'breed' in Spanish. In the Indian context, it represents caste and its related social practice. The caste system influences the social life of the Indian in a number of ways, as it assigns ascribed status to its members. According to the *Rig Veda* the oldest and most important of all the four Vedas, there are four Varnas which are placed in a hierarchical order — the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudras. The profession of Brahmans is that of priests and teachers. The Kshatriyas are warriors and rulers. The Vaishyas are traders and other common people. The Shudras occupy the lowest position in the hierarchy and perform the menial tasks. According to some historians, there is a fifth Varna, the untouchables, and they are not considered as a part of society. The tribes and people of other religions are also considered outside the Varna system. Individuals are born into a caste and membership of a caste is determined by birth. An individual cannot change his or her caste. However, there are instances where castes as a whole, after an improvement in economic status and changes in lifestyles, have claimed a higher status in society. Such claims may or may not be accepted. The dominant castes might react adversely to the claim. But even if the claim is accepted the caste system remains intact. However, the process of Sanskritization, inter-caste marriage and advancement of education has changed the degree of the rigidity of the caste system in India.

According to Indian Professor of sociology G. S. Ghurye, caste has six characteristics:

1. **Hierarchy:** Hierarchy is superior-subordinate relationship between various individuals and groups. Hierarchy in one form or another exists in every society but the principle of determining the hierarchy differs from society to society. In India, caste is the main basis of social hierarchy. The degree of ritual purity and impurity associated with a particular caste determines its position in the hierarchy. Wealth and power are not the determining factors. For example, a Brahmin whose economic status is lower than a Rajput is accorded a superior position because of his higher ritual status.

In reality, however, political and economic factors do play a significant role in determining the position of the caste. Sociologists have pointed out that high ritual status does not actually translate into a higher social status. For example, while a Rajput may not have as important a role in ritual matters as the Brahmins, it is unlikely that he will give a higher status to the Brahmin in other matters. According to sociologist, M. N. Srinivasan, a dominant caste is that caste in the community that has a sufficiently high ritual status, numerical strength and material resources like land, wealth and access to power. It is the combination of these factors which keeps a caste high in the hierarchy. The dominant caste often has a major role to play in the village politics and its social life.

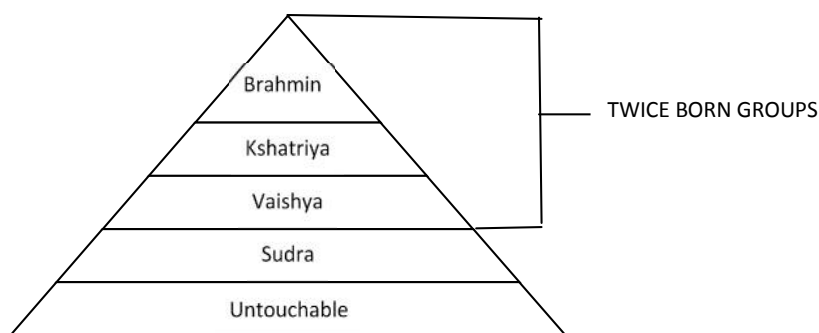


Fig. 5.2 Hierarchy of Indian Caste System

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2. Segmented division of society: Castes are well-developed groups with membership based on birth and not by selection. The rights and duties of the individuals are controlled by caste councils, which exist in every caste. These councils have large powers to regulate the social life of its members. They can enforce order by punishing offenders for a variety of offences. Offences include adultery, causing injury to others; killing and punishments can include the imposition of fines, ordering corporal punishment and even the death sentence. Many castes have their own gods and goddesses that are not a part of the larger religious tradition. Thus, caste has a sufficient degree of autonomy in dealing with the issues related to its members, and is independent of the controls by the government.

3. Restrictions on feeding and social intercourse: The exchange of cooked food between various castes is based on specific rules and conditions. Certain castes accept only certain kind of foods from members of other castes. Food items are divided into pakka and kucha food. Pakka is cooked in ghee and are considered superior to kucha food which is cooked in water. A Brahmin can take only pakka food from Kshatriyas and Vaishyas but not from Shudras and untouchables. On the other hand, Kshatriyas will take kucha food from a Brahmin but only accept pakka food from the Vaishyas who are lower than them. The distinctions in the offering and taking of food are based on the positions of the caste involved.

Such kinds of differences are seen in the maintenance of social distance between different castes. The physical distance between castes reflects the caste positions.

For example, in traditional Kerala society, a *Nayyar* may approach a *Nambudri* but cannot touch him, whereas a member of the *Tiya* caste (lower than the *Nayyar* caste) has to maintain a distance of 36 steps from the *Nambudri*.

4. Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of different castes: Different castes in the hierarchy have different rights and privileges. The result is that social life is segregated on the basis of caste. In north Indian villages, impure castes are segregated, while pure castes live together. In South India, all castes tend to be segregated. In Tamil Nadu, for example, we find that the place where Hindus live are called Ur and where dalits live are called Cheri. The Cheri is situated at a distance from the village.

Ghurye gives a number of instances from the late 19th century and early 20th century to show how these disabilities were enforced. For instance, in

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Viakomom, a town in the princely state of Travancore, Shudras were not allowed to walk on the temple streets. A nationwide agitation by prominent leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Periyar against these discriminatory practices changed the situation.

Similarly in Pune, a Shudra could not enter the city in the morning and evening as their long shadows would pollute the high caste members. We also find differential treatment in the punishments for committing similar crimes. For example, if caught stealing, a Brahmin had to pay only a fine but for the same crime, a Shudra had to undergo corporal punishment. There are a number of places even today in India where Shudras are not allowed to offer prayers in the temples.

The religious practices reinforced this hierarchy and Shudras had liabilities that were attached to their caste status. They could not enter the most inner part of the temple, the sanctum sanctorum. Only Brahmins were allowed this privilege. In rural areas, even now, there is discrimination against lower caste members. We often hear of caste violence after lower caste members were disallowed by higher caste members to take out a marriage procession or funeral procession on the main street.

- 5. Lack of unrestricted choice of occupation:** Membership of the caste is hereditary and each caste had a traditionally assigned occupation. Regardless of the individual's aptitudes and skills, he had to adopt the occupation of his caste. In the same way, every occupation was linked to a specific caste. So each caste has one occupation and that occupation was the presence of that caste only. For example, only a Brahmin could become a priest because of his birth in a Brahmin family. Education was imparted on the basis of caste. Young members would be attached to older members to train them in the occupational skills of the caste. There was no universal and common education. However, sociologists have pointed out that inspite of such restrictions on occupations, there were certain occupations like weaving, agriculture and military that were open to all castes.

In pre-modern times, the economic relations between the various castes was in the form of the jajmani system. Each service caste performed a particular function for the landlords. They used to receive payment in kind and commonly on an annual basis. The service castes and the higher castes had a client-patron relationship. In modern times, their relation has undergone a change.

- 6. Endogamy:** Endogamy refers to the marriage practice in which the members of a group marry from within the group members. Endogamy is an important characteristic of the caste system. In many castes, there is endogamy at the sub-caste level. For example, Iyers and Iyengars may not marry between each other even though both are Tamil Brahmins.

There are, however, exceptions to the rule. These exceptions pertain to hypergamy and hypogamy. When a higher caste man marries a low caste woman, it is called hypergamy and when a lower caste man marries a higher caste woman, it is called hypogamy. Hypergamy is allowed, whereas hypogamy is strictly forbidden. It is a matter of prestige for the lower caste family if their daughter had been accepted by a higher caste's man and family. An example of this practice is marriage between a male *Nambudri* and a *Nayyar* woman.

Caste in other religions

Among the major religions of the world, caste exists only in Hinduism. However, in India, adherents of virtually all religions seem to have caste-like divisions. The Muslims, the Christians, the Buddhists and Sikhs, all seem to follow the principle of inclusion and hierarchy in different ways. Islam and Christianity believe in radical equality between its members. However, the existence of caste-like practices shows that in some aspects the social milieu in which a religion is practiced, influences it more than its theology. This is the case of Sikhism and Buddhism also.

Caste-like differences may be observed in religions other than Hinduism. In Sikhism, there are groups like Jat Sikhs and Mazhabi Sikhs. They do not intermarry. In Islam, four groups were identified that can be compared to castes: Syeds, Sheikhs, Pathans and Mughals. Syeds claim that they are the direct descendants of Prophet Muhammad, while Sheikhs claim that they are descendants of the tribe of Prophet Muhammad. Pathans and Mughals are considered to be the warrior class comparable to Kshatriyas in Hinduism. Other groups in Islam are based on professions they pursue like weavers butchers, water carriers, and so on. These groups are considered lower in status than Syeds, Sheikhs, Pathans and Mughals. Most of these groups are endogamous. There is limited social intercourse between these members. However, anyone from any social group, if competent in religious knowledge, can become a priest or moulvi.

Christianity is also an egalitarian religion and has encouraged conversions of people from all castes during different periods of history. Many of these castes have retained their caste identities even after their conversion to Christianity, and this has influenced their social behaviour. However, Islam and Christianity have no concept of pollution and purity, which is central to Hinduism. Hence, these religions were less influenced by caste than Hinduism.

Mythological background of Indian caste system

According to *Rig Veda*, a sacred text which is approximately 3,000 years old, Brahma created a primordial man out of clay. The ancestors of the four caste groups sprang from various parts of his body. Brahmins sprang from his mouth and were given the task of fulfilling spiritual needs of the community. Kshatriyas sprang from his arms and they were entrusted with the task of protecting people of other castes. Vaishyas sprang from thighs and were asked to take care of commerce and agriculture. Shudras sprang from feet and they were to perform manual labour. Thus, each group had an important role in the functioning of the society. A fifth category named 'Untouchables' was conceptualized later. The untouchables were supposed to carry out menial work related to decay and dirt.

Historical background of Indian caste system and Varna

The Sanskrit word 'varna' means 'colour'. The early Aryans used the colour of the skin to differentiate themselves from the dark-skinned non-Aryans. This was the first division in the Indian society. The Aryans brought numerous slaves from the conquered non-Aryan population and named them *dasas*. The institution of slavery in Aryan society had a profound influence on the development of caste system on one hand, and the status of women on the other. The slaves were given menial tasks which involved strenuous physical labour. The large number of female slaves in these societies lowered the status of women in general.

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Gradually, with the growth of a composite 'Indian race', Aryans lost their distinct social identity. *Dasas* now became accepted as members of this composite community and were called Shudras. The composite society then got divided into four groups, namely Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. In the course of time, numerous racial and tribal groups came together and each of these became a separate caste. It is possible that with the assimilation of such groups, the institution of untouchability came into being.

In the early religious texts, there are references that Brahmins avoided the sight or presence of Shudra at the time of recitation of sacred texts or performance of rituals. For instance, it is written in a religious text that a Brahmin must interrupt his study of sacred texts if he discovers that there is a Shudra present. Such references clearly show that the custom of considering Shudra as unclean and his presence as polluting had made its appearance as early as the 2nd century BC. This ritualistic 'untouchability' soon developed into lifelong 'untouchability' for Shudras.

Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who came to India in the early part of the 7th century AD, mentioned that groups like the 'Chandalas' were required to warn the passer-by of their coming or their presence on the road by striking two blocks of wood against each other. This shows that the institution of untouchability had been firmly established in the society by then.

The caste system is still prevalent in India. However, it is undergoing a lot of changes due to industrialization, urbanization, modern education, means of communication and transportation.

Theories of caste system

There are a number of theories on the origin of caste system. It is because the caste system is a complex phenomenon. There is no unanimity among scholars about its origin. Let us study some of the theories of caste system.

- (i) **Traditional theory:** The sources of the emergence of this theory are Vedas, Shastras, Upanishads and *Dharmshastras*. This theory, as discussed above, states that Lord Brahma created a primordial man out of clay. The ancestors of the four varna groups sprang from various parts of his body. Further, the theory states that other castes emerged through the process hypergamy and miscegenation of the varnas.

Critics opine that this theory explains the emergence of varnas but fails to explain the creation of various castes among the varnas. On these grounds, they find this theory irrational and inaccurate. Many critics feel that caste does not emerge merely through the process of hypergamy and intermarriages, and that several other factors are responsible for this phenomenon.

- (ii) **Racial theory:** Some sociologists like G. S. Ghurye, Herbert Risley and N. K. Dutta believe that caste emerged due to racial mixture and miscegenation. Risley adds that castes came into existence with the advent of Aryans to India during 1,500 BC. When Aryans invaded India and won battles from non-Aryans, they believed that they were physically, culturally or racially superior to the defeated races of India.

After sometime, Aryans began to marry non-Aryan women. In this way, hypergamy began to be practised but hypogamy was prohibited, that is, they used to marry women of higher castes but marrying women of lower castes was

prohibited. Whenever the rules of hypergamy and hypogamy were disobeyed, the child of that union was called *varna-shankara*. Further, this group developed into a distinct caste. In this process, several other castes emerged.

Ghurye too agreed with Risley's theory of caste. He believed that the racial and cultural contact between Aryans and non-Aryans are the determining factors of the origin of the caste system. He held the view that to maintain the purity of blood, Aryans prohibited hypogamy.

This theory has been criticized on various grounds. Critics believe that racial mixture is a significant factor of the origin of caste, but it is not the sole factor. Thus, they criticize this theory because it does not mention other significant factors. Some of them question that if racial contact is a dominant factor of emergence of caste, then why this system could emerge only in India.

- (iii) Religious theory:** A. M. Hocart and Emile Senart are the proponents of this theory. According to Hocart, caste system came into existence due to religious practices and rituals. Religion held an important place in ancient India. The king, who was considered the representative of God, was the chief of religious as well as administrative works. Religious works were performed in the form of *yagya*, *havans* and *bali* (offerings to God). These rituals were performed after the contributions made by several groups like Brahmins recited hymns for *havans*, potters used to make utensils for religious practices and gardeners used to bring flowers for worship. These groups were divided into different social strata according to the 'purity' of their respective works.

This theory is criticized because it considers religion as the only determining factor of caste. Thus, it is a unilateral theory that ignores other factors.

- (iv) Occupational theory:** Well-known sociologist J. C. Nesfield propounded this theory. He said that 'function and function alone is responsible for the origin of caste system'. He criticized racial and religious theories of caste and claimed that occupation is the only determining factor of caste. Nesfield states that occupation of most of the castes is fixed to a large extent. It is because caste is determined by the occupation which a man's forefathers were in. The high and low rank of caste depends on 'pollution and purity' of their jobs. The people who were in the occupations which were considered to be 'pure' in that society were ranked higher in the hierarchy of the caste system than the people who performed 'impure' jobs.

Sir Denzil Ibbetson, an administrator in British India, states that the process of formation of caste has three stages. The first stage was tribal stage when people had some knowledge of all the current works. The second stage was of professional association in which every occupation had its own association. In the third stage, these occupational groups developed into hereditary groups and took the form of caste.

Famous anthropologist John Henry Hutton criticized this theory on the ground that these types of 'professional groups' developed in other parts of the world as well, but there was no development of caste in those parts.

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Check Your Progress

5. List some of the characteristics of slavery.
6. Define social class.
7. What type of methods are used for the determination of social class?
8. Differentiate between hypergamy and hypogamy.

5.4 THEORIES: FUNDAMENTAL, MARXISM AND WEBERIAN

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Since the second half of the 19th century, four broad sociological theories have been used to explain and interpret the phenomenon of social stratification. They are discussed in the following sections.

5.4.1 Natural Superiority Theory

Natural superiority theory, also referred to as social Darwinism, was a popular and widely accepted theory of social stratification in the late 19th and early 20th century. The main advocate of social Darwinism was Herbert Spencer, an English sociologist, who saw social organization as an environment. It is believed that certain individuals and groups had the requisite skills or attributes to compete and to rise in that environment. Others, not so skilled or less competitive, would fail. The social Darwinists believed that their theory was part of the law of nature. Some other sociologists believed that the social inequality arising out of stratification is biologically based. Such beliefs are often heard in the case of racial stratification where, for example, whites claim biological superiority over the blacks. Even in terms of gender stratification, the underlying principle is that the men are biologically superior to women. However, the question of a relationship between the biologically based inequality and socially created inequality is difficult to answer.

Rousseau refers to biologically based inequality as natural or physical, because it is established by the nature, particularly with respect to the age, health, bodily strength and the qualities of the mind. In comparison, socially created inequality consists of different privileges, which some men enjoy to the prejudice of others, such as that of being richer, more honoured, or more powerful. However, biologically based inequalities between men are treated as small and relatively unimportant, whereas socially created inequalities provide the major basis for systems of social stratification.

5.4.2 Functionalist Theory of Social Stratification

The functionalist theory is a theory that is most concerned with how societies maintain order. Generally, the functionalist theorists have tended to stress stability, consensus and integration in society.

Functionalists assume that the society is similar to that of a human body, comprising several parts which form an integrated whole. Like the human body, the society's institutions must function properly to maintain the stability of the entire social system.

Further, certain functional prerequisites must be met if the society is to function effectively and in order. Social stratification, therefore, becomes a tool to see how far it meets these functional prerequisites. Talcott Parsons, the leading proponent of functionalist model, differentiated societies as falling on a continuum between ascribed-status-based societies and achievement based societies. Societies in which individuals were value based on their family position, sex, race or other traits of birth are viewed as the traditional end of the continuum. On the other end is the modern society, in which a system of rewards is used to aid in fulfilling a complex division of labour. According to Parsons, more difficult positions that demanded considerable responsibility required a system of rewards to motivate individuals to take them. In his view, stratification — which is, by

definition, social inequality — was both necessary and agreeable. Parsons believed that stratification was necessary to provide rewards for people who would take on the additional responsibility tied to difficult positions, and in his view, stratification was desirable because it allowed the social system to function smoothly. Parsons's ideas on social stratification were further developed by two American sociologists Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore in their essay 'Some Principles of Stratification', published in *American Sociological Review* in 1945. They shared the common notions with Parsons in so far as stating that the social stratification is universal, functional and integral to fulfilling the division of labour in society.

According to Davis and Moore, no society is classless or un-stratified. Davis and Moore argued that it was necessary and functional for the society to have a varied set of rewards in relation to the varied levels of sacrifices required by some jobs. In other words, there are some jobs that require individuals to possess special talents or to develop special skills. These jobs may also require that the individual filling the position works with utmost care. Therefore, Davis and Moore find it logical that societies developed a system of rewards, whereby those jobs requiring the greatest preparation and responsibility are rewarded more highly than are other positions. The social order has developed a differentiated system of rewards, which as led to social stratification.

Thus, Davis and Moore argue that one of society's most important functional prerequisites is the effective role allocation and performance. Namely, all roles must be filled by persons best able to perform them, who have the necessary training for them and who will perform these roles conscientiously. If the duties associated with various positions would be equally present to everyone and all would depend on the same talent and ability, then it would make no difference as to who got into which position. However, it does make a great deal of difference mainly because some positions are inherently more agreeable than others. Davis and Moore suggest that the importance of a position in a society can be measured in two ways, i.e., the degree to which the position is functionally unique, there being no other position that can perform the work satisfactorily (e.g., a doctor's role is more important than that of a nurse) and then by the degree to which other positions are dependent on the one in question.

In sum, Parsons, Davis and Moore present a view of structured inequality as being necessary to maintain social order and, therefore, society's survival, and as being based on a general agreement among the members of the society.

5.4.3 Marxian Theory of Social Stratification

The Marxist perspectives generally regard modern society as being divided primarily into two classes — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat — on the basis of property ownership or non-ownership of property. Marx understood classes to be economically determined by the difference between owners of the means of production and non-owning direct producers. Class differences, therefore, are determined by the mode of production.

Marx and Frederich Engels have divided history into five distinct epochs of production: primitive communism, Slave societies, feudal societies capitalism and socialist society. Of these, only the ancient, the feudal and the capitalist phases received special treatment by both Marx and Engels. Ancient society was based on slavery; feudal society was based on serfdom, and capitalism on wage labour. Each of these societies was divided into two major classes: the oppressors and the oppressed or the exploiters and the exploited. In every case, the exploiters are made up of those who own the means of

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production, but do not produce. The exploited are those who do not own the means of production but are the direct producers of social goods and services. Because the exploited do not own the means of production, they are forced, in order to live, to work for those who own and control the productive conditions of life. The exploiters live by means of the surplus produced by the exploited. As a result, the social mode of production also reproduces the social relations of production. Thus, the relationship between the exploiters and the exploited is constantly renewed and conserved. The Marxists, therefore, in contrast to the functionalists regard stratification as a divisive rather than an integrative structure and the focus was on social strata rather than social inequality in general.

Marx also spoke of the hostilities between the two classes. Three terms—class consciousness, class solidarity and class conflict — are important in understanding the dynamics of class conflict in the Marxist approach to the study of stratification. Class consciousness is the recognition by a class, such as workers, of the role its members play in the productive process and their relation to the owning class. Class solidarity refers to the degree to which workers collaborate to achieve their political and economic targets. Class conflict is divided into two types: (1) the involuntary conflict between the workers and the capitalists for shares in the productive output at a time when class consciousness is not developed and (2) the conscious, deliberate and collective struggle between the two classes when the workers become aware of their historic role. According to Marx, social change occurs as a sequel to class struggle. Marx said that the revolution of the proletariat will bring an end to the class conflict, i.e., the conflicting interests between the ruling class (bourgeoisie) and the subject class (proletariat).

5.4.4 Weberian Theory of Social Stratification

The work of the German sociologist Max Weber represents one of the important developments in the stratification theory. According to Weber, stratification is based on three types of social formation, namely class, status and power or party. Property differences generate classes, power differences generate political parties and prestige differences generate status groupings or strata.

Like Marx, Weber sees class in economic terms and believes that classes are a group of individuals who share the same position in the market economy. Weber distinguishes four class groups in the capitalist society:

- (i) Propertied upper class
- (ii) Property-less white-collar workers
- (iii) Petty bourgeoisie
- (iv) Manual working class

In his analysis of class, Weber differs from Marx on some important grounds. For instance, Weber says that the factors other than ownership or non-ownership of property are significant in the class formation, and he rejects the Marxist view of the inevitability of the proletariat revolution. Weber also disagrees with the Marxist view that political power is derived from the economic power. He says that groups form because their members share a similar status situation. While ‘class’ refers to the unequal distribution of economic rewards, ‘status’ refers to the unequal distribution of social honour. Weber also looks at ‘parties’ or groups which are specifically concerned with influencing policies and making decisions in the interests of their membership.

Check Your Progress

9. Who was the main advocate of social Darwinism?
10. What are the Marxist perspectives on social stratification?
11. Name the two types of class conflicts.
12. List the class groups in the capitalist society.

5.5 FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The glimpse of the cultures of the world reveals that no society is 'classless', that is, uncertified. All the known established societies of the world are stratified in one way or the other. According to Wilbert Moore and Kingsley Davis, the stratification system evolved in all the societies due to the functional necessity. As they have pointed out, the main functional necessity of the system is: '... the requirement faced by any society of placing and motivating individuals in the social structure... Social inequality is, thus, an unconsciously evolved device by which societies ensure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons.' As analysed by eminent sociologist H. M. Johnson, certain things here can be noted about the 'functional necessity' of the class stratification system.

Encourages hard work

One of the main functions of class stratification is to induce people to work hard to live up to the values. Those who best fulfil the values of a particular society are normally rewarded with greater prestige and social acceptance by others. It is known that occupations are ranked high if their functions are highly important and the required personnel is very scarce. Hard work, prolonged training and heavy burden of responsibility are associated with such occupational positions. People undertaking such works are rewarded with money, prestige, comforts, and so on. Still we cannot say that all those positions which are regarded as important are adequately compensated for.

Ensures circulation of elites

To some extent, class stratification helps to ensure what is often called 'the circulation of the elite'. When a high degree of prestige comforts and other rewards are offered for certain positions, there will be some competition for them. This process of competition helps to ensure that the more efficient people are able to rise to the top, where their ability can best be used.

Serves an economic function

The competitive aspect has a kind of economic function in that it helps to ensure the rational use of available talent. It is also functionally necessary to offer differential rewards if the positions at the top are largely ascribed as it is in the case of the caste system. Even in the caste system, the people at the top can lose their prestige if they fail to maintain certain standards. Hence, differential rewards provide the incentives for the upper classes to work at maintaining their positions.

Prevents waste of resources

The stratification system prevents the waste of scarce resources. The men in the elite class actually possess scarce and socially valued abilities and qualities, whether these are inherited or acquired. Because of their possession of these qualities, their enjoyment of some privileges, such as extra comfort and immunity from doing menial work, are functionally justified. It becomes functionally beneficial for the society to make use of their talents without being wasted. For example, it would be a waste to pour the resources of society into the training of doctors and engineers, and then make them work as peons and attendants. When once certain individuals are chosen and are trained for certain

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difficult positions, it would be dysfunctional to waste their time and energy on tasks for which there is enough manpower.

Stabilizes and reinforces the attitudes and skills

Members of a class normally try to limit their relations to their own class. More intimate relationships are mostly found between fellow class-members. Even this tendency has its own function. It tends to stabilize and reinforce the attitudes and skills that may be the basis of upper-class position. Those who have similar values and interests tend to associate comfortably with one another. Their frequent association itself confirms their common values and interests.

Helps to pursue different professions or jobs

The values, attitudes and qualities of different classes do differ. This difference is also functional for society to some extent because society needs manual as well as non-manual workers. Many jobs are not attractive to highly trained or ‘refined’ people for they are socialized to aspire for certain other jobs. Because of the early influence of family and socialization, the individuals imbibe in them certain values, attitudes and qualities relevant to the social class to which they belong. This will influence their selection of jobs.

Social control

Further to the extent that ‘lower class’ cultural characteristics are essential to society, the classes are, of course, functional. In fact, certain amount of mutual antagonism between social classes is also functional. To some extent, upper-class and lower-class groups can act as negative reference groups for each other. Thus, they act as a means of social control also.

Controlling effect on the ‘shady’ world

Class stratification has another social control function. Even in the ‘shady’ world of gamblers and in the underworld of lower criminals, black-marketers, racketeers, smugglers, and so on, the legitimate class structure has got respectability. They know that money is not substitute for prestige but only a compensation for renouncing it. Hence, instead of continuing in a profitable shady career, such people want to gain respectability for their money and for their children, and they try to enter legitimate fields and become philanthropists and patrons of the arts. Thus, the legitimate class structure continues to attract the shady classes and the underworld. This attraction exerts a social control function.

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Check Your Progress

- 13. State one of the main functions of class stratification.
- 14. What is the economic function of social stratification?
- 15. How does social stratification act as a means of social control?

5.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Differentiation is the law of nature. This is true in the case of human society. Human society is not homogeneous but heterogeneous.
- All societies differentiate members in terms of roles and all societies evaluate roles differently. Some roles are regarded as more important or socially more valuable than others.

- Social stratification is ubiquitous. In all societies, population is socially differentiated on the basis of age, sex and personal characteristics.
- All societies exhibit some system of hierarchy whereby its members are placed in positions that are higher or lower, superior or inferior, in relation to each other.
- The two concepts — ‘social differentiation’ and ‘social stratification’ — are made use of to refer to such classification or gradation and placement of people in society.
- Differentiation may be considered the first stage preceding stratification in society, sorted and classified into groups. It does not, however, mean that all differentiation leads to stratification in society.
- Stratification is social in the sense it does not represent biologically caused inequalities.
- The stratification system is quite old. According to historical and archaeological records, stratification was present even in the small wandering bands. Age and sex were the main criterion of stratification then.
- The stratification system has its own consequences. The most important, most desired, and often, the scarcest things in human life are distributed unequally because of stratification.
- The most radical, legalized, social inequality for individuals or groups is slavery. The most unique feature of this crushing system of stratification is that one human being owns another.
- A social class is a group of individuals who have more or less a similar wealth. The possession of wealth enables the individual to obtain those goods and services that are scarce and are valued by others.
- Any society is said to be relatively open or closed depending on the number of opportunities available to its members for upward social mobility. Equally important, is the attitude of the society towards the mobility of its members.
- Social hierarchy in traditional societies is formed by ascription, while in class based societies, achievement plays an important role.
- The word ‘caste’ refers to the Spanish word *Casta* which means ‘breed’ in Spanish. In the Indian context, it represents caste and its related social practice.
- The caste system influences the social life of the Indian in a number of ways, as it assigns ascribed status to its members.
- When a higher caste man marries a low caste woman, it is called hypergamy, and when a lower caste man marries a higher caste woman, it is called hypogamy.
- Natural superiority theory, also referred to as social Darwinism, was a popular and widely accepted theory of social stratification in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.
- The functionalist theory is a theory that is most concerned with how societies maintain order.
- Generally, the functionalist theorists have tended to stress stability, consensus and integration in society.
- Functionalists assume that the society is similar to that of a human body, comprising several parts which form an integrated whole. Like the human body, the society’s

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institutions must function properly to maintain the stability of the entire social system.

- The Marxist perspectives generally regard modern society as being divided primarily into two classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—on the basis of property ownership or non-ownership of property.
- Marx and Frederick Engels have divided history into five distinct epochs of production: primitive communism, Slave society, feudal societies and socialist society.
- Three terms—class consciousness, class solidarity and class conflict — are important in understanding the dynamics of class conflict in the Marxist approach to the study of stratification.
- The work of the German sociologist Max Weber represents one of the important developments in the stratification theory. According to Weber, stratification is based on three types of social formation, namely class, status and power or party.

5.7 KEY TERMS

- **Patrician:** It refers to a person of noble or high rank; aristocrat; a member of the original senatorial aristocracy in ancient Rome.
- **Plebeians:** It refers to someone belonging or pertaining to the common people; of, relating to, or belonging to the ancient Roman plebs.
- **Life chances:** It is a social science theory of the opportunities each individual has to improve his or her quality of life. The concept was introduced by German sociologist Max Weber.
- **Social Darwinism:** It is a 19th-century theory, inspired by Darwinism, by which the social order is accounted as the product of natural selection of those persons best suited to existing living conditions and in accord with which a position of laissez-faire is advocated.
- **Proletariat:** In Marxist theory, it refers to the class of workers, especially industrial wage earners, who do not possess capital or property and must sell their labour to survive.
- **White-collar workers:** In many countries (like Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom or the United States), a white-collar worker is a person who performs professional, managerial or administrative work.

5.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. All societies assign their members to roles in terms of superiority, inferiority and equality. This vertical scale of evaluation and placement of people in strata, or levels, is called stratification. Thus, stratification is simply a process of interaction of differentiation whereby some people come to rank higher than others.
2. The attributes of social stratification are as follows:
 - (a) Unequal distribution of power, privileges, prestige, resources and rewards
 - (b) Rank-status groups based on the criteria by which power, privileges and prestige are distributed

- (c) The notion of high and low positions in the interaction and relations between these groups
 - (d) Prevalence of step-wise social inequality among different social groups in a given society.
3. The term 'social inequality' means unequal distribution of privileges and resources in the society, whereby some people possess more wealth, power and privileges than the rest of the people in the society.
 4. Power is classified into two categories:
 - (a) Individualistic power situations
 - (b) Organizational power situations
 5. Some of the characteristics of slavery, as practised in the United States, are as follows:
 - (a) Slavery was hereditary in nature, that is, children of slaves were also considered slaves.
 - (b) Slaves were not treated like human beings as they were considered the owners' property.
 - (c) They did not have any rights.
 - (d) They were treated in a cruel manner.
 6. A social class is a group of individuals who have more or less a similar wealth. The possession of wealth enables the individual to obtain those goods and services that are scarce and are valued by others.
 7. There are three methods which are used for the determination of social class. These are as follows:
 - (a) Objective method: Under this method, sociologists use 'hard facts' for the determination of social class.
 - (b) Subjective method: Under this method, sociologists ask various questions from people to know their perception about their own class.
 - (c) Reputational method: In this method, various questions are asked from people of different social classes to know their perception about other classes.
 8. When a higher caste man marries a low caste women it is called hypergamy and when a lower caste man marries a higher caste woman it is call hypogamy. Hypergamy is allowed whereas hypogamy is strictly forbidden.
 9. The main advocate of social Darwinism was Herbert Spencer, an English sociologist, who saw social organization as an environment.
 10. The Marxist perspectives generally regard modern society as being divided primarily into two classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—on the basis of property ownership or non-ownership of property.
 11. Class conflict is divided into two types:
 - (a) The involuntary conflict between the workers and the capitalists for shares in the productive output at a time when class consciousness is not developed
 - (b) The conscious, deliberate and collective struggle between the two classes when the workers become aware of their historic role
 12. Weber distinguishes four class groups in the capitalist society:
 - (a) Propertied upper class
 - (b) Property-less white-collar workers

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- (c) Petty bourgeoisie
- (d) Manual working class

13. One of the main functions of class stratification is to induce people to work hard to live up to the values. Those who best fulfil the values of a particular society are normally rewarded with greater prestige and social acceptance by others.
14. Social stratification has a kind of economic function in that it helps to ensure the rational use of available talent. It is also functionally necessary to offer differential rewards if the positions at the top are largely ascribed as it is in the case of the caste system.
15. Further to the extent that 'lower class' cultural characteristics are essential to society, the classes are, of course, functional. In fact, certain amount of mutual antagonism between social classes is also functional. To some extent, upper-class and lower-class groups can act as negative reference groups for each other. Thus, they act as a means of social control also.

5.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Distinguish between social differentiation and social stratification.
2. What are the principles of social stratification?
3. Write a short note on social inequality.
4. What are the major dimensions of social stratification?
5. State the importance of studying social stratification.
6. Briefly describe the impact of class system in India.
7. Summarize the role of the four Varnas in the *Rig Veda*.
8. Compare the Marxian theory of social stratification and the Weberian theory of social stratification.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Analyse the characteristics of social stratification.
2. Critically evaluate the bases of social stratification.
3. Discuss the various forms of social stratification.
4. Describe the characteristics of caste system in India. Also, give a detailed account on the theories of the origin of caste system in India.
5. Examine the importance of the functionalist theory of social stratification.
6. Explain the functions of social stratification.

5.10 FURTHER READING

- Ghurye. 1986. *Caste and Race in Modern India*. Mumbai, India: Popular Prakashan.
- Bilton, Tony, et al. 1987. *Introductory Sociology*. London, UK: MacMillan.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *Sociology*. Cambridge, USA: Polity Press.
- Gupta, Dipankar. 1991. *Social Stratification*. New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press.

UNIT 6 SOCIAL CHANGE

Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Unit Objectives
- 6.2 Meaning and Definition
 - 6.2.1 Meaning and Definitional Analysis of Change
 - 6.2.2 Characteristics of Social Change
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- 6.5 Theories of Social Change
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- 6.9 Questions and Exercises
- 6.10 Further Reading

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6.0 INTRODUCTION

In 21st century society, everything is in a state of flux. Newer and newer technologies continue to arrive, changing the way human beings live. New technologies and new ideas allow countries to transform from poor underdeveloped nations to modern industrialized ones. In fact, the only constant in the modern world is change. Change is inevitable and universal.

Change has been a topic of discussion since the inception of sociology as a field of study. Sociologists like Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and Auguste Comte—all have discussed the idea of change in their writings. This unit of the book focuses on the meaning, characteristics, factors and theories of social change. To state briefly, social change refers to a modification in the social order of a culture. It may comprise transformation in nature, social institutions, social behaviours or social relations. Social change has been the most stable factor in the history of human civilization. Social change is a process; it is a universal law of nature that is present in every society. Our society has seen the most changes in the least amount of time; it is still changing every single day. These changes have occurred in every aspect of society, every institution and structure, and have affected every individual in some degree or the other.

6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

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- Describe the meaning of change and the difference between change and social change
- Discuss the meaning and the characteristics of the process of social change
- Evaluate Marx's and Parsons' theory of social change
- Explain the linear and cyclical theories of social change
- Examine the various factors of social change

6.2 MEANING AND DEFINITION

Change and continuity are the inevitable facts of life. Not only people themselves undergo the process of change but also the habitat they live in. That is why 'change' is often called the unchangeable or inescapable law of nature. Change is the only reality. Looking at the inevitability of change, Greek Philosopher Heraclitus pointed out that a person cannot step into the same river twice since in between the first and the second occasion, both the water in the river and the person concerned get changed (Giddens 2001, 42). History reveals that man's life has been transformed from the caves and jungles to the palatial buildings. People, family, religion, value and system will not remain same forever. Societies grow, decay and modify to the changing conditions. Every society, from primitive to industrial and post-industrial, has witnessed continuous state of transformation. Change is permanent, although the intensity or degree of change is different in different societies. According to British sociologist Anthony Giddens (2001), in human societies, to decide how far and in what ways a particular system is in a process of change or transformation, we have to show to what degree there is any modification of basic institutions during a specific time period. There are social systems which change very fast, whereas there are others which have ties with the remote past. World religions like Christianity and Islam maintain their ties with ideas and value systems pioneered thousands of years ago. Primitive societies considered change as an external and problematic phenomena. However, in modern times, change is seen as natural and necessary. Every new generation faces different and new socio-economic challenges and yet they forge ahead with new possibilities of life keeping continuity with the past.

Like natural scientists study different aspects of change in the nature, social scientists study change in the social life of man. Change and continuity have long been the subjects of research and study for social scientists and philosophers. Scholars like Aristotle, Plato, Hegel and others have written at length on the various aspects of change during their times. In fact, sociology as a separate discipline emerged in the middle of the 19th century as an effort to explain the socio-cultural and economic changes that erupted in Europe, following the industrialization and democratization processes. It will not be wrong to state that major classical sociologists were preoccupied with explaining change, more precisely articulating on the change that followed the rise of capitalism in the West.

Considering change as an important aspect of study, the father of sociology, August Comte, even remarked that the role of this discipline is to analyse both the 'Social Statics' (the laws governing social order) and 'Social Dynamics' (laws governing social

change) (Slattery 2003, 57). Similarly, English philosopher Herbert Spencer also talked about change in his analysis of 'Structure' and 'Function'. 'Structure' indicated the internal build-up, shape or form of societal wholes, whereas 'function' signifies their operation or transformation (Sztompka 1993, 3). Spencer measured change or progress taking into consideration the degree of complexity in society. According to Spencer, society passes from simple, undifferentiated, homogeneity to complex, differentiated, heterogeneity. Another classical sociological thinker, and one of the founders of the discipline, Emile Durkheim talks about evolutionary change in his famous work *The Division of Labour* and observes that society passes from 'mechanical solidarity' to 'organic solidarity'. Eminent philosopher Karl Marx explains societal change with his economic deterministic model and describes change of society from primitive communism to socialism. German sociologist Max Weber's analysis of religious codes and its impact on economic development in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* examines the major aspects of change.

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6.2.1 Meaning and Definitional Analysis of Change

Before going into details about social change, it is pertinent to discuss the meaning of the term 'change'. 'Change' refers to any alteration or transformation in any object, situation or phenomena over a certain period of time. As eminent sociologists Strasser, Hermann and Susan C. Randall (1981, 16) have said, 'If we speak of change, we have in mind something that comes into being after some time; that is to say, we are dealing with a difference between what can be observed before and after that point in time.' Similarly, the *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology* defines change as a 'succession of events which produce over time a modification or replacement of particular patterns or units by other novel ones' (Sekulic 2007, 4368). Time is an important factor in the context of change.

'Social change' on the other hand indicates the changes that take place in human interactions or interrelationships. Society is regarded as a 'web of social relationships', and in that sense, social change refers to the change in the system of social relationships (Shankar Rao 2000, 484). It is the alteration or modification of the structure and function of any system. For example, change in interpersonal relationships, inter-caste and inter-community marriage, change in family type from joint-living to nuclear households, and so on. can be called as social change.

Different scholars have defined social change in different ways. A glance at some of them can make our understanding clear. According to British sociologist Morris Ginsberg (1986, 129), 'Social change is the change in social structure, i.e., 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.' Here, he talks about two types of changes: changes in the structure of society and changes in the value system of society. However, these two types of changes should not be treated separately because a change in one brings on changes in the other, as a change in the attitude of people may bring about changes in the social structure and vice versa (Kar 1994, 500). Describing it as a part of 'cultural change', American sociologist Kingsley Davis says, 'Social change is meant only such alterations as occur in social organizations, i.e., the structure and function of society' (Kar 1994, 501). Professor of sociology (Kenyon College, Ohio) Joha J. Macionis (1987, 638) defines social change as the 'transformation in the organization of society and in patterns of thought and behaviour over time'. Again, according to Ritzer, *et al.* (1987,

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560), 'Social change refers to variations over time in the relationships among individuals, groups, organizations, cultures and societies.' So, it can be summarized from the above definitions that almost all the authors while defining social change, give emphasis on social relationships, social organizations, social patterns and values. Social change, therefore, is change in the societal system as a whole.

Different scholars debate over if 'change' is a revolutionary process or it happens gradually. However, they settle with the fact that it is both an evolutionary and a revolutionary process. Every change has an effect over different aspects of life and different components of the societal system. The development of the Internet, for example, in contemporary society has enormous implications for other institutions and ideas—it affects psychology, ideology, the political system, industry, education and the media. It is a revolutionary force but it builds upon previous developments so that it is both gradual and insurrectionary (Hoffman 2006, 561).

6.2.2 Characteristics of Social Change

Following the meaning and definitional analysis of the concept, the characteristics of social change can be discussed as given below:

1. **Social change is universal:** As discussed in the above section, social change is inevitable. It is not only inevitable but also universal. It is found in every society. From primitive society to the post-industrial one, change is found everywhere. No society or culture remains static forever. Human beings changed themselves from nomads, food gatherers to agriculturists and later modern, industrial beings.
2. **Social change is continuous:** Right from the time mother earth came into being to the present times, society/life has been in a continuously changing mode. No society or people can be stopped from the influences of change. It is a never-ending process.
3. **Social change may produce chain reactions:** Change in one aspect of a system may lead to changes of varying degrees in other aspects of that system. As to Biesanz and Biesanz (1964, 63), the change from hunting and food gathering to agriculture was a revolution in technology that led eventually to the development of civilization by making large and diversified societies possible. Similarly, the Protestant emphasis on Bible reading as a road to salvation led to a great rise in literacy. Further, the introduction of the system of reservation for backward communities in government institutions and offices in India has brought changes in their socio-economic status, interpersonal relationships, and also in the social and economic structure of the country. Similarly, improvement in literacy in the country leads to economic independence of women which in turn brings changes in the whole notion of family, marriage and husband-wife ties.
4. **Social change may be planned or unplanned:** Change may occur with or without proper planning. People, government or any other agent may initiate change through plans or programmes and may determine the degree and direction of change. The Government of India after Independence devised several socio-economic developmental programmes to bring the country out of poverty and unemployment through the broader provision of Five Year Plans. In the 68 years of Independence, the country has seen phenomenal improvement in literacy, health, infrastructure and industry, and considerably managed to overcome poverty, hunger and unemployment problems. Apart from the planned social change, there can be

changes which are unplanned and happen accidentally. Changes due to natural calamities like earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, and so on, belong to this category.

5. **Social change is temporal and directional:** Change can be directional. It happens in a particular direction. In several instances, such direction is planned, predetermined and is fixed ideally. Such changes are called as progress. However, change in general may happen in any direction. Similarly, the rate or tempo of change varies from time to time and place to place. Some changes may take months and years, while some may occur rapidly. Social change is temporal in the sense that it involves the factor of time. It denotes time sequence. It can be temporary or permanent. Time is an important component in the process of change.
6. **Social change is value-neutral:** The concept of social change is not value-laden or judgemental. It does not advocate any good or desirable and bad or undesirable turn of events. It is an objective term which is neither moral nor immoral. It is ethically neutral.

6.2.3 Forms of Social Change

There are different types of social change. The term 'social' is so vast in scope that different forms of change which carry several names of their own can actually be brought under the broader concept of social change. However, different types of change are discussed below for better understanding of the concept.

1. **Social change and cultural change:** Social and cultural changes are often regarded as the same and denote similar kind of change. However, there are differences between the two. 'Social' refers to interactions and interrelationship between people. 'Culture', on the other hand, refers to the customs, beliefs, symbols, value systems and, in general, the set of rules that are created by people in society. It can be both material and non-material. Material culture consists of manufacturing objects and tools like automobiles, furniture, buildings, roads, bridges, books, mobiles, TV sets and anything of that sort which is tangible and is used by the people. Non-material culture includes belief systems, values, mores, norms, habits, language, and so on. The concept of culture relates to the body of knowledge, techniques and values through which a society directs and expresses its life as an interacting entity (Mohanty 1997, 13). So, the change in social relationships, human interactions, modifications in role expectations and role performance, and so on, are regarded as social change, whereas changes in human artifacts, beliefs, values, body of knowledge, and so on, are called as cultural change. Culture changes through time and it spreads from place to place and group to group. As Biesanz and Biesanz (1964, 61–62) put it, in the span of time since the Second world War began, immense changes have taken place. Television, since the experimental stage before the war, has entered almost every living room in the world. From the first atomic reaction in the early decades of 20th century, we have progressed to space capsules and satellites, and in a few short post-War years, plastics and synthetic fabrics, wash-and-wear clothes, stretch socks, automatic washers, dishwashers, clothes driers, food freezers and packaged mixes have changed the housewife's fate.

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It is important to mention here that sometimes changes that occur in a cultural system do not go smooth and face maladjustment with other parts of the system. Such a situation is termed as 'cultural lag'. Defining the concept, American sociologist William Fielding Ogburn (1957) wrote, 'A cultural lag occurs when one of the two parts of culture which are correlated changes before or in greater degree than the other parts does, thereby causing less adjustment between the two parts than existed previously.'

However, any cultural change has its impact on human relationships and, therefore, influences social changes too. The advent of mobile telephony and Internet has far-reaching consequences on interpersonal relationships. Thus, cultural change positively affects social change and change in a society comes through both social and cultural changes. As Kingsley Davis stated, cultural change is broader than social change and social change is only a part of it (Shankar Rao 2000, 485). All social changes are cultural changes, but not vice-versa. Those cultural changes that affect social organizations and human interpersonal relations can be called as social changes.

2. **Social change and social progress:** Progress is a change in a desirable direction. It can also refer to change for the better. It involves value-judgement because it implies betterment or improvement. Progress involves change that leads to certain well-defined goals. It is also a type of social change. However, there are differences between the two. Every change is not progress, but every progress can be called as a change. Moreover, change is a value-free concept, while progress always denotes change for the better. In that sense, progress is a value-laden concept. It has been discussed before that change can be planned and unplanned. Nonetheless, progress is always planned and ideally fixed. Besides, change is obvious and certain. Small or big, slow or fast, change takes place in every society, but progress is uncertain (Mohanty 1997, 21).
3. **Social change and social evolution:** The use of the word 'evolution' or 'social evolution' in sociology is borrowed from biology. Biology studies 'organic evolution', which denotes the evolution of all kinds of organisms. Social evolution, on the other hand, refers to the process of evolution of human society, human social relationships, societal values, norms and the way of life. It involves the idea that every society passes through different phases, from simple to complex. Sociologists and social anthropologists were impressed by the idea of organic evolution which could convincingly explain how one species evolves into another, and wanted to apply the same to the social world (Shankar Rao 2000, 491). As put forward by eminent sociologists MacIver and Page (2005, 522), evolution means more than growth. Growth does connote a direction of change, but it is quantitative in character. Evolution involves something more intrinsic, a change not merely in size, but at least in structure also. Social evolution is also a type of social change. Both of them are natural and are inevitable facts of life. However, there are differences between the two. First, every change is not evolutionary in nature, whereas evolution always implies change. Second, evolution, unlike change, is a continuous process. Third, the cause of social change may be both internal and external, whereas evolution is mostly affected through the operation of internal factors. Fourth, social change can be planned or unplanned but evolution is an automatic process. Fifth, social change is a value-neutral concept, whereas evolution is value-loaded. Sixth, there can be slow or fast social change, but evolution is always a slow process (Mohanty, 1997, 27).

As discussed in the beginning of this sub-section, any kind of change that we witness in the society can come under the broader definition of either social or cultural change. However, some specific variety of change can also be discussed here, although they come under the umbrella term of social or cultural change.

4. **Demographic change:** Demography deals with the size, distribution, growth, and so on, of population over a period of time. Demographic change is change in the patterns of fertility, mortality, age structure, migration, and so on. High fertility or high mortality can have important implications in any society. The same can happen if the rate of such indicators are too slow. High fertility might lead to large-scale instances of poverty and unemployment, and might affect the developmental efforts of a state. Over-population also leads to greater use of natural resources and affects environmental sustainability. High birth and death rates bring about change in the attitude of people towards family and marriage. In India, demographic change in the form of high fertility led to the adoption of family planning programmes and following which there was a decrease in the population growth rate. The small family norm has introduced change in social relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, the status of women, and so on.
5. **Technological change:** Human civilization is moving from the most rudimentary technology of bow and arrow to the modern and highly sophisticated instruments of the present day. The invention of computers, Internet, mobile phones, jet planes, atomic bomb and discoveries of men like Vasco da Gama and Columbus have changed the socio-cultural space of the modern man dramatically. Ancient man walked on bare feet. Then came the bullock cart which made movement comparatively faster. Subsequent technological innovations brought about bicycles, automobiles, jet planes, and so on. These have helped the movement of people faster than ever before. These technological changes have enormous societal implications. The introduction of high-yield seeds in the form of Green Revolution in India that ensured massive increase in foodgrains like rice and wheat managed the hunger situation in the country quite well. Dramatizing the fact that technological change may lead to social change, sociologist William F. Ogburn once attributed the emancipation of women to the invention of the automobile self-starter, which enabled women to drive cars, freed them from their homes and permitted them to invade the world of business (Biesanz and Biesanz 1964, 64). The modern means of entertainment and communication like TV, Radio, Internet, cell phones, and so on, have drastically changed the family life in India and substantially affected the role of women in society. Not only they are empowered and emancipated but also the husband-wife ties are now being seen as that of co-partners rather than that of superiors and inferiors. Although technological changes have not spread equally everywhere in the country, still phenomenal improvement in this respect cannot be ignored.
6. **Economic change:** Economy plays a cardinal role in man's daily life. Noted sociologist and philosopher Karl Marx pointed out the significance of economy as a factor in social change. He propounded that economy which constitutes the means of production like labour, instruments, and so on, and the relations of production is the infrastructure and all others like family, legal system, education, religion, polity, and so on are the superstructure. As he says, a conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed, haves and the have-nots brings change in the society and the society transforms to a new mode of production. In this manner,

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Marx says, society gets transformed from primitive communism to slavery, slavery to feudalism, from feudalism to capitalism, and from capitalism, Marx predicted, socialism, a classless society, will emerge (Morrison, 2006). In Indian society, industrial economy brought enormous change in the lives of people. Not only did it change the occupation structure in the society but also it affected interpersonal relationships. People from rural areas migrated to cities to work in factories. This drastically reduced the effect of caste/untouchability and also transformed joint families to nuclear households. India, once an agricultural economy, is now manufacturing industrial products to emerge a world leader in producing software, making it a service economy. The software giants like Infosys, Wipro, TCS, and so on are renowned the world over. Thus, economic change is one of the important forms of social change.

6.3 PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT

Development refers to improvement in the quality of life and advancement in one’s state of condition. It may refer to the improvements in one’s well-being, living standards and socio-economic opportunities. However, the term ‘development’ is multifaceted due to which lots of confusions and disagreements have taken place with regard to its meaning and definition. Nevertheless, influenced by the scholars like Amartya Sen, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) created a Human Development Index (HDI) that combines indicators like health, life expectancy, literacy, political participation and access to resources (UNDP 2001, 14). Noted economist Amartya Sen argues that development can be seen as a process of expanding real freedoms that people enjoy. This contrasts with the narrow view of development that identifies it with growth or Gross National Product (GNP) or personal income or industrialization or technological advancement or social modernization (Sen 2000, 3). Sen argues that growth of GNP and personal income can be important means that can expand individual freedom. However, freedom depends also on other determinants like proper arrangements for schooling or education, proper healthcare system, civil and political rights, and so on. Sen Says, ‘Development requires the removal of major sources of un-freedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over activity or repressive state’ (Sen 2000, 3).

Further, well-known economist and sociologist Gunnar Myrdal (2003, 248) defines development as the upward movement of the entire social system, and this social system encloses, besides the so-called economic factors, all non-economic factors, including all sorts of consumption by various groups of people; consumption provided collectively; educational and health facilities and levels; the distribution of power in society; and more generally, economic, social and political stratification; broadly speaking, institutions and attitudes to which we must add, as an exogenous set of factors, induced policy measures applied in order to change one or several of these endogenous factors’.

6.3.1 Nature of Development

Development is a process that makes the human society a better place to live in. It brings social well-being. The nature of development is analysed below (Jena and Mohapatra 2001; Mohanty 1997).

- (i) Development is a revolutionary process. In many cases, it involves sudden and rapid change of the social structure. In its technological and cultural dimensions,

Check Your Progress

1. When did sociology as a separate discipline emerge and why?
2. What are the two types of changes according to Morris Ginsberg?
3. What is progress?
4. What is the difference between change and progress?
5. Why is social change considered to be temporal?
6. State the significance of economy as a factor in social change as propounded by Marx.

it is comparable to Neolithic revolutions which had turned food-gatherers and nomads into settled agriculturists. Now, during the development revolution, society is getting transformed from rural agricultural one to urban and industrial.

- (ii) Development is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves a lot of economic, behavioural and institutional rearrangements. It involves equity, socio-economic and political participation, and so on.
- (iii) Development is a systematic process. Change in one aspect brings chain reaction and corresponding changes in other aspects also.
- (iv) Development is a lengthy process. The process of development needs substantial level of efforts over a long period of time.
- (v) Development is an irreversible process. It always moves forward. Although some aspects of the process might have some occasional downfalls, the whole process of development is irreversible.
- (vi) Development is a universal process. Developmental ideas and know-how are diffused from centre of origin to other parts of the world. There are transformations of ideas and techniques between nations world over.
- (vii) Development is directional. It is a process that moves in a direction. In that sense, development is also called an evolutionary process. As stated by Spencer, it can be from simple to complex. As stated by Marx, it can be from class-less primitive communism to capitalistic mode of production and finally to socialism. As discussed by Durkheim, it can be from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity, and so on.
- (viii) Development is a value-loaded concept. Qualitatively, it talks about improvement of something over some other. It talks about improvement in lifestyle, infrastructure, education, health system, and so on. Quantitatively, it always advocates for more (of anything) in number. So it is a process that involves value judgement.

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6.3.2 Interrelationship between Change and Development

Development is a form of change. However, there are differences between the two. Change is a value-neutral concept, while development is value-loaded one. Change is ethically neutral and suggests alterations or modifications in the structure and functioning of the society over a period of time. Development, on the other hand, advocates change for good. It is a process of desired change. Although development leads to change, all forms of change do not indicate development. Those changes which are planned are termed as development. A change to be defined as development must occur continuously in a desired direction. These desired goals are set looking at the values, norms and needs of any society.

Any change in society must get absorbed in the system and must be felt by the people to make it more effective. Such change can then be regarded as development. Advancement in education and modern means of transport and communication has resulted in high female literacy in the modern societies. This has led to women joining in various jobs in both government and non-government establishments, changing the family relationship as a whole. Such a move leads to a situation like role conflict where the modern women are confused whether to perform the role of a traditional family woman, a mother, a daughter, a wife or to play the role of a teacher, an administrator or an engineer. Such a phenomenon is an example of social change. However, such change can be regarded as development only when proper institutional arrangements and social

adjustments are made so that a working woman does not face the situation like role-conflict and manages both her roles well. Such institutional arrangements and social adjustments will then be called as development (Jena and Mohapatra 2001; Mohanty 1997).

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6.3.3 Indicators of Development

As discussed in previous sections, development is a multi-faceted term and there are lots of confusions over its meaning and definition. Questions are often raised on how should one count the development parameters. How can a society be called developed and underdeveloped? What should be the basis? To understand the concept clearly, the indicators of development are discussed as follows:

- (i) **Literacy or education:** Education is the medium through which the members of society are socialized and the modern means of knowledge, skill and technique are imparted to them. Formal education and training expands opportunities for people and increase their capacities. Availability of educated labour force in a country is a prerequisite for development, better governance system and healthy functioning of democracy. In India, to eradicate illiteracy, the successive governments have come out with policies like ‘Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan’ (SSA), ‘Mid-day Meal Scheme’, ‘Mahila Samakhya Scheme’, ‘Teacher Education Scheme’, and so on. Following the National Literacy Mission (NLM), set up in 1988, the ‘Total Literacy Campaign’ was initiated to eliminate illiteracy. India’s soaring literacy helped the country to become a knowledge economy. From a mere 12 per cent during independence, India’s literacy has reached at 65 per cent (2001 census). This is a strong indicator of development.
- (ii) **Health:** Health is, as the World Health Organisation (WHO) defines it, ‘a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.’ Good physical health is the basic requirement for a stable society. Low maternal and infant mortality, good quality of life, and availability of proper health facilities to all sections of a society are necessary conditions for a healthy and developed society. In India, although phenomenal improvements in various health indicators have been witnessed in post-independence period, still several facts need wide attention. Year 2007 data show, in India, the infant mortality rate (IMR)—the probability of a child dying before the first birthday—is still high, i.e., 55 per one thousand live births, although it has shown continuous decline over the years. Again, 43 per cent of children in India under age five are underweight (India 2010, 519–522). According to UN World Food Programme report released in 2009, more than 27 per cent of the world’s under-nourished population lives in India. Besides, 40 per cent of women are found with chronic energy deficiency and around 30 per cent of babies in India are born underweight (Bhattacharya 2010). Development of any country with such bad health indicators will be difficult.
- (iii) **Income:** Adequate level of employment generation is essential for a country to raise income level of its populace. High incomes per capita and increased GNP makes a country economically healthy. When a country has enough economic resources and its per capita income is high, it can invest in social sectors like health and education. Therefore, income and economic welfare are most important indicators of the development process.
- (iv) **Democratic participation:** Participation in the political process of a state is a rational thing every citizen would want to carry out. The political process can

enable or hamper developmental process. The participation of people in every developmental activity makes it more effective and serves the developmental goals. Right to choose one's representative and the right to choose one's government are important for the people in polity. The introduction of adult franchise in India soon after independence is a significant step in this context. However, only right to vote is not enough for a country to be called as developed. People must also have the right to choose the development that is meant for them. This makes a state democratic and people friendly. It is an important indication for development when people enjoy such freedom.

- (v) **Scientific and technological advancement:** Technological prowess makes a country advanced and that enables for creating better facilities for its citizens. When a country is technologically advanced, its people have larger choices for scientific and technological knowhow. There are very few countries who can afford substantial amount of resources devoted for Research and Development (R&D) since it is very expensive and involves complicated processes. However, a country with adequate and latest technology can manage its various needs well and make facilities available for its masses.
- (vi) **Strong and sustained cultural civilization:** A country for its true development needs not only scientific tools and economic growth but also a strong urge to sustain its traditional heritage and cultural civilization. The very notion of HDI devised by UNDP is that progress and development is no longer to be measured just in terms of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) or per capita income but also in terms of human well-being, which includes a number of factors like cultural identity, a sense of security of both one's personal safety as well as safety of one's culture and one's place in this world. In that sense, Bhutan's has very high indicators of human happiness. This is due to Bhutan's flourishing craft activities, linking craft to Bhutan's sense of identity (Chatterjee and Ashoke 2005). So traditional cultural ethos and values are major parts of a country's development. In India, it is the traditional skill (local knowledge) of the handicraft artisans that is a major basis of their identity. However, in post-liberalization India, this identity is either getting vanished or getting diluted and the skill/local knowledge is very much influenced by the market forces (Jena 2008, 22). Sustaining one's own cultural heritage of any form in modern globalized times is one of the greatest challenges for any country. Without this, true development of nation and humanity is impossible.

6.3.4 Change in Structure and Change of Structure

For Kingsley Davis, social change refers to alterations in the 'structure' and 'function' of a society. This was discussed while dealing with the definitional analysis of change. The notion of 'structure' is important in this context. 'Structure' refers to the ordered arrangements where various parts of a system or whole are organized and follow established rules and norms. Structure itself remains invisible to public eye, but it produces visible result. It controls the behaviour of fellow human beings in a society. The members of a societal system are controlled by the structure or established rules, values, norms, customs, laws, and so on. There can be two types of change related to social structure—the change that is witnessed inside the structure and the change of the societal system or structure as a whole. Among these two types of changes, structural change or change of structure is, most important and relevant. 'Perhaps the reason for emphasizing structural change is that more often it leads to change of, rather than merely change in society.

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Social structure makes up a sort of skeleton on which society and its operations are founded. When it changes, all else is apt to change as well' (Sztompka 1993, 6).

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When there is change inside the structure of any societal system, the change happens in parts, not to the whole. Here, the structure as a whole remains the same, but the internal arrangements experience alterations. Changes in this case are only partial and restricted and it does not have any repercussion for other aspects. The process of Sanskritization is a change in Indian social structure (not change of the structure).

The term 'Sanskritization' was coined by Indian sociologist M. N. Srinivas. In his study on the Coorgs, Srinivas tried to describe the process of cultural mobility in the traditional Indian caste system. He holds the view that caste system in traditional India has never been so rigid and there is always scope for different caste members to alter or raise their status. He defines Sanskritization as the 'process by which a low caste or tribe or other group takes over the custom, rituals, beliefs, ideology and life style of a higher caste and in particular "twice-born" (*dwija*) caste' (Srinivas, 1966). In this context, Srinivas maintained that a low caste or tribe may give up meat-eating and other non-vegetarian food and adopt vegetarian diet, quit liquor, animal sacrifice, and so on, to embrace the life-style of higher castes. While following this for a generation or two, they may claim higher rank in their local caste hierarchy and achieve upward mobility in their status. This process of mobility is inside the system of caste. It does not lead to any structural change. The Indian caste system as a whole is not changing; rather the different ladders of it are getting altered. With the process of Sanskritization, there is no end to the system of inequality in the caste system. There are only few individuals who may claim higher status or improve their traditional social position within that unequal structure. So it is a process of change in the structure, rather than change of the structure. As to Srinivas, Sanskritization leads to positional change not structural change.

On the other hand, changes may occur in the core aspect of a structure. In this case, fundamental changes are found in the societal structure where the post-change or new structure becomes different from the pre-change or old structure. Changes of the structure might lead to lack of equilibrium among different parts of the system and the strain might disturb the smooth running of the system. In this context, Ginsberg has illustrated about Europe. As he says,

The domain economy was made impossible in Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the rise of the towns. The urban population couldn't feed itself and had therefore to obtain the means of subsistence by purchase from the rural areas. This meant that the domains no longer restricted their production to meet their own needs. As production became remunerative, the idea of working for profit began to exercise people's mind. On the other hand, the landowners, restricted to customary revenues, found it difficult to satisfy their growing needs. In this way the moral and economic foundations of the domainal system were shaken by the growth of cities and the change in the relationship between town and country. (Ginsberg 1986, 140-141).

Similarly in India, colonialism brought two important structural changes in the society: industrialization and urbanization. Industrialization is the process of socio-economic change that transforms a society from agricultural to industrial one. This is a process where socio-economic development is closely associated with scientific and technological innovation. It refers to the beginning of machine production by the use of inanimate energy. The biggest transformation that is experienced following industrialization process is the change in the occupation structure of people. People started migrating from

agriculture to factories. Industrialization started with the industrial revolution in the United Kingdom in the 18th century, which later spread to other parts of Europe and later the world over. Being a colony of the British, India witnessed sea change in its societal structure after the industrial revolution.

Again, urbanization is a process where there is movement of people from rural or country areas to cities or urban areas. Industrialization in India led to many people in villages migrating to cities to work in factories. Therefore, industrialization and urbanization are always seen as associated facts. With industrialization and urbanization in India, the old Indian system of extended or joint families got disintegrated into nuclear households. Transition from joint to nuclear household not only changed the size and type of residence but also the interpersonal relationships. With modern education and economic independence, the youths of modern times challenged the authority of traditional family and family head. Similarly, the role of women in society is greatly changed. Greater number of women are found working outside home and are economically independent.

Due to industrialization, the earlier system of child marriages has seen a dramatic decline and nowadays has become almost non-existent. The earlier system of Hindu marriage as a sacred bond is giving way to 'live-in' relationships. The arranged marriage system where the parents played an important role in selecting partners is disappearing and instances of love-marriage is spreading fast where young boys and girls prefer choosing their own soul-mates. In fact, marriage as an institution is also getting changed and becoming irrelevant with the prevalence of 'gay' and 'lesbian' marriages. The recent verdict of the Honourable Delhi High court treating Section 337 of the Indian Penal Code as unconstitutional is relevant in this context. The Court ruled that treating consensual gay sex between adults as a crime is a violation of fundamental rights. Such changes following industrialization and urbanization in India are significant and are structural changes in the societal system. The changes of the whole structure of family and marriage in rural and urban areas have enormous impact on the daily life of people. Hence, the structural change has always been an important area of research among sociologists.

6.4 FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The process of social change is a very difficult and a many-sided phenomenon. There can be many causes for the process of social change. According to notable sociologist Harry M. Johnson, the causes of social change can be of three types, which can combine in various ways to result in social changes:

- (i) First, the causes of social change are inherent either in social system in general or in particular kinds of social system.
 - **Conflicts:** No society is free from conflict. Any attempt to resolve the conflict would lead to some kind of change in the society. Some undercurrents of conflict always exist between different groups in the society on the issue of who gets more benefits in the existing system.
 - **Social problems:** For example, unemployment, juvenile delinquency, poverty and overpopulation lead to a lot of conflict in the society, which may lead to social change in the present apparatus. The measures to solve or tackle social problems may also lead to changes in society. To deal with overpopulation, government may ask people to follow family control method, which may lead to changes in value systems, institution of marriage and family.

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Check Your Progress

7. Define development.
8. Differentiate between development and change.
9. What are the types of change related to social structure?
10. Who coined the term 'Sanskritization'? Define the term.

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- **Revolutions and disturbances:** The most intense conflict may result in a revolution in the society like the Russian Revolution, the French Revolution and the American Revolution, and bring about wide ranging changes. These revolutions were the result of exploitation of a large majority by a small minority, the suppression of freedoms, tyranny, corruption and bad policies of the state.
 - **Cultural change:** Cultural innovations (innovation is a new combination of old elements), which may come from innovator's own society or from the other, can cause changes. The diffusion of culture from one society to another has been a great source of social and cultural change in every society, like colonialism. Cultural change can also occur if a new religion or sect comes into being. The origin of a new religion or sect affects the social system and leads to the spread of a new cult/religion vis-à-vis modifications in the existing social order by the cleansing of old, outdated social mores and traditions. To give an example, in India, the rise of Buddhism and Jainism modified Hindu conservatism of that time.
- (ii) Second, the change may be due to some impact from the social environment of the social system of reference. The influence of the social environment is more significant in bringing about social changes. Shifts of political alliance, military invasions, origin of a new religion or sect, and peaceful immigration and trade shifts can present problems of adjustment to the social system. Any of these changes will have an effect on parts of social structure and then on the society as a whole as well.
- (iii) Finally, the change may also be due to some impact from the non-social environment. Changes in the non-social environment, which may be due to human engineering, such as soil erosion, deforestation and exhaustion of natural mineral resources, can also cause some social changes. Changes in the non-social environment due to nature, for example floods, cyclones and volcanic eruptions, may also cause adoptive social changes. Longevity or average life span also affects composition of population and the social system. When due to natural disasters, wars and diseases, people die at an early age, there are always a majority of youngsters, and/or those who are alive, who are open to new innovations and new ideas for their survival/better living. On the other hand, when due to medical facilities and peaceful life people live long, they do not welcome change or new ideas and innovations and prefer status quo. This affects speed of social change adversely.

The causes of social change can also be classified into:

- Internal/endogenous (internal phenomenon of the society concerned)
- External/exogenous (external phenomenon of the society concerned)

6.4.1 Demographic Factors

Demographic factors affect social change in process and in character. Any change in the population—an increase or decrease—always leads to complex outcomes. Changes in population growth led to the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe, and population explosion in post-independence India has led to an increase in poverty, malnutrition and other problems.

Some important factors that determine the rise/fall/density of population are as follows:

- Birth rate
- Death rate
- Immigration and emigration
 - (i) Rise in the birth rate in a society (when it exceeds death-rate) leads to a rise in the population. A rapid rise in population can lead to problems like poverty and unemployment. Birth rates can rise because of illiteracy, early marriage, poverty, lack of family planning programmes or fall in death rate.
 - (ii) A low birth rate leads to decrease in the size of the society's population. Low population can mean fewer trained personnel available and non-utilization of available natural resources, which can also affect social relations due to the small size of the family. Low birth rates may arise as a result of scientific advancements, modern education, better healthcare and preventive medicines, increase in agricultural productivity leading availability of food which raises the standard of living, control over nature to avoid tragedies, and so on.

A change in the sex ratio also leads to changes in the structure and social relations in the society. An almost equal proportion of men and women leads to monogamy in society. Polygamy sets in the society if the number of males and females is disproportionate. If the number of women goes up (more than men), polygyny develops, but if the opposite happens, i.e., there are more men than women, the result often is polyandry. Polygamy sets in the society if the number of women goes up (more than men). Polyandry is often the result, if there are more men than women.
 - (iii) Migration has played a significant role in population growth in the history of mankind. Increase in the growth of population hastens the process of migration. Migration refers to the process of movement of population from one place to another. There are primarily two forms of migration:
 - o Immigration is migration into a country/state/area
 - o Emigration is migration out of a country/state/area

To illustrate with the help of an example, a labourer coming from Bihar to Punjab is an immigrant to Punjab and emigrant from Bihar.

The factors contributing to the process of migration are as follows:

 - o Better transport facilities
 - o Disasters of nature calamities like earthquake, flood, famine, and so on
 - o Better job opportunities in the area of migration

The positive and negative effects of demographic factors or population growth are as follows:

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Positive effects

- Utilization of natural resources
- Leads to industrialization and urbanization
- Leads to scientific innovations and discoveries

Negative effects

- Decrease in the standard of living of the people
- Leads to problems like poverty, unemployment, child labour and crime
- Leads to disorder and social conflict, and affects migrants too

6.4.2 Economic Factors

Economic factors can act as the drivers for social change. As Karl Marx stated, any change in the means of production (or the material productive forces of society) can lead to changes in the social structure of the society. Some of the ways in which economic factors have acted as drivers of social change include:

- The rise in material means of livelihood led to the birth of the institutions of marriage and family, which led to the idea of possessions/wealth for the family.
- In the agricultural stage, the social organization grew more complex, as people settled down at a particular place for raising crops. It led to the stability and rise of villages. The division of labour led to stratification or division in society based on economic factors, i.e., classes. Institutions like kingship and feudalism also came up during this period.
- Agricultural surplus in Western nations led to the industrial stage, and with scientific advancements, the machine system of production came into existence. Industrial revolution led to changes in every structure of the society. These changes were as follows:
 - o Migration to cities led to urbanization.
 - o The extended family system was replaced by the nuclear family.
 - o Women joined the labour force, and led to changes in gender roles and relations.
 - o Industrial revolution led to a change in society as lords and serfs were replaced by industrialist and workers.
 - o The rise of nation states as kingship declined in this era.
 - o It led to many movements around the world like the Russian Revolution.
 - o New ideologies like socialism/capitalism came up.
 - o More and more ways of entertainment came to be developed.

Economic factors have been and continue to be very important factors of social change but they are not the only determinants of social change (as Marx said), as these changes were in conjunction with the technological and other changes in the society.

6.4.3 Religious Factors

Religion may not be seen as a sole factor for social change, but in combination with other factors, religion becomes a significant factor of social change.

German sociologist Max Weber regarded religion as an important contributor to economic development or stagnation. He tried to explain this theory in his book *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930), in which he explains the rise of the capitalist spirit, which led to economic dynamism in the West, especially through the rise of Calvinism—an individualistic ethic of Christianity. Religions of the East, Weber argues, are usually accompanied by a rejection of worldly affairs, including the pursuit of wealth and possessions. He defines the spirit of capitalism as the ideas that favour the rational pursuit of economic gain. Weber shows that certain branches of Protestantism had supported worldly activities dedicated to economic gain, seeing them as endowed with moral and spiritual significance. This recognition was not a goal in itself; rather they were a by-product of other doctrines of faith that encouraged planning, hard work and self-denial in the pursuit of worldly riches.

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Weber's theory in simple terms means:

- The protestant religion supported individuals to follow a secular vocation with as much zeal as possible. A person living according to this world view was more likely to accumulate money.
- The new religions (in particular, Calvinism and other more austere Protestant sects) effectively forbade wastefully using hard earned money and identified the purchase of luxuries as a sin. Donations to an individual's church or congregation were limited due to the rejection by certain Protestant sects of icons. Finally, donation of money to the poor or to charity was generally frowned on as it was seen as furthering beggary. This social condition was perceived as laziness, burdening their fellow man and an affront to God; by not working, one failed to glorify God. The investment of this money gave an extreme boost to nascent capitalism, according to Weber.
- Reformation reforms in the 16th century Europe, to rid Christianity of its superstitions, and corruption that had plagued the church and its officials led to the rise of scientific temperament and rationality. It finally led to Industrial Revolution in the later era.
- Most of the churches of southern US supported the civil rights movement for African-Americans and helped in abolishing racism in the US.
- In medieval India, socio-religious movements like the Bhakti and Sufi movements helped in spreading tolerance among both Hindus and Muslims as their leaders came from all castes and classes, and preached an ideology of tolerance.
- In India, social movements for change have always had a religious colour to them. Mahatma Gandhi during the Freedom struggle used religious symbols to make it popular with the masses.

6.4.4 Bio-Technology Factors

Human beings have used biotechnology in agriculture, food production and medicine. Biotechnology is the use of living systems and organisms to develop or make useful products.

- Changes in the natural environment may be either independent of human social activities or caused by them. Deforestation, erosion and air pollution belong to the latter category, and they, in turn, may have far-reaching social consequences. Environmental disasters may lead to migration by the resident population.

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- Agricultural advancements, for example, in India, due to the introduction of high-yielding variety led to the Green Revolution. It made India self-sufficient in food and led to the development of the states like Punjab and Haryana, which also gained a higher per capita income.
- Biological pesticides are injected into various crops so that they grow pesticide-free. These have led to the increase in production.
- Scientific advancements in medicine have led to the cure of various serious diseases and have led to a rise in population worldwide. Health care facilities have led to increase in population as well.
- Cloning in biotechnology refers to processes used to create copies of DNA fragments (molecular cloning), cells (cell cloning) or organisms. Cloning organs in human-beings has led to people suffering from ailments to not wait for a donor to get the diseased organ replaced. However, at present, the technology of cloning is at initial/experimental stage and is not available for the masses.
- Cloning of animals is now being tried on extinct species or on endangered species. Scientists have successfully cloned species like the sheep, cattle, cat and rabbit. This will lead to a rise in livestock for domestication and for nutritional purposes in the future.

Medical facilities not only increase the life span but consequently the role-relationship within the family, presence and dominance of adults, their opposition for the new, demand of younger generation for more social space, role strains and generation gap, problems of elderly irrespective of social class are some of the associated issues. This also includes new roles of elders in family, changing composition of joint family, changes in the institution of marriage and its effects on the status of women, which are some manifest aspects, and students should be able to understand the underlying social effects of apparent technological and scientific development.

6.4.5 Info-Technology Factors

Information technology (IT) is the application of computers and telecommunications equipment to store, retrieve, transmit and manipulate data. The term is commonly used as a synonym for computers and computer networks, but it also encompasses other information distribution technologies such as television and telephones. Several industries are associated with information technology, such as computer hardware, software, electronics, semi-conductors, the Internet, telecom equipment, e-commerce and computer services.

- Cases of natural calamities like floods, cyclones, earthquakes and droughts are no more viewed as God's punishments against man's sins. Modern technology based on computers can predict natural disasters, as a result of which the degree of gaining control over them has increased. Modern technology using computers can warn people and save their lives by migrating to other safe areas.
- Communication has reduced distances as people can talk and can even video-chat over long distances. As a result, the world has become closer.
- Social inequalities have gone down as technology cannot be prejudiced/biased against a race, caste or religion.
- Social evils like corruption have gone down as a result of technology, especially in India, as everything is computerized and the number of people involved in the

implementation of schemes has lessened. For example, the Indian government is planning to deposit money directly into the accounts of backward people, widows and pensioners.

- Technology has also helped in the spread of democracy by making people more conscious of their rights.
- Law and order has improved, for example, with the use of close circuit television cameras (CCTV) for traffic for keeping a watch, and this has led to the reduction in crime and accidents.
- Technology has helped in the spread of knowledge and literacy in far flung areas.
- Technology has also helped in empowering women, and has also given power and voice to the weak and backwards, as anybody can use technology to show if he/she faced any exploitation and can give his/her side of the story.
- Technology has helped in changing political systems by overthrowing autocratic regimes.
- It has provided more employment opportunities based on skill and expertise.
- Technology has made globalization possible. The world is now a more integrated place now, thanks to communication satellites and the Internet, and events in one place can have an effect on the entire world.

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6.4.6 Media Factors

Mass media can be said to be diversified media technologies that are intended to reach a large audience by mass communication. The technology through which this communication takes place varies. Broadcast media, such as radio, recorded music, films and television, transmit their information electronically. Print media uses a physical object, such as a newspaper, book, pamphlet or comic, to distribute their information. Outdoor media is a form of mass media that comprises billboards, signs or placards placed inside and outside of commercial buildings, sports stadiums, shops and buses. The digital media comprises both the Internet and mobile mass communication. Internet media provides many mass media services, such as email, websites, blogs and Internet based radio and television.

- The media shapes and influences public opinion on any matter or issue.
- The media can attract attention to problems and can offer informed solutions as well.
- The media can entertain people and can spread useful information.
- The media can create conditions for mobilization of the public. For example, the anti-corruption agitation by Indian social activist Anna Hazare in 2012 or the anti-rape marches.
- The media has empowered citizens by giving a voice to the poor and the backward by showing their side of the story.
- The media helps in increasing public knowledge by informing and educating them about issues.
- The media can help bring smooth transition in the society from traditional to modern through its programming content.
- Through its various programmes, the media's influence has led to consumerism and changes in lifestyles.

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- The media’s watch on the state and its institutions have helped in keeping the government and its apparatus efficient.
- The media has helped in the reduction of various myths and superstitions by educating people about various topics.
- The media has helped in spreading the process of democracy around the world.
- The media can also be seen as a reflector of and a reinforcer of dominant values.

Each of the factors discussed above may contribute to others; none of the factors can be the sole determinant of social change. One reason why deterministic or reductionist theories are often disproved is that the method for explaining processes is not autonomous but must itself be explained. Moreover, social factors are often so intertwined that it would be misleading to consider them separately. For example, there are no fixed borders between economic and political factors, nor are there fixed boundaries between economic and technological factors. Technological change may in itself be regarded as a specific type of organizational or conceptual change. The causal connections between distinguishable social processes are a matter of degree and vary over time.

6.5 THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The various important theories of social change are discussed in the following sections.

Marx’s theory of social change

Karl Marx, from a conflict perspective, provided a dialectical historical approach for the study of social change. Marx’s interpretation of social change has something in common with evolutionary theories. Both regard the major patterns of change as being brought about by interaction with the material environment. Marx opined that the economic structure that every society rests on might get modified over a period of time, thereby, influencing and affecting changes in the legal, political and cultural institutions. Human beings are always bringing in change in their systems of production and controlling the material world, thereby, making changes in the social infrastructure. The level of economic progress of a society can be determined by these changes. Marx believed that social change is not brought about by a slow process but by a revolutionary transformation. Slow changes in the balance of social power alternates with violent, revolutionary transformation. This has been referred to as the dialectical interpretation of change.

In Marx’s theory of social change, two elements in social life have a predominant place:

- (i) The development of technology (productive forces)
- (ii) The relations between social classes

The theory states that a dominant class maintains and stabilizes a system of class relations and a definite mode of production. These correspond to a definite stage of production. However, the continuing development of productive forces changes the relations between classes, and the condition of their conflict, and in due course, the dominated class is able to overthrow the existing mode of production and system of social relationship. They usher in a new social order.

Marx stretched his theory of historical change; he used it as a guiding thread for research and devoted his powers to the analysis of a complex historical phenomenon, that is, the emergence and growth of modern capitalism. So the Marxian theory

Check Your Progress

11. What are the three causes of social change as given by Harry Johnson?
12. List the negative effects of demographic factors or population growth.
13. How is the media useful in bringing social change?
14. What led to the rise of scientific temperament and rationality?

concentrates on the changes involved in the replacement of feudalism by industrial capitalism in European history. The feudal economic system was based on a small-scale agricultural production; the two principal classes being aristocrats and serfs. So for Marx, as trade and technology (forces of production) developed, major changes began to occur in the social fabric. This led to a new set of economic relations, centred on capitalist manufacture and industry in towns and cities. Conflicts between aristocrats and the newly developing capitalist class ultimately led to the process of revolution, signalling the consolidation of a new type of society. In other words, industrial capitalism replaced feudalism.

Parsons' theory of social change

Talcott Parsons also gave a theory of social change. He argued that the energetic information exchanges among action systems provide the potential for change within or between the action systems. Parsons views social change as a process of social evolution from simple to more complex forms of societies. He regards changes in adaptation as a major driving force of social evolution. Such change may be brought about by excess energy or information during the process of exchange within action systems. These excesses modify the energy or information crossing over to the other action system. On the other hand, insufficient information or structure may also change or affect the action system in some way. Motivation, for example, would definitely change the way actors behave and eventually affect the cultural orientation of the social system.

Parsons drew heavily from Durkheim and Spencer's teachings on social change and development and laid out the following elements of the process of evolution:

- The system units are classified into patterns that display dependence on each other in order to complete system functions.
- In differentiating systems, new components and principles that facilitate integration are established.
- Within given environments, the adaptive capacity of these systems of differentiations are increased.

Evolution involves distinguishing between personalities as well as the cultural, social and organismic systems in the perspective of action theory. Secondly, the distinction within these sub-systems affects the integration and formation of new structures that boosts integration. The distinctions also influence the improvement of the survival capacity of action sub-systems and their overall functions within a specific environment.

Stages of evolution, according to Parsons, bring about the formation of a new set of problems in the integration between society and culture. With every passing stage, these systems have been influenced and modified to become internally distinct as well as distinct from each other. For him, the history of human society from the simple hunting and gathering group to the complex nation state represents an increase in the general adaptive capacity of the society. As societies evolve into more complex forms, the control over the environment increases. While economic changes might provide an initial stimulus, Parsons believed that in the long run, the cultural changes, i.e., changes in values, determine the broadest patterns of change.

Thus, Parsons opines that social evolution involves a process of differentiation. The institutions and roles which form the social system become increasingly differentiated and specialized in term of their function. As the parts of society become more and more specialized and distinct, it becomes increasingly difficult to integrate them in terms of

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common values. Moreover, despite social differentiation, social integration and order are maintained by generating values. Parsons admits that his views on social evolution represent little more than a beginning. However, they do offer a possible solution to the problem of explaining social change from a functionalist perspective. Parsons consistently emphasized the necessity of developing a systematic, general theory of human behaviour. He views the development of abstract theory as the principal index of maturity of a science. Such theory facilitates description, analysis and empirical research.

6.5.1 Linear or Evolutionary Theories of Social Change

There have been various theories and studies conducted to understand the phenomenon of social change in various eras by different thinkers. This section looks at one of the earliest theories of social change collectively known as linear theories of social change.

Linear theory refers to the theories of social change which discuss a society's progress or evolution in a linear direction. Earlier sociological thinkers believed that human societies were meant for development, and change was always progressive and led to further civilization and ethical enhancement of society. Such theories were influenced by Darwin's general theory of evolution which states that natural species evolve through variation and natural selection, a process which is not essentially progressive.

The conception of evolution involves three essential characteristics:

- Evolution is viewed as an irreversible process of unidirectional growth and development.
- Every society will go through a limited number of fixed stages of development.
- Evolution necessarily involves progress and every succeeding stage is considered to be better and higher than the preceding one.

Auguste Comte, considered by many to be one of the pioneers of sociology, through his theory on the 'laws of three stages' talked about social change in terms of evolution of the society (also referred to as the theory of socio-cultural evolution). According to Comte, societies can be seen developing through three different stages of evolution/development. They are as follows:

- (i) The theological stage
- (ii) The metaphysical stage
- (iii) The positive stage

The **theological stage** refers to the belief in embodied deities. This stage was sub-divided into three sub-stages:

- *Fetishism* is a major stage of the theological stage. Also known as animism, in this stage, people believe that inanimate objects have living spirits in them. For example, people worshipping non-living objects like trees, stones, water, volcanic eruptions, and so on.
- *Polytheism* is the belief in many gods. In this stage, people believe that different gods control all natural forces; for example, the god of rain, god of fire, god of air, god of water, god of earth, and so on.
- *Monotheism* refers to the belief in one supreme God; everything is attributed to a single entity.

The **metaphysical stage** can be seen as an extension of the theological stage. In this stage, people believe that God is an abstract entity/being. The basic belief is that an

unseen force or abstract power guides and determines events in the world. Faith in a concrete God is rejected. For example, metaphysical notions can be seen at work in Hindu mythology's conception of the soul and of rebirth.

The **positive stage**, or the scientific stage, refers to the rational scientific belief which is based on the methods of observation, experiment and comparison. This belief, by establishing cause and effect relationships, relies upon the scientific method. It indicates an intellectual way of understanding the world as it stresses objectivity through classification of data and facts.

Comte was followed by Herbert Spencer, another major thinker of sociology in the 19th century. Spencer defined sociology as the study of the evolution of society and held that the final goal of societal evolution is complete harmony and happiness, as homogeneous systems or societies would grow to become heterogeneous.

Spencer's theories may be summarized as follows:

- Spencer applied the theory of biological evolution to sociology.
- According to Spencer, evolution had a direction and a goal or an end-point, which was the attainment of a final state of equilibrium.
- He stated that the human mind had evolved in a similar manner; according to him, the human mind evolved from formulating animal like animated responses to the process of reasoning and logic symptomatic of the thinking man.
- He believed that just as in the theory of biological evolution, society was the product of change from lower to higher forms; the lowest forms of life always evolved into higher forms.
- In the development of society, Spencer argued that evolutionary progression from simple, undifferentiated homogeneity to complex, differentiated heterogeneity was exemplified.
- He developed a theory of two types of society, which corresponded to this evolutionary progression:
 - o The militant
 - o The industrial

For Spencer, militant society is structured around the relationships of hierarchy and obedience, mostly simple and undifferentiated. On the other hand, industrial society is complex and differentiated, as it is based on voluntary, contractually assumed social obligations. Spencer conceptualized society as a social organism. This society, according to the universal law of evolution, evolved from a simpler state to the more complex state.

American anthropologist and social theorist Lewis H. Morgan in *Ancient Societies*, published in 1877, differentiated between three eras based on the relationship between technological and social progress:

- **Savage era:** Characterized by fire, bow, pottery
- **Barbaric era:** Characterized by agriculture, metalworking and the domestication of animals
- **Civilization era:** Exemplified by the alphabet and writing

Morgan rejected the three-age system of pre-history, namely, the Stone-Age, the Bronze-Age and the Iron-Age, as being an insufficient characterization of progress. He further sub-divided the savage, barbaric and civilization era into sub stages. This subdivision is seen in Table 6.1 below:

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Table 6.1 Sub-division of the Savage, Barbaric and Civilization Era**NOTES**

Savagery: Natural Subsistence, at least 60,000 years.	Lower	First distinction of man from the other animals. <i>Fruits and Roots</i> , tropical or subtropical habitats, at least partial <i>tree-dwelling</i> , <i>gesture language</i> , <i>intelligence</i> , <i>Consanguine Family</i> .
	Middle	<i>Fish Subsistence</i> , <i>Use of Fire</i> , spread of man worldwide along shorelines, <i>monosyllabic language</i> , <i>Punaluan Family</i> .
	Upper	Weapons: bow and arrow, club, spear; addition of game to diet, cannibalism, <i>syllabic language</i> , <i>Syndyasmian Family</i> , <i>organization into gentes</i> , <i>phratries and tribes</i> , <i>worship of the elements</i> .
Barbarism: Cultivation, Domestication, 35,000 years.	Lower	<i>Horticulture</i> : maize, bean, squash, tobacco; <i>art of pottery</i> , tribal confederacy, <i>finger weaving</i> , <i>blow-gun</i> , <i>village stockade</i> , <i>tribal games</i> , <i>element worship</i> , <i>Great Spirit</i> , formation of <i>Aryan and Semitic families</i> .
	Middle	<i>Domestication of animals</i> among the <i>Semitic and Aryan families</i> : goat, sheep, pig, horse, ass, cow, dog; milk, <i>making bronze</i> , irrigation, <i>great joint tenement houses in the nature of fortresses</i> .
	Upper	<i>Cultivation of cereals and plants</i> by the Aryans, <i>smelting iron ore</i> , poetry, mythology, walled cities, wheeled vehicles, metallic armor and weapons (bronze and iron), the forge, potter's wheel, grain mill, loom weaving, forging, <i>monogamian family</i> , <i>individual property</i> , <i>municipal life</i> , <i>popular assembly</i> .
Civilization: Field Agriculture, 5000 years.	Ancient	<i>Plow with an iron point</i> , iron implements, animal power, <i>unlimited subsistence</i> , <i>phonetic alphabet</i> , <i>writing</i> , <i>Arabic numerals</i> , the military art, the city, commerce, coinage, <i>the state</i> , <i>founded upon territory and upon property</i> , the bridge, arch, crane, water-wheel, sewer.
	Mediaeval	<i>Gothic architecture</i> , <i>feudal aristocracy with hereditary titles of rank</i> , <i>hierarchy under the headship of a pope</i>
	Modern	Telegraph, coal gas, spinning-jenny, power loom, steam engine, telescope, printing, canal lock, compass, gunpowder, photography, modern science, religious freedom, public schools, representative democracy, classes, different types of law.

Morgan's theory influenced Marxist theorists like Engels, as he believed that any change in the form of technology can lead to social change—in social institutions, organizations or even in ideologies.

Emile Durkheim, in his book *Division of Labour in Society* (1893), talked about the concept of social solidarity. Here, he discussed evolution in terms of society progressing from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. The most important factor in this social growth was the division of labour.

Mechanical solidarity can be seen in a society where division of labour is simple, where people are self-sufficient, where there is little integration, and to keep the society together, sometimes force can be used. Organic solidarity refers to a society where there is more integration and interdependence due to a complex division of labour, and specialization and cooperation is extensive.

Progress from mechanical to organic solidarity is based on:

- The division of labour (from simple to complex)
- Population growth and increase in population density
- On the development of more complex social interactions
- On the increase in specialization in the workplace

These theorists saw the society moving in only one direction, i.e., towards progress and development in a manner of unilineal evolution, i.e., evolution in one direction.

The German sociologist and philosopher Ferdinand Tönnies discussed social evolution theory in terms of development. According to him, the society moved from an informal society, where there are few laws and obligations, and people have many liberties to a formal rational, modern society, dominated by traditions and laws which restrict people from acting as they wish.

Tönnies also pointed at the tendency of modern society to absorb all smaller societies into a single, large unit through standardization and unification (presently referred to as the process of globalization). Tönnies' work became an inspiration for the rise of theories on neo-evolutionism. He:

- Rejected the linear ideas of evolution
- Claimed that the social development or progress is not perfect
- Asserted that the right direction for the evolution of society cannot be pointed out and that societies do not necessarily follow the same paths
- Believed that instead of social progress, the evolution of society could even be called a regress as newer, more evolved societies develop only after paying high costs, resulting in decreasing satisfaction of individuals making up that society

The theories of Tönnies are also seen as the foundation of the social theory of neo-evolutionism. Briefly, neo-evolutionism tries to explain the evolution of societies by drawing on Darwin's theory of evolution and discarding some dogmas of the previous social evolutionism. Neo-evolutionism is concerned with long-term, directional, evolutionary social change and with the regular patterns of development that may be seen in unrelated, widely separated cultures. Tönnies was one of the first sociologists to assert that the evolution of society was not necessarily going in the right direction and that social progress is not perfect; it can even be regressive since newer, more evolved societies are established only after paying a high costs, resulting in decreasing satisfaction of individuals making up that society.

6.5.2 Cyclical Theories of Social Change

The theory of social evolution views the evolution of society and human history as progressing in a distinctive linear course, whereas the cyclical theory of social change claims that events and stages of society and history are generally repeating themselves in cycles. According to the cyclical theory, growth and decay are both phases which affect every society from time to time.

The first cyclical theory in sociology under the title *The Mind and Society* (1935) was developed by the Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto; in it, Pareto discussed the notion of the circulation of elites (the few who rule the many in society). Although in 1896, Italian political scientist Gaetano Mosca had commented on the many ruled by the few, it was Pareto who came up with the term 'elites'. In his theory, Pareto propagated the superiority of elites (psychologically and intellectually) and emphasized that elites were the highest accomplishers in any field.

Pareto divides the elites into two types:

- Governing elites
- Non-governing elites

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Pareto labelled the two groups as lions (those who rule by force, like in a military dictatorships) and foxes (those who rule by cunning and guile, example, politicians in democracies). According to his theory, every society is founded in aggression and, therefore, 'lions', but as it settles down the need for their courage and strength declines. In due course, this necessity is replaced by even more persuasive need, the need for the subtler skills of the foxes, who then become the rulers. The rule of the foxes remains in place until the society's identity and sense of direction become so unclear that a requirement for the qualities of 'lions' rises once again. This is how society is ruled by elites in circulation.

Another cyclical theory of social change was developed by Russian American sociologist Pitirim A. Sorokin (1889–1968) in his *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (1937, 1943). Sorokin classified societies according to their cultural mentality or cultural status, which could be ideational (religious way of thinking, or reality as spiritual), sensate (emphasizing the role of the senses in understanding reality, or reality as material), or idealistic (a synthesis of the two). He interpreted the contemporary West as a sensate civilization dedicated to technological progress and prophesied its fall into decadence and the emergence of a new ideational or idealistic era.

It is important to note that the concept of society moving in cycles was not new. Similar ideas were conceptualized in ancient China, Egypt and in Babylon as well, as among the classical philosophers and historians. Cyclical theories have also contributed to the development of the comparative historical method in the social sciences.

German historian and philosopher Oswald Spengler gave another cyclical theory of social change. His book *The Decline of the West*, published in 1922, covered all of world history. According to Spengler's theory, the lifespan of civilizations was limited and ultimately all civilizations perished. In *The Decline of the West*, Spengler rejected the division of history into the 'ancient-medieval-modern' rubric, which he saw as linear and Euro-centric. According to Spengler, the meaningful units for history are whole cultures which evolve as organisms. He recognized eight high cultures:

- Babylonian
- Egyptian
- Chinese
- Indian
- Mexican (Mayan/Aztec)
- Classical (Greek/Roman)
- Arabian
- Western or European-American

For Spengler, the lifespan of a culture, where each culture becomes a 'civilization' in its final stage, can be stated to be around a thousand years. He asserted that the Western world was ending and that we are witnessing the last season or the 'winter time' of the Western civilization. Spengler represents the Western Man as a proud but tragic figure since what he strives for and creates, he secretly knows that the objectives may never be achieved.

British historian Arnold J. Toynbee's ten-volume *A Study of History* came out in three separate instalments published between 1934 and 1954. It can be stated that Toynbee's ideas and approach to history falls into the discipline of comparative history. In response to Spengler's theory:

- Toynbee affirmed that a civilization may or may not continue to prosper, depending on the challenges it might face and in the way it responds to them.
- He followed Oswald Spengler's book *The Decline of the West* in taking a comparative topical approach to independent civilizations.
- Toynbee rejected Spengler's deterministic view that civilizations rise and fall according to a natural and inevitable cycle in which they live for 1,000 years.
- He identified historical civilizations according to cultural or religious rather than national criteria.
- Thus, 'Western Civilization', was treated as a whole, and distinguished from both the 'Orthodox' civilization of Russia and the Balkans, and from the Greco-Roman civilization that preceded it. Western civilization comprised all the nations that have existed in Western Europe since the collapse of the Western Roman Empire.
- Toynbee identified 21 civilizations, of which by 1940, sixteen were dead and four of the remaining five were under severe pressure from Western Christendom or the West.
- According to Toynbee, the ideas and methods for meeting challenges in a society come from a creative minority. The ideas and methods developed by the creative minority are copied by the majority. Thus, meeting challenges in society entails generation of ideas by a minority and imitation by the majority. If either of those two processes ceases to function, then the civilization breaks down.
- In the breakdown of a civilization, the society splits into three parts: the dominant minority, the internal proletariat (the working masses which are part of the civilization) and the external proletariat (the masses which are influenced by the civilization but are not controlled by it).
- The disintegration of a civilization involves a 'time of troubles', for example, a war between nations that are a part of the civilization. This time of troubles is followed by the establishment of a universal state, an empire. For Toynbee, the existence of a universal state, such as the Roman Empire, is an evidence that the civilization has broken down.
- Ultimately, the universal state collapses and there follows an interregnum in which the internal proletariat creates a universal religion and the external proletariat becomes involved in a migration of peoples.

Linear theories of social change are very simplistic and cyclical theories neglect the interrelations between civilizations, and have been criticized for conceiving of civilizations as natural entities with sharp boundaries.

Curvilinear Social Change Theory

When the variables under consideration are observed at certain periods, it implies curvilinearity. Although history does not repeat itself, it shows some particular trends, which help in generalizing some trends that can lead to a curve. Curvilinearity depends on the time period and observational units of generalizable trend, which can show a curvilinear impression (as opposed to a cyclical trend). Models of one-directional change assume that change in a certain direction induces further change in the same direction; on the other hand, models of curvilinear or cyclical change assume that change in a

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certain direction creates the conditions for change in another (perhaps even the opposite) direction. More specifically, it is often assumed that growth has its limits, and that in approaching these limits, the change curve will inevitably be bent. Ecological conditions such as the availability of natural resources, for instance, can limit population, economic and organizational growth.

Shorter-term cyclic changes are explained by comparable mechanisms. Some theories of the business cycle, for example, assume that the economy is saturated periodically with capital goods; investments become less necessary and less profitable, the rate of investments diminishes, and this downward trend results in a recession. After a period of time, however, essential capital goods will have to be replaced; investments are pushed up again, and a phase of economic expansion begins.

All theories of social change generally assume that the path of social change is not random or arbitrary, but is, to a certain degree, regular or patterned. The three traditional ideas of social change have unquestionably influenced modern theories. Although, these theories are not scientifically based, they do not make an explicit distinction between decline and progress. In fact, from empirical observations, the qualities of decline and progress cannot be derived scientifically alone but are instead identified by normative evaluations and value judgments. If the study of social change is to be conducted on scientific and non-normative terms, then only two basic patterns of social change can be considered: the cyclic and the one-directional/linear. Often, the time span of the change determines which pattern is observed, as linear shows the trend over a small period as compared to cyclical which compare trends over a long period of time.

It would be pertinent here to emphasize that since social change is an abstract and complex phenomenon that occurs due to the interplay of various factors and forces. There cannot be one or two universal laws of pattern of change, whether cyclic or linear. To give an example, one part of culture may change progressively (like technology), but at the same time, another part may show cyclical change (like fashion). Further, as neo-evolutionists claim, the change takes a parabolic curve where a certain institution regains its importance but with different ideology (e.g., promiscuity > monogamy > loose sex morality).

6.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Change and continuity are the inevitable facts of life. Not only do people undergo the process of change but so does the habitat they live in.
- Sociology as a separate discipline emerged in the middle of the 19th century as an effort to explain the socio-cultural and economic changes that erupted in Europe, following the industrialization and democratization processes.
- ‘Change’ refers to any alteration or transformation in any object, situation or phenomena over a certain period of time.
- ‘Social change’, on the other hand, indicates the changes that take place in human interactions or interrelationships. Society is regarded as a ‘web of social relationships’, and in that sense, social change refers to change in the system of social relationships.

Check Your Progress

15. What is dialectical interpretation of change?
16. What is the driving force of social evolution for Parsons?

- The concept of social change is not value-laden or judgemental. It does not advocate any good or desirable and bad or undesirable turn of events.
- Economy plays a cardinal role in man's daily life. The noted sociologist and philosopher Karl Marx pointed out the significance of economy as a factor in social change. He propounded that economy which constitutes the means of production like labour, instruments, and so on, and the relations of production is the infrastructure and all others like family, legal system, education, religion, polity, and so on are the superstructure.
- Karl Marx, from a conflict perspective, provided a dialectical historical approach for the study of social change. Marx's interpretation of social change has something in common with evolutionary theories.
- Marx believed that social change is brought about not by a slow process, but by a revolutionary transformation. Slow changes in the balance of social power alternates with violent, revolutionary transformation. This has been referred to as dialectical interpretation of change.
- Talcott Parsons became increasingly concerned with social change. He argued that the energetic information exchanges among action systems provide the potential for change within or between the action systems.
- Linear theory refers to the theories of social change which discuss a society's progress or evolution in a linear direction.
- The metaphysical stage can be seen as an extension of the theological stage. In this stage, people believe that God is an abstract entity/being.
- Organic solidarity refers to a society where there is more integration and interdependence due to a complex division of labour, and specialisation and cooperation is extensive.
- Neo-evolutionism tries to explain the evolution of societies by drawing on Darwin's theory of evolution and discarding some dogmas of the previous social evolutionism.
- All theories of social change generally assume that the path of social change is not random or arbitrary, but is, to a certain degree, regular or patterned.
- The causes of social change are inherent either in social system in general or in particular kinds of social system.
- The change may also be due to some impact from the non-social environment. Changes in the non-social environment, which may be due to human engineering, such as soil erosion, deforestation and exhaustion of natural mineral resources, can also cause some social changes.
- Religion may not be seen as a sole factor for social change, but in combination with other factors, religion becomes a significant factor of social change.
- Human beings have used biotechnology in agriculture, food production and medicine. Biotechnology is the use of living systems and organisms to develop or make useful products.
- Technology has also helped in the spread of democracy by making people more conscious of their rights.
- Mass media can be said to be diversified media technologies that are intended to reach a large audience by mass communication. The technology through which this communication takes place varies.

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6.7 KEY TERMS

- **Change:** ‘Change’ refers to any alteration or transformation in any object, situation or phenomena over a certain period of time.
- **Cultural lag:** A cultural lag occurs when one of the two parts of culture which are correlated changes before or in greater degree than the other parts does, thereby, causing less adjustment between the two parts than existed previously.
- **Demography:** Demography deals with the size, distribution, growth, and so on, of the population over a period of time.
- **Demographic change:** Demographic change is change in the patterns of fertility, mortality, age structure, migration, and so on.
- **Linear theory:** Linear theory refers to the theories of social change which discuss a society’s progress or evolution in a linear direction.
- **Fetishism:** Fetishism is a major stage of the theological stage. Also known as animism, in this stage, people believe that inanimate objects have living spirits in them.
- **Polytheism:** Polytheism is the belief in many gods. In this stage, people believe that different gods control all natural forces.
- **Monotheism:** Monotheism refers to the belief in one supreme God; everything is attributed to a single entity.
- **Organic solidarity:** Organic solidarity refers to a society where there is more integration and interdependence due to a complex division of labour, and specialization and cooperation is extensive.
- **Neo-evolutionism:** Neo-evolutionism tries to explain the evolution of societies by drawing on Darwin’s theory of evolution and discarding some dogmas of the previous social evolutionism.
- **Information technology:** Information technology (IT) is the application of computers and telecommunications equipment to store, retrieve, transmit and manipulate data.

6.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Sociology as a separate discipline emerged in the middle of the 19th century as an effort to explain the socio-cultural and economic changes that erupted in Europe following the industrialization and democratization processes.
2. According to Morris Ginsberg, there are two types of changes:
 - (a) Changes in the structure of society
 - (b) Changes in the value system of society
3. Change can be directional. It happens in a particular direction. In several instances, such direction is planned, predetermined and is fixed ideally. Such changes are called as progress.
4. Progress involves change that leads to certain well-defined goals. It is also a type of social change. However, there are differences between the two. Every change

is not progress, but every progress can be called as a change. Moreover, change is a value-free concept, while progress always denotes change for the better.

5. Social change is temporal in the sense that it involves the factor of time. It denotes time sequence. It can be temporary or permanent. Time is an important component in the process of change.
6. Economy plays a cardinal role in man's daily life. Karl Marx pointed out the significance of economy as a factor in social change. He propounded that economy which constitutes the means of production like labour, instruments, and so on, and the relations of production is the infrastructure and all others like family, legal system, education, religion, polity, and so on, are the superstructure.
7. Development refers to the improvement in the quality of life and advancement in one's state of condition. It may refer to the improvements in one's well-being, living standards and socio-economic opportunities.
8. Development is a form of change. However, there are differences between the two. Change is a value-neutral concept, while development is value-loaded one. Change is ethically neutral and suggests alterations or modifications in the structure and functioning of the society over a period of time. Development, on the other hand, advocates change for good. It is a process of desired change. Although development leads to change, all forms of change do not indicate development. Those changes which are planned are termed as development. A change to be defined as development must occur continuously in a desired direction.
9. There can be two types of change related to social structure—the change that is witnessed inside the structure and the change of the societal system or structure as a whole. Among these two types of changes, structural change or change of structure is the most important and relevant.
10. The term 'Sanskritization' was coined by Indian sociologist M. N. Srinivas. He defines Sanskritization as the 'process by which a low caste or tribe or other group takes over the custom, rituals, beliefs, ideology and life style of a higher caste and in particular "twice-born" (dwija) caste' (Srinivas, 1966).
11. The three causes of social change as given by Harry Johnson are as follows:
 - (a) The causes of social change are inherent either in social system in general or in particular kinds of social system.
 - (b) The change may be due to some impact from the social environment of the social system of reference.
 - (c) The change may also be due to some impact from the non-social environment.
12. The negative effects of demographic factors or population growth are as follows:
 - (a) Decrease in the standard of living of the people
 - (b) Leads to problems like poverty, unemployment, child labour, crime, and so on
 - (c) Leads to disorder and social conflict, and affects migrants too
13. The media is useful in bringing social change in the following ways:
 - (a) The media shapes and influences public opinion for any matter or issue.
 - (b) The media can attract attention to problems and can offer informed solutions as well.
 - (c) The media can entertain people and can spread useful information.

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14. Reformation reforms in the 16th century Europe to rid Christianity of its superstitions and corruption that had plagued the church and its officials led to the rise of scientific temperament and rationality.
15. Marx believed that social change is brought about not by a slow process but by a revolutionary transformation. Slow changes in the balance of social power alternates with violent, revolutionary transformation. This has been referred to as dialectical interpretation of change.
16. Parsons regards changes in adaptation as a major driving force of social evolution. Such change may be brought about by excess energy or information during the process of exchange within action systems.

6.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Define change and social change.
2. Differentiate between social and cultural changes.
3. What is the role played by technological changes in social change?
4. What are the two elements of social life that have a predominant place in Marx's theory of social change?
5. List the elements of processes of evolution as put forward by Parsons.
6. List the sub-categories of the theological stage of evolution.
7. What is neo-evolutionism?
8. Write a short note on curvilinear social change theory.
9. List the important factors that determine the rise or fall of population.
10. What are the ways in which economic factors have acted as drivers of social change?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the meaning and the characteristics of social change. Describe using examples the different forms of social change.
2. Evaluate Marx's and Parsons' theory of social change.
3. Explain the linear and cyclical theories of social change.
4. Examine the various factors of social change.
5. 'Social change is temporal and directional.' Discuss.
6. Discuss the nature of development. Also, explain the importance of the indicators of development.
7. 'Max Weber regarded religion as an important contributor to economic development or stagnation.' Discuss.

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UNIT 7 SOCIAL PROBLEMS

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7.0 INTRODUCTION

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Social problems are undesirable situations, conditions or behaviour concerning society, social institutions, social relationships, social structure, social organization, and so on. They affect society to such an extent that it earnestly tries to find a solution for eliminating them. The society is organized in a way that conflicts of interests cannot be avoided. These conflicts result into problems that demand the society's attention. The list of problems as recognized by the policymakers and framers of law is quite different from those problems identified by the society. Consensus or agreement is difficult to reach at as far as the forms of social problems are concerned.

Today, we all witness an array of problems surrounding us. We read about them in newspapers, listen about them while tuned to the television or radio, and witness or experience them in our neighbourhoods or in our own families. Of these, many of the problems are personal problems and relate to an individual and do not affect others around him or her. Yet a few of them register a strong presence and impact the larger society as they take the shape of social problems.

This unit deals with social problems like alcoholism and drug abuse. Alcohol is increasingly produced, distributed and promoted in India. This is why it is an easily available commodity. Drugs, though not so freely available, can still be procured easily if one has 'contacts'. Alcohol acts as a sedative which calms down nerves. It relieves tension and lessens aggressive inhibitions. It is one of the six types of drugs, others being sedatives, stimulants, narcotics, hallucinogens and nicotine.

Drugs are substances that can alter a person's state of mind by influencing the way one thinks and behaves. While there are certain drugs that can be procured legally with a prescription, there are a few that are solely used for getting high and are illegal. The excessive consumption of alcohol and drugs has several adverse effects. The government claims that the revenues generated by alcohol sale are used for the society's development. Various national and local level studies also indicate that at least 20–40 per cent of men falling in the age group of 15 to 60 years in India are regular consumers of alcohol.

This unit begins by making the concept of alcoholism and drug abuse clear to the learners, and then discusses the harmful consequences of consuming alcohol and drugs. The unit also suggests the preventive measures against these two evils lurking in our society.

Indian policymakers have time and again framed policies and laid down plans that concentrate on the youth. But what happens if many of them remain unemployed? The educated youth in our country is bearing the brunt of large-scale unemployment. Population explosion and the absence of proper manpower planning have aggrandized the problem of unemployment in such a way that it has assumed alarming proportions. The problem of unemployment continues to plague and escalate despite governmental efforts in the direction of preventing it. Though unemployment is widespread in rural India, urban India poses the problem of educated unemployment. Also, all capitalist economies face the problem of unemployment to a certain extent, but the case of unemployment is severe in developing and poor countries. Unemployment has adverse effects on the psyche of the youth. It often leads to an increase in crime rates. This unit deals with the problems concerning unemployment in India. It focusses on its forms, causes extent and remedies.

Similarly, there is another problem that pervades the Indian society. This is the problem of corruption. One of the most distinctive features of corruption is that it is immune to all measures that are undertaken to contain it, especially because it prevails at all levels of our administration and society.

This unit deals with the concept of corruption, especially political and bureaucratic corruption. Further, this unit will also inform you about the causes behind corruption and of the government's intervention in the issue.

Traditionally, women have always been considered to be weak and inferior to men. The patriarchal society has constructed a social reality that has relegated women to a more dependant role in the society. The cultural, political and religious discourse reinforces this dependant position of the women. You might be appalled to know that several religious texts justify hitting women. Though we have numerous laws in place that are meant to keep violent practices against women in check, the validity of domestic violence is hard to prove because such cases mostly go unreported. The issue of violence against women is of central concern to many health and human rights activists, social scientists and psychologists. The anticipation of physical, mental and sexual abuse by women takes a toll on their mental health because they are aware of the fact that they are nowhere safe, not even in their homes. This restricts their freedom as they live in the constant fear of being assaulted.

The issue of gender-based violence is quite important because such violence is getting out of hand. This unit concludes with a discussion violence against women. In order to gain an understanding of the concept, we must first define as to what constitutes such violence. Then, we can study the forms in which such violence may be encountered and the ways in which it can be tackled.

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7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

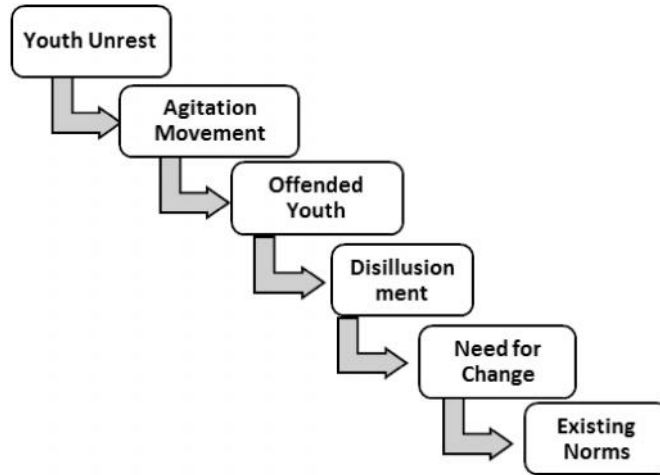
- Describe the concepts, causes, harmful consequences and preventive measures of alcoholism and drug abuse
- Evaluate the various forms of unemployment and their causes
- Discuss the concept of crime from a sociological perspective
- Analyse the problem of juvenile delinquency
- Examine corruption as a critical social problem and describe the issues related to political and bureaucratic corruption
- Evaluate the constituents of violence against women

7.2 YOUTH UNREST

The term 'unrest' simply refers to the 'disturbed condition of the present'. For instance, the lack of proper education may lead to social unrest in society. Social unrest is an indication of collective disillusionment and frustration of a particular group in a society. For example, if there is unrest among the students of a particular educational institute or university, then it is not perceived as the problem of student unrest as such. However, when students all over the country express their frustration on a particular issue, for

example, examination, placement in jobs, content of any syllabus, and so on, then the unrest prevailing due to these problems are termed as student unrest. In the same way, youth unrest exists in our society where there is a disagreement or frustration on common social issues in the society.

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7.1 Youth Unrest

7.2.1 Classification of Youth Unrest

The characteristics of youth unrest are based on four important standards. These are as follows:

- (i) Public concern
- (ii) Collective discontent
- (iii) Change in the existing norms
- (iv) Activity based on the feelings of injustice

In order to better understand the concept of youth unrest, let us classify it into the following groups:

1. Resistance agitation

The primary aim of resistance based on agitation is to keep the power holder in his/her place. For example, if university shows reduced marks on the mark sheet of some students, after a re-evaluation. This step can be resisted by students group through agitation, which may force the university to keep the original marks (i.e., the marks would not be reduced). Such a resistance agitation expresses the disappointment and concern of the students at the direction in which the university is moving or acting.

2. Persuasive agitation

In this case, the youth make an effort to change the attitude of the power holders towards a particular issue by generally discussing their problems with them directly and making them accept their points of view. This type of agitation ranges from relatively minor issues to major issues. The anger and injustice expressed through this method of agitation not only provokes support for the students but also mobilizes the passive youth to actively participate in the movement and express their discontent through harmless emotional outlets.

3. Revolutionary agitation

The major objective of revolutionary agitation is to bring unexpected extensive changes in the educational and social system. For example, in this type of agitation, the students may force the authorities to decide that no student will be declared as failed and will also be promoted to higher classes. Moreover, the student should also be given opportunities to appear in the failed paper or the subject till the time he/she clears it. In this type of agitation, the revolutionary leaders believe in overthrowing the existing system and replacing it with a new system. Some examples of revolutionary agitation are the youth agitation in china in 1987, the AASU (All Assam Students Union) agitation in Assam in 1994, Uttarakhand agitation in Uttar Pradesh in 1994 and Bodo agitation in Assam during 1989-96.

Generally, there are five types of youth who take up agitational activities. These are as follows:

- (i) **Socially isolated:** Youth who feel alienated and cut off from the larger society.
- (ii) **Unattached to family:** Youth who lack intimate relationships with their families are encouraged to participate in agitation. Young persons with warm and satisfying family bonds have no emotional need to join an agitation.
- (iii) **Personally maladjusted:** Youth who have failed to find a satisfying life role, for example, those who have not developed an adequate interest in studies, are unemployed or under-employed, or are unsuccessful, join agitation because of an emotional need to fill the void in their lives.
- (iv) **Migrants:** Such youths have little chance of getting integrated into the larger community, thus, joining an agitation acts as refuge for them.
- (v) **Marginals:** Youth who are not fully accepted and integrated with their caste, religious and linguistic group feel uneasy, insecure and resentful. They find it difficult to resolve the discrepancy in their self-image and public image which necessitates them to join agitation to get some recognition.

7.2.2 Major Theories on the Cause of Youth Agitation

Generally, there are three important theories which clearly explain the concept of youth unrest. These theories are discussed as follows:

- (i) **Personal maladjustment theory:** It is true that there will be no youth agitation if there is no discontent amongst the youth. If the youth is satisfied with whatever they have then they are likely to have no interest in agitation. However, the angry and the discontent youth who are not satisfied with the existing systems or norms, or those who feel even slightly annoyed with the existing structure will collectively act to pressurize the power holder to introduce some changes. In reference to this kind of youth behaviour, the personal maladjustment theory sees agitation as a refuge from personal failure. It is possible that young people who feel maladjusted and unfulfilled are generally more involved in agitational activities. In short, the agitational supporters are those people who are frustrated misfits in the society.
- (ii) **Relative deprivation theory:** The prominent American sociologist Samuel Andrew Stouffer introduced the relative deprivation theory. According to Stouffer, a group feels deprived if it is prevented from achieving its goal. He further believes that attractive relative deprivation is increasing all over the underdeveloped world.

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In India the youth in general feels deprived of opportunities, experiences unemployment, faces the system of reservation, lacks scope of higher education, and so on. As a result of such deprivations, youth agitation increases, which is easy to infer but difficult to measure.

(iii) **Resource mobilization theory:** According to the views of eminent sociologists in this theory, in the absence of grievances and discontent, there would have been few agitations. However, mobilization is required for directing the discontent amongst the youth towards an effective and harmless agitation. However, this theory does not explain all kinds of youth agitation. If we categorize agitation as persuasive, revolutionary and resistance agitations, then this theory does not fit into resistance based agitation.

Process of the growth of agitation due to youth unrest

Youth agitation can be defined as a social protest wherein the behaviour of the youth is not aimed at either injuring a person not destructing public property. It is a learned behaviour. The preconditions of youth agitations are as follows:

- To create collective consciousness
- To organize the youth to work for new programmes and new plans
- To provide opportunities to young individuals for expressing their feelings and make some impact on the course of social change

However, in today’s scenario, student-oriented agitations are actually problem-oriented agitations and not value oriented. For example, students will start an agitation for the removal of a particular vice chancellor of a university but will not fight for a change in the system of selecting the vice chancellors of universities in India as a whole. In the same way, in a society-oriented agitation, they will stand and raise their voice against any form of wrong treatment of any state administrator, but will hardly stand for changing the system of the state.

7.3 ALCOHOLISM

Alcoholism, according to Johnson (1973), ‘is a condition in which an individual loses control over his alcohol intake in that he is constantly unable to refrain from drinking once he begins.’

Alcohol use disorders are medical conditions that doctors can diagnose when a patient’s drinking causes distress or harm. In the United States, about 18 million people have an alcohol use disorder, classified as either alcohol dependence—perhaps better known as alcoholism—or alcohol abuse.

Alcoholism, the more serious of the disorders, is a disease that includes symptoms such as the following:

- **Craving:** A strong need or urge to drink.
- **Loss of control:** Not being able to stop drinking once drinking has begun.
- **Physical dependence:** Withdrawal symptoms, such as nausea, sweating, shakiness and anxiety after stopping drinking.
- **Tolerance:** The need to drink greater amounts of alcohol to feel the same effect.

Check Your Progress

1. List the important standards on which the characteristics of youth unrest are based.
2. State the major objective of revolutionary agitation.
3. Who propounded the relative deprivation theory?

The data from NIAAA's (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism) National Epidemiological Study on Alcohol and Related Conditions has shown that more than 70 per cent of people who develop alcohol dependence have a single episode that lasts on average three or four years. Data from the same survey also show that many people who seek formal treatment are able to remain alcohol free, and many others recover without formal treatment.

However severe the problem may seem, many people with an alcohol use disorder can benefit from treatment.

Alcohol and drug dependence often go hand in hand; research shows that people who are dependent on alcohol are much more likely than the general population to use drugs, and people with drug dependence are much more likely than the general population to drink alcohol.

Patients with both alcohol and other drug use disorders:

- May have more severe dependence-related problems
- Are more likely to have psychiatric disorders, and are more likely to attempt suicide and suffer health problems
- Are at risk for dangerous interactions between the substances they use, including fatal poisonings

Because many people suffer from both alcohol and drug dependence, scientists speculate that these disorders may have some common causes and risk factors.

7.3.1 Types of Drinking

Drinking is not always discouraged because of its consequences. Drinking too much alcohol can harm one's immune system, making one's body an easy target for diseases. This is why heart patients and pregnant women should avoid the consumption of alcohol. Therefore, if a person drinks alcohol, moderate consumption is the best suggestion. However, many people drink in different situations and degrees. Dr Don Cahalan, a retired professor at the University of California at Berkeley's School of Public Health, has given the following classification of drinkers:

- (i) **Rarer user:** Rare users are those who drink once or twice a year.
- (ii) **Infrequent user:** Infrequent users are those who drink once or twice in two or three months. These users drink less than once a month.
- (iii) **Light drinker:** Light drinkers consume alcohol once or twice a month.
- (iv) **Moderate drinker:** Moderate drinkers are those who consume alcohol three to four times in a month.
- (v) **Heavy drinker:** Heavy drinkers consume alcohol every day or drink incessantly during the day. These types of drinkers are also referred to as hard-core drinkers.

7.3.2 Effects of Alcoholism

Drinking too much—on a single occasion or over time—can take a serious toll on one's health. However, alcohol can have several social effects also. The following are some of the ways in which alcohol can affect the individuals and society:

- **Personal life:** Gururaj et al (2004) observed that an alcohol user, in comparison to a non-user, experienced higher incidence of negative life events: poor health status, getting injured, involvement in different types of abuse (physical, emotional

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and sexual; against spouse, children, family members and friends), greater problems in workplace, psychological problems, economic problems, and so on.

- **Work related:** Alcohol consumption affects work by absenteeism, decreased productivity and unemployment (Green facts, 2006), and work place injuries and accidents (Murthy et al, 2004). In the Indian context, although alcohol use in employed individuals is described, the consequence on the process of work is inadequately documented.
- **Family level:** Alcoholism has been considered as a family disease. An individual's alcohol indulgence makes the family go through intense psychological suffering. In a community based study, Gururaj et al (2004) observed that nearly 40 per cent of the households surveyed had at least one alcohol consumer. Isaac (1998) reviewing Indian literature on contemporary trends of alcohol consumption in India noted the growing evidence of alcohol as a 'major cause of family disruption and marital discord'.
- **Alcohol and family violence:** Even though acute states of alcohol intoxication can lead to death or hospitalization of self or other family problems, domestic violence due to alcohol is a slow killer. Various dimensions of domestic violence like physical violence (hitting, kicking, shoving, and so on), sexual abuse, emotional abuse, violence against children, elderly and youth are frequently associated with alcohol consumption.
- **Impact on children:** As the vulnerable members of the family, the negative impact of alcohol use in the family is greater on children. Children within these families are at a higher risk of becoming alcohol users and dependents; develop a host of emotional and behavioural problems including difficulties in social adjustment.
- **Family finances:** The family of an alcohol user is at a twin disadvantage: firstly, unemployment or underemployment of the productive member results in lesser financial resources; secondly, the already available meagre resource needs to be either voluntarily or forcibly shared for buying alcohol. This impoverishment can push families downwards in the presence of a negative event in the family.
- **Alcohol and crime:** At the societal level, alcohol abuse or its ban (consequence of prohibition) results in several anti-social activities, ranging from petty thefts to homicides to organized crime.
- **Mass tragedies:** Methanol, an industrial solvent, is often an adulterant in illicit alcohol brews, and has been responsible for the death of several people and a cause of the periodic 'hooch tragedies' across the country.
- **Community violence:** Indicative of the growing recognition of adverse effects of alcohol use in the social sphere, Murthy (2007) observes greater mental morbidity after events of mass violence. Substance use disorders are acknowledged in these events, but are poorly documented.

Media frequently reports the growing involvement of communal violence as being often linked to alcohol. There is no specific data available in the country linking alcohol with violence. The huge amounts of alcohol seized during elections, time after time, is testimony of the penetration of alcohol in societies and its 'democratic' values.

- **Social cost of alcohol consumption:** The fact that alcohol is imposing a high economic cost on Indian society is now well recognized. However, the accuracy of costing depends on the extent of monetizing the economic impact of alcohol use. It should include both direct and indirect costs, and tangible and intangible costs. The direct cost includes medical costs (acute and long-term) and lost earnings due to death and disability. The indirect costs include loss of work, loss of school, meeting the burden, loss of savings, extra loans made, assets sold, work replacement/support, cost to the employer/society, low self-esteem, social costs of postponed events and lost productivity.

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7.3.3 Causes of Alcoholism

Regular alcohol users are dependent on alcohol and suffer from withdrawal symptoms when they abstain from it. However, dependence upon alcohol is not the only reason for its addiction. There are other factors that might cause alcohol dependence. These are discussed as follows:

(i) Genetic factors

Genetics has a significant role to play in alcoholism because the presence of certain genes makes one more vulnerable to alcoholism. Research has shown that addiction to alcohol and other substances might be related to genetic variations in 51 different chromosomal regions. The following are some of the factors that have been found as having probable connection with alcoholism:

- The family members of families that have a history of alcoholism were found to have a smaller amygdala, the part of brain that controls emotions and feelings.
- It is possible that an individual inherits a lack of the warning signals that usually make people stop drinking. Regular drinking makes one immune to the effects of drinking larger amounts before exhibiting behavioural impairment.
- An important neurotransmitter called serotonin has been found to be lacking in alcoholics. Individuals with high levels of this chemical have been shown to have high levels of tolerance for alcohol.
- Another important neurotransmitter found in high levels in alcoholics is dopamine. Research shows that high levels of the D2 dopamine receptor may help inhibit behavioural responses to alcohol and protect against alcoholism in people with a family history of alcohol dependence.

Even when we can identify many of these genetic factors in alcoholics, these cannot be used to explain all cases of alcoholism. Irrespective of the fact that alcoholism is an inherited trait, alcoholics have to act responsibly. The inheritance of these factors cannot be said to fix that a child is bound to become an alcoholic. Other factors which are explained later in this unit, have an equally valid role to play in this regard.

(ii) Brain chemical imbalances after long-term alcohol use

The deleterious effects that alcohol can have on the users' brain impacts neurons (nerve cells), brain chemistry and blood flow within the frontal lobes of the brain. It has been found that alcohol affects the neurotransmitters in the brain. Even when a person quits, these neurotransmitters might behave differently because of the long-term alcohol use. This might either induce dependency or a person may relapse. This is so because of the following reasons:

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- These neurotransmitters augment one's need to reduce agitation.
- They also make the individual increase the desire to restore pleasurable feelings.

The brain activity of an alcohol user who stops drinking will show that chemical responses have created an overexcited nervous system by changing the level of chemicals that inhibit stress and excitation. It is believed that when a person stops drinking, high levels of norepinephrine are produced in his brain. These can induce withdrawal symptoms, including an increase in blood pressure and heart rate. The brain responds to such overexcitement by increasing the need to calm it down. Alcoholics feel the need to do so by drinking.

When one drinks alcohol, neurotransmitters (serotonin, dopamine and opioid peptides) are released in the brain. These are responsible for producing pleasurable feelings in an individual. Regular intakers of alcohol appear to have depleted the stores of dopamine and serotonin. This is why in the course of time, heavy drinking is unable to lift spirits for a person.

(iii) Social and emotional causes of alcoholic relapse

A majority of alcoholics relapse even after being treated, or even if they have successfully abstained away from it. People close to alcoholics should realize this aspect. The following are the factors that expose a person to a higher risk of relapsing even after treatment:

- Frustration and anxiety
- Societal pressure
- Inner temptation

(a) *Mental and emotional stress*: Many alcohol users drink to tackle difficult emotions. They see it as an alternative to failed social relationships and as a recourse to the rut of daily life. Quitting drinking habits becomes difficult because it interferes with the alcoholics' loss of mental equilibrium. This induces natural responses such as depression, anxiety and stress caused by the brain's chemical imbalances. Finding themselves caught in a whirlpool of negative moods and emotions, alcoholics struggle against it and return to their past way of dealing with these emotions.

In this context, one might say that all changes, regardless of the fact that they are good or bad, might trigger temporary grief and anxiety. However, the passage of time and indulgence in healthier pleasures will weaken one's response and one can get past these negative feelings.

(b) *Co-dependency*: Persons who have a history of alcoholism would often find it difficult to form meaningful and mutually enriching relationships. They find it difficult to demonstrate normal social behaviour when they try to abstain. The following points explain this:

- o They often find it hard to spend time with occasional drinkers who lack any form of addiction. They might feel alienated and isolated and might find it difficult to deal with the other person's attitude.
- o They may not find the same degree of acceptability among friends because of his newly found sobriety. This might encourage the ex-addicts to continue their past behaviour.
- o Spouses of alcoholics often act in opposition with their true wishes to preserve their marriage. However, when these alcoholics and drug

abusers become sober, they find it hard to adapt to the new reformed selves of their spouses.

- (c) *Social and cultural pressures:* The media, time and again, delineates alcohol to be a pleasure-giving beverage. Even publications have been seen to publicize reports claiming that light-to-moderate drinking is not harmful to a person's health. This may provide the regular users of alcohol an excuse to indulge in their addiction. It is important to ignore such messages and acknowledge them as mere gimmicks by beverage companies to incur profits.
- (d) *Other reasons:* A person consumes alcohol for a variety of self-proclaimed reasons. An alarming trend over the past decade is the process of normalization of drinking activities in the Indian society. Drinking usually starts in social circles, progressing later to compulsive individual drinking in urban areas, while solitary drinking leads to habitual and addictive drinking in rural areas.

Ghulam et al (1996) from Madhya Pradesh observed that while introduction to alcohol was predominantly through friends in 93 per cent of users (families 3 per cent), 62 per cent started using alcohol for being sociable, 6 per cent for curiosity, 8 per cent to relieve psychological stress and 24 per cent for overcoming fatigue. Similarly, Meena et al (2002) noticed that 26 per cent consumed alcohol to overcome worries, 15 per cent to think and work better, 14 per cent for cheering up and 8 per cent to relax. Singh et al (2000) from Amritsar observed that three-fourths of the men consumed alcohol more to be in the social company of their friends.

Gururaj et al (2005) observed that the attributions for drinking are several, but primarily include social reasons, overcoming fatigue and to relieve stress, aches and pains. Similarly, with the impact of globalization, urbanization, industrialization, media influence and changing lifestyles, alcohol has entered into the lives of Indians in a big and unrestricted manner.

7.3.4 Governmental Efforts and Policies in the Treatment of Alcoholism

In 1977, the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India, appointed an Expert Committee in the wake of reports suggesting growing substance use. This Committee recommended the setting up of treatment centres for the identification, treatment, aftercare and rehabilitation of substance users. A second expert committee in 1986 recommended the following:

- Development of a National Centre under the Ministry of Health and equivalent centres in various states
- Strengthening of existing general hospitals to provide de-addiction services
- Making state health departments responsible for the treatment of patients
- Priority to be given to manpower development

Based on the expert committee and a subsequent cabinet subcommittee recommendation in 1988, de-addiction centres were set up in five central government institutes and two regional centres in two state capitals, Kolkata and Mumbai, under the Ministry of Health. A National Master Plan to control drug abuse was formulated in 1994, largely subsequent to the enactment of the Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances Act (1985). The health

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sector's current response to manage the problem resulting from growing alcohol use in the society has been by providing tertiary treatment to individuals with serious addiction.

From an intervention point of view, long-term care and rehabilitation services need to be provided to these dependent users many of whom do not reach the dedicated de-addiction centres and other tertiary care centres. Further, early detection and prompt treatment measures across different categories of health settings need to be instituted for nearly 55 million harmful and hazardous users, who are at greater risk of developing long-term complications of alcohol use.

The Ministry of Health (through government organizations) and the Ministry of Social Justice (through non-government organizations) have established centres across the country in medical colleges or district hospitals or some community health centres in consultation with state health departments. However, many of the centres do not have adequately trained staff, medicines and supportive facilities.

The Ministry of Social Justice has supported public awareness campaigns, media publicity and community based treatment, and aims at mobilizing community resources and participation. One of the major focus of both the ministries is to increase awareness regarding the problems of alcohol in the society. However, if such educational activities are not accompanied with suitable changes in availability, timings, distribution and sales, these programmes are not likely to be effective or have a major impact. Though the National Master Plan, formulated in 1994, recommended specific activities for prevention, treatment and rehabilitation, the complete implementation of this plan is yet to occur.

The Government of India supports 401 detoxification and 41 counselling centres countrywide, under the auspices of the National Drug De-addiction Programme (DDAP) to treat people with substance abuse disorders (MSJE, 2010). Nearly 45 per cent of people seeking treatment in these centres are for alcohol dependence.

The following are some treatment mechanisms for alcoholism:

(i) Pharmacotherapy for detoxification and relapse prevention:

Conventionally, pharmacotherapy involves the use of benzodiazepines for the detoxification and disulfiram for relapse prevention. A systematic review from Higher Income Countries [HIC] showed that benzodiazepines remain the agents of choice for treating alcohol withdrawal during detoxification [Ntais et al, 2005]. A recent Randomized-Control-Trial (RCT) from India that compared lorazepam and chlordiazepoxide found that these benzodiazepines had comparable attenuating effects on uncomplicated withdrawal [Kumar et al, 2009]. Thus, lorazepam can be used in Low and Middle Income Countries (LMIC) settings where it is difficult to test liver function status, an essential preamble to using long-acting benzodiazepines in patients. Large multisite RCTs from the HICs have concluded that the aversive agent disulfiram might help prevent relapse in compliant patients but is ineffective at promoting continuous abstinence [Fuller et al, 1986].

(ii) Psychosocial interventions to prevent/delay relapse: These interventions fall into two main categories: structured interventions and self-help groups. Two large US and UK-based RCTs that compared psychosocial therapies differing widely in conceptual framework, intensity, duration and location (Motivation Enhancement Therapy [MET], Cognitive Behavior Therapy [CBT], Twelve Step Facilitation [TSF] therapy, and Social Behaviour and Network Therapy [SBNT]) found minimal long-term difference between

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inpatient/residential treatment and outpatient counselling approaches (Babor et al, 2003; UKATT 2005). These trials also found approximately equivalent (and reasonably good) outcomes with both brief, non-intensive treatments (MET) and intensive treatments (CBT, TSF, and SBNT) for moderately severe alcoholics.

A systematic review that considered evidence collected in HICs concluded that manual-guided specific treatments with a theoretical base (e.g., MET, CBT) are better than non-specific treatments (supportive therapy and social work interventions), but that among the specific therapies, none was superior (Berglund et al, 2003). The same review found that marital therapy and family intervention yielded positive results. A meta-analysis of behavioural self-control training found that this intervention reduced alcohol consumption and alcohol-related difficulties (Walters, 2000).

Very few studies have examined psychosocial interventions in LMICs, but one RCT in dependent drinkers in Korea found that culturally modified cognitive behavioural therapy increased the drinkers' insight into their condition (Im et al, 2007). A Cochrane review of studies investigating the effectiveness of strategies adopted by Alcoholics Anonymous and other self-help groups to reduce alcohol dependence provided no definitive evidence that these approaches are effective in HICs; there are no data from LMICs about the effectiveness of self-help groups (Ferri et al, 2006).

- (iii) **Alternative treatments:** Comparing the effect of yoga therapy and physical training exercise in alcohol dependence, Raina et al (2001) concluded that a 24 week follow-up, yoga therapy had positive effects in mild and moderate cases but did not prevent relapse in severe cases of alcohol dependence. Another study (Vedamurtachar et al, 2006) documented the reduction in depression along with stress-hormone levels (cortisol and ACTH) in patients with alcohol dependence compared to controls.

While the study did not examine whether this translated into better outcome (such as abstinence), the finding is significant in that elevated stress hormones in recovering alcoholics are thought to be a major mediator of relapse.

One should keep in mind the following points while helping alcoholics and drug abusers:

- One should always be supportive. This support will help the person become more confident. One has to be deeply invested in the rehabilitation process to affect a major change.
- One has to be equipped to deal with high-risk situations.
- While helping someone in the process of de-alcoholism and de-addiction, one needs to consider that change can be a lengthy process.

7.4 DRUG ADDICTION

India, with a population of over 1.2 billion people, spread over an area of 3.28 million sq. km, has about 3 million (about 0.3 per cent of total population) estimated victims of different kinds of drug usages, excluding alcohol dependents. Such a population comes from diverse socio-economic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds. The use of dependence-producing substances, in some form or the other, has been a universal

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Check Your Progress

4. List the symptoms of alcoholism.
5. Identify the factors that expose a person to a higher risk of relapsing even after treatment.
6. What points should one keep in mind while helping alcoholics and drug abusers?

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phenomenon. In India also, the abuse of alcohol, opium and cannabis had not been entirely unknown.

India is the biggest supplier of licit demand for opium, required primarily for medicinal purposes. Besides this, India is located close to the major poppy growing areas of the world, with the 'Golden Crescent' on the Northwest and 'Golden Triangle' on the Northeast. These make India vulnerable to drug abuse, particularly in poppy growing areas and along the transit/trafficking routes.

The scenario

According to eminent sociologist Joseph Jullian, 'Drug is any chemical substance which affects bodily function, mood, perception or consciousness which has potential for misuse and which may be harmful to the individual or the society.' Drug addiction refers to 'a condition characterized by an overwhelming desire to continue taking a drug to which one has become habituated through repeated consumption because it produces a particular effect, usually an alteration of mental status'. Over the years, drug addiction is becoming an area of concern as traditional moorings, effective social taboos, emphasis on self-restraint, and pervasive control and discipline of the joint family and community are eroding.

The processes of industrialization, urbanization and migration have led to loosening of the traditional methods of social control, rendering an individual vulnerable to the stresses and strains of modern life. The fast changing social milieu, among other factors, is mainly contributing to the proliferation of drug abuse, both of traditional and new psychoactive substances.

Types of drugs

Drugs come in various forms and can be taken numerous ways. Some are legal and some are not. Drug abuse and misuse can cause numerous health problems, and in serious cases, death can occur. Treatment for drug abuse is often sought to aid in recovery. The following are the most common types of drugs:

1. Stimulants

These drugs speed up the body's nervous system and create a feeling of energy. They are also called 'uppers' because of their ability to make you feel very awake. Stimulants have the opposite effect of depressants. When the effects of a stimulant wear off, the user is typically left with feelings of sickness and a loss of energy. Constant use of such drugs can have very negative effects on the user. In order to prevent extreme negative side effects of these drugs and the impact they have on life, drug treatment centres are often recommended. These kinds of drugs include:

- Cocaine
- Methamphetamines
- Amphetamines
- Ritalin
- Cylert

2. Inhalants

Inhalants are sniffed or huffed and give the user immediate results. Unfortunately, these immediate results can also result in sudden mental damage. When inhalants are taken,

the body becomes deprived of oxygen, causing a rapid heartbeat. Other effects include liver, lung and kidney problems, affected sense of smell, difficulty walking and confusion. These include:

- Glues
- Paint thinner
- Gasoline
- Laughing gas
- Aerosol sprays

3. Cannabinoids

These drugs result in feelings of euphoria, cause confusion and memory problems, anxiety, a higher heart rate, as well as staggering and poor reaction time. These include:

- Hashish
- Marijuana

4. Depressants

Depressants slow down activity in the central nervous system of your body. These drugs are also called ‘downers’ because they slow the body down and seem to give feelings of relaxation. Depressants are available as prescription drugs to relieve stress and anger, although drowsiness is often a side effect. The ‘relaxation’ felt from these drugs is not a healthy feeling for the body to experience. Therefore, to stop abuse of this drug, drug treatment is suggested.

These include the following:

- Barbiturates
- Benzodiazepines
- Flunitrazepam
- GHB (Gamma-hydroxybutyrate)
- Methaqualone
- Alcohol
- Tranquillizers

5. Opioids and morphine derivatives

Opioids and morphine derivatives can cause drowsiness, confusion, nausea, feelings of euphoria, respiratory complications and relieve pain.

These include the following:

- Codeine
- Fentanyl and fentanyl analogs
- Heroin
- Morphine
- Opium
- Oxycodone HCL
- Hydrocodone bitartrate, acetaminophen

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6. Anabolic steroids

Steroids are taken to improve physical performance as well as to enlarge muscles and increase strength. Negative effects of steroids include baldness, cysts, oily hair and skin, acne, heart attack, stroke, and a change in voice. Hostility is also a frequent side effect of anabolic steroids.

These include the following:

- Anadrol
- Oxandrin
- Durabolin
- Stanozol
- Dianabol

7. Hallucinogens

When taking hallucinogens, switching emotions is frequent. These drugs change the mind and cause the appearance of things that are not really there. Hallucinogens affect the body's self-control, such as speech and movement, and often bring about hostility. Other negative side effects of these drugs include heart failure, increased heart rate, higher blood pressure and changes in the body's hormones.

These types of drugs include:

- LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide)
- Mescaline
- Psilocybin
- Cannabis
- Magic mushrooms

8. Prescription drugs

Prescription drugs can be very helpful drugs when used properly and when under the guidance of a qualified physician. These drugs can be used as aids in surgery, to treat medical conditions and while controlling various symptoms. Misuse and abuse of prescription drugs, however, can be very dangerous.

These drugs include:

- Opioids: Codeine, Oxycodone, Morphine
- Central nervous system depressants: Barbiturates, benzodiazepines
- Stimulants: Dextroamphetamine, methylphenidate

7.4.1 Causes of Drug Addiction

There is no one predominant factor that can presage that an individual will turn out to become a drug addict. However, some of us are more at risk than others. This is determined by various biological, environmental and physical factors. If a person falls in the high risk group, there are more chances of his/her becoming a drug addict. The following are some of the causes that can lead one to become a drug addict:

- **Biological factors:** As stated earlier in this unit, genes in combination with environmental influences have an important role in determining a person's

propensity or vulnerability to become an addict. Other biological factors such as one's gender, ethnicity and the presence of other mental disorders might expose a person to a greater risk for drug abuse and addiction.

- **Environmental factors:** The environment in which a person lives and grows up, such as the family one is born in, or the peers one has, or one's status in the society, can also determine an individual's tendency to become an addict. Other factors like peer pressure, physical and sexual abuse, anxiety and parental involvement can greatly impact the course of drug abuse and addiction in an individual's life.
- **Stage of development:** While genetic and environmental factors are at work, the stage of development that an individual is going through, also determines whether or not he might be addicted to drugs in life. The truth is that those who begin early in the path to drug addiction have to face bigger challenges while rehabilitating, and are more likely to become a drug abuser. Drug usage in adolescents has also been seen to be more prevalent.

Drug addiction can be prevented. Research has proven that prevention programmes that concern the family, schools, communities and the media can help in dealing with drug abuse effectively. The youth, who are particularly at higher risk, should be made aware of the toll that drug abuse can take on their life and health.

7.4.2 Demand Reduction Strategy: A Welfare Approach

The issues relating to drugs are tackled by the Government of India through its two-pronged strategy, viz., supply reduction and demand reduction. While the supply reduction is under the purview of the enforcement agencies with the Department of Revenue as the nodal agency, the demand reduction strategy is under the domain of social sector. The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment in Government of India is responsible for the implementation of the demand reduction strategy in the country.

Over the years, it was realized that the drug abuse is not only a problem arising out of the availability of such intoxicating drinks and drugs but it also has a great deal to do with the social conditions which create the demand for or the need for consumption of such substances. The vulnerability of the modern society plays a catalytic role in promoting the consumption and abuse of narcotic and psychotropic drugs.

With this, the need arises for implementing strategies for the prevention of drug abuse, educating the people about its ill effects and the rehabilitation of addicts. The findings of studies/reports indicate the relationship of drug abuse with the socio-economic conditions or the social dynamics of the population.

Therefore, the approach should be to recognize drug abuse as a psycho-socio medical problem, which can be best handled through community based interventions.

Keeping the aforesaid approach in view, the Government of India has a three-pronged strategy for demand reduction consisting of:

- Building awareness and educating people about ill effects of drug abuse
- Dealing with the addicts through programmes of motivational counselling, treatment, follow-up and social-reintegration of recovered addicts
- Imparting drug abuse prevention/rehabilitation training to volunteers with a view to build up an educated cadre of service providers

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The objective of the entire strategy is to empower the society and the community to deal with the problem of drug abuse.

7.4.3 Treatment and Rehabilitation of Addicts

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The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, as the focal point for drug demand reduction programmes in the country, has been implementing the Scheme for Prohibition and Drug Abuse Prevention since the year 1985–86. As the implementation of programmes for de-addiction and rehabilitation of drug addicts requires sustained and committed/involved effort with a great degree of flexibility and innovation, a state-community (voluntary) partnership appears to be particularly strong mechanism for service delivery. Accordingly, under the scheme, while major portion of the cost of services is borne by the government, the voluntary organizations provide actual services through the counselling and awareness centres, de-addiction cum rehabilitation centres, de-addiction camps and awareness programmes.

Under this scheme, the Ministry is assisting around 390 voluntary organizations for maintaining more than 400 Integrated Rehabilitation Centres for Addicts (IRCA) spread all over the country. The average annual allocation for this programme has been to the tune of ₹ 40 crore.

The basic objective in creating facilities for treatment, at centres run through voluntary organizations, is to ensure that the support of the family and the community is mobilized to the maximum. These centres adopt a wide variety of approaches, systems and methodologies for the treatment and rehabilitation of the addicts suitable and adaptable to the social customs, traditions and culture. However, this does not in any way undermine the adoption of scientific, modern and established systems of treatment.

All centres are equipped with a cadre of experts from various fields including doctors, counsellors, community workers, social workers, and so on. Thus, it is a multi-disciplinary approach being applied according to the needs of individual cases. They work in coordination with the community resources as well as infrastructure and services available under other related agencies.

To facilitate the medical treatment of hard-core addicts who require intensive long-term medical attention, 100 de-addiction centres are being run in government hospitals/primary health centres.

7.4.4 Awareness and Preventive Education

The counselling and awareness centres are engaged in a wide range of awareness generation programmes in varied community settings, including village panchayats, schools, and so on. Besides these centres, the Ministry has been actively utilizing the various media channels, print as well as audio-visual for educating the people on the ill effects of drug abuse and also disseminating information on the service delivery.

The overall approach is based on the need to comprehensively address the widespread ignorance and lack of information on the ill-effects of drug abuse prevention/rehabilitation services and to build up a climate of abstinence from drugs through sensitizing the community at large.

In this perspective, the strategy for public awareness about the damaging consequences of drug abuse takes into account the culture-specific aspects of the problem. A differential approach has been adopted towards educating the public vis-à-vis groups at risk.

7.4.5 Inter-Sectoral Collaboration

The problem of alcoholism and drug abuse is a social malaise and is dealt holistically by targeting all spheres of human activity. The Government of India has been following an integrated approach involving all concerned ministries and departments who could complement and supplement the initiatives being taken by each other. The initiatives being taken include the following:

- Imparting education on drugs and positive alternative to the youth through appropriate modification in school curriculum and sensitization of school environment.
- Programmes are being developed for the sensitization of the teachers, parents and the peer groups in a school environment through the participation of the non-government organizations.
- The cooperation of the media and various youth organizations has also been solicited for the dissemination of information on ill effects of alcohol/drugs and in engaging the community in positive/healthy alternatives.
- Available government infrastructure and services have been integrated with the services offered by the NGO (non-governmental organization) sector for dealing with associated health problems such as TB, HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis, and so on.

Efforts are also being made to provide the medical professionals in the health sector with the knowledge on rehabilitation and after-care of alcohol and drug dependents. Simultaneously, steps have been initiated for providing training to the NGO professionals on various medical inputs for providing effective service to the clients. One of the successful initiatives towards inter-sectoral collaboration has been the integration of HIV/AIDS prevention programme into the substance abuse programme of one hundred NGO-run de-addiction centres supported by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment.

7.4.6 Measures to Combat Drug Trafficking

The Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985 (NDPS Act), sets out the statutory framework for drug law enforcement in India. This Act consolidates the erstwhile principal Acts, viz., the Opium Act, 1857; the Opium Act, 1878; and the Dangerous Drugs Act, 1930. The NDPS Act also incorporates provisions designed to implement India's obligations under various International Conventions. Certain significant amendments were made in the Act in 1989 to provide for the forfeiture of property derived from drug trafficking, and for control over chemicals and substances used in the manufacture of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. In order to give effect to the statutory provisions relating to these substances, an order, namely the NDPS (Regulation of Controlled Substances) Order, was promulgated by the Government of India in 1993 to control, regulate and monitor the manufacture, distribution, import, export, transportation, and so on, of any substance which the government may declare to be a 'controlled substance' under the Act. The statutory regime in India consequently covers drug trafficking, drug related assets as well as substances which can be used in the manufacture of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. Some further amendments were incorporated in the NDPS Act in 2001 mainly to introduce a graded punishment.

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The primary counter narcotics focus areas in India include:

- (i) Surveillance and enforcement at import points and land borders
- (ii) Preventive and interdiction efforts along the known drug routes
- (iii) Control measures at export points, such as air-passenger terminals, cargo terminals and foreign post offices
- (iv) Improved co-ordination between the various drug law enforcement agencies
- (v) Identification and eradication of illicit cultivation and the wild growth of cannabis and the opium poppy
- (vi) Strengthening of the intelligence apparatus to improve the collection, collation, analysis and dissemination of operational intelligence
- (vii) Increased international co-operation, both in operational and long-term intelligence as well as in investigations and mutual legal assistance

7.5 UNEMPLOYMENT

One of the most acute challenges that the Indian economy has been facing is the mounting rate of unemployment. It promotes poverty and inequalities, lowers social standards, and is a huge loss of manpower resources to the nation. Unemployment is a chronic malady in India that deprives able bodied people to work on the current wages. It lowers the standard of living of the people since unemployed people do not have enough purchasing power. They face social degradation and suffer from inferiority complex. Therefore, some economists call the unemployment problem as a socio-economic challenge to the society.

Unemployment is becoming a serious problem in India, though accurate estimate is difficult to obtain. About 7 million people are added to the labour force every year and the number is also increasing at faster rate. However, on the contrary, the economy growth is not creating enough jobs.

The number of unemployment in India increased from 2.01 crore in 1993–94 to 2.66 crore in 1999–2000. The labour force in 1999–2000 was about 363.33 million (36.33 crore), which has gone up significantly during tenth plan period. According to the data released by the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), employment on Current Daily Status (CDS), basing during the periods 1999–2000 and 2004–05, had increased considerably in comparison to the augmentation registered during the periods 1993–94 and 1999–2000. During this period, about 47 million work opportunities were created compared to only 24 million in the period between 1993–94 and 1999–2000. Employment growth accelerated from 1.25 per cent per annum to 2.62 per cent per annum. However, the labour force grew at faster rate of 2.84 per cent than the work force and unemployment force also rose. The incidence on unemployment on CDS basis increased from 7.31 per cent in 1999–2000 to 8.28 per cent in 2004–05.

Employment growth in the organized sector, public and private combined declined during the period 1994–2007. This can be attributed to the increase in employment rate in the public organized sector.

The compound annual unemployment growth rate in the organized sector, including public and private sectors, in the country during 2008 to 2011 was 1.72 per cent. It was –0.24 for the public sector and 5.06 for the private sector.

Check Your Progress

7. What are stimulants? State its effects.
8. State the effects of cannabinoids.
9. What is the basic objective in creating facilities for treatment of drug addiction?

7.5.1 Unemployment and Underemployment: Definitions

Unemployment is defined as a situation wherein able bodied persons fail to find a job even though they are willing to work at the prevailing wage rate. Unemployment is a two-fold phenomenon:

- (i) An individual is not currently employed.
- (ii) He/She is ready to work at the prevailing wage rates.
- (iii) An individual must make an effort to find work.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, USA, the unemployed include people who do not have a job, have actively looked for work in the past four weeks, and are currently available for work. It also includes people who were temporarily laid off and are waiting to be called back to that job. In another sense, workers are considered to be the producer of services and when they are unable to sell their services, they are said to be unemployed. Underemployment, however, refers to a situation when a worker does not work for full hours (normally 8 hours a day). It is again the under-exploitation of manpower resources of the country. The Indian agriculture sector is facing such a type of unemployment.

7.5.2 Extent of Unemployment in Developing Countries

It should, however, be mentioned that the problem of unemployment and underemployment represents a challenge to the developing countries just as the problem of cyclical unemployment is a challenge to the countries where advanced industrial development has taken place. The major problems of employment in the developing countries have been conceived of as follows:

- (i) The provision of productive work for the farm population during long periods of seasonal unemployment has not been addressed properly.
- (ii) The prevention of the annual increase in employable population from further aggravating the situation of chronic underemployment and disguised unemployment in agriculture—which in many parts of these countries have already reached the point of saturation—has not been taken seriously. This occurs in urban areas also.
- (iii) Indian planning has not paid any attention to manpower planning. It had always concentrated on the development of agriculture and industry. The eradication of unemployment has never been the prime objective of any of the five year plans.
- (iv) The Indian education system produces simple graduates and postgraduates and not professionals. It has never matched the needs of the economy. Our education system is neither job-oriented nor skill-oriented.
- (v) Overpopulated countries like India need to stress upon the development of cottage and small-scale industries because it needs less capital and low technical skills. However, the lack of communication and knowledge creates hurdles in its performance.
- (vi) The Indian agriculture absorbs the excessive pressure of overpopulation resulting in disguised unemployment. From each family farm, if we withdraw one or two members, the total productivity will not be affected, but at the same time, alternative job opportunities must be made available which unfortunately does not happen.
- (vii) The Indian labour is attached with their families and native places. They do not move far off to search a job and source of their livelihood.
- (viii) Illiteracy creates unskilled labour. Skilled and trained labour is required in modern industries. Thus, the illiterate and unskilled labourers remain unemployed in the country.

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7.5.3 Types and Causes of Unemployment in India

The following are the various kinds of unemployment that have been prevalent in our country. These points also talk about the causes of each type.

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(i) **Voluntary unemployment:** Those people are known to be voluntarily unemployed who are not working by choice. They do not avail of an employment opportunity because they consider such a job as below their dignity. Sometimes, people prefer remaining idle over availing low wage employment. Besides, there are countless reasons of voluntary unemployment, but higher education is one of the major causes of being voluntarily unemployed in India.

(ii) **Disguised unemployment:** Disguised unemployment means that the number of workers employed in a job is much more than are actually required. It is invisible in nature since even if some workers are withdrawn from the work, the total production remains unchanged. Technically, disguised unemployment or invisible employment exists when marginal productivity of a labour is zero. Suppose five workers are engaged on a work; if two of them are withdrawn from it and the total work remains unaffected, the two persons are disguisedly unemployed.

It arises in India due to the following reasons:

- (a) Increasing pressure of population on land
- (b) Lack of alternative employment opportunities
- (c) Involvement of more and more people in agriculture since it is a family occupation

The concept of disguised unemployment was introduced by well-known economist Professor Ragnar Nurkse, who claims that such kind of unemployment is very harmful for the nation and directly affects its overall productivity. It is hidden unemployment that keeps an underdeveloped country like India in a vicious circle of poverty. Disguised unemployment exists mostly in rural India, thus, keeping low productivity of this sector. It keeps the Indian farmers on subsistence level living.

(iii) **Open unemployment:** Open unemployment is said to prevail when all the unemployed have no work to do, even though they are willing to work on the prevailing wages. It is mostly found in cities and industries. Such kind of unemployment is often categorized in the following forms:

- (a) *Cyclical unemployment:* Cyclical unemployment arises due to the cyclical activities in a capitalist system. Cyclical activities are found in different economic phases: boom, recession, depression and recovery. The phases of depression and recession throw many people out of job, which results into cyclical unemployment. The investment activities get discouraged and entrepreneurs cut down their level of production. The demand for labour declines and mass unemployment occurs. Such unemployment is generally found in the industrial sector in a free economy. Due to a small industrial sector, this type of unemployment is not found in India.
- (b) *Structural unemployment:* Structural unemployment arises due to the changes in demand pattern and supply structure. With the passage of time, when the demand pattern of goods changes, there will be a change in the demand pattern for labour. Some labours in one sector become idle, while

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there may be demand in the other sector. Since labour cannot immediately switch over to the new pattern, it causes structural unemployment. This type of unemployment is mostly found in underdeveloped countries like India. It is because of this reason that the rate of capital formation is low in these economies and the desired rapid industrialization is not possible. As a result, a vast labour force remains unemployed.

- (c) **Frictional unemployment:** The kind of unemployment that arises due to imperfections of labour market is known as frictional unemployment. It arises due to the movement of labour from one industry to another or from one place to another. It means that there are jobs and job seekers in the economy, but unemployment arises due to rigidities and frictions in the economy. It is of temporary nature and vanishes with the removal of market imperfections.
- (iv) **Seasonal unemployment:** When unemployment arises due to changes in season, it is termed as seasonal unemployment. It is found in agricultural sector and seasonal industries. Agriculture in India is a seasonal occupation. Labourers find work for five to seven months a year, i.e., during the sowing and harvesting season. They remain unemployed for the remaining period, known to be the victims of seasonal unemployment. Such unemployment is also found in sugar mills, rice mills, ice factories and cracker industries where work is limited only for a few months.
- (v) **Technological unemployment:** When unemployment arises due to change in technology, it is known as technological unemployment. In this situation, the workers are put to superior technology, which is labour saving and time saving. It throws some workers out of job, as a surplus labour.
- (vi) **Educated unemployment:** When unemployment arises due to the expansion of educational facilities at school and university level, it is known as educated unemployment. It arises due to the following reasons:
- Expansion of educational facilities.
 - Educational system is not job oriented.
 - Educated persons consider many jobs to be beneath themselves.

This form of unemployment is seen to exist among professionals as well as people holding general educational degrees. However, this type of unemployment is very dangerous because it can bring revolutionary changes in the political sector. Figure 7.2 illustrates the broad causes of unemployment.

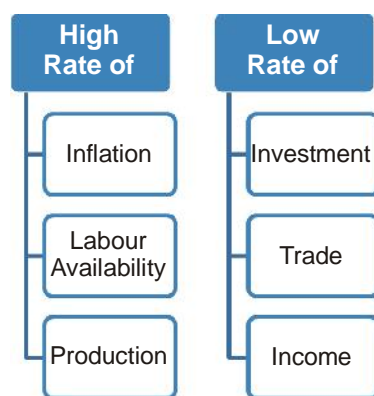


Fig. 7.2 Broad Causes of Unemployment

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(vii) **Agricultural unemployment:** Unemployment in the agriculture sector is termed as agricultural unemployment. It can be attributed to a number of reasons: the farmers can remain employed only for some parts of the year; the farms can no longer employ the available hands; the villages lack subsidiary industries and the vagaries of monsoons and weather conditions increase the rate of agricultural unemployment; and so on.

(viii) **Industrial unemployment:** Unemployment in the industrial sector is termed as industrial unemployment. It takes place due to the following reasons: high population rate in comparison with employment opportunities in the industry; uneconomic and non-geographic distribution of the industries; conditions of depression and recession; and so on.

Consequences of unemployment

The following is a list of the outcomes of unemployment:

- The gravest problem that the unemployed have to face is the lack of financial resources. They find it difficult to make ends meet. This directly impacts their standard of living.
- They might find it difficult to pay their economic obligations such as home loans, car loans and insurance premiums, or even house rent. This can lead them to become homeless.
- One of the related problems is underemployment. Unemployment may force people to undertake jobs that are not in accordance with their skills, experience and educational qualifications.
- Unemployed people have to undergo psychological angst and anxiety. Generally, they will suffer from too much stress, and so, they might resort to drugs and alcohol.
- Unemployment is a hindrance to social progress. It relegates people to lower status than they have been in the habit of enjoying.

7.5.4 Remedies for Unemployment

Closely related to poverty, the problem of unemployment is the biggest challenge that the Indian economy is facing. It needs an appropriate in the long run that can policy provide employment opportunities to those who are willing to work. The following measures are suggested in this regard:

- (i) **Increase in the rate of economic growth:** It is believed that higher economic growth rate will lead to larger production and, thereby, larger increase in employment. Therefore, the government should plan to introduce labour intensive techniques of production, which should give more emphasis on those levels of production that have high potential of employment opportunities.
- (ii) **High rate of capital formation:** The rate of capital formation must be increased in India. Capital formation should be encouraged only in those areas which generate greater employment opportunities. Presently, this rate is 30 per cent of the Gross domestic Product (GDP), but it needs to be raised to a higher level.
- (iii) **Education reforms:** The Indian education system should be made more employment oriented. From the very beginning, emphasis should be laid on vocational education.

- (iv) **More expansion of employment exchange:** Employment exchanges are the institutions that bring together jobs and job seekers. More employment exchanges will make the labour more mobile. However, there is a need to improve the functioning of employment exchanges in the country.
- (v) **Policy towards seasonal unemployment:** Indian agriculture is of a seasonal nature, due to which the Indian farmers remain unemployed for some time. The employment policy in India should act in the following direction to remove these problems:
- (a) Promotion of multiple cropping
 - (b) Promotion of activities allied to agriculture
 - (c) Investment programmes for rural areas
 - (d) Setting up of seasonal industries
- (vi) **Policy towards seasonal unemployment:** Nearly, 62 per cent people are self-employed in India, and most of them are engaged in agriculture sector. The government should provide different facilities and encouragement to the people who are engaged in their own occupations.
- (vii) **Employment opportunities for women:** Presently, 12 per cent of women are employed in organized sector, which is a quite low percentage. The Government of India should take the following steps to promote women employment:
- (a) Residential accommodation for working women on a large scale
 - (b) Educational and training facilities for working mothers
 - (c) Availability of crèches for the children of working mother
- (viii) **Promotion of co-operative industry:** The industries in cooperative sector should be encouraged. It requires lesser investment for the promotion of employment.
- (ix) **Encouragement to small-scale units:** Small-scale units can provide more employment opportunities for men and women. There is need of lesser skill and training in such units. The government should encourage such units by offering them special incentives.
- (x) **Special employment programmes:** The government should introduce special programmes for poor people, schedule caste and schedule tribes, landless labourers and unemployed women. These programmes should be centrally sponsored and properly monitored.

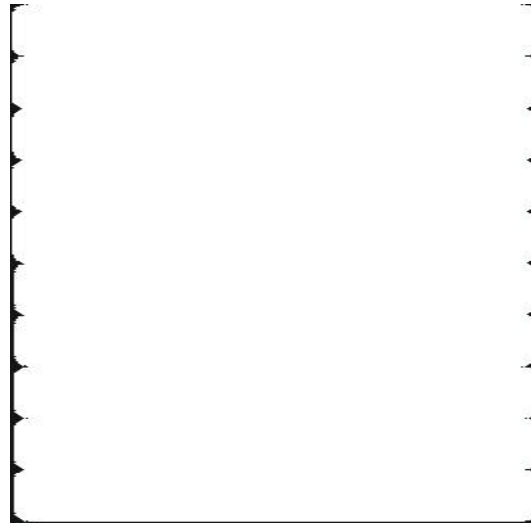
Figure 7.2 sums up some of these remedies for a quick reference.

7.5.5 Government Measures for Promoting Employment

In its five year plans, the Government of India has taken several measures to promote employment in the country. Some of these measures and schemes are as follows:

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- (i) **Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY):** JGSY became effective from April 1999. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojana was restructured to make it JGSY, which was a Centrally Sponsored Scheme where cost was shared between the central and state governments in the ratio of 75:25. The objective of JGSY is the creation of infrastructure and durable assets at the village level so that it may create sustained employment opportunities in the rural areas. Jawahar Rozgar Yojana was formed by merging the two erstwhile wage employment programmes: National Rural Employment programme (NREP) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP). It was started with effect from 1 April 1989 on 80:20 cost sharing basis between the Centre and the states. The main objective of the *yojana* was additional gainful employment for the unemployed and underemployed persons in rural areas. Another objective was the creation of sustained employment by strengthening rural economic infrastructure and assets in favour of rural poor for their direct and continuing benefits.
- (ii) **Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY):** SGSY became effective from 1 April 1999. It combined some earlier welfare and development programmes, such as Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), Training Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM) and Million Wells Scheme (MWS). It aims at promoting micro-enterprises and helping the rural poor to form Self-Help Groups (SHG). This scheme covers all aspects of self-employment like the organization of rural poor into SHG and their capacity building, training, planning of activity clusters, infrastructure development, financial assistance, and so on. Under this scheme, Rural Self-Employment Training Institute (RSETI) has been set up in each district to help rural BPL youth. During the period of 2009–11, 73,000 rural youth were trained in 99 RSETIs.
- (iii) **Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS):** Employment Assurance Scheme was started on 2 October 1993 for implementation in 1,778 identified backward Panchayat Samitis of 257 districts situated in drought prone areas, desert areas and hilly areas. It was restructured in 1999–2000 to make it a single wage employment programme, and implemented as a Centrally Sponsored Scheme on a cost-sharing ratio of 75:25 between the Centre and the states. It aims at providing 100 days of unskilled manual work to the rural poor.

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- (iv) **Sampoorna Gramin Rozgar Yojana (SGRY):** SGRY was launched in September 2001. The chief objective of this scheme was to provide wage employment in non-urban areas along with making provision for food and durable community, social and economic assets. The ongoing Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) and Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY) have been fully integrated within the scheme with effect from April 2002.
- (v) **Swarnjayanti Gram Shahri Rozgar Yojana (SJSTY):** SJSTY has two wings to work upon: the Urban Self Employment Programme and the Urban Wage Employment Programme, initiated in December 1997, which eventually supplanted all prior schemes that aimed to alleviate urban poverty. This is funded between the Centre and the states on a ratio of 75:25. The fund allocation for the scheme was ₹ 344 crores during 2007–08. Also, ₹ 256.04 crore has been sanctioned up to 4 December 2007.
- (vi) **The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGA):** The chief aim of MGNREGA was to offer livelihood opportunities to rural householders in the form of minimum one hundred days of guaranteed wage employment. In its first phase, it reached 200 districts with effect from 2 February 2006, and it was later extended to cover 130 districts more during the period 2007–08. It was extended to the entire country from 1 April 2008. This scheme offered a means of employment to more than 5.26 crore households during 2009–10. Approximately, 4.10 crore households have been offered employment opportunities during 2010–11 till December 2010. Many initiatives are being taken for better and more effective implementation of the MGNREGA.
- (vii) **National Rural Employment Guarantee Bill, 2004:** Employment for a minimum of one hundred days to one unskilled adult member of a family needs to be provided by every state under this Bill. In order to achieve the said goal, the states can combine Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana with the Food for Work Programme. However, the central government shall fix the minimum wage rate. The Centre will organize a Central Rozgar Guarantee Council under which the Rozgar Guarantee Councils of all states will be executed. A standing committee will be formed by the Panchayat on district level which will supervise the working of this scheme. This scheme is meant to provide employment to those poor people who really need it. However, the financing of the scheme is to be made by the state government. It has become more operational since 1 April 2008.

Strategy of the Eleventh Plan Regarding Unemployment

The following strategies were adopted regarding unemployment in the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007–2012):

- (i) Creation of employment for 58 million against the projected increase in unemployment of 45 million
- (ii) Reduction in underemployment and casual employment
- (iii) Employment manufacturing to grow by 4 per cent in construction; transport and communication to grow by 8.2 per cent and 7.6 per cent, respectively
- (iv) Reduction in unemployment rate from 8 per cent and below

Dealing with unemployment

We cannot deny that the issue of unemployment demands our serious attention. The following are some remedies for tackling unemployment:

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- The government should encourage industries and sectors that are struggling.
- The self-employed should be granted more subsidies so that people invest their capital in industry and business rather than purchasing liquid investments.
- The unemployed should receive state-sponsored training and education so that they have the skills that are needed for employment in the present day. The first step in this direction is to recognize what these skills are.
- Job centres should be better equipped to handle the queries of those who are unemployed.
- Economic growth is one of the ways in which unemployment can be reduced.

7.6 CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

The fear of crime is widespread among people in many Western societies, affecting far more people than the personal experience of crime itself; as such, it constitutes a significant social problem. Criminality has been a problem confronting India and has become an important area of research in social sciences. In his classic discussion on the 'normality of crime', Durkheim (1964) argues that crime is 'closely connected with the conditions of all social life', leading him to arrive at a conclusion that there cannot be a society devoid of crime. Therefore, criminal behaviour exists in every society, and it has become an important area of research for criminologists, sociologists and psychologists.

So far as the meaning of the word 'crime' is concerned, it has come from Latin word 'Crimen' which means charge or offence. The *Concise Encyclopaedia of Crime and Criminals* defines crime as 'an act or default which prejudices the interests of the community and is forbidden by law under pain of punishment. It is an offence against the state, as contrasted with a tort or a civil wrong, which is violation of a right of an individual and which does not lead to a punishment.'

However, it can be said that:

- Crime is an act or omission which is punishable under law.
- It is an act which is believed to be socially harmful, to which law prescribes certain penalty on the doer.
- Crime is linked with social norms, i.e., society prepares the crime and the criminal commits it.
- Crime is not vice. It is not punished as an offence against God, but it is prejudicial to society.
- It is something done against the dictates of society or law and is due to a failure to adjust oneself to such dictates.

Therefore, crime implies a disturbance in social relationships. The nature of criminal and non-criminal conduct is determined by social values which the larger defining group considers important. Wherever the social equilibrium is upset, there develops crime.

Crime and delinquency are often used synonymously, the only difference between the two being that of age. While crime refers to offences committed at a mature age, delinquency refers to offences committed at a pre-mature age by the juveniles.

Check Your Progress

10. Define unemployment.
11. What do you mean by agricultural unemployment?
12. List the steps that the Government of India should take to promote women employment.

7.6.1 Understanding Juvenile Delinquency

Conflict between reason and instinct is age old in the human psyche. If crime is inherent in the social setup since the beginning of human creation, children negating and deviating are no exception. Hence, deviation from the practiced social norms among children is a part of the ongoing social system. Certainly, the emergence of the problem of 'juvenile delinquency' is acquiring greater dimension amidst the growing insanity of the modern society.

The phenomenal advances of science and technology in the modern age of speedy sputniks and guided missiles have tremendously shaken up the old order of human life. Human society is experiencing terrific convulsions of social change. The multi-sided dynamic developments in different fields of human thought and action are shattering the fundamental basis of social order. A well-knit family life is threatened, and the established standards of social behaviour, social norms and values are undergoing metamorphosis. The continuance of this process has led to increasing deviations and abnormalities in individual behaviour. The criminal in the adult and the delinquent in the juvenile are none but the upshots of this process, the process of social disorganization and maladjustment. The problem of juvenile delinquency is a complex social problem confronting almost every society.

7.6.2 Conceptualizing Juvenile Delinquency

The concept of juvenile delinquency has in fact undergone a radical change and today the term 'juvenile delinquent' has such a changed connotation that a person so labelled is not subject to the jurisdiction of the normal course of criminal procedure, but to the special laws and courts that have been recently devised for him and that deal with him differently from the adult criminal. Juvenile delinquency exhibits a specific pattern of behaviour. It involves 'wrong doing by a child or by a young person who is under an age specified by the law of the place'. French medievalist and historian of the family and childhood Phillippe Aries (1962) stated that the development of the concept of juvenile delinquency can be traced to the roots of Anglo-Saxon legal tradition. Early English jurisprudence held that children under seven were legally incapable of committing crimes (Aries, 1962). Juvenile delinquency is the manifestation of desires and urges that remain unsatisfied in the normal way. For others, it signifies misconduct but for the delinquent, it is a normal response, to inner desires and outer stimuli.

The legal definition of juvenile delinquency varies from one country to another. Delinquency is after all a legal term which denotes acts of varying degrees of social consequences from mere naughtiness to a major act punishable by law. So a child is said to be a delinquent when he involves himself in stealing, vagrancy, truancy, indulging in sexual offences, assaulting, and so on. A child is said to be regarded technically as a delinquent when his antisocial tendencies appear so grave that he becomes or ought to become the subject of official action (Cohen, 1955).

In India, the legal tendency is to consider all young offenders usually ranging from the age of seven to 21 years as juveniles and the Indian Penal Code uses the expression 'Juvenile offence' rather than the term 'delinquency'. According to the Juvenile Justice Act, 1986, a juvenile is defined as a male below 16 years and a female below 18 years of age. In the *Encyclopaedia of Crime and Justice* (1983), juvenile delinquency has been defined as 'such conduct by children, which is violative of prohibition of the criminal law or is otherwise regarded as deviant and inappropriate in social context'. Modern

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concept of delinquency on the whole suggests that children who are called delinquent are delinquent primarily in terms of social laws and norms of conduct and also in their ability to conform to the social milieu.

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However, the psychologists and psychiatrists do not consider delinquency as a unique form of behaviour, nor do they think that a sharp differentiation can be made between delinquents and non-delinquents. The psychological approach emphasizes upon deviant personality aspects, such as emotional instability, aggressiveness and neurotic tendencies. Psychiatrists viewed delinquency as a particular type of disorder on the basis of which a delinquent would be regarded as a disordered person. They consider delinquency to be an unfortunate expression of personality. According to Friedlander (1947), delinquency may mean to the offender an attempt:

- (a) to escape or take flight from a tense, unpleasant situation
- (b) to obtain social recognition
- (c) to provide excitement and thrill
- (d) to take revenge against parents and others
- (e) to deny dependence on others
- (f) to seek off the sense of conscious or unconscious feeling of guilt

So far as the sociological approach is concerned, Warren (1962) says 'a delinquent is essentially a criminal or social offender, viewed as a social type'. English educational psychologist Cyril Burt has defined 'a child is to be regarded as technically delinquent when his anti-social tendencies appear so grave that he becomes, or ought to have become, the subject of official action' (Burt, 1955).

Thus, the act of delinquency has been largely defined as a course of conduct of a child which is socially undesired and unrecognized. Sociologically, juvenile delinquency is regarded as an expression of internalized norms of a deviant sub-culture which places the individual in conflict with the values of society.

7.6.3 Nature and Incidence

In a developing country like India where the youth comprises a majority of population, it becomes a matter of serious concern to probe into the problem of delinquency. While commenting on the nature and extent of juvenile delinquency in India in a theoretical paraphrase, consideration is given to the peculiarities of the Indian culture and varying conditions in the Indian social institutions, which may account for differential rates of incidence of delinquency and varying societal responses.

The official source of statistics 'Crime in India' published by the National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, can provide an indication of the recent trends and dimension of the problem. It appears that in 1995, a total of 9766 crimes under IPC were registered against juveniles which constituted 0.6 per cent of the total crimes, i.e, 1695696 reported during the year, showing an increase of 13.5 per cent over 1994. There has been an increase in 1996, i.e, 10024, while in the year 2000, it has only slightly decreased to 9267.

Table 7.1 Rate of Crime in India

Year/State/ U.T./City	Theft	Riots	Criminal Breach of Trust	Cheating	Counterfeiting	Other IPC crimes	Total Cognizable Crimes.
1991	4638	1270	21	47	2	4139	12588
1995	2835	955	33	54	1	3869	9766
1996	2356	856	18	60	-	4708	10024
1997	1975	513	16	43	1	3553	7909
1998	2143	574	19	32	-	4576	9376
1999	2172	509	13	31	7	4197	8888
2000	2388	532	24	37	3	4355	9276

Source: Statistical Abstract India, 2002

The Regional Monitoring Reports pay close attention to gender inequalities and to point to opportunities to redress historical imbalances. In case of juvenile crimes, the gender gap is being closed because of an expanding role of young female offenders. But so far as the Indian scenario is concerned, of all IPC crimes in 1991, i.e., 15927, crimes committed by boys were 13213 and girls 2714. This trend has decreased in the year 2000, i.e., of 12040 IPC crimes reported, the crimes committed by boys was 9193 and girls 2847. Women, however, are less inclined to break the law due to the sex-role socialization they undergo from birth onwards. Moreover, although girls are also encouraged to begin to grow up, they continue to be subjected to close parental attention.

On the other hand, when we make an analysis of the regional variation in delinquency it can be said that delinquency is largely an urban phenomenon. The most alarming trends in the region are the rise in the number of violent acts committed by young people, the increase in drug-related offences and a marked rise in female juvenile delinquency.

7.6.4 Theoretical Conception of Crime and Delinquency

Over the past few decades, sociological research on crime and juvenile delinquency has led to the development of some theoretical perspectives on the understanding of the phenomenon of deviance. Many theories have been propounded by psychologists, psychiatrists, lawyers, philosophers and sociologists to comprehend criminal behaviour. Generally, all the aforesaid theories may be put under three broad categories: Biogenic, Psychogenic and Sociogenic.

- (i) **Biogenic Theories:** Biogenic or physiological theory emphasize on heredity or biogenic aspects of criminal behaviour. According to this theory, some individuals are more prone to crime than others because of their genetic make-up. The biogenic theory of Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso is considered to be first scientific analysis of crime causation in the field of criminology. The biological type delinquent would be a special category of human being different in physique, physiognomy and mentality from the law-abiding citizen. Lombroso emphasized on the biological causes of crime and suggested overall criminal types, such as criminals by passion and occasional criminals, and also said that criminals were born as such. He talked of the 'born criminal type'. The modern supporters of genetic theories of crime are, however, more cautious than their predecessors. They do not suggest that an individual is a total prisoner of his genes. Instead, they argue that genetically based characteristics predispose an individual to criminal behaviour. Well-known psychologist Hans Eysenck too states that heredity is a very strong predisposing factor as far as committing crime is concerned (Eysenck, 1964).

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(ii) Psychogenic Theories: The central hypothesis guiding psychogenic investigation is that the critical causal factors in delinquency centre around personality problems to which juvenile misbehaviour is presumed to be a response. These theories advocate criminality to be the intent of mind, which is a consequence of personality make-up of an individual. Prominent American psychologist Henry Goddard stated in 1919 that feeble-mindedness is the greatest single cause of delinquency. Feeble-mindedness, according to him, is inherited and is little affected by life events. William Healy, a psychiatrist in Chicago, found that juvenile delinquency is caused by defective personality and psychogenic factors, i.e., mental disorder or emotional disturbances. He observed that there was a greater frequency of personality disorders among delinquents than among non delinquents. Healy and eminent psychologist Augusta Bronner (1926) focussed their research on the individual, his conflicts and his early family relationship, and the way such factors influenced criminal behaviour.

Psychological theories argue that in the genesis of juvenile delinquency, something must have gone wrong in the socialization, involving emotional disturbance, which leads to the formation of maladjusted personality traits.

(iii) Sociogenic Theories: The sociogenic theories treat delinquency as inter-related with the social and cultural systems of society. Sociologists argue that delinquent behaviour is learned and is conditioned by the social environment. Some of the major sociological theories of delinquency are as follows:

Ñ Sutherland's Theory of Differential Association

American psychologist Edwin Sutherland propounded his theory in 1939 in 'Principles of Criminology'. The concept of differential association appears in his explanation of 'systematic criminality' as a result of interactional process. Sutherland hypothesized that criminal behaviour is learned in a pattern of communications as persons acquired patterns of lawful behaviour. This theory is called the theory of differential association. He felt that criminal behaviour is not inherited and he who is not already trained in crime does not indulge in criminal behaviour. Rather criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons, especially within intimate personal groups.

Ñ Merton's Theory of Social Structure and Anomie

American sociologist Robert K. Merton attempted to explain deviant behaviour in terms of social and cultural structures. The cultural system of society enjoins all members to strive for goals by means of normatively regulated or accepted forms of behaviour. However, since the members of society are placed in different positions in the social structure—for example, they differ in terms of class position—they do not have the same opportunity to reach these goals through socially approved means. Thus, means of goal realization are unequally distributed in the society. This situation can generate deviance. Merton outlined five possible way in which member of a society can respond to success goals: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion.

Ñ Cloward and Ohlin's Theory of Differential Opportunity

American sociologist Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd. E. Ohlin combined Sutherland's and Merton's theories and developed a new theory of delinquent behaviour in 1960. Cloward and Ohlin argue that Merton has only dealt with half of the picture. He has explained deviance in terms of the legitimate opportunity structure but failed to consider the illegitimate opportunity structure.

Cloward and Ohlin have identified three types of delinquent sub-cultures: the criminal sub-culture, the conflict sub-culture and the retreatist sub-culture. Criminal sub-culture tends to emerge in areas where successful and big time criminals reside, and they have a high status in the conventional community and mutually acceptable relation with political machines and law enforcement officials. This sub-culture does not manifest violence. Criminal sub-culture is mainly concerned with 'utilitarian crime' which produces financial rewards.

Ñ **Cohen's Theory of Delinquent Sub-culture**

American criminologist Albert K. Cohen's work is a modification and development of Merton's theory. In Merton's view, delinquency is an individual response to his position in the class structure but in Cohen's view, delinquency is a collective response of individuals. Cohen holds that Merton has failed to account for 'non-utilitarian' crime such as vandalism and joy riding, which do not produce monetary reward. His theory mainly deals with the problems of status adjustment of working class boys. Cohen believes children learn to become delinquent by becoming members of groups in which delinquent conduct is already the accepted practice. He sees a 'delinquent subculture' persisting most conspicuously in slum areas through transmission of beliefs, values and knowledge down a succession of juvenile groups.

Ñ **Howard. S. Becker's Labelling Theory**

American sociologist Howard Becker propounded this theory in 1963 which does not deal with the question as to why a person becomes a criminal but agrees that the society labels some people as criminals or deviants. According to him, the criminal or deviant is one to whom the label has been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is a behaviour that people so label. Becker suggests that in one sense, there is no such thing as a deviant act. An act only becomes deviant when others perceive and define it as such. For instance, some persons who drink heavily are called alcoholics, while others are not. Thus, there is nothing intrinsically normal or deviant. It only becomes deviant when others label it as such, whether or not the label is applied will depend on how the act is interpreted by the audience. This in turn will depend on who commits the act when and where it is committed, who observes the act and the negotiations between the various actors involved in the interaction situation. Initially, the individual is labelled as deviant. This may lead to his rejection by his family and friends, lose his job, and be forced out of the neighbourhood. This may encourage further deviance. The deviant is denied the ordinary means of carrying on the routines of everyday life open to most people. Because of this denial, he develops illegitimate routines. He joins the gang that supports and justifies his activities and identities. The young person is socialized into the criminal sub-culture and becomes a full criminal.

Ñ **Walter B. Miller's Lower Class Culture Theory**

The theory of cultural transmission has also been developed to explain the occurrences of juvenile delinquency by American anthropologist Walter B. Miller in 1958. The theory suggests that delinquent traditions are believed to be transmitted from one generation of the youth to the next. According to Miller, delinquency is associated with class culture. The delinquent is a product of the influence of specific conditions and circumstances. Miller, in his study of lower-class structure, has attempted to show that delinquent behaviour of the lower class boys may be treated as response to a distinct lower-class sub-culture.

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Miller appears to be in total disagreement with Cohen so far as the latter relates delinquent behaviour of the lower-class boys to 'reaction formation' against the middle-class values which they fail to attain. As against this, Miller propounds that delinquent behaviour of the lower-class boys is a product of their socialization into the specific type of lower-class values that are inherent in the lower class. Miller describes six 'focal concerns' of the lower-class culture. They are: trouble (avoidance of complications with official authorities), toughness (physical prowess, masculinity and bravery), smartness (capacity to outwit and dupe others), excitement (to be sought through alcohol, sexual adventure and gambling), fate (belief that life is governed by the forces beyond individual's control) and autonomy (I don't need anybody to take care of me).

Ñ Drift Theory of David Matza

Well-known sociologist David Matza, also contributed and introduced new vigour into sociological discussions relating to delinquency and social deviance. In collaboration with American sociologist and criminologist Gresham Skyes, Matza published his work *Techniques of Neutralisation*, 1957, which later on became a part of the standard literature on delinquency. The delinquent, according to their theory, merely stretches a series of such defences far beyond acceptable limits, thereby, providing himself with the justification of delinquent behaviour and at the same time neutralizing both internal and external disapproval in advance. In other words, unequivocally committed to any set of antithetical values, the delinquent himself gives a series of definitions favourable to violation.

The delinquents, in spite of their out of the way behaviour, may have continuing commitment to convention. Many of the 'delinquent' values are merely expressive analogues of subterranean values embodied in the leisure activities of the dominant society. Matza holds the view that deviants of all kinds must be regarded as subjects instead of objects as acting and self reflecting, rather than merely reacting to the contact of external stimuli.

7.6.5 Causal Factors of Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency has become one of the baffling problems in India. In the trail of rapid changes, especially those of urbanization and industrialization, social and pathological problems like juvenile delinquency have manifested themselves in an alarming manner. The important factors that are mainly responsible for the causation of juvenile delinquency and anti-social propensities include economic, personality and environmental factors.

Poverty may not be the direct cause of delinquency but its unwholesome effects on the child may be disastrous. Feeling of inadequacy, frustration and emotional insecurity play a dominant role in giving rise to anti-social propensities. Truly, no child is a born anti-social and, in fact, delinquency is acquired through a learning process. In other words, techniques relating to commission of crime are learnt through association with criminals alone.

Economic factors often play an important role to indirectly give rise to the problem of delinquency and anti-social tendencies. Owing to the abject poverty, unemployment, and underemployment, social ostracism among different sections of people takes place from rural to urban, thus, swelling the enormous floating population. They settle down in undesirable areas without adequate amenities, and as such, slums grow in course of time with an unfavourable environment. A strange culture prevails without any social norms. In other words, there is total anomie or normlessness.

In developing countries like India, the problems of rural urban drift, poverty and deprivation have adversely affected substantial segments of youth population.

Like a family, which plays a dominant and primary role in socialization of child, the school also has a very important role in moulding the personality of the child. It provides the most important opportunity to a child for the development of his social attitude. The child gets his first exposure at school with the outside world, which was hitherto unknown to him. Some important factors like low-socio-economic status of the family, low intelligence, lack of motivation, poor school performance, personality defects, lack of extracurricular activities, lack of sense of belonging to the school, and so on, adversely affect the attitude of the child towards his school.

Nowadays, films in general depict intolerance and violence which have lasting effects on the impressionable minds of young children. Sometimes, the child may develop a sense of curiosity and seek to put into practice whatever they have witnessed in cinema halls and other televisions at home. Moreover, easy access to pornographic publication and trash obscene writing and paintings pollute the impressionable minds of young persons. Gradually, they may develop a tendency which is inimical to the interest of their studies and other aesthetic pursuits.

7.6.6 Remedial Measures for Delinquency Prevention

Delinquent behaviour among children has increased in spite of technological and scientific advancements in our society. The concern of the society with the problem of juvenile delinquency has two dimensions: the first focuses attention on the child, whose protection and care is the primary duty of the society, and the other is the protection of the society itself because juvenile delinquency is a symptom of social pathology and social disorganization. Therefore, efforts should be made for early treatment of juvenile delinquents. The age old traditional informal system of social, cultural and emotional society provided by joint family and a well-knit community organization is now on the verge of collapse. It has been, therefore, necessary to provide for legal safeguards to ensure protection of rights of the child and other related issues. However, two types of methods are proposed to treat delinquency: Preventive and Rehabilitative.

1. Preventive measures

These measures include the creation of a team work of private and public agencies devoted to preventive work; for instance, the establishment of schools, churches, group work agencies like scouts and guides, and so on. The careful training of members and staff of all organizations concerned with delinquency control is essential in order to enable them to recognize the potential threats and bring parents and youth in contact with the agency which has facility to help them. Apart from this, the establishment of child guidance clinics are necessary for the treatment of maladjusted children. Schools, churches and other character building agencies should be encouraged to serve the under-privileged children. Other preventive measures can be taken by propaganda, i.e., newspapers, magazines, television and motion pictures should interpret juvenile delinquency in terms of honest reports about causes and protection of youth rather than focusing on sensational issues.

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2. Rehabilitative measures

Programmes before Independence

- (i) **Apprentices Act of 1850:** This was one of the earliest steps undertaken in this direction which was intended for the benefit of children, especially orphans and poor children, to train them for traders, crafts and employment by which they may gain a livelihood.
- (ii) **Reformatory Schools Act of 1897:** This Act empowers the courts to send a young offender sentenced to imprisonment for detention in a reformatory school for a period not less than three years or more than seven years. A person is not detained after he attains the age of 18. This Act was imbued with the spirit of reformation and provided that the reformatory schools might be established and youthful offenders might, at the direction of the sentencing court, be ordered to be detained in such a school for three to seven years instead of undergoing a sentence of imprisonment. However, this Act did not make any provision for dealing with girls, though the original Act 1876 made provisions for both boys and girls.

Programmes after Independence

- (i) **Juvenile courts:** Juvenile courts have been established in some states to try and convict specifically juvenile delinquents. The main features of juvenile courts are informality of procedure, de-emphasis on deterrent or retributive justice, protection and rehabilitation of juvenile, and the use of socialized treatment measures.
- (ii) **Remand homes or observation homes:** These homes are meant for the children during pendency of trial in the courts, but they are also used for keeping the homeless, destitute and neglected children. These homes are viewed more as observation homes rather than as places of detention. These homes are mostly managed by welfare agencies with government assistance.
- (iii) **Certified or reformatory schools:** Juveniles given detention orders by the court are kept in reformatory schools for a period of three years and a maximum period of seven years. These schools are meant for education and vocational training of delinquent children with regard to the type of crime committed.
- (iv) **Borstal schools:** Such schools were created in 1920s for the segregation of adolescent offenders from the adults so that correction services are free from the authoritarian atmosphere. Borstal schools were established for youthful offenders in the age group of 16–21 years and term in a borstal school is from 2-3 years.
- (v) **Probation homes:** These institutions established under the Probation of Offenders Act are meant to provide residential care and treatment to the offenders released under probation under the supervision of a probation officer. The inmates are given complete freedom to move out and also take up certain jobs of their choice.

7.6.7 Legal Interventions

The Apprentices Act of 1850 was the first effort to introduce juvenile legislation in India. It was for the betterment of children who committed petty offences. The main purpose of this Act was to regulate the relations between employers and employees. It also dealt with the children between the ages of 10 and 18 years who had committed petty offences or were destitute. This Act empowered magistrates to commit such children as apprentices to employers and provided for controlling the relations between them. The Act was intended for the benefit of children, especially orphans and poor children brought up by

a public charity to train them for trades, crafts and employment, by which they may earn livelihood when they attain majority.

The Indian Penal Code, 1860, enacts a conclusive presumption of innocence in children under seven years of age. It has recognized separate status of children. Section 82 provides that no child under seven can be convicted of any offence.

The Code of Criminal Procedure was enacted first in 1861, which was later modified in 1898. Section 29 (B), 399 and 562 referred to children and young persons up to the age of 21 years. Section 29 (B) of the code provided that any person under 15 years of age who had committed an offence not punishable with death or transportation, could be tried by a District magistrate or Chief Presidency Magistrate or any Magistrate empowered under the Reformatory Schools Act, 1897. Thus, it restricted the jurisdiction of ordinary courts in the trial of juvenile delinquents.

The Criminal Tribes Amendment Act, 1897, provided for the establishment of industrial, agricultural and reformatory schools for the children of criminal tribes between ages of four and 18 years. The government was empowered by this Act to remove the children of this age group from the criminal tribes settlements and place them in a reformatory established under this Act.

The Indian Jail Committee (1919–1920) appointed by the Government of India under British rule brought out a detailed report of its observations and recommendations. It emphasized that the child offender should be given different treatment from that of the adult. It held that imprisonment of child offenders should be prohibited. It recommended the provision of Remand Homes, Children's Courts and Certified School, which approximate to ordinary schools.

After Independence in 1947, the government initiated various activities of nation-building. A new emphasis was laid on child development and a number of schemes were also undertaken to improve the conditions of children in distress and adequate measures were being taken to deal with those who came in conflict with law. The Government of India enacted the Children Act, 1960, for enforcement in the Union Territories.

Juvenile Justice Act, 1986

The Juvenile Justice Act, 1986, replaced the children's acts, formerly in operation in the States and Union Territories. It came into force in 1987 on a uniform basis for the whole country. The Preamble of the Juvenile Justice Act states that the Act is to provide for the care, protection, treatment, development and rehabilitation of neglected and delinquent juveniles, and adjudication of certain matters relating to disposition of delinquent juveniles. Under this Act, juvenile means a boy who has not attained the age of 16 years or a girl who has not attained the age of 18 years.

The Act has provided for the classification and separation of delinquents on the basis of their age, the kind of delinquency and the nature of offences committed by them. The Juvenile Justice Act does not directly deal with child sexual abuse but the definition of a neglected juvenile who lives in a brothel or with a prostitute or who is likely to be abused or exploited for immoral or illegal purposes. The Act binds itself only to matters regarding the relationship between the government and the children, and the parents, relatives, school and community; it does not have any role in care and nurture of the child.

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NOTES**Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000 (JJ Act, 2000)**

The ratification of Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, by India in 1992 and the social attitudes towards criminality by children reflected in Supreme Court decisions like the cases of Amrutlal Someshwar Joshi, Ramdeo Chauhan and Armit Das, and the need for a more child friendly juvenile justice system were some of the factors that led to the passing of the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000. In this Act, 'juvenile' or 'child' means a person who has not completed eighteenth year of age (Section 2 K), whereas the juvenile in conflict with law means a person who is alleged to have committed an offence (Section 2(1)). Thus, there are two distinct categories of children under this Act:

- 'Juvenile' for children in conflict with law
- 'Child' for children in need of care and protection

This Act also covers mentally and physically disabled children; sick children or children suffering from terminal diseases or incurable diseases having no one to support or look after them; children who are abused or tortured, and children victimized by armed conflict or natural calamity.

7.7 CORRUPTION

The prevalence of corruption in civic life is a universal experience, but recently, it has assumed alarming proportions in India. It has spread to each part of the governmental bodies, and a more speedy growth of corruption has been observed among the politicians, the political workers at all stages and even in the uppermost ranks of political leadership, both at the levels of the state and the Centre. There persists a massive public scepticism towards corruption, and there is a general feeling of acceptance of corruption in civic life by people. It is felt that people indicted of political corruption always go guiltless, and, thus, accumulate more power, status and wealth. All this has resulted in a state of affairs, where even the most resolute efforts to fight the evil of corruption have failed dejectedly. It seems that the government is already aware of its existence, and also knows the likely manner in which it can be controlled, but is lacking the will required to implement such measures successfully. American political scientist Joseph Nye states that 'corruption denotes the abuse or misuse of public offices for personal gains'.

The English dictionary defines corruption as 'an inducement to wrong by bribery or other unlawful means: a departure from what is pure and correct'.

The following are some of the characteristics of corruption in India:

- It damages the whole body politic, economic and social—whether individual groups, establishments or business organizations.
- It means exercising more demands and influences by using the power of money.
- It expands and spreads when unethical politicians, government officials and power holders get the power of making decisions and when they become pliant.
- It makes effortless headway in a lane of financial inequalities, societal backwardness and ethical decline.

Check Your Progress

13. Define crime.
14. How is the nature of criminal and non-criminal conduct determined?
15. What is juvenile delinquency?

- It has some major manifestations such as defection, factionalism and political bargaining, red-tapism, nepotism, white-collar crimes, blue-collar crimes and bureaucracy.
- It displaces all political systems but its offshoots mainly annihilate democracies in developing countries.
- It demoralizes the whole fabric of the social order doomed in illiteracy, poverty and backwardness.
- In India, corruption has emerged from the colonial and feudal order, which can be seen even today in the conduct of the Indian political system. Despite a drastic change in political elites and leadership, political corruption has continued until date.
- The act of corruption involves the dereliction of duty, moral and legal lapses.
- Corruption involves the practice of receiving bribes not only for getting wrong things done, but also getting right things done at the right time.

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7.7.1 Political Corruption

Corruption in India has emerged as a social incident. It is extensive, and the cases of corruption are increasing at an unbelievable pace. There is barely any area of activity, which has remained totally free from the influence of corruption. As a matter of fact, corruption has now become a commonly accepted practice. In India, taking bribes, under-the-table payments, gifts and commissions by the politicians or bureaucrats are not frowned upon. To legitimize them as a part of normal life activities, subtle ways have been found. In short, such an ethos has been generated in the society that corruption has stopped to be considered as a crime any longer. In simple terms, corruption is defined as the behaviour of public officials who deviate from accepted norms in order to serve private ends. In more sophisticated terms, corruption is a form of behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of a public role.

However, on the aspects of political corruption in the country, people are very much familiar with the following issues:

- The getting hold of (through fake and illegal means) large areas of farmland by the senior bureaucratic officials and political leaders
- The abuse and misuse of official position to enrich themselves directly or indirectly by employing their relations as proxies
- Granting of favours to members of their caste by superseding the due procedure, and overlooking the claim of others by using favoured officials as instruments
- The use of political position to overcome the purpose of judicial process
- Preservation of corrupt by well-entrenched political bosses to avoid the loss of power in case of a political party
- Misuse of governmental machinery for the political party purposes
- Starting businesses with the support of government and then enriching themselves
- Conducting business with the government offices in the name of firms owned by them but supposedly managed by their wives

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- Exploitation of public funds managed by statutory bodies to bolster business concerns that act as financiers of public parties
- Embezzlement of public funds or the inability of governments to render accounts for public expenditure

Therefore, political corruption is a kind of wide range, multi-dimensional corruption. Political corruption refers to corrupting the political life of a country at all levels. In its broader sense, it searches for politicizing all walks of life and in its narrower aspect, it legitimizes unworthy political actions for benefiting vested interests whether they are institutional or personalized.

Various forms of political corruption

The whole infrastructure in the contemporary Indian society is built on the structure of corruption. It has come down from the top level to the bottom. Many a times, political corruption in the country happens in conspiracy with the bureaucracy in the form of huge kickbacks in big nationalized and global deals, which go unpunished for understandable reasons. In India, the link between corruption and the worsening of the basic administrative system has not been sufficiently understood and focussed upon. Corruption in post-independent India can be said to have begun with the Jeep scandal in 1948. V. K. Krishna Menon, who was the High Commissioner for India in London at that time, was involved in a deal with a foreign company, and bought jeeps amounting to Rs. 80 lakh for the Indian Army in Kashmir without following normal procedure.

At the level of states also, there are a number of such cases. The significant ones are the Fodder Scandal case in addition to the purchase scam in the Health Department of Bihar. These cases involved several hundred crores of rupees, which resulted in the collapse of Indian politician Laloo Prasad Yadav's government as he was accused in both these cases. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha Scam was another scam that institutionalized corruption because the MPs were involved in this scam, and not the bureaucrats. In 1993, the MPs belonging to the Janata Dal and JMM allegedly received bribes to defeat a no-confidence motion moved in the Lok Sabha against the minority government of P.V. Narasimha Rao. Apart from openly taking money or gifts in kind or favours, political corruption in the country has been apparent in various ways. Political corruption in our country has been seen to occur in the following forms:

- **Implementation of extra-constitutional authority:** The most significant spheres for political corruption are legislature, election and bureaucracy. The materialization of extra-constitutional centres of power exercise vast influence and power on behalf of the legally constituted institutions and authorities.
- **Raising of political funds by professional politicians:** In India, politics has come to obtain the character of a big industry in which the fund-raising qualities of a politician draw the largest premium. As elections have become an exclusive proposition, each party has shifted its focus from honesty to a capacity to raise funds regardless of the means used.
- **Kickbacks:** The most famous case of political corruption, which has presumed global impact, has been the supposed kickbacks in the purchase of Bofors 155m FH-778 guns. In 1987, the Swedish Radio claimed that an Indian firm was given a commission of 33 million Swedish Kroners (about Rs. 65 millions) regarding a deal worth billions of rupees for the delivery of the Bofors guns. It was said that the commission was remunerated in foreign exchange to the

persons and friends who were close to the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The Joint Parliamentary Committee that held an enquiry into this deal, did not find anything wrong, and pardoned Rajiv Gandhi. However, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India accused the government for improprieties in the whole negotiations and the deal. It resulted in such a public protest that it became the most important issue in the 1989 general elections and resulted in the defeat of Rajiv Gandhi's government.

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- **Bribing MPs to save government from accusation against the prime minister and a few cabinet members:** The Bank Securities Scam of 1992 was a major political fallout. In 1993, the main accused in the scam Harshad Mehta had alleged in a packed press conference hall that he had himself given a suitcase containing ₹ 6.7 million to the then Prime Minister Narasimha Rao at the latter's official house at New Delhi's Race Course Road. Later, the remaining ₹ 3.3 million were given to the prime minister's men. Although many people did not believe Rao's involvement in the scandal, the opposition made it an issue. It called for a no-confidence motion against the Rao government. The speedy no-confidence motion brought out by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Communist Party (Marxist) (CPM), which were the opposition parties at that time in the Parliament was ignominiously defeated. It was alleged that the managers of the Congress Party had bought out enough votes (a dozen in numbers) to defeat the no-confidence motion. The defeat of the no-confidence motion and survival of the Rao government were the two aims accomplished by the commercial transaction. The Congress Party declared that as the motion was defeated, it proved that the people were not keen to believe that the government was fraudulent.
- **Selling Public offices:** Another way of bribing the members of parliament (MPs) and members of legislative assemblies (MLA) is by the incentive to give the legislators berths in the Council of Ministers or grant them bait of public offices to allow a party in minority or a particular political leader to remain in power. This leads to the establishment of jumbo-sized governments. It has become a common practice of specifically all governments that have coalition governments, both at the centre and states level.
- **Money laundering:** In February 1996, there occurred the \$18 million Jain Hawala Case (money laundering scandal). The former Prime Minister Rao, some cabinet ministers and almost sixty politicians of different political parties and bureaucrats were involved in this scandal. These people were guilty of the violation of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA), and were receiving money in foreign countries by means of Hawala transactions through some businessmen like N. K. Jain and his brothers.

The process of politicization and criminalization of politics adds to the political corruption in the country. Democracy is threatened due to the politicization of the police. Politicians use most pernicious methods such as the use of the services of the anti-social elements during elections. There is a close nexus between criminal elements and mafia leaders and the politicians. Practices such as booth-capturing, violence, threats and victimization of voters in the electoral process are quite prevalent. These practices ruin the weaker sections of our electorate. Today, it is extremely hard to affect the conviction of culprits, who are guilty of crimes such as murder, grievous hurt, intimidation and rape.

7.7.2 Bureaucratic Corruption

The following are the examples of activities, which are generally considered corrupt practices and unethical behaviour in the part of bureaucracy:

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- Bribery, graft, patronage, nepotism and influence peddling
- Conflict of interest (including such activities as financial transactions to gain personal advantage, accepting outside employment during the tenure in government)
- Misuse of inside knowledge—for example, through the acceptance of business employment after retirement or resignation, favouring relatives and friends in awarding contracts or arranging loans and subsidies and accepting improper gifts and entertainment
- Protecting incompetent people
- Regulating trade practices or lowering standards in such a manner so as to give advantage to oneself or to the family members
- Use and abuse of official and confidential information for private purposes

Such activities may produce many such costs for a society as inefficiency, mistrust of government and its employee's distortion of programme achievements, waste of public resources, encouragement of black market operations and eventual national instability. A situation is created, which tolerates white-collar crimes against the nation by those who are its employees. Such costs may or may not be acceptable by a state, but at least a society should be aware that it is incurring them, and public officials should be sensitized towards their existence.

The following factors result in corruption and unethical conduct among public servants:

- Job scarcity
- Insufficient salary
- The ever-increasing powers that they enjoy to regulate the states' economy and social affairs

Various opportunities for making money are offered by this increased regulatory authority; for instance, in the cases of the development planning, granting permits, import-export licenses, contracts for construction; collecting customs and other duties and accounting for foreign exchange. Due to a valueless polity that governs the country, the integrity of civil services has eroded. Political executives achieve their short-term objectives by deploying pliant functionaries, handpicked on lines of their caste, community or political associations to handle key assignments. Due to this, the cadres of several civil services, which include the police and judicial services, are demoralized and their functioning is badly affected.

7.7.3 Causes of Corruption

The following are some of the chief causes of corruption in India:

- (i) **Scarcity of resources:** The scarcity of resources—educational, natural and monetary—leads to job scarcities, insufficient salaries, etc. This means more people need these resources. There is an increase in competition for these resources and people resort to paying bribes and other evil practices in order to avail them.

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- (ii) **Conflict of values in our expanding economy:** In the emerging society, with its emphasis on purposively initiated processes of urbanization and industrialization, there has come about a steady weakening of the old system of values without it being replaced by an effective system of new values. Corruption thrives in such a conflict of values simply because there is no agreement on the definition of corruption.
- (iii) **Acute poverty:** The co-existence of acute poverty and confounding prosperity has also eroded the integrity of the people. The Railway Corruption Enquiry Committee (1953–1955), which was presided over by Indian politician Acharya J. B. Kripalani, observed:
- We believe that, so far as the disparity in emoluments of the lowest and the highest paid government employees is conceded, it should be narrowed down. It is argued that as long as the disparity between the lowest and highest paid employees in trade and industry remains high, the Government, if it tried to reduce high emoluments of its executive, will not get the requisite talent for public service... We believe that if the Government takes the initiative in reducing disparity of emoluments of its high paid and low paid employees, it will progressively reduce corruption as we march towards socialism, which has been declared to be the goal of government policy.
- (iv) **Lack of strong public opinion against the evil of corruption:** Corruption is a consequence of the way of life of our acquisitive society, where people are judged by what they have rather than by what they are. The possession of material goods seems to have become the *sine qua non* of life. Thus, materialism, importance of status resulting from the possession of money and economic power, group loyalties and parochial affinities, etc. seem to be on the increase. This is because of the general apathy or inability of all sections of the society to appreciate in full, the need of strict observance of a high standard of behaviour. This has resulted in the emergence and growth of white-collared and economic crimes.
- (v) **Economic necessity:** Inadequate remuneration or salary scales and the rising cost of living is probably one of the most important causes of corruption. In recent years, the ever-rising cost of living has brought down the real income of various sections of the community, particularly that of the salaried classes. It is, therefore, inevitable that government servants are the worst hit and have had to face an appreciable fall in the standard of living. The economic necessity has encouraged those who had the opportunities to succumb to temptations.
- (vi) **The structure or system of government induces corruption to influence peddlers:** Peddlers are ostensibly designated as liaison officers, public relations officers, officers on special duty, and so on, or alternatively work independently as ‘contact men’, on commission basis. They are generally influential people who are either related, or otherwise closely connected with ministers and senior bureaucrats, or retired high government officers who are in a position to influence or bring pressure upon the concerned officers. These concerned officers are likely to be their erstwhile colleagues or subordinates.
- (vii) **Complicated and cumbersome working of government offices:** It is alleged that the working of certain government departments is complicated, cumbersome and dilatory. This has encouraged the growth of dishonest practices like the system of ‘speed money’. In these cases, the bribe giver generally does not wish to get anything done unlawfully, but only wants to expedite the process of movement of files and communications, relating to decisions.

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- (viii) **Collusion of commercial and industrial magnates, and so on, to serve their individual interests:** It is not always a government servant who takes the initiative in the matter of corruption. Corruption can exist only if there is someone willing to corrupt and is capable of corrupting. Both willingness and capacity to corrupt are found in ample measure in the industrial and commercial classes.
- (ix) **Non-cooperation of trade associations and Chamber of Commerce:** Unscrupulous and dishonest members of industrial and commercial classes are major impediments in the purification of public life. It is quite important to fight these unscrupulous agents of corruption so as to eliminate corruption in public services. In fact, they go together. The Trade Association, the State Chambers of Commerce and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce could lend powerful support to the fight against corruption. However, it is not easy to achieve their cooperation.
- (x) **Protection given to the public services in India:** There is too much security of tenure accorded to the bureaucracy by requiring that no public servant shall be dismissed or removed by an authority, subordinate to that by which he was appointed. And further, no such person shall be dismissed, or removed, or reduced in rank until he has been given a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken in regard to him.
- (xi) **Lack of severe punishment for the offenders:** Anti-corruption laws in India are weak and do not empower the people since there is an absolute lack of penalties for corrupt bureaucrats.
- (xii) **Get-rich-quick attitude of the masses:** The attitude of get-rich-quick has crept into the Indian society. This has resulted in several frauds, crimes and corrupt practices, especially among the youth.
- (xiii) **Cut-throat competition:** Banks, political parties, companies, educational institutes—all social organizations in India are competing to become the pioneers in their respective fields. Corruption is one of the ways in which such competition is tackled.
- (xiv) **Presence of black money:** Black money refers to the amount held illegitimately by an individual, organization or party. Illegal practices such as black marketeering, smuggling of drugs and illegal objects, bribery, and terrorism can lead to the accumulation of black money. The practice of not revealing the actual income for tax evasion also amounts to its amassment. Black money is often deposited in tax havens.
- (xv) **System of democracy:** The system of democracy allows for public funds to be used by bureaucrats and public servants for public welfare schemes. The consortiums involved in various schemes interfere with the allocation of these funds.
- (xvi) **High cost of elections:** All political parties strive hard to win voters and embark on election campaigning on a massive scale. There have been reports of the voters being bribed with liquor and money.
- (xvii) **Meagre salary being paid to government servants:** The public servants are paid very low salaries, and it is not easy to shun the temptation of more funds to increase one's standard of living. This is one of the reasons that corruption is seen as indispensable by government employees.

7.7.4 Measures against Corruption

It is natural that the Indian government has despondently failed to make success in monitoring—let alone eliminating—the danger of corruption from civil life. Since Independence, the government has employed the following tools to eliminate corruption from time to time.

- Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947 (later modified in 1988)
- Commissions of Inquiries under the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952–55
- Appointment of Santhanam Committee to recommend measures for combatting corruption
- Recommendations of the Administrative Reform Commission
- Shah Commission appointed by the Janata Government after the Emergency
- Establishment of the institution of Lokayuktas in states
- Investigations by the CBI under the Delhi Special Police Establishment Act, 1946
- System of judicial review of political corruption
- Recent phenomenon of Public Interest Litigation (PIL)
- Anti-Defection Law
- Election expenditure ceilings
- Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA)

All these tools and acts have failed to make the slightest deterrent for people resorting to corrupt practices. It is time that some radical measures are adopted to check this ever-growing menace.

The strategies frequently suggested at various forums of academic and political discussions, and in various thought-provoking and scholarly writings, fall into a number of areas for action:

- Reorganization of the political system
- Overall re-orientation of the bureaucracy
- Empowerment of citizens and mobilization of the people against corruption
- Creation of continued public force for a change
- Comprehensiveness of the anti-corruption strategies to attack the causes of corruption
- Political will to implement the strategies
- Redefining the role of the state: removal of the state ownership and state discretionary controls
- Re-crafting of the electoral process to include the regulation of legitimate sources of funding of elections, which is one of the basic sources of corruption
- Better institutional framework to deal with corruption and to bring about an effective investigative machinery to bring the errant to book
- Revitalizing and strengthening the existing anti-corruption laws and agencies (e.g., the existing Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947, Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952, Delhi Special Police Establishment Act; strengthening it by a separate and comprehensive CBI Act to vest it with legal powers to investigate

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corruption cases of higher-level politicians and officials throughout the country without the requirement of prior consent of the state governments, etc.)

- Strengthening and depoliticizing the existing offices of the Lokayuktas in many states, creating new institutional framework like the Lokpal at the Centre
- Strengthening the autonomy of the Chief Vigilance Commissioner and giving it the power and status of an independent autonomous authority to conduct investigations, and constitution of an Accountability Commission that is free from political control
- Simplifying administrative procedures and enactment of Freedom of Information Act
- Deregulation of monopolies
- Speedy judicial trial in cases of corruption and effective enforcement of punitive judgements
- Establishing an anti-corruption cell in the PMO to be staffed by officials, who have the courage of conviction with a missionary zeal to eradicate corruption, an impeccable integrity and personal honesty, who would have the time bound mandate to get after the most corrupt

7.7.5 Confronting Bureaucratic Corruption

The Indian Government is aware of the problem of corruption in the administrative system. It has adopted various means to check it from time to time. In the pre-Independence era, during the Second World War, the then British colonial government had established a special police force at the central level in 1941. It was called 'The Delhi Special Police Establishment (DPSE)'. Its objective was to monitor the wartime corruption confined to lower or middle-level officials of some departments keenly involved in war supplies and contracts. By enacting the DSPE Act in 1946, this was given a statutory status. As the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) was established in April 1963, the DPSE was merged with this larger anti-corruption police organization. Meanwhile, the government acquired extra-legal powers to punish corrupt public servants with the enactment of 'Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947'. These two instruments, in addition to the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952, were largely considered enough to cope up with the degree and intensity of corruption prevailing at that time. However, with time, the efficiency and efficacy of the CBI has declined, and questions are asked about its impartiality and ability as a probing and a prosecuting agency. The Santhanam Committee Report (1964) and the Administrative Reforms Commission (1967) advocated the creation of the tradition of Lokpal at the Centre and the Lokayuktas in the states in order to probe alleged corruption cases against ministers. While in the last three decades, various state governments have experimented with the Constitution, the abolition and reconstitution of Lokayuktas, the Centre is yet to set up the office of the Lokpal.

An independent Central Vigilance Commission (CVC), created through a government resolution of 11 February 1964, was supposed to tackle high-level corruption in administration. Its tenure changed from a starting six years to three years (1977) and again to five years (1990). This rendered it weaker and vulnerable. The CVC's jurisdiction was extended in 1986 to include the staff and officers of the public sector undertakings. Several ministries and government offices also set up individual vigilance departments and looked into the complaints of corruption in their offices. However, despite many cases of alleged corruption and reports submitted to the legislature, just a few of them have been forwarded for prosecution.

Combatting bureaucratic corruption calls for the following steps:

- Minimizing opportunities and incentives for corrupt behaviour and maximizing the sense of responsibility on the part of civil officials.
- Effectively setting up anti-corruption measures; it would mean that steps should be rationally consistent with regard to the phasing of a time table for speedy probe and conviction; a strong political will to put into practice the strategies and enforcing anti-corruption steps and people's active contribution from below in the implementation of administrative, legal and judicial measures, thus mobilizing the people against corruption in civil life.

A growing number of government officials have realized that corruption is a tool for executing illegal orders and collecting funds for their political masters. Owing to political corruption, the law-enforcing agencies have to protect the very elements whose illegal activities they are expected to monitor. Since the politicians patronize and protect, a frightening triangular nexus has developed between criminals, government officials and politicians. Also, political instability and the progressive reduction in the values of the political system have led to the ruin of the parliamentary system, spoiling of the way the Cabinet functions, ignoring of the Indian Constitution and the rule of law leading to an erosion of values among the civil servants.

It has been lately observed that the society is openly expressing its resentment against corruption by mobilizing itself and participating in rallies, protests, etc. organized by civil society activists. The revolutionary thinking engendered in the society by the likes of Anna Hazare and Arvind Kejriwal has led to the frequent demands for the graft of the anti-corruption bill called the Jan Lokpal Bill. These activists have proposed passing the Jan Lokpal Bill to tackle corruption at all levels of the governmental structure.

7.8 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The Violence Prevention Alliance defines violence as 'the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation'. In everyday life, the kinds of violence that women endure are likely to be different from the kinds that men experience. Men are more likely to experience random violence from strangers out in the streets. Women, on the other hand, are typically violently assaulted by people whom they know. For instance, the United Nations Development Fund for Women or UNIFEM (2007) estimates that worldwide about half of women murder victims are killed by their husbands.

The United Nations defines violence against women as 'any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life' (Economic and Social Council, UN, 1992). This includes physical, sexual and psychological violence such as wife-beating, dowry burning and acid throwing; sexual abuse including rape and incest by family members, female genital mutilation, female foeticide and infanticide; and emotional abuse such as the use of coercion and abusive language. Gender-Based Violence (GBV) is not only a family occurrence generally, but it is often supported or preserved by the state through a number of policies and actions.

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Check Your Progress

16. Define corruption.
17. List the factors that result in corruption and unethical conduct among public servants.
18. What do you mean by black money?

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Violence against women, both as violent crimes (rape, sexual assault) or as domestic violence (spousal abuse, dowry deaths), which affect women's health, mental health, economic productivity, self-esteem and the welfare and nutrition of her children, are often underestimated or ignored. Any form of violence demolishes a women's self-confidence and is often used as a potent tool of subjugation and disempowerment. The 2005–06 National Family Health Survey (NFHSIII) reported that one-third of women aged 15 to 49 years had experienced physical violence, and approximately one in ten women had been a victim of sexual violence. The survey also found that only one in four abused women had ever sought help and that 54 per cent of women believed it was justified for a husband to beat his wife. A WHO report indicates that in women between the age group of 15–44 years, gender-based violence is the cause for higher number of deaths and disabilities than cancer, malaria, traffic accidents, or war put together.

7.8.1 Types and Causes of Gender-Based Violence

Violence against women is broadly divided into the following categories:

(i) Domestic or family violence

Domestic violence is a serious problem of Indian society. Domestic violence refers to violence against women, especially after marriage. Therefore, it is recognized as a significant barrier in women's empowerment. There are many types of domestic violence. These include physical attacks, sexual assault, emotional abuse, threats, economic hardships and threats of violence.

A majority of violence committed against women occurs within the home. A classic sociological study of violence against wives (Dobash and Dobash, 1979) provided some insight into 'domestic violence'. Now what is usually known as 'family violence,' includes more types of violence, and it tends to obscure the fact that women are much more likely to be harmed (Nazroo, 1999). The analysis of demographic and health survey data from several countries clearly shows that women and girls are more likely to experience violence when they are married at a younger age in adolescence (UNICEF, 2005). The precursors of domestic violence are marital conflict, male control over household wealth and decision-making, poverty and unemployment (Heise, 1998).

Domestic violence is mainly of the following types:

- Foeticide and infanticide
- Spouse abuse/Wife battering

Foeticide and infanticide

Girl children are neglected in society even prior to birth. The development of modern techniques such as amniocentesis and sex discrimination tests has facilitated people to know the sex of the foetus. These have contributed to the female foeticides. According to a study, it has been reflected that among 1,000 foeticides, 995 are those of girl foetuses. In the prosperous cities, there are provisions of sex discrimination tests and the people of upper and middle class are using these tests. This has increased the number of female foeticides.

The Census data of India, 2011 revealed that in the age group 0–6 years, the gender ratio is 914 girls to 1,000 boys. This indicates that for every 1,000 boys, there are at least about 60–70 girls under the age of 6 years who were killed before or within 6 years after birth. This is the lowest gender ratio recorded since India achieved

Independence in 1947. Historically, children are regarded as the property of their parents. A girl is considered as a burden by parents. Since customs bound a woman to move to her husband's place on marriage, the parents did not want to waste their resources on her upbringing. Again, the demand for dowry and the huge wedding expenses caused a lot of hardship to parents. So, male children were preferred, because they would be the receivers of large dowry. These considerations led to the practice of killing the girl child once she was born. Female infanticide continues to be common. Statistics also show that there is still a very high preference for a male child in states like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chennai and Punjab. Incidentally, the male to female ratio is very high in these states.

The earliest efforts to stop female infanticide were made in Kathiawar and Kutch. In 1795, infanticide was declared to be murder by Bengal Regulation XXI. The evil of female infanticide was ended by propaganda and the forceful action on the part of the British Government. Through the efforts of Keshab Chandra Sen, the Native Marriage Act of 1872 was passed, which abolished early marriages, made polygamy an offence, sanctioned widow remarriages and inter-caste marriages. In 1901, the Government of Baroda passed the Infant Marriage Prevention Act. This Act fixed the minimum age for a girl's marriage at 12 years and for a boy's marriage at 16 years. In 1930, the Sarda Act was passed to prevent the solemnization of marriages between boys under the age of 18 years and girls under the age of 14 years. However, even today, the Act remains merely on paper on account of several factors. The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (PCMA) came into effect on 1 November 2007. According to this Act, any male over 18 years of age entering into a marriage with a minor, or anyone who directs or conducts a child marriage ceremony can be punished with up to two years of imprisonment or a fine.

Wife battering and abuse

Spouse abuse involves an exchange of physical and psychological abuse between husbands and wives. According to Ram Ahuja, author of books on social problems in India, wife battering refers to 'wilfully striking wife by her husband with or without injury'.

Dobash and Dobash acknowledge that women are usually the victims of violence within relationships, and argue that this is the case because we live in a patriarchal society that has traditionally allowed men to treat women as their property. The 2005–06 National Family Health Survey (NFHS III) reported that one out of every three women between the age of 15 and 49 years had undergone physical violence, and at least one in ten had experienced sexual violence. The survey also revealed that only one out of four abused women had ever sought help and that 54 per cent of women considered it legitimate for a husband to beat his wife.

In India, domestic violence is widespread across cultures, religions, classes and ethnicities. The abuse is often allowed by social custom, and regarded as a part and routine of married life. Statistics reveal a grim picture of domestic violence in India. The National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India reports a shocking 71.5 per cent increase in instances of torture and dowry deaths during the period from 1991 to 1995. In 1995, the torture of women constituted 29.25 per cent of all reported crimes against women.

Women are generally victims of the vicious circles of economic dependence, insecurities regarding their children's lives in addition to their own, lack of awareness of their legal rights, absence of self-confidence and excessive social pressures. These

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factors effectively leave a woman with no option but to lead a life of mistreatment from which she often does not have the means to escape. The sanctity of privacy within the family also makes it difficult for authorities to intervene. Spouses consider women as their belongings. Husbands consider that this supplementary role allows them the authority to abuse their wives in order to restrict their movement and activities.

A number of studies have concluded that men who were more traditional in their attitude towards women were found to be more violent towards their wives. The data on traditionality and wife abuse reveals that there is a progressive decrease in the percentage of victims from a low level of traditionality to a high level of traditionality. There is also a direct relationship between substance abuse and family violence. Domestic violence is so pervasive that three states have adopted alcohol prohibition laws in response to women's lobbying.

Dependency is also treated as a cause of physical violence in a conjugal relationship. Researchers have utilized this explanation in two ways. In case a wife is completely dependent, both physically and socially, her husband exploits her dependency and uses violence at her to reinforce his dominant position in the conjugal relationship. A few scholars are also of the opinion that when a husband is dependent upon his wife, he resorts to physical violence as a last resort against his wife as he is afraid of losing his spouse or a person on whom he can exert his dominant position. Hence, dependency of a husband over his wife is also treated as a cause of wife abuse.

(ii) Violent crimes

There are several ways in which girls are being killed. These are explained as follows:

Homicidal violence

A 2011 report on a study on homicides carried out by the Indian Council of Medical Research, along with the Harvard School of Public Health, established the abnormally high mortality rate of girls below 5 years of age in India due to exposure to brutal physical extremities at home by their families. The study concluded that girls had 21 per cent higher chances than boys of dying before their fifth birthday, due to violence. Baby girls, who were one year old or younger, had 50 per cent more chances of dying because of violence, than boys of the same age.

Rape

Rape is a humiliating and the most shocking crime against human conscience and morality. This crime is dealt with significant penal laws in every society. Sections 375 to 376(D) of the Indian Penal Code deal with the issue of rape. Section 375 defines the statutory offence of rape. It denotes sexual intercourse with a woman:

- (a) Against her will
- (b) Without her consent
- (c) With her consent obtained by putting her in fear of death or hurt
- (d) With her consent when man knows that he is not her husband and consent is given under her misconception of his identity as her husband
- (e) With her consent when at the time of giving such consent she is under the influence of unsoundness of mind or administration of some substances to make her give consent
- (f) With or without consent when she is under 16 years of age

Rape is not dealt with properly under the current legal system, and the number of rapes appears to be on the rise constantly. The act of rape is a violation against the very spirit of humankind, and is the most abhorrent crime against women. Men need to realize that women have every right to live in the manner they seem fit and that rape, eve teasing and sexual assault are forms of perversion which are extremely shameful and repulsive. In contrast to popular belief, rape is almost never perpetrated for sexual gratification, but rather for sexual subjugation of women.

Dowry

Dowry refers to ‘the property, money, ornaments or any other form of wealth which a man or his family receives from his wife or her family at the time of marriage’. The wider definitions of dowry include what a woman’s natal family spends on the marriage celebration, the feasting and the gift giving associated with it. The real curse of the dowry system appears to lie with what the leading Indian sociologist M. N. Srinivas has called the new dowry—property or cash demanded or in various forms expected by the groom’s family. This often turns out to be a grave burden on those families who have agreed to be trapped into unequal exchanges along hypergamous lines.

The problem of dowry related violence is clearly a thoroughly modern phenomenon. Thus, there is no need to re-write Hindu scriptures, because one cannot undo the past. The Hindu cultural texts are arguing from within the sphere of the *dharma*, and do not endorse cruelty to women for the sake of material possessions, that is, *arth*. Most writings use dowry in at least three senses. The first is in the form of presents, jewellery, household goods and other properties taken by the bride to her new home or given to her during the marriage rituals. These are items to be used by her, or by the couple, as a sort of foundation for the new nuclear household unit.

A second form of dowry may be constituted by what families, particularly the bride’s family, conspicuously spend on the occasion of the marriage celebration. In this respect, Srinivas stated ironically that Indian weddings are occasions for conspicuous spending, and this is related to the maintenance of what is believed to be the status of the family. Such expenditure on the marriage benefits the couple indirectly, probably in terms of status rather than in a financial sense directly.

The third type of dowry is property expected or even demanded by the husband, more often by his family, either as a condition for the marriage itself, or at a later stage. There is much scope for these three forms of dowry to become intertwined and mixed up in the minds of writers as well as in social reality.

Under the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, a demand made for dowry is an offence. Section 498 of the Indian Penal Code specifically deals with a situation when coercion is a wilful conduct of the husband or a woman’s in-laws of such a nature as is likely to drive the woman to commit suicide or cause grave physical or mental injury to her. The harassment of a woman by her husband or by any relative of her husband with a view to coercing her or any relatives to meet any unlawful demand of property is also dealt with in this section.

Trafficking of women and children

Trafficking in women and children is the most abominable violation of human rights. In its widest sense, it includes the exploitation of girls by pushing them into prostitution, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery and the trade in human organs. In the case of children who have been trafficked or have become victims of

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child marriages, it violates their right to education, employment and self-determination. The trafficking and exploitation of women and children results in their being forced to lead a life of indignity, social stigma, debt bondage, combined with a host of health problems including HIV/AIDS.

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7.8.2 Measures Pertaining to Violence against Women

Domestic violence in India takes place due to notions of gender bias and inequality. By and large, women are considered to be the 'weaker sex'. Various social and religious taboos have compounded to the unequal status that is extended to women. These inequalities have curtailed the freedom of women, and have created difficult conditions for them to survive. The concern with violence against women is not a recent preoccupation. It has always been a deep-seated problem with roots in the Indian culture. Many researchers have stressed the importance of awareness in combatting the problem of violence. The following are some of the measures that can help in curbing violence against women:

- (i) Enforcement agencies should be instructed in unambiguous terms that enforcement of the rights of the weaker and vulnerable sections including women and children should not be down played for fear of further disturbances or retribution, and adequate preparation should be made to face any such eventuality.
- (ii) The administration and police should play a more proactive role in the detection and investigation of crime against women and ensuring that there is no underreporting.
- (iii) The overall representation of women in police forces should be increased. The representation of women in police at all levels should be increased through affirmative action so that they constitute about 33 per cent of the police
- (iv) Sensitizing the law enforcement machinery towards crime against women by way of well-structured training programmes, meetings and seminars etc., for police personnel at all levels as well as other functionaries of the criminal justice system. Such programmes may be incorporated in the syllabus of various Police Training Academies at all levels.
- (v) For improving general awareness on legislations, mechanisms in place for safety and protection of women, the concerned department of the State Government must, inter-alia, take the following steps:
 - (a) Create awareness through print and electronic media
 - (b) Develop a community monitoring system to check cases of violence, abuse and exploitation, and take necessary steps to curb the same
 - (c) Involving the community at large in creating and spreading such awareness
 - (d) Organize legal literacy and legal awareness camps
- (vi) It is important to explore the possibility of associating NGOs working in the area of combatting crime against women. Citizens groups and NGOs should be encouraged to increase awareness about gender issues in the society and help bring to light violence against women and also assist the police in the investigation of crime against women. Close coordination between the police and the NGOs dealing with the interests of women may be ensured.
- (vii) There should be no delay whatsoever in the registration of FIR (First Information Report) in all cases of crime against women.

- (viii) All efforts should be made to apprehend all the accused named in the FIR immediately so as to generate confidence in the victims and their family members.
- Cases should be thoroughly investigated and charge sheets against the accused persons should be filed within three months from the date of occurrence of a crime against women, without compromising on the quality of investigation. Speedy investigation should be conducted in heinous crimes like rape. The medical examination of rape victims should be conducted without delay.
 - Proper supervisions at appropriate level of cases of crime against women from the recording of FIR to the disposal of the case by the competent court should be ensured.
- (xi) Helpline numbers of the crime against women cells should be exhibited prominently in hospitals/schools/colleges premises, and in other suitable places.
- (xii) The setting up of exclusive 'Crime Against Women and Children' desk in each police station and the Special Women police cells in the police stations and all women police thana is needed.
- (xiii) Concerned departments of the state governments could handle rape victims at all stages from filing a complaint in a police station to undergoing forensic examination and in providing all possible assistance including counselling, legal assistance and rehabilitation. Preferably, these victims may be handled by women so as to provide a certain comfort level to the rape victims.
- (xiv) The specialized Sexual Assault Treatment Units could be developed in government hospitals having a large maternity section.
- (xv) The Health department of the State Government should set up 'Rape Crisis Centres' (RCCs) and specialized 'Sexual Assault Treatment Units' (SATUs), at appropriate places.
- (xvi) Rape Crisis Centres (RCCs) set up by the Health Department could assist rape victims and provide appropriate level of coordination between the police and health department facilities for medical examination to establish forensic evidence, SAT Units and medical facilities to treat after the effects of sexual assault. Hence, these RCCs could act as an interface between the victims and other agencies involved.
- (xvii) The administration should also focus on the rehabilitation of the victims and provide all required support. Counselling is required for victim as well as her family to overcome the trauma of the crime. The police should consider empanelling professional counsellors and the counselling should not be done by the police. The effectiveness of schemes developed for the welfare and rehabilitation of women who have been victimized should be improved.
- (xviii) For improving the safety conditions on road, the concerned departments of the State Government must take suitable steps to:
- (a) Increase the number of beat constables, especially on the sensitive roads
 - (b) Increase the number of police help booth/kiosks, especially in remote and lonely stretches
 - (c) Increase police patrolling, especially during the night
 - (d) Increase the number of women police officers in the mobile police vans

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- e) Set up telephone booths for easy access to police
- f) Install people friendly street lights on all roads, lonely stretches and alleys
- (xix) It should be ensured that the street lights are properly and efficiently working on all roads, lonely stretches and alleys.
- (xx) The local police should arrange for patrolling in the affected areas and more especially in the locality of the weaker sections of the society. Periodic visits by Superintendent of Police will create a sense of safety and security among these sections of the people.
- (xxi) Special steps should be taken for security of women working in night shifts of call centres.
- (xxii) Crime prone areas should be identified and a mechanism be put in place to monitor infractions in schools/colleges for ensuring safety and security of female students. Women police officers in adequate number fully equipped with policing infrastructure may be posted in such areas.
- (xxiii) Action should be taken at the state level to set up of Fast Track Courts and Family Courts.
- (xxiv) Dowry related cases must be adjudicated expeditiously to avoid further harassment of the women.
- (xxv) Appointment of Dowry Prohibition Officers is important. The Rules under the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 should be notified.
- (xxvi) All police stations may be advised to display the name and other details of Protection Officers of the area appointed under the Domestic Violence Act, 2005.
- (xxvii) Police personnel should be trained adequately in special laws dealing with atrocities against women. Enforcement aspect should be emphasized adequately so as to streamline it.
- (xxviii) Special steps may also be taken by the police in collaboration with the Health and Family Welfare Department of the State to prevent female foeticide.
- (xxix) Special steps should also be taken to curb the ‘violation of women’s rights by so called honour killings, to prevent forced marriage in some northern states, and other forms of violence’.
- (xxx) Ensure follow up of reports of cases of atrocities against women received from various sources, including National Commission for Women and State Commission for Women, with concerned authorities in the state governments.
- (xxxi) There are several women helpline numbers such as the following:
 - Women’s Helpline Number: 181
 - Women Police Helpline: (011) 23317004
 - Anti Obscene Calls Cell: (011) 27894455

Check Your Progress

19. What are the major types of domestic violence?

20. Define dowry.

7.9 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Alcoholism, according to Johnson (1973), ‘is a condition in which an individual loses control over his alcohol intake in that he is constantly unable to refrain from drinking once he begins.’

- The causes of alcoholism include genetic factors, brain chemical imbalances after long-term alcohol use, frustration, anxiety, and so on.
- The following are some treatment mechanisms for alcoholism: pharmacotherapy for detoxification and relapse prevention; psychosocial interventions to prevent/delay relapse; and alternative treatments such as yoga and physical training.
- Drug addiction refers to ‘a condition characterized by an overwhelming desire to continue taking a drug to which one has become habituated through repeated consumption because it produces a particular effect, usually an alteration of mental status’.
- The following are the most common types of drugs: stimulants, inhalants, cannabinoids, depressants, opioids and morphine derivatives, anabolic steroids, hallucinogens, prescription drugs, and so on.
- The Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985 (NDPS Act), sets out the statutory framework for drug law enforcement in India. This Act consolidates the erstwhile principal Acts, viz., the Opium Act, 1857; the Opium Act, 1878; and the Dangerous Drugs Act, 1930.
- Unemployment promotes poverty and inequalities, lowers social standards, and is a huge loss of manpower resources to the nation. It is a chronic malady in India that deprives able bodied people to work on the current wages.
- Unemployment is a situation wherein able bodied person fail to find a job even though they are willing to work at the prevailing wage rate.
- The kind of unemployment which arises due to imperfections of labour market is known as frictional unemployment. It arises due to the movement of labour from one industry to another or from one place to another.
- When unemployment arises due to the expansion of educational facilities at school and university level, it is known as educated unemployment.
- The following measures are suggested to reduce unemployment:
 - o Increase in the rate of economic growth
 - o High rate of capital formation
 - o More expansion of employment exchange
 - o Employment opportunities for women
- The Fear of crime is widespread among people in many Western societies, affecting far more people than the personal experience of crime itself; as such, it constitutes a significant social problem.
- Conflict between reason and instinct is age old in human psyche. If crime is inherent in the social set-up since the beginning of human creation, children negating and deviating are no exception.
- In a developing country like India where the youth comprises a majority of population, it becomes a matter of serious concern to probe into the problem of delinquency.
- Juvenile delinquency has become one of the baffling problems in India. In the trail of rapid changes, especially those of urbanization and industrialization, social and pathological problems like juvenile delinquency have manifested themselves in an alarming manner.

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- The prevalence of corruption in civic life is a universal experience, but recently, it has assumed alarming proportions in India.
- The English dictionary defines corruption as ‘an inducement to wrong by bribery or other unlawful means: a departure from what is pure and correct’.
- Corruption demoralizes the whole fabric of the social order doomed in illiteracy, poverty and backwardness.
- The following are some of the chief causes of corruption in India: scarcity of resources, conflict of values in our expanding economy, acute poverty, lack of acute public opinion against the evil of corruption, complicated and cumbersome working of government offices, and so on.
- The Santhanam Committee Report (1964) and the Administrative Reforms Commission (1967) advocated the creation of the tradition of Lokpal at the Centre and the Lokayuktas in the states in order to probe alleged corruption cases against ministers.
- The United Nations defines violence against women as ‘any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life’ (Economic and Social Council, UN, 1992).
- Violence against women, both as violent crimes (rape, sexual assault) or as domestic violence (spousal abuse, dowry deaths), which affect women’s health, mental health, economic productivity, self-esteem, and the welfare and nutrition of her children, are often underestimated or ignored.
- Domestic violence refers to violence against women, especially after marriage. Therefore, it is recognized as a significant barrier in women’s empowerment.
- Rape is a humiliating and the most shocking crime against human conscience and morality. This crime is dealt with significant penal laws in every society. Sections 375 to 376 (D) of the Indian Penal Code deal with the issue of rape.
- The administration should also focus on the rehabilitation of the victims and provide all required support. Counselling is required for victim as well as her family to overcome the trauma of the crime.
- Crime prone areas should be identified and a mechanism should be put in place to monitor infractions in schools/colleges for ensuring safety and security of female students. Women police officers in adequate number fully equipped with policing infrastructure may be posted in such areas.

7.10 KEY TERMS

- **Alcoholism:** It is a disorder characterized by the excessive consumption of and dependence on alcoholic beverages, leading to physical and psychological harm and impaired social and vocational functioning.
- **Withdrawal symptoms:** It is any physical or psychological disturbance (as sweating or depression) experienced by a drug addict when deprived of the drug.
- **Sensitization:** It is the process of becoming highly sensitive to specific events or situations (especially emotional events or situations).

- **Man-day:** It is an industrial unit of production equal to the work one person can produce in a day.
- **Kickback:** It is a return of a percentage of a sum of money already received, typically as a result of pressure, coercion or a secret agreement.
- **No-confidence motion:** It is a parliamentary motion traditionally put before a parliament by the opposition in the hope of defeating or weakening a government, or, rarely by an erstwhile supporter who has lost confidence in the government.
- **Influence peddling:** It is the practice of using one's influence with persons in authority to obtain favours or preferential treatment for another, usually in return for payment.
- **White-collar crime:** It is a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation.
- **Amniocentesis:** It is a procedure in medicine used to detect genetic abnormalities in the foetus or to determine the sex of the foetus.
- **Honour killing:** It is an ancient tradition still sometimes observed; a male member of the family kills a female relative for tarnishing the family image.

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7.11 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The characteristics of youth unrest are based on four important standards. These are as follows:
 - a) Public concern
 - b) Collective discontent
 - c) Change in the existing norms
 - d) Activity based on the feelings of injustice
2. The major objective of revolutionary agitation is to bring unexpected extensive changes in the educational and social system.
3. Prominent American sociologist Samuel Andrew Stouffer introduced the relative deprivation theory.
4. Alcoholism, the more serious of the disorders, is a disease that includes symptoms such as the following:
 - a) **Craving:** A strong need or urge to drink.
 - b) **Loss of control:** Not being able to stop drinking once drinking has begun.
 - c) **Physical dependence:** Withdrawal symptoms, such as nausea, sweating, shakiness and anxiety after stopping drinking.
 - d) **Tolerance:** The need to drink greater amounts of alcohol to feel the same effect.
5. The following are the factors that expose a person to a higher risk of relapsing even after treatment:
 - a) Frustration and anxiety
 - b) Societal pressure
 - c) Inner temptation
6. One should keep in mind the following points while helping alcoholics and drug abusers:

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- a) One should always be supportive. This support will help the person become more confident. One has to be deeply invested in the rehabilitation process to affect a major change.
 - b) One has to be equipped to deal with high-risk situations.
 - c) While helping someone in the process of de-alcoholism and de-addiction, one needs to consider that change can be a lengthy process.
7. Stimulants are drugs that speed up the body's nervous system and create a feeling of energy. They are also called 'uppers' because of their ability to make you feel very awake. Stimulants have the opposite effect of depressants. When the effects of a stimulant wear off, the user is typically left with feelings of sickness and a loss of energy. Constant use of such drugs can have very negative effects on the user.
 8. Cannabinoids are drugs that result in feelings of euphoria, cause confusion and memory problems, anxiety, a higher heart rate, as well as staggering and poor reaction time. These include:
 - a) Hashish
 - b) Marijuana
 9. The basic objective in creating facilities for treatment, at centres run through voluntary organizations, is to ensure that the support of the family and the community is mobilized to the maximum. These centres adopt a wide variety of approaches, systems and methodologies for the treatment and rehabilitation of the addicts suitable and adaptable to the social customs, traditions and culture.
 10. Unemployment is defined as a situation wherein able bodied persons fail to find a job even though they are willing to work at the prevailing wage rate.
 11. Unemployment in the agriculture sector is termed as agricultural unemployment. It can be attributed to a number of reasons: the farmers can remain employed only for some parts of the year; the farms can no longer employ the available hands; the villages lack subsidiary industries and the vagaries of monsoons and weather conditions increase the rate of agricultural unemployment; and so on.
 12. The Government of India should take the following steps to promote women employment:
 - a) Residential accommodation for working women on a large scale
 - b) Educational and training facilities for working mothers
 - c) Availability of crèches for the children of working mother
 13. Crime is an act or omission which is punishable under law. It is an act which is believed to be socially harmful to curb, and for which law prescribes certain penalty on the doer.
 14. The nature of criminal and non-criminal conduct is determined by social values which the larger defining group considers important.
 15. Juvenile delinquency is such conduct by children which is violative of prohibition of the criminal law or is otherwise regarded as deviant and inappropriate in social context.

16. In simple terms, corruption is defined as the behaviour of public officials who deviate from accepted norms in order to serve private ends. In more sophisticated terms, corruption is a form of behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of a public role.
17. The following factors result in corruption and unethical conduct among public servants:
 - a) Job scarcity
 - b) Insufficient salary
 - c) The ever-increasing powers that they enjoy to regulate the states' economy and social affairs
18. Black money refers to the amount held illegitimately by an individual, organization or party. Illegal practices such as black marketeering, smuggling of drugs and illegal objects, bribery, and terrorism can lead to the accumulation of black money.
19. Domestic violence is mainly of the following types:
 - a) Feticide and infanticide
 - b) Spouse abuse/Wife battering
20. Dowry refers to 'the property, money, ornaments or any other form of wealth which a man or his family receives from his wife or her family at the time of marriage'. The wider definitions of dowry include what a woman's natal family spends on the marriage celebration, the feasting and the gift giving associated with it.

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7.12 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What do you understand by alcoholism? Why is it considered chronic?
2. Do all alcohol takers face the same level of risk? How will you classify the types of drinkers?
3. Throw light on the harmful effects that alcoholism can have on an individual.
4. Briefly describe the phenomenon of unemployment.
5. What does political corruption involve?
6. Why is bureaucratic corruption prevalent in India?
7. Why is corruption a recurrent social problem in India?
8. Suggest some ways in which bureaucratic corruption can be tackled.
9. How does Indian law deal with gender violence relating to rape and obscenity?
10. Outline the social issues involved in the trafficking of women.
11. Emphasize the perverse social thinking that leads to wife battering.
12. Briefly describe the various forms of dowry.
13. Write a short note on juvenile delinquency.
14. What are the various measures undertaken for the prevention of delinquency?

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Enumerate the causes of alcoholism. Also, comment on the treatment of alcoholics.
2. What is drug addiction? Explain its various causes.
3. Give an account of the government's role in dealing with the problems of drug addiction.
4. 'The problem of unemployment in developing countries is multi-dimensional.' Elaborate this statement in the context of India.
5. Enumerate the several forms of unemployment in India. Also, enlist the causes of unemployment in its various forms.
6. Suggest remedies that can help to handle and reduce the problem of unemployment in India.
7. Enumerate the various forms of political corruption that takes place in India. Also, discuss the steps taken by the Indian government to keep a check on corruption.
8. What does the term 'violence against women' entail? Why are women targeted as the soft victims of violence?
9. What constitutes domestic violence? What are its implications?
10. Critically analyse the measures that can help ensure women's safety.
11. Explain the difference between delinquency and crime. Also, discuss the various causes of delinquency in India.
12. Elaborate on female feticide and infanticide.

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

Classical Sociological Thought

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UNIT 2 Comte: Positivism; Law of Three Stages and Hierarchy of Science	Unit 2: Auguste Comte (Pages 21-29)
UNIT 3 Spencer: Social Darwinism; Evolution; and Classification of Society	Unit 3: Herbert Spencer (Pages 31-38)
UNIT 4 Durkheim: Mechanical and Organic Solidarity; Social Fact; Theory of Suicide and Sociology of Religion	Unit 4: Emile Durkheim (Pages 39-61)
UNIT 5 Weber: Types of Social Action, The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism; Ideal Type; Power and Authority	Unit 5: Max Weber (Pages 63-85)
UNIT 6 Marx: Historical Materialism, Class Conflict and Alienation	Unit 6: Karl Marx (Pages 87-124)
UNIT 7 Pareto: Circulation of Elites, Residue and Derivations; and Logical and Non-Logical Action	Unit 7: Vilfredo Pareto (Pages 125-135)

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INTRODUCTION

In sociology, sociological perspectives, theories or paradigms are complex, theoretical and methodological frameworks used to analyse and explain the objects of social study. They facilitate organizing sociological knowledge. Sociological theory is constantly evolving, and can never be presumed to be complete. New sociological theories build upon the work of their predecessors and add to them, but classical sociological theories are still considered important and relevant.

Whereas the field of sociology itself and sociological theory by extension is relatively new, dating to 18th and 19th centuries, it is closely tied to a much older field of social sciences (and social theory) in general. Sociology has separated itself from the other social sciences with its focus on society, a concept that goes beyond nation, and includes communities, organizations and relationships. Sociological theory is not just a collection of answers to queries about the nature and essence of society. Not only does it provide many answers, it also offers help in putting better questions and further developing research projects that can help understand complex social phenomena.

Like any other subject of science, it is always under development in response to the changing dynamics of our social lives as well as the increase in sociological knowledge. The adventure of sociological theory is comparatively new—spanning just about two centuries. However, it is very closely connected to a long history of social thought dating back to Greek philosophers, Roman lawyers, and Jewish and Christian religious scholars. This period can be termed as the prehistory of sociological theory. Their systematic way of thinking about society laid a foundation for the sociological thought capable of understanding and expressing the emerging complexities in society.

The learning material in the book is presented in a structured format so that it is easy to grasp. Each unit begins with an outline of the *Unit Objectives* followed by *Introduction* to the topic of the unit. The detailed content is then presented in simple language, interspersed with *Check Your Progress* questions to enable the student to test his understanding as and when he goes through each unit. *Summary* provided at the end of each unit helps in quick recollection. *Questions and Exercises* section is also provided for further practice.

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UNIT 1 EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Sociology is the study of human social relationships and institutions. As an academic discipline, sociology is the study of the social behaviour including its origin, development and organization. Sociology basically deals with developing a body of knowledge about social order, disorder and social change. Sociology involves the study of diverse matters like crime, religion, family, state, racial divisions and cultures.

The aim of sociology is to understand how human action is affected by the surrounding social and cultural structures. At a personal level, sociology deals with love, gender identity, family conflict, ageing, religious faith and even human behaviour. At the state level, sociology deals with crime, law, social discrimination, poverty, wealth, education and social movements. At the global level, sociology studies war, peace, migration, population growth and even economic development.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the role of French revaluation of Industrial Revolution
- Discuss the impact of French Revolution on emergence of sociology
- Explain the nature and scope of sociology
- Describe the impact of Industrial Revolution on emergence of sociology
- Analyse enlightenment as a major contributing factor to the development of sociology in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

1.2 ROLE OF FRENCH REVOLUTION AND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

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Sociology as a field of study emerged in Europe in the early nineteenth century. The main subjects and tenets of sociology were based on the changes that were taking place in the European society and politics. The European society was changing because of revolution, reforms, warfare, industrialization and urbanization. The three major contributing factors to the emergence of sociology include French Revolution, Industrial Revolution and a period known as Enlightenment in the western world.

1.2.1 Impact of French Revolution on the Emergence of Sociology

The French revolution lasted for a period of ten years. The French Revolution is known to be the first modern and ideological revolution of that period. It had a great impact on the society because it changed the entire structure of the society. One of the main changes that French Revolution brought about was the elimination of social distinction between people and the feudal lords. The power for the first time shifted into the hands of people from the Church and the people were considered the citizens of the society. European society that had been running on the system of clerical hierarchy became free from the hierarchical structure and the rights and property was given to the citizens. French Revolution also gave birth to Civil Marriage and Divorce. The Revolution also brought about significant changes in the family because of the Declaration of Human Rights which stated that all humans are born free and equal. Several changes were brought about in family related issues, education as well as religion during the French revolution.

1.2.2 Impact of Industrial Revolution on the Emergence of Sociology

The late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century also saw Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution began in the late eighteenth century in England and brought about several changes in the society. In fact, Industrial Revolution shaped the society into what it is today. The revolution spread into Britain by the early nineteenth century and slowly spread across the entire world. At the end of the eighteenth century, the world population was rapidly increasing and the demand for products was growing. So, more workers were needed to meet the ever increasing demand. The work that people indulged in during this period was far different from the traditional work they were used to doing. Industrial revolution also brought about technological changes at the work place, introducing machines that improved the efficiency of the work force. Machines were being used by people to produce goods thus increasing time as well as production efficiency. Technological changes introduced the use of steel and iron. These changes also improved the transportation facilities and also facilitated and improved trade between countries. The Industrial Revolution led to an expansion of the markets and also ensured that goods and products were moved more freely and made easily available. With Industrial Revolution, machines became the symbol of the new society. Industrial revolution also improved communication. People could now communicate in a fast improved manner. Since letters were the only way of communication, methods were introduced to deliver them quickly and at the right place. A new method of communication called telegraph was also introduced during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The changes in communication brought people and societies closer to each other. People now shifted to cities and markets began to emerge in cities.

The socio-political changes that were brought about by the French and the Industrial Revolutions were not totally accepted by all. There were some who blamed French Revolution for having brought about social chaos and disorder. Similarly, many attributed child labor and fast pace of life to Industrial Revolution. Many even protested against these adverse effects of these revolutions and these signs of social protests and consciousness were what formed the roots of sociology.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What are the main contributing factors to the emergence of sociology?
2. How were changes brought into family relations by the French Revolution?
3. Why were machines used during and after Industrial Revolution?
4. Which method of communication was introduced during the Industrial Revolution?

1.3 ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Sociology is a relatively new academic discipline among the social sciences, which include economics, political science, anthropology, history and psychology. The ideas behind it, however, have a long history and can trace their origins to a mixture of common human knowledge and philosophy.

Sociology emerged as a scientific discipline in the early nineteenth century, as a fundamentally new type of society based on new principles of social organization and new ideas of enlightenment. This led to a change in the mindset of people. Sociologists hoped not only to understand what held social groups together, but also to develop an antidote to the social breakdown. In terms of science, sociology pertains to social groups, their hierarchies or forms of organization. It combines functions which are inclined to maintain or modify these forms of organization and their inter-group network. Sociology is concerned with interaction itself. A social group is a system of social interaction. Sociology is interested in social relationships, not because they are economic, political, religious, legal or educational, but because they are social at the same time. Further, in sociology we do not study everything that happens in a society or under social conditions, but we study culture, social relationships, their specific forms, varieties and patterns. We study the combination of relations, how they build up smaller or greater systems and how they respond to changes and changing demands or needs.

Auguste Comte invented the term 'sociology' in the year 1838. He was a French philosopher and sociologist. Comte attempted to combine all the faculties of mankind, including history, psychology and economics. His own pattern of sociology was typical of the 19th century; he put across the theory that every man had experienced the same distinct historical stages and that the success of this progress was the solution to every social ill. Sociology would lead social sciences in future. Comte defined **sociology** as the science of social phenomena, subject to natural invariable laws, the discovery of which is the object of investigation. He advocated for sociology to be used as a positive method as in natural sciences. He further believed that social evolution went hand in hand with progress, in accordance with the law of three stages. These three stages are: the **theological**-military, the **metaphysical**-legalistic and the **positive**-industrial laws.

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According to Comte's hierarchy of sciences, sociology occupies the summit. This is because it is considered to be the most complex of sciences, as it deals with humanity.

The systematic study of society gained prominence due to the upheavals caused by the French and industrial revolutions. The intellectual community of that time attempted to analyse and establish reasons for these rapid changes. So the study of sociology emerged as a distinct discipline dealing with social order and change. Although all social sciences study different aspects of social life, but the approach of sociology is distinct. It is a more detailed picture explaining why things are the way they are. Sociology has also been labelled as a 'debunking science' because a sociologist is interested in looking beyond the commonly accepted meaning of social phenomenon and understands reality as a social construction; that is how reality gets established in the way we understand it. Peter Berger argued that 'sociology is a distinctive way of thinking, a particular awareness of the nature of social life, an unwillingness to accept the superficial and the apparently obvious'.

Emile Durkheim was a pioneer in demonstrating scientific methodology in sociology. In his most acclaimed work, *Rules of Sociological Method* (1897), he emphasized on the methodology that he has described in his study, *Suicide* (1897).

The discipline of sociology appeared in many universities in the 1890s. Urbanization and industrialization were posing several social issues and the sociologists of those times were trying hard to find a scientific solution. However, they did not succeed. It was their strong belief that sociology was the key to the scientific growth of the society. Later, sociology emerged as a branch of scientific knowledge with theories resulting from scientific inferences, rather than mere guesswork or comments that were based on impressions.

Nature of Sociology

On a broader platform, sociology is the study of human interactions, their conditions and consequences. It is a type of science that comprises investigative techniques which are objective and systematic. It gives rise to the evolution of the social truth that is based on empirical evidence and interpretation. However, it cannot be directly based on natural sciences, since human behaviour is a unique phenomenon. It also differs from natural sciences such that the contents of natural sciences are constant while human behaviour exhibits variations and flexibility.

Sociology as a branch of knowledge has its own unique characteristics. It is different from other sciences in certain respects. An analysis of internal logical characteristics helps one to understand its main characteristics:

- **Sociology is an independent science:** It is not treated and studied as a branch of any other science. As an independent science, it has its own field of study, boundary and method.
- **Sociology is a social science and not a physical science:** As a social science it focuses its attention on man, his social behaviour, social activities and social life. It is related to other social sciences like history, political science, economics, etc.
- **Sociology is a categorical and not a normative discipline:** Sociology does not make any kind of value judgments. Its approach is neither moral nor immoral but amoral. It is ethically neutral. It makes no recommendations on matters of social policy or legislation or programme. Sociology cannot deal with problems of good and evil, right and wrong, moral and immoral.

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- **Sociology is a pure science and not an applied science:** The main aim of pure science is acquisition of knowledge, irrespective of whether the acquired knowledge is useful or can be put to use. On the other hand, applied science applies acquired knowledge into life.
- **Sociology is relatively abstract and not concrete science:** It is not interested in concrete manifestation of human events. It is more concerned with the form of human events and their patterns. For instance, sociology is not specifically concerned with wars and revolutions but in the general social phenomena, as types of social conflict.
- **Sociology is not based on particular subjects or individuals, but is a general science:** Sociology tries to find out general laws or principles about human interaction and associations about the nature, forms, content and structure of human groups and societies. It adopts a general approach on the basis of a study of some selected events.
- **Sociology is a rational and empirical science:** There are two broad ways of approach to scientific knowledge, one is empiricism and the other is rationalism. Empiricism emphasizes experiences and facts that result from observation and experiment. Rationalism stresses reason and theories that result from logical inference. In sociological inquiry, both are significant.

Scope of Sociology

According to Morris Ginsberg, the scope of sociology includes a broad study of human interactions, their conditions and consequences. Some writers would restrict its scope to the relations arising out of acts of will, but this is an unjustifiable and unworkable limitation. Many interactions between individuals are not consciously determined or apprehended. One of the most interesting problems confronting the student of society is to determine the respective roles of reason or rational purpose and of impulse and the unconsciousness in social life.

In this case, sociology must be capable of dealing with the complete issue or network of social relationships. Since these relationships are assumed to be dependent on the nature of individuals; (i) to one another, (ii) to the community, (iii) to the external environment. This can be explained if every social event can be traced back to its origin, as influenced by complex interactions. A combination of these interactions is comprised within a community, with respect to external influences. But this ideal, if generously conceived, is clearly too ambitious. Sociology involves a systematic and objective study of human society. Sociologists study individuals' social actions. Social relationships, for instance, those between a husband and a wife, a teacher and a student, a buyer and a seller and social processes, namely, co-operation, competition, conflict and organizations, communities and nations and social structures (family, class and state), give rise to sociological queries. Explanations that are derived from norms and values result in the formation of social institutions. Thus, sociology can be defined as the study of social life. Sociology comprises a variety of apprehensions and interests. It is aimed at providing classified forms of relationships within societies, institutions and associations. These relationships pertain to economic, political, moral, religious and social aspects of human life. Though, so far no collective agreement has been reached on the essence of sociology, yet it is established that sociology deals with the study of interaction systems, which shape social institutions, the state and the non-native order. Therefore, in sociology we study about social organization, social structure, institutions and culture.

Sociology was defined differently by two schools of thought, pertaining to its range and theme:

(i) Formal school

The formal school defined sociology as a social science that has definite characteristics. This school was advocated by George Simmel, Ferdinand Tonnies, Alfred Vierkandt and Leopold Von Wiese. On the other hand, the synthetic school with Durkheim, Hobhouse and Sorokin attempted to bring together a type of coordination among all social sciences.

The formal school supported the idea of giving sociology a suitable subject matter to make it a distinct discipline. It stressed on the study of forms of social relationships and considered sociology as independent. Simmel defined sociology as a specific social science that describes, organizes, analyses and visually explains the forms of social relationships. To put it in a different way, social interactions should be classified into various forms or types and analysed. Simmel argued that social interactions have various forms. He conducted researches on formal relationships like cooperation, competition, sub and super ordinate relationships, etc. He said, 'however diverse the interests are that give rise to these sociations, the forms in which the interests are realized may yet be identical.' His main emphasis was to conceptualize these forms from human relationships which are not affected by different scenarios. Vierkandt believed that sociology should pertain to people being extremely attached mentally or psychically. Von Wiese believed in the existence of two types of basic social processes in a human society. These are: (i) Associative processes that are related to contact, approach, adaptation, etc. (ii) Disassociate processes like competition and conflict.

Additionally, a blend of associative and disassociative processes also exists. Each of these processes can be further segregated into subclasses. These subclasses result in 650 categories of human relationships. Sociology should concentrate on discovering a basic force of change and consistency and should be influenced by the history of concrete societies. Tonnies suggested two types of societies, namely *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (association). These were based on the level of closeness between members of the society. Based on the types of relationships, he attempted to differ between community and society. Max Weber outlined a particular field for sociology. He recommended that the aim of sociology was to identify or explain social behaviour. But social behaviour does cover all aspects human relations, since all exchanges between human beings cannot be called social. Sociology deals with learning and identifying the different types of social relationships.

Criticism of formal school

The formal school has come under criticism because it has focused only on abstract forms and ignored the more feasible parts of social life. It is not possible to study abstract forms that have been alienated from concrete relations. According to Ginsberg, the study of social relationships would never be complete if it is carried out in isolation, without a thorough knowledge of the terms that are associated with it. Sociology is not the only branch of social sciences that focuses on the types of social relationships. Political science and international law also study the same. Since it is not possible to study social sciences as a separate entity from other sciences, the concept of pure sociology is not practical.

(ii) Synthetic school of sociology

The synthetic school defines sociology as a combination of social sciences.

It stresses on widening the range of sociology. Durkheim divided sociology into three main sections, these were, social morphology, social physiology and general sociology. Social morphology pertains to the lifestyle of people on the basis of their location or region. It comprises of factors like population, density, distribution, etc. One can further divide this into two categories, (i) analysis of density and type of population that influences social relationships and social groups and (ii) learning about social hierarchy or details related to the main categories of social groups and institutions, along with their operation. Social physiology deals with the origin and character of different social institutions, namely religion, morals, law, economic institutions, etc. The prime objective of general sociology is to frame general social laws. Efforts are still on to find out links between different types of institutions that are treated independently in social physiology and the possibilities of emergence of general social laws as a by-product. Hobhouse, a British sociologist, defined sociology as a field of science which focuses on the whole social life of man. It relates to other social sciences in a way that can be regarded as a blend of mutual exchange and stimulation. Karl Mannheim has explained sociology in terms of two key divisions, systematic and general sociology and historical sociology. Systematic sociology provides a methodical review of the main factors of coexistence, such that they are evident in every kind of society. Historical sociology deals with the historical array and existence of general forms of the society. This can be divided into two sectors, comparative sociology and social dynamics. Comparative sociology basically deals with identical historical changes and tries to highlight the general features by comparing them. It also separates general features from industrial features. Social dynamics is concerned with the interrelations that exist among different social factors and institutions in a given society, for example in an ancient society. Ginsberg has combined the main features of sociology in a way that they classify the different types and structures of social relations, specifically those that are clearly specified as institutions and associations. He tried to find connectivity between various parameters of social life, for example, economic, political, moral and legal, intellectual and social elements. It attempts to make the basic conditions of social change and persistence simpler and evaluates the sociological principles that influence social life.

Thus, on the basis of the viewpoints of many sociologists, the scope of sociology can be generally defined. To begin with, sociology should be concerned with the analysis of various institutions, associations and social groups, which have resulted from social relationships of individuals. The second step is an understanding of the different the links between various sections of the society. This objective is catered to by the functionalist school of sociology, as required. The Marxist school also exhibits the same opinion. Thus, the main area of discussion of sociology pertains to social structure. Sociology should also focus on aspects which are important in bringing about social stability and social change. Finally, sociology should also tackle issues related to the changes in pattern and the consequences of societal changes.

Sociology as a Science

The nature of sociology as a science has become a controversial issue. Some critics do not support the ideology of sociology being regarded as a science like all other social sciences. Sociology can be regarded as a science since it comprises objective and systematic methodologies of examination and assessment. It can also be evaluated as a

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social reality, on the basis of empirical data and explanation. However, it cannot be directly compared to natural sciences, since human behaviour is not similar to natural sciences. A science may be defined in at least two ways:

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- A body of organized, verified knowledge which has been secured through scientific investigation
- A method of study whereby a body of organized and verified knowledge is discovered

However, if the first definition is accepted, then sociology can be termed a science, based on the theory that it creates a body of organized and verified knowledge, after scientific investigation. To the extent that sociology forsakes myth, folklore and wishful thinking and bases its conclusions on scientific evidence, it is a science. If science is defined as methods of study, then sociology can be defined as a science because it uses scientific techniques of study.

In the history of human thinking, few of our actions have been based on verified knowledge, for people through the ages have been guided mainly by folklore, norms, values and anticipations. Recently, very few people accepted the idea of systematic observations and analysis. W.F. Ogburn, an American sociologist, opines that sociology is a science. According to him, science is to be judged by three criteria:

- The reliability of its body of knowledge
- Its organization
- Its method

Sociology depends on reliable knowledge. Thus, sociological studies of population, families, group behaviour, evolution of institutions, the process of social change, are regarded as considerably reliable. Secondly, disjointed collection of facts cannot be a science. Science should be organized and the organization of science rests upon relationships. Sociology provides a scope for inter-relationships, which is enough to encourage more discoveries. Moreover, with reference to method, a branch of knowledge can be called a science if it follows a scientific method in its studies and investigations. Sociological studies employ various methods like the historical method, case study method, social survey method, functional method, statistical method, etc. Though sociology can be considered a science, its scientific character cannot be established because it is not as accurate as natural sciences. There is no denying the fact that sociology cannot experiment and predict in the same way in which physical sciences do because human behaviour and relationships are peculiar and uncertain. Objectivity in sociology is not possible as man has his own prejudices and bias. Social phenomena cannot be exact as it is too vast and human motivations are complex and it is difficult to make predictions about human behaviour.

But such objectives raised against sociology as a science are refutable. Sociology does make use of scientific methods in the study of its subject matter. Though sociology does not support laboratory experiments, yet it does employ the techniques of science, such as the measures of sociometry, schedule, questionnaire, interview and case history. These relate measures of quantity with social phenomenon. Moreover, a sociologist also uses observation and comparison. Sociology delineates cause-effect relationship. So sociology is a scientific discipline which obeys the demands of validity that are implied by the word science. It classifies the form of social relationships and determines the connectivity between different sectors of social life. Robert Bierstedt in his book, *The Social Order*, considered sociology as a social and not a natural science.

Thus it can be said that science is a way to find out the truth and if sociology involves application of a range of techniques and methods in the right manner, then it will achieve a scientific character.

Human social activities can be observed through scientific exploration just like any other natural phenomenon. This exploration uses scientific techniques such as: scales of sociometry, schedule, questionnaire, interview and case history. These, in turn, apply quantitative measurements to social phenomenon. Hence, they can be compared to the technique of experimentation. Sociology attempts to identify the types and forms of social relationships, especially of institutions and associations. It tries to establish the relations between different factors of social life. It also involves the deduction of general laws through a systematic study of its material. The outcome of the study of sociological principles is used as a means to resolve social problems. Consequently, sociology can be compared to a science like social psychology, clinical psychology and other sciences that relate to the existence of mankind. A sociologist can also make optimum use of two other fundamental techniques of scientific reasoning, which are observation and comparison. Sociology can also be used in the building of laws and for futuristic calculations. These laws are usually relevant and are independent of cultural changes. Sociology also explains cause-effect relationships by the analysis of social procedures and relationships.

Importance of Sociology

The discipline of sociology is recognized widely today. Nowadays, there is growing realization about the importance of the scientific study of social phenomena and means of promoting what Giddings calls 'human adequacy'. It is of great value in modern complex society.

- **Sociology makes a scientific study of society:** Sociology has made it possible to study society in a systematic and scientific manner. Scientific knowledge about human society is needed in order to achieve progress in various fields.
- **Sociology throws more light on the social nature of man:** Sociology delves deep into the social nature of man. It tells us why man is a social animal, why he lives in groups, etc. It examines relationships between individuals and the society.
- **Sociology improves our understanding of society and increases the power of social action:** The science of society assists an individual to understand himself, his capacities, talents and limitations. It enables him to adjust to the environment. Knowledge of society, social groups, etc., helps us to lead an effective social life.
- **Sociology has contributed generously to enhance the value of human culture:** Sociology has trained us in building a rational approach to questions that concern ourselves, our religion, customs, etc. It teaches one to have an object-oriented and balanced approach. It emphasizes the importance of ignoring petty personal prejudices, ambitions that are influenced by ego and envy.
- **Sociology studies the role of institutions in the development of the individual:** The home and family, school and education, church and religion, states and government, marriage and family, etc., are important institutions through which a society functions. Furthermore, they are conditioners of an individual's knowledge of sociology.
- **Sociological knowledge is indispensable for understanding and planning of the society:** Sociological planning has been made easier by sociology. Sociology

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is often considered a vehicle of social reform and social organization. It plays an important role in reconstruction of the society.

- **The need for sociology in underdeveloped countries:** Sociologists have drawn the attention of economists regarding the social factors that have contributed to the economic backwardness of a few countries. Economists have now realized the importance of sociological knowledge in analysing the economic affairs of a country.
- **Study of society has helped several governments to promote the welfare of tribal people:** It is not only civilized societies, tribal societies also have several socio-economic problems. Studies conducted by sociologists and anthropologists regarding tribal societies have helped many governments in undertaking various social measures to promote the welfare of tribal people.

Sociological Methods

Sociology has emerged as a distinct intellectual endeavour with the development of modern societies and the study of such societies is its principal concern. However, sociologists are also preoccupied with a broad range of issues about the nature of social interaction and human societies in general. Sociology also enables us to see the world from others' perspective rather than our own.

Comte and Spencer were, for the most part, the first sociologists. Their concerns were with the means and paths of societal development and the conditions for harmony and continued development. They presented quite different views on these issues and a comparison of their work set the stage for discussion by the three famous personalities, Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber.

Emile Durkheim stressed on the practical existence of a society. He emphasized on social realities and saw sociology from a different point of view, as compared to that of psychology. Social realities restrict the freedom of members of the society to act, think and feel differently, with respect to the society. Beliefs and moral codes are transferred from one generation to the next and are imbibed by the individuals who form a society. One way of explaining social realities involves focusing on the cause of a social reality to explain its origin. The decisive cause of a social reality should be looked for among the facts that precede it. It should not depend on an individual's level of consciousness. Nevertheless, this social reality can be explained in a better way after a detailed study of its functions in the society, its role in contributing to the general needs of the social beings and its utility in establishing a social order. Durkheim believed that this social reality still survives because it is useful to the society. They owe their existence to their contributions to the maintenance of a society, in one or more ways.

Durkheim is more inclined to find harmony and he attempts to uncover the essential features of collective life which are responsible for producing it. He determines that there is a realm of 'social facts', ways of thinking, acting and feeling, which are produced by group existence, which tend to produce an integrated society. Modern society is the product of the development of the division of labour and its recent complexity presents some problems for integration. However, Durkheim is confident that he has found the essential features of harmonious, collective life which will allow sociology to intervene.

Weber views the development of modern society as a much less orderly affair and is rather pessimistic about the possibility of discovering some means of harmonizing its present condition. He attempts to understand various institutions and states of society,

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in terms of the actions of individuals. His central concept for this purpose is 'social action'. He analyses the organizations of individuals in different positions on the basis of their levels of motivation. These, in turn, rest on subjective meanings which persons attach to the things and other persons in their environment. On this basis, he examines the relation between different forms of authority, social organizations and economic distribution of rewards. He is pessimistic about the bureaucratic form of domination that is found in modern society. In his view, it is a very stable form of domination of powerful interests.

Sociology differs from most of the natural sciences in dealing with a phenomenon, which is often difficult and sometimes impossible to measure or calculate, or to subsume under relations of causality. However, this does not involve a total divergence in the methods of inquiry. It involves considering the limits of sociological enquiry and assessing what can be practically achieved. In sociology, five important methods or approaches can be distinguished, they are as follows.

- **Historical Method:** This method has taken two principal forms. The first is that of early sociologists, influenced by the philosophy of history and afterwards by biological theory of evolution. This approach involves a certain order of priorities in the problems for research and theory. It concentrates on problems of the origin of development and transformation of social institutions, societies and civilization. It is concerned with the whole span of human history and with all major institutions of society, as in the work of Comte, Spencer, etc. In Marx's view, the most important thing about people is their practical activity. The way people produce for themselves, gives shape to other aspects of their society and culture. In this way, they relate to nature and to one another in society. These are the most fundamental sets of relations. These sets of relations change and develop over the course of history. They change from one 'mode of production' to another.
- **Comparative Method:** This method was considered the method par excellence of sociology for long. It was first used by evolutionist sociologists, but its use did not involve a necessary commitment to an evolutionary approach. Durkheim, in the *Rules of Sociological Method*, clearly explained the significance of the method. After claiming that sociological explanation consists entirely of the establishment of causal connections, he observes that the only way to demonstrate that one phenomenon is the cause of another is to examine cases in which the two phenomena are simultaneously present or absent. Thus it is to be established whether one does depend on the other, or not. In many natural sciences the establishment of causal connections is facilitated by experiment, but since experiment is impossible in sociology, Durkheim suggests the use of the method of indirect experiment, i.e., the comparative method.
- **Functionalist Method:** In sociology, this method first emerged in the form of a response against the approach and assertions of evolutionists. It criticized the immature and outward application of the comparative method and the methods of 'conjectural history'. These methods used data that was neither verified nor systematic, on ancient societies, for the reconstruction of early stages of human social life. The functionalist method also criticized the objective or claim made by evolutionists to present the complete social history of mankind in scientific terms. The notion of social function was formulated by Herbert Spencer in the 19th century. Durkheim defined the function of a social institution as the correspondence between it and the needs of social organism.

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- **Formal or Systematic Method:** Formal or systematic sociology represented a reaction against the evolutionary and encyclopedic science of early sociologists. Its originator was George Simmel and it remained largely a German approach to sociology. Simmel argues that sociology is a new method, a new way of looking at facts which are already treated by other social sciences. According to him, this new approach consists of considering the 'forms' of sociation or interaction, as distinguished from the historical content. Sociology is therefore also concerned with forms of interaction which have not been studied at all by traditional social sciences. These forms appear not in major institutions, such as the state, the economic system and so on, but in minor and fleeting relationships between individuals.
- **Structural Method:** Claude Levi-Strauss proposed the structural method. Levi-Strauss offered new insights of analysis. According to Edmund Leach, 'Levi-Strauss has provided us with a new set of hypotheses about familiar material. We can look again at what we thought was understood and begin to gain entirely new insights'. The structural method began to have a certain influence, particularly in renewing the discussion of the concept of social structure.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

5. What are the three criteria based on which W.F. Ogburn opined that sociology is a science?
6. Why is objectivity not possible in sociology?
7. How does Weber view the development of modern society?

1.4 INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND FOR THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE WESTERN WORLD

Enlightenment is a major contributing factor to the development of sociology in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Enlightenment is considered to be the source behind ideas like freedom, democracy and primary values of society; the principles on which society runs now-a-days. Enlightenment was basically an intellectual movement that consisted of many philosophers and thinkers. These philosophers challenged the traditional and existing concepts of the society. The aim of the philosophers of the Enlightenment was to make people stop blindly following and listening to the ideals of the church and develop a critical thinking capacity of their own. The thinkers wanted that people must solve their problems on their own instead of waiting for God to solve the problems. These philosophers spread education among people. Education improved and flourished during this time period because of publishing of newspapers and paintings of other types of media. The period also saw the emergence of arts, writings and paintings. People were now becoming more open minded and were learning to live in a society that was ever changing. The life of people became easier and better which led to economic as well as technological boom in the society.

1.4.1 The Works of Intellectual Philosophers in Sociology

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The European intellectuals and thinkers during this period developed the tenets of sociology and tried to explain the socio-political changes that were taking place around them. They also tried to explain whether these changes were good for the society or not. These intellectual philosophers were Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Georg Simmel, Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber. These intellectual philosophers later came to be known as the classical theorists and founders of sociology.

1. **Auguste Comte (1798-1857):** Auguste Comte was a French Philosopher who came to be known as the Father of Sociology. Auguste Comte used science to understand and explain the changes taking place in the French society and coined the term sociology. He described the study of society through his scientific approach and considered sociology to be a branch of natural science. He believed that the society progressed through three stages: theological, meta-physical and positive. According to Comte, the positive stage was a scientific stage that explored the natural laws governing social changes. It was during this stage that order could be restored in the society. He developed the philosophy of positivism to understand the social world through a scientific approach. According to him, positivism enabled one to understand how a phenomenon occurred and not how. Comte was also of the opinion that using the scientific approach, people could understand how social changes affected their everyday lives.
2. **Herbert Spencer (1820-1903):** Herbert Spencer was an English sociologist and philosopher who played a major role in the intellectual development of sociology in the nineteenth century. He believed that sociology was evolutionistic and has evolved like organisms do. The main focus of his study was on the evolutionary growth of the social structures that make up the society. According to Spencer, evolution began in the inorganic world of matter and later went through the organic or living world of the plants or animals and ended in the human and social world. He believed that society also went through these phases and followed the same natural law of evolution that living beings did.
3. **Emile Durkheim (1858-1917):** Durkheim was a French sociologist. He tried to establish sociology as an independent and distinct science. He is considered as the builder of sociology. Durkheim was a modern philosopher who attempted to study the reality of society. According to him, the reality of the society was a group and the social changes that take place around the group. He studied the society objectively, empirically and factually which none of the philosophers wanted to do. Durkheim considered sociology as the study of social facts. According to him social life could be analysed only in terms of social facts which externally affected an individual, a group and finally the society.
4. **Max Weber (1864-1920):** Max Weber was a German sociologist and philosopher. He contributed to the evolution of sociology as a science. According to Weber, the basic unit of the society was an individual and it was essential to scientifically analyse the behaviour, emotions, actions and relationships of an individual. He believed in interpretative understanding of the society. According to him, the aim of a social scientist was to study the inner meaning of a social phenomenon. He considered social actions and human relationships to be qualitative and not quantitative and so suggested that these must be interpreted. According to Weber, empathy and objectivity were required for the interpretative understanding of any social phenomenon.

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5. Karl Marx (1818-1883): Karl Marx was a German writer, thinker and critique. Karl Marx mainly studied about the issues that were faced by people in the society. According to him, people in all societies struggled to live in the society and their struggles brought about several changes in the society and in the manner in which the people behaved with each other. Thus, he believed that the struggle of the people in the society also affected the relationships and actions of the people. He studied about social issues like class formation, class distinction, exploitation, poverty, alienation and social changes.

6. Georg Simmel (1858-1918): Georg Simmel studies sociology as a formal discipline. According to him, sociology deals with social relationships, the process of socialization and social organization. Simmel basically studied about social relationships. He studied the different forms of social relationships like co-operation, competition, division of labour, subordination, etc. According to Simmel, the scope of sociology was limited to only the study of social relationships whereas their contents were studied by other social sciences.

Sociology as a scientific discipline

Sociology evolved as a scientific discipline mainly because of the fact that applied and adopted methods of natural sciences. The philosophers were always divided on whether sociology could be considered as a scientific discipline or not. Science as a discipline is a body of systematic knowledge. Science collects facts and links them in a sequence to reach a conclusion. Science has the following characteristics: objectivity, observation, accurate prediction, cause-effect relationship and experimentation. The philosophers considered sociology as a science because of the following reasons:

- **Sociology used observation as a tool:** According to philosophers, the sociologist studies the society as an observer. The sociologist considered the whole world as a laboratory and applied his observation into understanding and interpreting the human relations in the society.
- **Sociology was based on scientific methods:** Sociology, according to philosophers, was the study of human actions using scientific investigation.
- **Sociology is objective:** The philosophers who cast sociology as a science believed that objectivity was possible in sociology. Sociology was based on objective analysis of facts.
- **Sociology described cause-effect relationship:** According to philosophers, sociology like natural sciences traced the causes and found answers; thus establishing a cause-effect relationship.
- **Sociology made accurate measurements:** Like science, sociology accurately measured social relationships and phenomenon. Sociology used statistical methods to effectively and accurately measure social relationships.
- **Prediction was possible:** Sociology, like natural sciences framed laws and predicted accurately.

A lot of philosophers were also of the opinion that sociology was not a science because it did not meet the criteria to qualify as a scientific discipline. According to these philosophers, sociology lacked objectivity because a sociologist had his own prejudices and could be biased. In addition, they believed that complete objectivity in studying human behaviour was not possible. Sociology dealt with social relationships that could not be studied objectively like social structures. Sociology was not based on experimentation

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and hence could not be called a science. According to some philosophers, society, human relationships and human behaviour could not be put in a laboratory and experimented upon. Sociology also did not qualify as a science because it could not make accurate predictions. Since sociology dealt with human relationships and human behaviour, it was not easy to collect data for the same and predict the results. Also it was not possible to predict how a certain human would react or behave to a social change and so sociology was called a behavioural science and not a natural science. Another reason why sociology did not qualify as natural science was the fact that sociology could not make accurate measurement. It was not possible to accurately determine and measure the human behaviour or relationships which were qualitative and not quantitative. Lack of generalization in sociology was another reason why it could not be called a science. The reason why generalization was not possible in sociology was because no two individuals were alike and so human behaviour, relationships differed and were uniform and universally applicable.

Thus sociology evolved as a social science and not a natural science. As a scientific discipline, sociology emerged as a positive, pure, abstract, generalizing, rational and empirical science.

Thus, the intellectual philosophers were able to develop sociology as a scientific discipline. The study of these philosophers proved that the scientific study of society was possible only through a sociological analysis. They developed sociology to understand and analyse the various social problems that the people faced. Sociology according to these philosophers studied groups, cultures and societies comparatively. Sociology also emerged as a discipline that studied a wide range of social issues and how these affected the lives of the people and thus the society as a whole.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

8. What was the main aim of the philosophers of Enlightenment?
9. Who studied sociology purely on the basis of human relationships?
10. Who studied the social issues in sociology and what were the issues?
11. What is the nature of sociology as a science?

1.5 SUMMARY

- The emergence of sociology as a discipline can be traced back to the nineteenth century. Thus, sociology is not a very old field of study.
- The idea behind the emergence of sociology was to enable people to understand why the society functions the way it does.
- Sociology being the study of social relationships and institutions can be studied at all levels of the society as well as the life of a human being. While at the individual level, it deals with personal issue; at the society level, it deals with the issues that the society has to face daily.
- There were several factors that contributed to the development of sociology as a discipline.

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- Sociology is a field of science that flourished during the first part of the 19th century. It came into existence as an academic response to modernism. Since transportation and communication facilities have become increasingly advanced, it is easier for people in different parts of the world to stay connected.
- Sociology should cover the complete network of social relationships. It is presumed that these relationships depend on the position of individuals in the hierarchy of relations, with respect: (i) to one another, (ii) to the community and (iii) to the external environment.
- For achieving a perfect sociological rationalization, it is important to reach the roots of every social event with respect to the vital and psychological capacities of individuals. These capacities may be influenced by complex interactions which are a vital constituent of the community, which is connected to the external environment. If this ideal is generously conceived, it is too ambitious.
- W.F. Ogburn opines that sociology is a science. According to him, science is to be judged by three criteria:
 - The reliability of its body of knowledge
 - Its organization
 - Its method
- Sociology differs from most of the natural sciences in dealing with phenomena, which are often difficult and sometimes impossible to measure or calculate, or to subsume under relations of causality. However, this does not involve a total divergence in the methods of inquiry. It involves considering the limits upon sociological enquiry and assessing more realistically what it can achieve.
- In sociology, five important methods or approaches can be distinguished, they are as follows:
 - The historical method
 - The comparative method
 - The functionalist method
 - The formal or systematic method
 - The structural method
- During the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, there were several social and political changes that took place in the western world including the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution.
- The increasing social changes and awareness of people regarding the society triggered many intellectuals to study about the causes and effects of the changes and thus emerged.
- Sociology is the study of society and the changes taking place in it. Sociology, today, is practiced as a discipline and even taught to students across the world.

1.6 KEY TERMS

- **Enlightenment:** A European intellectual movement of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emphasizing reason and individualism rather than tradition.
- **Metaphysical:** Metaphysics is a branch of philosophy investigating the fundamental nature of being and the world that encompasses it.

1.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The main contributing factors to the emergence of sociology are French revolution, Industrial revolution and Enlightenment.
2. The French Revolution brought about changes in family life by introducing civil marriage and divorce.
3. Machines were used for production of goods during and after Industrial revolution because these increased the productivity while at the same time reduced the time, manpower and money required.
4. Telegraph as a means of communication was introduced during the Industrial revolution.
5. In the opinion of W.F. Ogburn, an American sociologist, sociology was categorized as a discipline of science because it fulfilled the following three criteria:
 - The reliability of its body of knowledge
 - Its organization
 - Its method
6. Objectivity is not possible in sociology as man has his own prejudices and bias.
7. Weber viewed the development of modern society as a much less orderly affair and is rather pessimistic about the possibility of discovering some means of harmonizing its present condition.
8. The main aim of the philosophers of enlightenment was to make people aware of their thinking capabilities. The philosophers wanted the people to think critically and act and solve their problems on their own instead of waiting for God to solve the problems.
9. George Simmel studied sociology only on the basis of human relationships.
10. Karl Marx studied the social issues while working on the evolution of sociology. The various issues he studied were class formation, class formation, class distinction, alienation, poverty and social changes.
11. Sociology as a science is a behavioural science. Sociology unlike natural sciences is social, positive, pure, abstract, rational and empirical science.

1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Briefly describe the role of French Revolution on the emergence of sociology.
2. How did Industrial Revolution contribute to the emergence of sociology? State in brief.
3. Briefly state the views of Auguste Comte on sociology.
4. How did Max Weber study sociology?

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1. Is sociology a science? Support your answer with arguments.
2. Explain the work of philosophers of the Enlightenment and how sociology emerged based on their works.
3. Discuss the different sociological methods.
4. Analyse the nature and scope of sociology.

1.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 AUGUSTE COMTE

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Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Comte and Positivism
- 2.3 Hierarchy of Sciences
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 Key Terms
- 2.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.7 Questions and Exercises
- 2.8 Further Reading

2.0 INTRODUCTION

As a philosophical ideology and movement, positivism first assumed its distinctive features in the work of the French philosopher Auguste Comte, who named the systematized science of sociology. It then developed through several stages known by various names, such as Empiricriticism, Logical Positivism and Logical Empiricism and finally in the mid-20th century flowed into the movement known as Analytic and Linguistic philosophy. In its basic ideological posture, positivism is worldly, secular, anti-theological and anti meta-physical.

In his three stages, Comte combined what he considered to be an account of the historical order of development with a logical analysis of the levelled structure of the sciences. By arranging the six basic and pure sciences one upon the other in a pyramid, Comte prepared the way for Logical positivism to 'reduce' each level to the one below.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the science of sociology theory propounded by Comte
- Discuss the law of human progress discussed by Comte
- Elaborate on the hierarchy of sciences proposed by Comte
- Understand social statics and dynamics as analysed by Comte

2.2 COMTE AND POSITIVISM

Auguste Comte was born in France in 1798 during the height of the French Revolution, a period of chaos and unrest. His parents were devout Catholics and ardent royalists. Comte was a brilliant student excelling in physics and math with an unusual memory. His early career was poorly organized and a rather self-destructive affair in which he proceeded to 'shoot himself in the foot' several times. Along with 14 others he was expelled from school after a student uprising over a geometry instructor, thus dashing hopes of an otherwise promising academic career.

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He did, nonetheless, manage to become secretary to Henri St. Simon, another prominent thinker with whom Comte shared many ideas. He met, and later married, a nineteen-year-old prostitute but had an unhappy married life. He had a falling out with St. Simon and organized on his own a subscription series of lectures on the 'Positive Philosophy'. Comte attempted suicide by throwing himself into the Seine and was rescued by a passer-by. Comte interpreted this Samaritan act as a sign that his mission in life was to complete and disseminate his positive philosophy.

In 1829, Comte completed the series of lectures, and between 1830 and 1842, published his *Cours de Philosophie Positive* in six volumes. In 1832, he managed to achieve a minor appointment at the Ecole Poly-technique, but, in 1844, he wrote a scathing article on St. Simon and the Ecole and was dismissed. During the same year, two other important events also occurred. Comte obtained a small stipend from the English philosopher, John Stuart Mill, who had been impressed by his *Positive Philosophy*, and he also began an affair with Madame Clotilde de Vaux. In 1846, she died in his arms and Comte was later to credit her with teaching him about the affective tendencies of human nature, a consideration which was to inform his suggestion for a 'religion of humanity'.

In fact, Comte was to see this religion of humanity as part of the practical application of his philosophy as recommended in his works—*The System of Positive Polity* or *Treatise of Sociology: Instituting the Religion of Humanity. Positive Philosophy* was the work in which he outlined his preferred way of knowing the world, and the *Positive Polity* contained his ideas about how to improve society, and how to establish what was, in his view, the best society possible by applying this knowledge.

According to Comte, a stable social order rested on a consistent form of thought. He saw his own thought as leading to the establishment of a more stable, industrial order. He saw this relationship between thought and practice as a natural, rather than a causal one and saw thought as evolving naturally towards the kind of philosophy which he was formulating and recommending. Ways of thinking, of philosophizing, of knowing the world, were, in his view, primary, both in the history of humankind and in his own practice. In other words, Comte believed that people acted in such a way as to correspond with the way they thought. In different societies or periods of history, furthermore, a person's way of thinking, of knowing their world, was responsible for producing the kind of society in which they lived.

Science of Sociology

According to Comte, sociology is a social, organic science. Sociology is a relatively new, evolving science dependent upon all the foregoing theories in science. However, it is quite clear that sociology is gradually moving towards the goal of a *definite science*. Comte had a very wide conception of sociology. According to him, all other social sciences are subsumed under it. He believed in a unified integral study of all social sciences taken together. He posited that the subject matter of sociology is society. It studies the structure of the society and the set of rules governing its functions.

Since sociology tries to explore the principles which help society to stay integrated and in order, it is essential that the law of sociology should be scientific. In order to make the societal laws scientific, they should pass through the full circle of making of scientific laws, namely *observation, experimentation, comparison and classification*. What needs to be emphasized here is the fact that in making these societal laws, use of full scientific technique is necessary.

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Comte maintained that the positive science of society called sociology must pursue the method which was followed by definite sciences like astronomy, physics, chemistry, and biology. He insisted that the new science must be *positive*. Positive means pursuing scientific methods of analysis and prognosis. The method of sociology includes observation as well as experimentation. Observation must be guided by a theory of social phenomena. Experimentation is controlled observation. In sociology, experimentation involves the study of pathological cases. According to him, central to sociology is the comparison of different co-existing states of human society on the various parts of the earth's surface. By this method, he argued, the different stages of evolution may be allowed once. These conventional methods of science, like observation, experimentation and comparison, must be used in combination with the historical method.

Law of Human Progress

The law of human progress is one of Comte's the most important central ideas. He proposed that the evolution of the human mind is parallel to the evolution of any individual mind. The development of the individual human organism is termed as ontogeny. This forms the basis for the development of phylogeny or the development of the human race. In our childhood, we all believed in imaginary worlds; when we become adults, we start accepting the world with its vices and virtues. Mankind has also undertaken quite a similar journey; from believing in the make-belief to the maturity of adulthood.

According to Comte:

Each of our leading conceptions—each branch of our knowledge passes successively through three different theoretical conditions: the Theological or fictitious; Metaphysical or abstract; and the Scientific or positive. In the theological state, human mind, seeking the essential nature of beings, the first and final causes (the origin of purpose) of all effects supposes all phenomena to be produced by the immediate action of supernatural beings. In Metaphysical state the mind supposes abstract forces, veritable entities (that is personified abstractions) capable of producing all phenomena. In the final, the positive state, the mind has given over the vain search after Absolute notions, the origin of destination of the universe, and the causes of phenomena, and applies itself to the study of their laws, that is, their invariable relations of succession and resemblance

Theological or Fictitious State: Law of Three Stages

According to Comteian proposition, all theoretical conceptions, whether general or special, bear a supernatural influence. This kind of thinking is found among the primitive people and sometimes the thinking of children. At this state, there is substantial lack of logical and orderly thinking. However, Comte argues that the primitive man as well as children do have scientific outlook also. Owing to theological state of their minds, their understanding is characterized by an unscientific outlook. The main subject matter of the theological state is natural events. The unusual and unintelligible events of nature tend man towards theological or fictitious interpretation of events. Unable to discover the natural causes of various happenings, the primitive man attributed them to imaginary or divine force. The explanation of natural events in non-natural, divine or imaginary conditions is known as theological or fictitious state. The theological state implies belief in the other world wherein reside divine forces which control the events in this world.

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It is clear that theological state implies a belief in divine and extraterrestrial forces. Comte has classified the theological state further in three stages:

Fetishism: The first and primary stage in the theological state is that of *fetishism*. Fetishism is a belief that there is some living spirit in non-living objects. This is also known as *animism*. The concept of animism signifies that the inanimate objects are not dead but are possessed by living spirits. One can argue that in India, particularly rural and tribal areas, there is a widespread belief that some deities reside in tree, stones and mountains. Therefore it has been seen that people engage in the worship of a particular tree, stone mountain.

Polytheism: With the gradual development in human thinking, there occurred a change in the form of thinking. *Polytheism* is the next stage to fetishism. In this stage, man had classified god and every natural force had a presiding deity. Each god had some definite function and his scope and area of action was determined.

Monotheism: The last and most developed form of theological state is seen manifested in *monotheism*. As the very term monotheism implies, at this level of human thinking a belief in one god had replaced the earlier belief in many gods. The monotheistic thinking symbolizes the victory of human intellect and reason over non-intellectual and irrational thinking. In monotheism, it is believed that one God is supreme and that he is responsible for the maintenance of order and system in the world.

Metaphysical or abstract state

The metaphysical or abstract thinking marks the second stage in the evolution of human mind. According to Comte, each successive stage is an improvement upon the earlier stage. With the gradual improvement in human mind, human problems also become more intricate. The theological state was not adequate to tackle these improvements efficiently. The appearance of conflicting and opposite forces in the world presented problems which could not be successfully tackled by monotheism. It was difficult to believe that the same god was responsible for prehistoric creation as well as destruction. A single god could not account for simultaneous creation and destruction. In order to resolve this intellectual query, metaphysical thinking was developed. Under metaphysical thinking, people believe that an abstract power or force guides and determines the events in the world. Metaphysical mind disregards belief in the presence of several gods.

Scientific or positive state

This state is the most advance and developed form of the human mind. All metaphysical knowledge is based upon speculation and is at best inferential knowledge. There are no direct means to confirm the findings of metaphysical knowledge; it is purely a matter of belief or temperament. The modern temperament of man is such that it cannot remain satisfied with mere guesswork; it craves for positive knowledge which can be scientifically confirmed. The positive and scientific knowledge is based upon facts, and these facts are gathered by observation and experience. The observation and classification of facts are the beginning of scientific knowledge. From these facts we generalize and draw conclusions. These conclusions, in turn, are subjected to verification. Once verified, these become established laws, which can be relied upon in gathering and classifying facts. Scientific thinking is thoroughly rational and in it there is no place for any belief or superstition. According to Comte, the human mind before reaching the state of positivism must have passed through the two earlier stages of theological and metaphysical states.

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The three stages suggested by Comte have a strong idealistic basis. Yet he correlated every stage of evolution of the human mind with social organizations present in that period. The theological stage that corresponds roughly with the ancient age is dominated by the rule of the army and priests. In the metaphysical state, society was dominated by clergy and lawyers. This state roughly falls during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The modern era marks the beginning of the positive state and is generally ruled by industrialists and scientific moral guides. In the first state, the family takes centre stage, while in the second, the State rises to prominence. In the third state, however, the entire civilization has become an operative social unit.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is the main subject matter of theological state?
2. What is the second stage of the evolution of human mind?
3. What is the other name for Comteian fetishism?

2.3 HIERARCHY OF SCIENCES

The hierarchy of sciences is another theory posited by Comte that gained importance in the realm of sociology. This theory is related closely to the law of the three stages. As mankind moves on from one stage to another, evolving from the knowledge of every step, similarly, scientific knowledge also passes from one stage to the next, evolving through every step, though at a different rate. 'Any kind of knowledge reaches the positive stage early in proportion to its generality, simplicity, and independence of other departments.' Thus, we notice that astrology, which is the most simple and general type of all natural sciences, developed first and was followed by chemistry, biology and physics. Sociology comes last in this list of sciences. The evolution and development of the sciences depended upon the development of the sciences that came before it in a hierarchy marked by the law of increasing complexity.

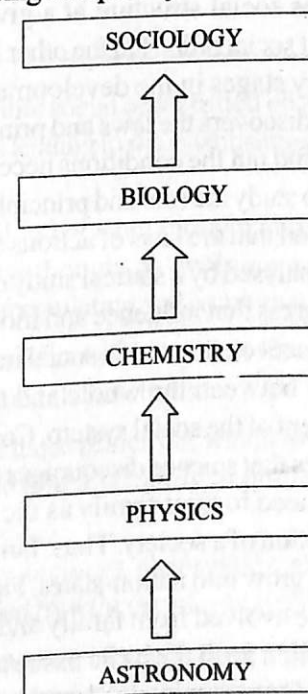


Fig. 2.1 Hierarchy of Sciences

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The most independent and complex of all sciences are the social sciences. These developed after the other distinct sciences emerged and definitely helped in the completion of the modern, positive method. The sciences that evolved prior to the social sciences had just prepared the groundwork. The general sense of the natural law developed through the social sciences. This was possible as social science employs all the resources that physical sciences did, and also uses the historical method which investigate by gradual filtration, unlike other methods that investigate by comparison. The chief phenomenon in sociology that is the gradual and continuous influence of generations upon each other would be misguided or unnoticed for want of the necessary key historical analysis. Sociology, like all other later sciences, also depended on the special methodological characteristics. It mostly depended on biology which, in turn, developed from the study of organic wholes. Sociology also shared this emphasis on organic unity with biology. If the society is divided into parts, sociology will fail to study it. The society can only be studied when it is treated as a whole consisting of various sub-parts. The parts of this whole are, however, treated by physical sciences better than by sociology.

Social Statics and Dynamics

According to Comte, sociology is a wide discipline. In order to study the discipline, he divided it into two parts. These are: social statics and social dynamics.

- **Social statics:** Social statics is concerned with the present structure of the society. It studies the current laws, rules and present condition of the society.
- **Social dynamics:** Social dynamics observed as to how the present social laws are affecting the society. It also evaluates the social structure. Social dynamics also studies the correlation between various social facts. Social statics is the distinction between two aspects of theory and not between two class of facts.

The distinction between social statics and dynamics is not between two class of facts but between two aspects of theory. These are akin to order and progress. Order helps maintain peace and harmony across a community while progress is the social development. Thus, these four aspects, *statics*, *dynamics*, *order* and *progress* are related to each other. Social statics analyses social structure at a given moment. This helps in the understanding of the nature of social order. On the other hand, social dynamics describes the successive and necessary stages in the development of mind and society. Social dynamics is a science which discovers the laws and principles underlying social change and progress. It also tries to find out the conditions necessary to maintain the continuity of social progress. We have to study the rule and principle of social change in a historical perspective. Comte maintained that the laws of actions and reactions of the various sub-parts of a social system are analysed by a statical study of sociology. Statics also studies the fundamental laws of progress that influence and modify social growth. It studies the relations between the constituent elements of a social infrastructure. There must always be a 'spontaneous harmony between the whole and the parts of the social system'. While analysing the component of the social system, Comte did not focus on *individuals* as elementary parts. He argues that science discourages us to take society as constituting of individuals. Instead, we need to treat family as the smallest unit, or at the most, a couple that forms the foundation of a society. Thus, families gradually grow to become clans or tribes and then tribes grow into nation-states. Family is thus the basis of all other human associations, for these evolved from family and kinship groups. He also argues that the classes and castes which form the basic tissues of the social systems, cities and towns are the integral organs. Comte maintained that the law of three stages and progress theories constitute social dynamics. While the laws of coexistence in a society are

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examined by social statics, the rules of succession are studied by social dynamics. The two combine to fulfil the needs of study of the modern society. He assigned prime importance to religion and language as serving as the vessels wherein the culture, nature and thoughts of our ancestors are held. As we participate in the linguistic universe, we are part of a linguistic community. We relate to each other as we understand each other's language; without this collective tool, maintaining a social order is completely impossible.

In addition to a common language, a common religion is also essential to stabilize a social order. Religion permits men to love their fellow men and to overcome their egos. It is a strong bond that holds a society together in a common cult and common system of beliefs. Religion is the base of social order. The third factor that binds men is the division of labour. According to Comte, men who share the same type of labour, form a fraternity. The extent of this division of labour leads to social complexities and complications. The system of division of labour bonded people together as they were dependent on others for the completion of their work. On the other hand, this same system promoted and nurtured the growth of capitalism and materialism. Social institutions like religion, language and division of labour, according to Comte, are not important in their own accord; rather, the contributions of these institutions in furtherance of social development are more important for sociologists. The parts and the whole of a social system need to be connected harmoniously. Political institutions, social manners, laws and rules need to be consolidated in order to develop humanity.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. What do you understand by social dynamics?
5. State the distinction between social statics and dynamics.

2.4 SUMMARY

- According to Comte, a stable social order rested on a consistent form of thought. He saw his own thought as leading to the establishment of a more stable, industrial order.
- Comte saw this relationship between thought and practice as a natural rather than a causal one and saw thought as evolving naturally toward the kind of philosophy which he was formulating and recommending.
- The subject matter of sociology is society. It studies the structure of the society and the set of rules governing its functions.
- Sociology tries to explore these principles which help society to stay integrated and in order. According to him it is highly important that the law of sociology should be scientific.
- The method of sociology includes observation as well as experimentation. Observation must be guided by a theory of social phenomena.
- Each branch of knowledge passes through three stages, theological or fictitious, metaphysical or abstract, and scientific or positive.
- Social statics is concerned with the present structure of the society. It studies the current laws rule and present condition of the society.

UNIT 3 HERBERT SPENCER

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Social Darwinism
- 3.3 Evolution of State
 - 3.3.1 Organic Analogy
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 Key Terms
- 3.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 3.7 Questions and Exercises
- 3.8 Further Reading

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3.0 INTRODUCTION

Like Comte, Spencer saw in sociology the potential to unify the sciences, or to develop what he called a 'synthetic philosophy'. He believed that the natural laws discovered by natural scientists were not limited to natural phenomena; these laws revealed an underlying order to the universe that could explain natural and social phenomena alike.

According to Spencer's synthetic philosophy, the laws of nature applied to the organic realm as much as to the inorganic, and to the human mind as much as to the rest of creation. Even in his writings on ethics, he held that it was possible to discover laws of morality that had the same authority as laws of nature.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the theory of social evolution and its stages as developed by Spencer
- Understand the concept of Social Darwinism
- Differentiate between military, industrial and ethical state
- Explain the concept of organic analogy
- Analyse Spencer's concept of society and individual

3.2 SOCIAL DARWINISM

Herbert Spencer was born in Derby, England on 27 April 1820. He was the only one of the nine children in his family to survive infancy. His father was a teacher of mathematics and science but, ironically, did not hold this institutional enterprise in very high esteem and, along with Spencer's uncle, taught the young Herbert at home. He thus received formal training only in mathematics and physics.

Given his scientific inclinations, Spencer procured a job as engineer for the London and Birmingham Railroad, eventually becoming its chief engineer but later resigning to edit a magazine called the *Economist*. His first major publication was an article in the

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Nonconformist entitled 'The Proper Sphere of Government', a sphere which Spencer decided was extremely limited. In 1853 he gave up his job. In 1862, Spencer's first book, *First Principles of a New System of Philosophy* was published. In 1867 was published the multi-volume work called *Principles of Biology*. Another multi-volume work, *Principles of Psychology*, was published in 1872 followed by *Principles of Sociology* in 1896. His eight-volume study on descriptive sociology was published during 1873-1894. In 1873 was published his highly acclaimed book, *The Study of Sociology*.

Spencer believed that the knowledge of society is a science and can be achieved only by scientific methods. While analysing his theory of evolution, Spencer divided the Universe into two segments: Known and Unknown. The segment of Unknown relates to religion and its subject matter is God and Soul. The Unknown has nothing to do with science, it is beyond the realm of science and irrelevant to science. Science pertains to the segment called Known. According to Spencer, science also tries to explain the origin of the matter and understand the laws governing its evolution, growth and development. Spencer was of the view that the rules and laws governing evolution in the physical world also apply to society. In order to understand the law of social evolution, it is necessary to understand the laws of physical evolution. Spencer believed that society has characteristics of a science. The science of sociology is super organic. Society is the science concerned exclusively with the phenomena resulting from the cooperation of citizens.

In fact, much of Spencer's thought is evolutionary in character. For Spencer, not only biological species or societies evolve, but all matter, being highly unstable in its simplest forms, tend to differentiate and become more complex. Spencer proposed a theory of general evolution, according to which matter passes from a relatively indefinite homogeneity to a relatively definite, coherent heterogeneity. Biological species tend to evolve in such a way as to become more complex (i.e., to differentiate internally, to have interrelated, specialized parts). This also holds true for individual species, similarly for super-organic entities like societies. Societies evolve by adapting internally and externally. In Spencer's scheme, there is a continuous evolution from militant to industrial societies. Militant societies, nearer to the beginning of the evolutionary process, were concerned mainly with issues of offense and defense. Industrial societies tend to be mainly concerned with the production of goods.

The evolution of species or societies, for Spencer, is a matter of the 'survival of the fittest'. Darwin's term for this notion is 'natural selection', and he was later to suggest that he actually preferred Spencer's phrase. According to this notion, evolutionary processes filter out unfit species. The eventual outcome of this process, for Spencer, is a better, even *morally perfect* civilization. Since he viewed this outcome as the result of a natural process, he was adamant about his laissez-faire or non-intervention policy. Adaptation is key in this process; individuals or species should not, in his view, be helped in any way, lest a weak or unfit species continue to exist and thus weaken the whole. While species and societies evolved according to laws of their own, there is a supremely individualist assumption in Spencer's view. The perfection of civilization demands the perfection of the social atom, the individual human.

Spencer's primary concern was the changes that evolution brought in the social structure and social institutions. He was not bothered with the accompanying mental states of mankind. Evolution is that 'change from a state of relatively indefinite, incoherent, homogeneity to a state of relatively definite, coherent, heterogeneity', was to Spencer that universal process, which explains alike both the 'earliest changes which the universe

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at large is supposed to have undergone and those latest changes which we trace in society and products of social life'. Spencer maintained that the evolution of mankind and human societies were only a part of the natural law that could be applied to all living beings in this universe. Sociology can become a science only when it is based on the idea of natural, evolutionary law. 'There can be no complete acceptance of sociology as a science so long as the belief in a social order of conforming to natural law, survives.' He put forward the theory that like physical evolution, in social evolution also there is a movement from simple to complex. The society is gradually moving from homogenous structure to heterogeneous structure. Besides, society is also moving from indefinite state to definite state.

The progression from complex to simple is a part of universal change. This is manifested in geological, climatic, as well as organic changes on the Earth's surface. This universal phenomenon may be noticed in the growth of any individual organism, the culmination of all races coming together, or even the evolution of the basic social structure. The movement from simplicity to complexity is present in the evolution of the religious, political and economic aspects of the social progress. All concrete and abstract human activity bears witness to this universal movement.

The advance from the simple to the complex through a process of successive differentiations is seen alike in the earliest changes of the Universe. It is seen in the geologic and climatic evolution of the Earth; it is seen in the unfolding of every single organism on its surface; it is seen in the evolution of humanity, whether contemplated in the civilized individual, or in the aggregate of races; it is seen in the evolution of society in respect of its political, its religious and its economic organization; and it is seen in the evolution of all those endless concrete and abstract products of human activity.

According to Spencer, the theory of social evolution is divided into two stages. These are:

(i) **The movement from simple to compound societies**

This evolutionary stage is seen in the following four types of societies in terms of evolutionary levels; simple society, compound society, doubly compound society, triple compound society.

- (a) **Simple societies:** This is the most primitive society without any complexities and consisting of several families.
- (b) **Compound societies:** This society is basically a clan society, which means many simple societies make up this compound society.
- (c) **Doubly compound societies:** Through further aggregation of compound societies develops doubly compound society consisting of several clans compounded into tribes or tribal society.
- (d) **Triple compound societies:** In this society, tribes are organized into nation-states. This is the present form of the world.

(ii) **Change from military to industrial society**

This type of social structure depends on the relation of a society to other societies in its significant environment. While the military society is characterized by 'compulsory cooperation', industrial society is based upon 'voluntary cooperation'. Secondly, while the military society has a centralized government, the industrial society has a decentralized government. Thirdly, while the military society has economic autonomy it is not found in industrial society. The chief characteristic of military society is the *domination of*

State over all social organizations. In the industrial State, on the other hand, the functions of the State are limited. Most of the societies in the present time are industrial societies.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What according to Darwin is 'natural selection'?
2. What are triple compound societies?

3.3 EVOLUTION OF STATE

According to Herbert Spencer, the origin of the State is based upon the element of *fear* among the individuals. The State is based upon the authority of powerful individuals. It evolves into three stages: (i) Military State, (ii) Industrial State and (iii) Ethical State.

- (i) **Military State:** In the formative period, when society was absolutely simple, indefinite and homogenous, there was no state authority. Various groups and communities used to fight with one another. During this period of chaos and lawlessness, some brave fighters were accepted as leaders whom others obeyed. However, since war was not occasional there was no permanent leader. Due to this reason, Military State was established. This State was hereditary as the post of the head was determined by paternity. Gradually, a committee was formed to advise the leader of the State. The members of the committee were either nominated by the head or were the people's representatives. The main aim of the Military State was to fight for self-defense as well as to conquer other States. The armies were most important and the society was organized for their welfare. The chief of the army was the king and head of the State. The State had all the rights over public property. The State was not for the individual but individuals were for the State. Therefore, there was no place for individual freedom.
- (ii) **Industrial State:** The second stage in evolution was the Industrial State. Man understood that in industrial progress lies his economic industrial progress. Therefore, the State gradually attended to the progress of the industries. This led to change in the nature of State authority. It was gradually converted into Industrial State, the aim of which was the progress of industries. While the Military State aimed at victory in wars, the Industrial State did not aim at it. It gave more importance to the freedom and rights of the individuals. The interference of the State in the life of the individual gradually decreased. The representatives of the people occupied privileged places in the political system. Gradually, democratic principles evolved and the State became concerned with general welfare.
- (iii) **Ethical State:** While Military State and Industrial State have been realized, Spencer's concept of *Ethical State* belongs to the future. This concept is imaginary. According to Spencer, the completion of the evolution of Industrial State will result in perfection of material richness of the people. This will satisfy the selfish nature of man. Therefore, he will now naturally follow norms of ethics. Unethical behaviour is due to material deprivations. As material deprivation disappears, ethical State will be a reality. In fact, there will be no State, the State will wither away as no eternal administration will be required. Man will be governed by himself. According to Spencer, human society is gradually evolving to this state.

3.3.1 Organic Analogy

Herbert Spencer's theoretical idea of organic analogy was influenced by biology. His initial connection to biology helped him draw an analogy between the society and the biological organism. According to him, societies are akin to living bodies. As germs originate from a minuscule organism, similarly, societies also grow and evolve. He also argues that society is made up of organized systems, just like an organism; the same definition of life applies to both society and biology. Only when we witness the growth, maturity and decay of a society and the transformations passed through by aggregates of all orders, inorganic and organic, is there reached the concept of sociology as science.

The social structure is a living organism. It is made up of parts which can be distinguished but which cannot survive or exist except within the framework of society. Spencer wanted to explain clearly the nature of social structure by the help of this theory. He believes that all individuals lose their individuality and become a part of the society. On the other hand, he is also an individualist, a firm advocate of the independence and rights of the individual. He only tried to point out certain striking similarities between the individual living organism and society on account of which the individual may be regarded as microcosmic society and society as macrocosmic individual. He argues:

It is also the character of social bodies, as of living bodies, that while they increase in size they increase in structure. Like a low animal, the embryo of a high one has few distinguishable parts; but while it acquires greater mass, its parts multiply and differentiate. It is thus with a society. At initial stage the unlikeness among its groups of units are inconspicuous in number and degree, but as population augments, divisions and subdivisions become more numerous and more decided. Further, in the social organism as in the individual organism, differentiation ceases only with that completion of the type which marks maturity and precede decay.

Spencer drew a comparison between the society and individual thus:

- (i) **Different from inanimate bodies:** The first similarity between a living organism and society is their difference from inanimate bodies. None of them is inanimate. In inanimate objects, there is no growth and development, but on the other hand, there is continuous growth and development in both society and living organism. Thus, on account of their common difference from the inanimate bodies, society and living organism may be regarded to be similar.
- (ii) **Increase in quantity leads to change in structure:** The second similarity in society and living organism is that increase of quantity in both leads to change in their structure. According to Spencer, living organism starts from being a unicellular creature; with the increase in cells, differentiation of organs results. At the higher level of evolution, the structure of the body becomes quite complex. Similar is the case with society. In the beginning, the structure of society is very simple. At this level each individual does all the work by himself and there is no differentiation of functions. Each man himself is a craftsman, hunter, sculptor, etc. But with the quantitative increase in society, the structure of society becomes increasingly complex and there is increasing differentiation of functions in society. Like the organs of the organism, the functions in society become specialized.

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- (iii) **Change in structure leads to change in functions:** With the change in the structure in organisms and communities, there results a change in their functions. The functions become more and more sophisticated and specialized.
- (iv) **Differentiation as well as harmony of organs:** While it is true that with the evolution there develops greater differentiation in the organs of society as also that of an individual, but along with this, there is also harmony between various organs. Each organ is *complementary* to the other and not opposed. This holds true both for the body of a living organism and society.
- (v) **Loss of an organ does not necessarily result in the loss of organism:** The society as well as individual is an organism. It is a fact common for both that a loss of some organs does not necessarily result in the *death* of an organism. If an individual loses his hand, it is not necessary that this may result in his death. Similarly, in the case of society, loss of a particular association does not necessarily mean death of the society.
- (vi) **Similar processes and method of organization:** There is another similarity between the society and the living organism. According to Spencer, there are various systems in an organism responsible for its efficient functioning. Similarly, in a society, transport system, production and distribution systems, etc., fulfil their respective roles.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3. State the three stages of the evolution of State.
4. State one similarity between a living organism and society.

3.4 SUMMARY

- Social dynamics observed as to how the present social laws are affecting the society. It also evaluates the social structure. Social statics also study the correlation between various social facts.
- Spencer believed that the knowledge of society is a science and can be achieved only by scientific method. While analysing his theory of evolution, Spencer has divided the Universe into two segments: Known and Unknown.
- Spencer was of the view that the rules and laws governing evolution in the physical world also apply to society. In order to understand the law of social evolution it is necessary to understand the laws of physical evolution.
- Spencer believed that society has characteristics of a science. The science of sociology is super organic. Society is the science concerned exclusively with the phenomena resulting from the cooperation of citizens.
- Spencer proposed the theory of general evolution, according to which matter passes from a relatively indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a relatively definite, coherent heterogeneity.
- Spencer's first and foremost concern was evolutionary changes in social structures and social institutions, rather than with the attendant mental states.

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- The society is gradually moving from homogenous structure to heterogeneous structure.
- According to Spencer the theory of social evolution divided into two stages—the movement from simple to compound societies, and change from military to industrial society.
- According to Spencer, the social structure is a living organism. It is made up of parts which can be distinguished but which cannot survive or exist except within the framework of society.

3.5 KEY TERMS

- **Simple societies:** Primitive society without any complexities and consisting of several families.
- **Compound societies:** Many simple societies make up a compound society.
- **Doubly compound societies:** Through further aggregation of compound societies develops doubly compound society consisting of several clans compounded into tribes or tribal society.
- **Organic analogy:** Theory that holds that societies are akin to living organisms.

3.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The evolution of species or societies, for Spencer, is a matter of the 'survival of the fittest'. Darwin's term for this notion is 'natural selection', and he was later to suggest that he actually preferred Spencer's phrase. According to this notion, evolutionary processes filter out unfit species.
2. In triple compound societies, tribes are organized into nation-states. This is the present form of the world.
3. The State is based upon the authority of powerful individuals. It evolves into three stages: (i) Military State, (ii) Industrial State and (iii) Ethical State.
4. The first similarity between a living organism and society is their difference from inanimate bodies. None of them is inanimate. In inanimate objects, there is no growth and development, but on the other hand, there is continuous growth and development in both society and living organism.

3.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. List two of Spencer's famous works.
2. Why did Spencer use the term 'survival of the fittest' in relation to sociology?
3. What are the stages of the social evolution theory?
4. Write a short note on the Military State.
5. Why is Spencer's Ethical State imaginary?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Elaborate on the theory of organic analogy.
2. Discuss Spencer's idea of social evolution.
3. How has Spencer differentiated between society and individual? Discuss.
4. Write a descriptive note on 'Social Darwinism'.

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3.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 EMILE DURKHEIM

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Emile Durkheim and Sociological Theories
 - 4.2.1 Mechanical and Organic Solidarity and Social Fact
 - 4.2.2 Theory of Suicide
- 4.3 Sociology of Religion
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 Key Terms
- 4.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.7 Questions and Exercises
- 4.8 Further Reading

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4.0 INTRODUCTION

Emile Durkheim offered a more coherent theory than any of the other sociological theorists. He articulated the concepts in a rather clear, theoretically oriented manner and used it in a variety of specific works. Supporters would say that the clarity in Durkheim's thinking stems from this coherence, whereas detractors might contend that the clarity is the result of the comparative simplicity of his theory. Whatever the case, it is certainly easier to realize the real essence of Durkheim's thinking than that of other classical theorists.

The heart of Durkheim's theory lies in his concept of social fact. Durkheim differentiated between the two basic types of social facts — material and non-material. Although both of these occupied a place of causal priority in his theorizing, material social facts (for example, division of labour, dynamic density and law) were not the most important large-scale forces in Durkheim's theoretical system. His main focus was on non-material social facts. He dealt with a number of them, including collective conscience, collective representations and social currents.

Durkheim's study of suicide is a good illustration of the significance of non-material social facts in his work. In his basic causal model, changes in non-material social facts ultimately cause differences in suicide rates. Durkheim differentiated among four types of suicide — egoistic, altruistic, anomic and fatalistic — and showed how each is affected by different changes in social currents. The study of suicide was taken by Durkheim and his supporters as the evidence that sociology has a legitimate place in the social sciences. After all, it was argued, if sociology could explain an act as suicide as individualistic, then it certainly could be used to explain other, less individual aspects of social life.

In his later work, Durkheim focused on another aspect of culture, called 'religion'. In his analysis of primitive religion, Durkheim sought to show the roots of religion in the social structure of society. It is society that defines certain things as sacred and others as profane. Durkheim demonstrated the social sources of religion in his analysis of primitive totemism and its roots in all social structures of the clan. Furthermore, totemism was seen as a specific form of the collective conscience manifested in a primitive society.

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Its source, as well as the source of all collective products, lies in the process of collective effervescence. In the end, Durkheim argued that religion and society are one and the same — two manifestations of the same general process.

Since he identified society with God, and also because he deified society, Durkheim did not urge for a social revolution. Instead, he should be seen as a social reformer interested in improving the way the society functions. Whereas Marx saw irreconcilable differences between capitalist and workers, Durkheim believed that these groups could be united in occupational associations. He urged that these associations should be set up to restore collective morality in the modern world and to cope with some of the curable pathologies of the modern division of labour. However in the end, such narrow, structural reforms could not really come up with the broader cultural problem that plagues the modern world. Here, Durkheim invested some hope in the curious modern system of collective morality that he labelled as the 'cult of the individual'.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Assess Emile Durkheim's contribution to the growth and evolution of sociological theories
- Analyse sociology as a science
- Describe the division of labour and forms of solidarity
- Evaluate Durkheim's study of suicide
- Explain Durkheim's theory of religion
- Discuss Durkheim's system of classification

4.2 EMILE DURKHEIM AND SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES

Emile Durkheim was born on 15 April 1858 in Epinal, France. He was the descendent of a long line of rabbis, and himself studied to be a rabbi. However, by the time he was in his teens, he rejected his heritage and became an agnostic. From now onwards, his lifelong interest in religion was academic instead of theological. He was not satisfied with his religious training. The same was the case with his general education and its focus on literary and aesthetic matters. He wanted schooling in scientific methods and in the moral principles required to direct the social life. He did not opt for a traditional academic career in philosophy, and instead, strived to acquire the scientific training for contributing to the moral guidance of society. Even though he was interested in scientific sociology, there were no specific fields of sociology at that time. So between 1882 and 1887, he taught philosophy in a number of provincial schools.

His appetite for science was whetted further by a trip to Germany, where he was exposed to the scientific psychology being pioneered by Wilhelm Wundt. In the years immediately after his visit to Germany, Durkheim published a good deal of works, basing his concepts, in part, on his experience there. These publications helped him gain a position in the department of philosophy at the University of Bordeaux in 1887. There Durkheim taught the first course in social science in a French university. This was a

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particularly impressive accomplishment because only a decade earlier, a furore had erupted in a French university by the mentioned Auguste Comte due to a student dissertation. Durkheim's main responsibility, however, was the teaching of courses in education to school teachers, and his most important course was the area of moral education. His goal was to communicate a moral system to the educators who he hoped would then pass it to young people in an effort to help reverse the moral degeneration he saw around him in the French society.

The years that followed were characterized by a series of personal successes for Durkheim. In 1893, he published his French doctoral thesis, *The Division of Labour in Society*, as well as a thesis on Montesquieu. His major methodological statement, *The Rules of Sociological Method* appeared in 1895, followed (in 1897) by his empirical application of those methods in the study *Suicide*. By 1896, he had become a full professor at Bordeaux. In 1902, he was called to the famous French university, the Sorbonne, and in 1906 he was named as 'the professor of the science of education', a title which was changed in 1913 to 'professor of the science of education and sociology'. His other famous work, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, was published in 1912.

Presently, Durkheim is most often thought of as a political conservative, and his influence within sociology certainly has been a conservative one. However during his time, he was considered as a liberal. This was exemplified by the active public role he played in the defence of Alfred Dreyfus, and Jewish army captain whose court-martial for treason was felt by many to be anti-Semitic.

Durkheim was deeply offended by the Dreyfus affair, particularly its anti-Semitism. However, Durkheim did not attribute this anti-Semitism to racism among the French people. Characteristically, he saw it as a symptom of the moral sickness confronting French society as a whole. He made the following remark:

'When society undergoes suffering, it feels the need to find someone whom it can hold responsible for its sickness, on whom it can avenge its misfortunes; and those against whom public opinion already discriminates are naturally designated for this role. These are in pariahs who serve as expiatory victims. What confirms me in this interpretation is the way in which the result of Dreyfus's trial was greeted in 1894. There was a surge of joy in the boulevards. People celebrated as a triumph what should have been a cause for public mourning. At least they knew whom to blame for the charge: economic troubles and moral distress in which they lived. The trouble came from the Jews. The charge had been officially proved. By this very fact alone, things already seemed to be getting better and people felt consoled.'

Thus, Durkheim's interest in the Dreyfus affair stemmed from his deep and lifelong interest in morality and the moral crisis confronting modern society. To Durkheim, the answer to the Dreyfus affair and crises like it lay in ending the moral disorder in society. Since it could not be done quickly or easily, Durkheim suggested government efforts to show the public how it is being misled. He urged people to 'have the courage to proclaim aloud what they think, and to unite together in order to achieve victory in the struggle against public madness' (Lukes, 1972; p. 347).

'Durkheim's (1928/1962) interest in socialism is also taken as evidence against the idea that he was a conservative, but his kind of socialism was very different from the

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kind that an out of date hypotheses' (Lukes, 1972; 323). To Durkheim, socialism represented a movement aimed at the moral regeneration of society through scientific morality; and he was not interested in short-term political methods or the economic aspects of socialism. He did not see the proletariat as the salvation of society, and he was greatly opposed to agitation or violence. Socialism for Durkheim was very different from what we usually think of as socialism; it simply represented a system in which the moral principles discovered by scientific sociology were to be applied.'

Durkheim, as we will see throughout this unit, had a profound influence on the development of sociology, but his influence was not restricted to only that. Much of his impact on other fields came through the journal *L'Année Sociologique*, which he founded in 1898. An intellectual circle arose around the journal with Durkheim at its centre. Through it, he and his ideas influenced such fields as anthropology, history, linguistics and — somewhat ironically, considering his early attacks on the field — psychology.

Durkheim died on 15 November 1917, as a celebrated figure in French intellectual circles. However, it was not until over twenty years later, with the publication of Talcott Parsons' *The Structure of Social Action* (1937), that his work became a significant influence on American sociology.

Sociology as a Science

Durkheim's sociology has a very sound foundation, based on definite epistemology. Durkheim, was a French sociologist whose efforts and intellect, throughout his career, were mainly directed at building a sociological science with a stable epistemological foundation. The two principles that can be clearly seen in Durkheim's sociology are as follows:

- Sociology must be a science which has a methodology similar to the physical-natural sciences, that is, based on positivism.
- The positivist science of society goes against philosophy and psychology.

Durkheim considered the newly developed positivism of Auguste Comte, one of the founders of sociology, as a model of 'science'. Clearly he had a strong influence on Durkheim's sociology. Remember, Comte's thought favoured a positive progression of all the sciences whose last stage will be sociology (which he initially referred to as social physics). He called sociology the most sophisticated positive science, because its study integrated in humanity all the contributions made by earlier sciences.

Durkheim's assumption was that the science dealt with 'things' instead of 'ideas' or 'concepts'. Therefore, his initial point is generally the sensation, sensitive information and the exterior of things. In his own words,

Since it is for the sensation for which is given us the exterior of the things, it therefore can be said in short: science, in order to be objective, it should start, not from concepts that have been formed without her, but from sensation. It is of the sensitive data of those that it should take the elements of its initial definitions directly.

This very positivism lead to the construction of Durkheim's most popular epistemological 'rules' (*regles*) — the rule that social facts (*faits*) should be considered as 'things'. The term 'thing' for Durkheim was purely realistic. He felt that 'It is a thing, indeed, all what is given, all what offers or, rather, it is imposed to the observation. To treat the phenomena like things, it is to treat them in quality of data that constitute the

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starting point of science.' Therefore, according to Durkheim, 'thing' has no 'material' meaning as may have been the usual connotation because sociology should be aimed at doing away with 'preconceived ideas'. Sociology should deviate from sociological idealism, away from the analysis of apriori ideas considered to be the starting point of research and according to which needs are required to be adjusted to reality. Although 'thing' was ambiguous, Durkheim was sure of its goals, which were as follows:

1. To ensure that sociology was objective and scientific and followed the positivist paradigm of the physical-natural sciences. Like physics and astronomy, Sociology takes into consideration a limited number of facts, as the subject matter of study for its researchers. Therefore, it does not study illusions or speculations.
2. The word 'thing' becomes clear from the fact that the sociologist reaches a socially and historically constructed reality, which is imposed on people. The social reality is constructed, for sure, but becomes a concrete reality, which forces or restricts us. It is the real meaning of 'thing', that is, a social fact, which, despite being a creation of human beings, comes to them as a given and requires a sociologist to merely scrutinize, describe and explain it. From a methodological perspective, the most important thing Durkheim feels is that sociology, like other sciences, relies on 'observation'. Therefore, the social facts, or 'things', have a dual quality — 'They are external to the individual and have a coercive character over him.'

Durkheim aimed to preserve philosophy in the secondary education, for which he wished philosophy could be a lot more than merely abstract literature (*littérature abstraite*). It wasn't enough for philosophy to be a mere rhetoric based on an artist's talent. He wanted philosophy to be a lot more scientific by diverging from deductions based on metaphysics. In fact, what guided his epistemology was the rejection of metaphysics, which would become clearer in the study of religion, denying the supernatural emphatically. He disagrees with philosophy so that sociology could stop being an ambiguous social philosophy aimed at rendering a positivist consistency to the study of social facts.

Being apprehensive about the ground of morality, Durkheim presumed a social reality which played an important role of being the moral ground like Kant who introduced God as the 'postulate of practical reason'.

The individual considers social facts to be not just external but also coercive because they are born from society, not from him or his authority. It originates as a *sui generis* reality. Although Durkheim does not deny that society is made up of people: 'truly, society has a 'substratum' in the form of individuals but is not reduced to them'. 'If it is possible to say, in certain way, that the collective representations are exterior to the individual consciences, it is because they do not derive from isolate individuals, but of his grouping; what is very different.' He uses the model of chemical synthesis to explain his thesis. This does not get reduced to the sum of its constituent elements but gives new properties to the parts or components that make it up.

Sociologism conflicts with Gabriel Tarde's views that limited sociology to the study of the individual consciences, and restricted collective behaviour to the social contagion through imitation. Durkheim wanted sociology to comprise proper subject matter, which was not the same as psychology. He introduced his theory of society as *sui generis* reality. Therefore, he was the creator of the social facts which sociology studies.

4.2.1 Mechanical and Organic Solidarity and Social Fact

The first major book of Durkheim, *De la division du travail social*, was also his doctoral thesis. He was deeply influenced by the theories of Auguste Comte. Not surprisingly, the relationship or link between the individual and the collective forms the theme of the book. Through this book, Durkheim wishes to find out, 'how can a multiplicity of individuals achieve what is the condition of social existence, namely a consensus?'

Durkheim's reply is that it is through the distinction between mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. The main feature of 'mechanical solidarity' is resemblance. Durkheim feels that there is hardly any difference between individuals in a mechanical solidarity-based society. The members of this solidarity, not only experience the same emotions, they also treasure the same values and consider the same things sacred. Therefore, they resemble each other.

On the other hand, organic solidarity, is characterized by consensus on the coherent unity of the collectivity, which takes place by expressing differentiation. Here, the individuals differ from each other, and this difference is the reason for the consensus. Durkheim calls the solidarity based on the differentiation of individuals, 'organic' solidarity because it compares living organisms. For instance, there is a vast difference between the heart and the lungs but both are essential for an organism to function properly.

Durkheim felt that in the two forms of solidarity, the societies called primitive during Durkheim's time are today those where mechanical solidarity is predominant. From the historical point of view, since the people of a tribe can be interchanged, the individual does not come first. It is Durkheim's belief that the consciousness attained by a person about himself is born of the historical development of the collective self. In primitive societies, individuals did not differ, everyone was the same. In each one's consciousness, collective feelings predominate in terms of number and intensity.

According to Durkheim, a segment resembles a social group wherein the individual is tightly and closely placed. This segment is not only locally situated but also relatively isolated, leading its own life. Mechanical solidarity of resemblance is the primary feature of the segment. It is not only self-sufficient but separated from the outside world with hardly any communication. Segmental organization is a contradiction of the phenomena of differentiation designated by the term 'organic solidarity'. In certain societies, it is possible for a segmental structure to exist, with an extremely advanced form of economic division of labour.

In continuation of local autonomies, and in the force of custom, the idea of segmental structure is not recognized with the solidarity of resemblance. It only implies the power of tradition. The concept of segmental structure is not identified with solidarity of resemblance but implies the comparative segregation and self-sufficiency of a several elements. In other words, a full society is like a combination of several similar segments, under absolute rule or autocracy. You could actually imagine several tribes or regionally independent groups, under perhaps one powerful central authority, lacking the unity of resemblance of the segment being disturbed. It would be without the demarcation of function characteristic of organic solidarity operating on the level of the whole society.

It is very important to note here that Durkheim's division of labour differs from the concept of division of labour as defined by economists. The demarcation of occupations and multiplication of industrial activities stand for the social differentiation which took precedence according to Durkheim. The beginning of social differentiation signals the fall of mechanical solidarity and segmental structures.

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Durkheim believed that collective consciousness is 'the body of beliefs and sentiments common to the average members of a society'. These beliefs and sentiments have an existence of their own. However, the collective consciousness requiring an individual's sentiments and beliefs to continue, is logically separate from individual consciousness. The development of collective consciousness takes place according to its own set of rules and laws and is not merely the expression or the outcome of individual consciousness.

There are different levels of collective consciousness in different social orders. According to Durkheim, wherever societies are dominated by mechanical solidarity, the greater part of individual consciousness is adopted by the collective consciousness. In such situations, a major share of existence is governed by social imperatives and prohibitions. Durkheim suggested that these prohibitions and social imperatives should not be embraced by the members of a society based on mechanical solidarity, on their own or of their own accord. Instead, these are imposed on the majority. An individual gives in to such imperatives just as he would to a higher authority. The force of this collective consciousness coincides with its degree. In primitive societies, there exists a resentment against crime as well as collective consciousness. Each act of social existence, such as religious rites, is characterized by a deep level of accuracy. The details of what ought to be done and thought, are imposed by the collective consciousness on individual members. On the contrary, Durkheim says that in societies characterized by the difference between individuals, more often than not, each individual is free to believe, to want and to act as he wishes. For Durkheim, organic solidarity probably meant a loosening of the hold that collective consciousness has on the sphere of existence; a reduction in collective reaction against the imposed prohibitions, and most of all, scope for individual analysis of social imperative.

You can comprehend Durkheim's suggestions with the following example. In a primitive society, the demands of justice will be determined accurately by collective sentiments. In societies characterized by division of labour, the demands of justice will be formulated by the collective consciousness in a general manner and only in a concept. In the first example, justice implies that a given person receives a given thing. In the second example, what justice demands is that each one receives his due. This 'due' comprises several probable things, which are not really free in the true sense of the word nor are they unambiguously fixed.

Durkheim proposed a thought which was the core of his entire sociology. For him, an individual is born of society, and not the other way round. The historical priority of societies in which the individuals resemble one another, are so to speak lost in the whole, over societies whose members have acquired both awareness in their individuality and the capability to express it. Collectivist societies, societies in which each one resembles everyone else, come first in time. From this historical priority, there results a rationale of priority in the justification of social phenomena. The division of labour is seen by many as the gain made by individuals by dividing the task so as to increase the volume produced of the collectivity. However, this clarification as an understanding of individual behaviour is considered by Durkheim as a reversal of a true order. By believing that men divided is work between themselves, and assigned each individual a task of his own so as to increase the collective output and its usefulness, one is presuming that each individual is different and also conscious of his difference before social differentiation. If Durkheim's historical idea is true, their awareness of individuality could not last before organic solidarity and the division of labour. Therefore, it is Durkheim's belief that the rational pursuit of increased output cannot offer an explanation for social differentiation, as this pursuit

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presumes that very social differentiation which it is expected to explain. The outline of Durkheim's central idea, which he uses as a base to define sociology was the priority of the whole over the parts. He believed that the social entity was not reducible to the sum of its elements.

When he analysed the concept of division of labour, Durkheim found two prominent ideas (i) the historical priority of societies where individual consciousness is wholly outside itself, and the collectivity, and not the state of the collectivity by individual phenomena. (ii) The division of labour talked about by Durkheim is an arrangement of the society as a whole, which is expressed technically or economically as division of labour. If you wish to examine a social phenomenon in a scientific manner, you will have to study it without any bias, as an outsider. You must identify the technique that will help you not only recognize but also comprehend the states of awareness which are not apprehensible in a direct way. Durkheim investigates these expressions of the phenomena of consciousness in *De la division du travail social*, where he differentiates between repressive law and cooperative law. The former offers punishment to offenders and criminals. The latter, also known as restitutive law does not favour punishment for those violating social rules but promotes restoration of things to order when an offence has been committed. It promotes organization of cooperation among individuals.

According to Durkheim, in societies dominated by mechanical solidarity, repressive law represents collective consciousness. The very fact that it multiplies punishments, reveals the force of widespread sentiments, their scope and their particularization. With the increasing strength of collective conscience, there is an increase in crimes too. For Durkheim, crime implies progression of a prohibition. In the sociological sense, a crime is merely an act, which the collective consciousness forbids or prohibits. It is immaterial that this act may appear to be innocent in the eyes of observers from different societies or centuries after the event. In a sociological study, there can only be an external definition of crime in terms of the condition of the collective consciousness of the concerned society. This is the prototype of the objective and therefore of the relativists' definition of crime. Sociologically, a person labelled as a criminal is not necessarily one who is guilty in relation to God or to our conception of justice. The criminal is merely the individual living in society but refusing to follow the rules or obey the laws. This makes the consideration of Socrates as a criminal rather just.

Following the theory of crime, Durkheim went on to explain the theory of punishment. He rejected the classic explanations of punishment wherein the function of punishment is to check the guilty act and stop it from occurring again. It is Durkheim's belief that the point and meaning of punishment is not to scare. Instead, the rationale is to render satisfaction to the common consciousness. For Durkheim, an act committed by an individual member of the collective offends the collective consciousness, which needs to be compensated. The compensation comes in the form of punishment of the guilty, which satisfies the collective. Sociologically speaking, Durkheim's analysis of the punishment could be considered rather accurate.

The second kind of law is the one Durkheim usually refers to as restitutive. The point is no longer to punish, but to re-establish the condition of things as it should have been in harmony with justice. A man who has not settled his debt must pay it. Nonetheless, this restitutive law, of which commercial law is an example, is not the only type of law characteristics of societies with organic solidarity. At any rate, we must understand restitutive law in a very broad sense whereby it includes all aspects of legislation aiming to bring upon cooperation among individuals, administrative law and constitutional law

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which belong to the same token to the group of cooperative legislation. They are less the expression of the sentiments common to a collectivity than the organization of regular and ordered co-existence among individuals who are already differentiated.

Modern society is not based on agreement anymore than the division of labour is explained by the rational decision of individual to increase the common productivity by dividing the tasks among them. If modern society were a contractualist society, then it would explain in terms of individual behaviour, and it is exactly the opposite of what Durkheim desires to show. While opposing contractualists like Spencer, as well as the economists, Durkheim does not reject that in modern societies, an increasing responsibility is indeed played by contracts freely accomplished among individuals. However, this contractual agreement is a derivative of the arrangement of the society and a derivative of the state of the collective consciousness in the modern society. In order for an increasingly wider sphere to exist in which individuals may freely reach agreement between themselves, the society must first of all have a legal structure which authorizes free choice on the part of individuals. In other words, inter-individual contracts take place within a social background which is not determined by the persons themselves. It is the division of labour by differentiation which is the original condition for the existence of the sphere of agreement. Contracts are accomplished between individuals, but the order and set of laws according to which these agreements are concluded are determined by the legislation which in turn expresses the idea shared by the whole society of the just and the unjust, the permissible and the prohibited.

The society in which the organic type of solidarity exists is not defined by the replacement of agreement for community. Nor is the modern society defined by the substitution of the industrial type for the military type. Modern society is defined first and foremost by the phenomenon of social demarcation of which contractualism is the result. Now we must look for the reason of the phenomenon we are studying, the reason of the organic solidarity or of social differentiation seen as an arrangement, characteristic of modern societies. It is not a priori, and it may even be unsightly that one can indeed find the reason of the phenomenon which is not simple and isolable, but which is rather an aspect of the whole of society. Durkheim, however, wants to decide the reason of phenomenon through which he has examined the growth of the division of labour in modern societies.

As we have seen, we are dealing here with a basically social phenomenon. When the phenomenon to be explained is essentially social, the reason, in harmony with the principal of homogeneity of cause and effect, also ought to be social. Thus, we do away with the individualist explanation. Curiously, Durkheim gets rid of an explanation which Comte had also considered as eliminated, i.e., the explanation whereby the vital factor in social growth was held to be boredom, or the effort to overcome or avoid boredom. He also discusses the search for happiness as an explanation, for, he says, nothing proves that men in modern societies are happier than men in archaic societies.

The division of labour cannot be explained by boredom or by the pursuit of happiness or by the increase of pleasure or by the wish to increase the productivity of collective labour. The division of collective labour, being a social phenomenon, can only be explained by another social phenomenon as a mixture of the quantity, the material density and moral density of the society.

The quantity of a society is simply the number of individuals belonging to a particular collectivity. However, only quantity is not the basis of social differentiation. In order for quantity — increase in number — to bring about differentiation, there must also be both

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material and moral density. Density in the material sense is the number of individuals on a particular ground surface. Moral density, it seems, is approximately the intensity of communication between individuals, i.e., the intensity of interaction. The extra communication there is between individuals, the extra they work together, the extra trade or competition they have with one another, the greater the density together; and in this way, social differentiation will result.

Durkheim describes an idea made fashionable by Darwin in the second half of the nineteenth century — the fight for survival. Why does the growing amount of interaction between individuals, itself created by material density, produce social differentiation? This is so because the more individuals are trying to live together, the more intense the struggle for survival becomes. Social demarcation is, so to speak, the peaceful way out to the fight for survival. Instead of somebody getting eliminated so that others may survive, as in the animal kingdom, social differentiation enables a greater number of individuals to survive by differentiation. Each man ceases to be in rivalry with all, each man is only in opposition with a few of his fellows. Each man is in a position to inhabit his place, to play his role, to execute visuals once they are no longer alike but different, each contributing on his own unusual manner to the survival of all.

This type of explanation is in keeping with what Durkheim considered to be a tenet of the sociological method — the clarification of a social phenomenon by another phenomena, rather than the justification of a social phenomenon by individual phenomena.

4.2.2 Theory of Suicide

Durkheim's best known book is about his study of suicide. His aim in this book was not only to provide an account of suicide, but also to illustrate how his methodology could be applied to even the most individual of acts. Durkheim in this book showed as to what extent the individual actions are determined by the collective reality. Durkheim demonstrated that the taking of one's life, apparently the most individual and personal of acts, was socially patterned. He showed that social forces existing outside the individual shaped the likelihood that a person would commit suicide.

We can define suicide as a positive or negative act performed by the victim himself and which strives to produce a result directly or indirectly in the form of death. An example of a 'positive act' would be to shoot oneself in the temple or to hang oneself. And an example to show that suicide is committed in a negative act would be to remain in a burning building or to refuse all nourishment so as to starve oneself to death. According to Durkheim's definition, we can also take an example of a hunger strike carried out until death as suicide. The distinction between directly and indirectly corresponds to the comparison between positive and negative. Death is produced directly if a gunshot is put in the temple; but if someone refuses to eat anything or if someone deliberately stays in a burning building, then these negative acts would bring about the desired result, i.e., death, indirectly or in the near future.

The study of suicide deals both with a pathological aspect of the modern societies and with a phenomenon illuminating in the most striking way the relation of the individual to the collectivity. Individuals are determined by the collective reality as anxiously shown by Durkheim. An extraordinary force is now being related to this phenomenon of suicide, since the fact of taking one's own life is considered to be most supremely individual. According to Durkheim, if he found out that the society is governed by this phenomenon, then he would have proved it with the truth of his own thesis by the very case unfavourable

to it. Durkheim says that it is the society which governs the solitary act of a desperate individual who wants to end his life at any cost. The concept of suicide is not only recognized as such, but taking an example of an officer who lets himself be blown up rather than surrender can be considered as a suicide. Suicide can be regarded as an instance of voluntary death surrounded by glory and the aura of heroism.

The suicide rate is relatively constant when its frequency is studied in a given population. And this characteristic can be found in a region, or a province, or a whole society. According to Durkheim's analysis, suicide rate can be termed as a social phenomenon. The distinction between relation of the social phenomenon (the suicide rates) and the individual phenomenon (suicide) is the most important thing from the point of view of theory.

Psychological explanation is dismissed by Durkheim. However, he says that there is psychological predisposition to suicide, and this predisposition can be explained in psychological or psychopathological terms. Individuals suffering from brain disorders are more likely to kill themselves under certain given circumstances. Nonetheless, it is the social force that determines the suicide, not psychological forces as said by Durkheim. The distinction must be considered carefully between social determination and psychological predisposition. The scientific discussion will focus on these two terms.

To prove the formula of psychological predisposition and sociological determination, classical method of concomitant variations is used by Durkheim. He also tries to prove that there is no correlation between the frequency of psychopathological states and that of suicides, and he also examines certain variations in the suicide rate in different populations. No correlation is found between the hereditary tendencies and the suicide rate. The hypothesis that the efficient cause of suicide is transmitted by heredity can hardly be compared with the increase in the percentage of suicides with age. Interpretation of cases of suicide in the same family can be denied in this way. Nonetheless, a predisposition to suicide may be transmitted by heredity as cases of multiple suicides in the same family were observed. However, Durkheim dismisses both the hypotheses and the interpretation of suicide as deriving from the phenomenon of imitation. The keystone of the social order was considered to be an imitation as viewed by Gabriel Tarde. The term imitation consists of three confusing phenomena. Firstly, the mutual sentiments experienced by a large number of people would be called the fusion of consciousness. The Revolutionary mob can be cited as the typical example of this. The identities of the consciousness of individuals tend to lose in the revolutionary mob: the emotions felt are same for each one as the next; mutual sentiments are stirred into the individuals. Passion, acts and beliefs belong to each because they belong to all. Collectivity itself is the basis of the phenomenon and not one or more individuals.

However, there isn't the true fusion of consciousness, as the individual often adapts himself to the collectivity, and he behaves like others. The individual wishes simply not to be conspicuous, and he yields to social imperatives which are more or less diffused, watered-down form of social imperative that can be taken as fashion. If a person wore a different dress other than what fashion required for that particular season, then he would feel devaluated and humiliated. So, in this case we found that there was submission of the individual to the collective rule instead of imitation. So, finally we can say that the designation imitation is the only strict value in the sense 'and act which has for its immediate antecedent the representation of a similar act, previously performed by another, without the intervention, between representation and execution, of any explicit or implicit intellectual operation relating to the intrinsic character of the act performed'.

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Contagion and epidemic are taken by Durkheim as two phenomena. This distinction is quite useful. Firstly contagion should be called an inter-individual one, or even an individual phenomenon. This type of phenomenon proceeds from one individual to another. However, as in the case of an epidemic, there is something else besides the process of contagion that comes into play. The epidemic is a collective phenomenon whose basis is the whole of the society but it may be transmitted by contagion.

The phenomenon of imitation is the determining factor in the conception of the suicide rates, as statically analysed by Durkheim. The process of refutation is as follows. According to the process, if we consider suicide to be contagion, then we would be able to see the geographical distribution of suicide as shown by areas that showed particularly high cases and where the suicide rate is higher and was spreading to other regions. But nothing of this sort is shown in the analyses on the geographical maps of suicide. The region where the suicide rate is particularly low appears next to the region where the suicide rate is particularly high. So, the hypothesis of contagion is thereby incompatible with the irregular distribution of suicide rates. But in certain cases, contagion may come into play.

According to Durkheim, incomplete and partial statistics dealing with only a small number are taken by him as the suicide statistics. Every year the suicide rate varies from one hundred to three hundred. It is important to have an idea of the magnitude of these figures. For skeptical reasons, the doctors have maintained that the study of variations in the suicide rate is almost of no consequence in view of the small numbers considered as well as the possible inaccuracies in the statistics. With a certain number of circumstances, the suicide rate varies as observed by Durkheim, which he then takes into consideration. The statistical correlations can determine the social types of suicides, as believed by him. There are three types of suicides that Durkheim has defined:

- Egoist suicide
- Altruist suicide
- Anomic suicide

The correlation between the suicide rate and integrating social context like family and religion, is the double form of marriage and children and results in the first type of suicide, i.e., egoist suicide. Generally speaking, the suicide rates vary with age. It is found to be higher in men than in women, and it also increases with age. According to Durkheim's German statistics, he analysed that the suicide rates also vary with religion. He established that the frequency of suicides in the population of Catholic religion is less than that the number of suicides in the population of Protestant religion. Further, Durkheim compares the situation between the single or widowed men and women, and that of married men and women. Simple statistical methods are used to establish these comparisons. The frequency of suicides in married and single men of the same age is compared in order to establish the coefficient of preservation, as called by Durkheim. As a result of marriage, there is reduction in the frequency of suicide at a given age. Similarly, for single or married women, for widows and widowers, he establishes the coefficient of preservation or coefficient of aggravation. According to certain statistics, married women suffer with a coefficient of aggravation; if they are childless, they will not enjoy the coefficient of preservation. And to give it an exact name, today's psychologists have been able to label this type of situation in women as frustration about not having a child. In such cases, the disproportion between expectation and fulfillment is too great.

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Egoist men and women are those who think primarily of themselves, especially when they are not integrated into a social group, and when the desires that motivate them are not limited to the measure compatible with human destiny by the social authority of the group. Such persons commit suicide more often than others when they come across these situations. The second type of suicide is the 'altruist suicide'. There are two principle examples given in Durkheim's book. The first example is required by the collectivity, which is observed in ancient societies; that is, after the death of her husband the widow who agrees takes her place on the pyre to be burned alive with her dead husband. In this example, the suicide that is attempted is through the complete disappearance of the individual into group, and the suicide does not take place because of an excess of individualism. The individual does not even think of asserting his right to live, but instead chooses death in conformity with social imperatives.

Similarity, altruist suicide can be said to be committed by the captain of the ship who chooses not to survive its loss. The individual suppresses his own instinct of self-preservation. He obeys the orders of the group to sacrifice himself to the internalized social imperatives. Taking an example of modern times, we can look at the increase in the number of suicide rates in the professional body, the army. Suicide is committed a little more often by the soldiers than the civilians of the same age and class. Soldiers especially who are non-commissioned officers, or who belong to a strongly integrated group who commit suicide do not come into the category of the egoist suicide. Here, commissioned officers are listed because enlisted men may regard their military status as temporary, and they may combine obedience with a very great liberty in their evaluation of the system. The final major form of suicide discussed by Durkheim is anomic suicide which interests him the most because of its characteristics of the modern day society. The statistical correlation between the frequency of suicide and economic crisis can be indicated by this type of anomic suicide. A tendency in periods of economic crisis is indicated by the statistics. According to the statistical numbers, one can find a reduction in the frequency of suicides in the times of great political events. For example, the number of suicides during war time is smaller.

During the economic crisis, the frequency of anomic suicide increases; and also with the rise in divorce rates the frequency of suicides goes up. The influence of divorce on both men and women with regard to the frequency of suicide is studied extensively by Durkheim. The divorced woman is less likely to be threatened by suicide as compared to divorced man who is more likely to be threatened by suicide. Because of the tolerance of custom, man retains a certain freedom and finds equilibrium and discipline in marriage. Women, on the other hand, were more apt to find discipline than freedom in marriage as it was written by Durkheim in a previous article. After divorce the man returns to it with indifference, to the disparity between desires and satisfaction. On the other hand, woman feels more free and independent, and this partly compensates for the loss after divorce. There is endless competition among individuals as the social existence is not ruled by customs anymore. The expectations in life are high, and also there is a great deal of demand from it. The disproportion between the desires and the satisfaction is found to be in a continual rising mode leading to more sufferings at the mental and physical levels. Therefore, the suicidogenic impulse is on the rise. It is the result of restlessness and dissatisfaction prevailing in the atmosphere.

There is also the fourth type of suicide which is mentioned briefly as a footnote in Durkheim's work. This type of suicide is fatalistic suicide. Anomic suicide is more likely to occur in situations in which regulations are too weak, whereas fatalistic suicide is

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more likely to occur in situations in which there is excessive regulation. According to Durkheim, the persons who are more likely to commit fatalistic suicide are the 'persons with futures pitilessly blocked and passions violently choked by oppressive discipline' (1897/1951:276). The perfect example for this type of suicide will be of a slave who takes his own life because of the hopelessness related to the oppressive regulations of his actions.

The causes of suicide are essentially social even if it is an individual phenomenon. There are social forces, 'suicidogenic impulses', occurring through society whose beginning is not from the individual but the collectivity. These forces are real and the determining cause of suicide. Of course, says Durkheim, these 'suicidogenic impulses' are not present in any human being taken at random. If a human being commits suicide, it is in all probability because he was likely to behave in a particular way by his psychological make-up, nervous weakness or neurotic imbalance. The psychological predispositions are created by the 'suicidogenic impulses' which are the creation of social circumstances, because human beings living in the modern society have a great risk of hurting their sensibilities.

The true causes are the social forces. These social forces differ from one another; from one religion to another; and from one group to another. This gets us back to the main concept of Durkheim society, according to which the societies are by nature heterogeneous in relation to individuals; that there are phenomena forces, whose foundation is the collectivity and not the totality of the individuals. Phenomena or forces which can be explained only when taken as a whole were generated by the individuals together. Therefore, we can say that individual phenomena are governed specially by social phenomena; each person believing that he is obeying himself to end his life is the most impressive example of the social forces which motivate individuals to their deaths.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. State the two principles of Durkheim's sociology.
2. How is Durkheim's division of labour different from the concept defined by economists?
3. State the process of refutation.

4.3 SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

Let us analyse Durkheim's sociology of religion.

The following are the characteristics of the modern society:

- Organic solidarity
- Social differentiation
- Density of population
- Intensity of communication
- Struggle for survival

These are not to be regarded as abnormal because they are all related to the essence of modern society.

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Modern societies at times show pathological symptoms and insufficient integration of the individual into the collective. This type of anomic suicide, according to Durkheim, corresponds to a rise in the suicide rate during times of economic crisis as well as in times of prosperity, i.e., when activity is exaggerated, intercourse and competition are amplified. These are inseparable from the society we belong to or live in, but which become pathological after certain limits.

Durkheim believes that religion does not help to solve the issue of anomic suicides. Religion is incapable of providing remedies for curing the pathological type of suicide. What Durkheim thought was the basic demand for the group for reintegration was discipline. Individuals are required to control their desires, obey rules and imperatives that not only fix the objectives they set for themselves but also indicate the means to be used rightly. In modern societies, not only are religions becoming more abstract but also possess a level of intellectual ity. Even though they have lost their function of social constraint to some extent, they encourage individuals to overcome their passions, to follow spiritual law, but they are incapable of pointing out the rules to be obeyed in secular life.

According to Durkheim, modern religions are now incapable of ensuring discipline to the same degree as in the past. They hardly possess any authority over morals. It is Durkheim's belief that, if left to himself, man has unlimited desires to motivate him. Usually, an individual has infinite desires, but the first necessity of morality and of society is discipline. Man requires to be disciplined by a superior force possessing the following features:

- It has to be commanding
- It has to be lovable

According to Durkheim, this force, which not only compels but also attracts can come only from the society. A general theory of religion can be derived by analysing the simplest and most primitive religious institutions. This statement provides Durkheim's leading idea, that is, it is possible to legitimately base the valid theory of higher religious values on a study of the primitive forms of religion.

Durkheim felt that science is the supreme intellectual and moral authority in modern day societies, and that societies are not only individualist but also rationalist. Though it is possible to transcend science, it is impossible to ignore its teaching or challenges. Society itself determines and supports the growth of individualism and nationalism. All societies need common beliefs, which can no longer be provided by traditional religion because religion does not fulfil the needs of the scientific spirit. The simple solution given by Durkheim is that science itself is capable of disclosing that all said and done, deep down, religion is not in contradiction to science. His suggestion is to discover reality that lies beneath all religions. Though religion is not a recreation of science, it is capable of providing us the confidence in the ability of the society to offer itself in every age with the goods it requires. Durkheim expresses this as follows - 'Religious interests are merely the symbolic form of social and moral interests.' Religion essentially divides the world into two kinds of phenomena:

- Sacred
- Profane

Religion, therefore, is not limited to the belief in a transcendent god. Religions exist without god, for example, the Buddhists believe that the idea of the supernatural cannot precede the idea of a natural order. The sacred comprises a body of rituals,

customs, rites, things and beliefs. Religion comprises the body of corresponding beliefs and rites, when several sacred things maintain relations of coordination and subordination with one another so as to form a similar system.

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Durkheim defines religion as follows – ‘A religion is an interdependent system of beliefs and practices regarding things which are sacred, that is to say, apart, forbidden, beliefs and practices which unite all those who follow them in a single moral community called a church.’

The next step of the study does away with interpretations that contradict Durkheim’s. Interpretations stated in his book are animism and naturism. As per animism, religious beliefs are considered to be held within spirits. These spirits are the transfiguration of the experience men have about their two-fold nature of body and soul. Naturism implies human beings worshipping transfigured natural forces. Durkheim says that religion would indicate a kind of collective hallucination either to love spirits whose unreality he/she affirms, or to love natural forces transfigured merely by the means of fear.

Durkheim aims to establish the reality of the object of faith without accepting the intellectual object of faith and the intellectual content of traditional religions. In his eyes, the development of scientific nationalism has doomed traditional religions. However, he feels it will protect whatever it seems to be destroying by showing that in the last analysis, men worshipped only their society, nothing beyond or other than that.

Durkheim refers to Tylor’s theory, which began with the phenomena of the dream. Dreams make people see themselves in places where they are actually not. They kind of see their own doubles. It is rather convenient for people to imagine this. Following death, this double also gets detached to become a floating spirit, either a good one or a bad genus. As per this interpretation, early humans found it difficult to differentiate between the animate and the inanimate. Durkheim refuted by taking up the elements of this interpretation one at a time. Why should one consider the dream so important? If we assume that not everyone conceives a double, why is this double considered sacred? Why is it considered to be an extraordinary import? According to Durkheim, ancestor worship is not a primitive cult. Also, it is not correct that primitive cults were particularly addressed to the dead — the cult of the dead.

Having declared the fundamental nature of religion as sacred, Durkheim has no difficulty in expressing the weaknesses of the animist explanation. This explanation may throw light on the world of spirits. However, in Durkheim’s eyes the world of spirits is not sacred.

Durkheim regards that the science of religions presupposes the unreality of the transcendent as a subject of principle. The transcendent, being mystical, is automatically done away with by the scientific method. Therefore, the challenge is to rediscover the reality of a religion after abolishing the supernatural from it.

A significant idea in Durkheim’s thought is that of totemism being the simplest religions. This implies an evolutionist origin of religious history. In the perspective of a non-evolutionist viewpoint, totemism would be one religion among others — one simple religion among others. If Durkheim asserts that it is the simplest, most elementary religion, he is implicitly acknowledging that religion has a progression from a single origin.

This simple religion comprised ‘clan and totem’. The clan refers to a kindred group not based on the ties of consanguinity. It is a human group with its identity coming from the connection established with a plant or animal, with a genus or type of plant or animal. The transmission of the totem recognized with the clan is effectuated in a variety

of ways. The most common way of transmission is through the mother, but it is not a case of absolute regularity or of law. There are clan totems, but there are also individual totems and totems of more widespread groups like matrimonial classes.

Every totem possesses its emblem, also called blazon. Each clan has an object, such as a piece of wood or even polished stones, on which the totem is symbolically represented. Ordinary objects, called *churinga*, are transfigured the moment they carry the emblem of the totem. They also get infused by the holy quality associated with the totem. In modern societies, the flag is the equivalent of the *churinga* of the Australians. The flag of a collectivity is considered sacred as far as the native land is concerned. It is the equivalent of certain phenomena studied by Durkheim. Totemic things, or objects carrying the symbol or emblem of the totem, result in behaviour distinctive of the religious order, i.e., either the practice of non-participation or positive practices. The clan members should avoid eating or touching the totem or the objects possessing similar holy quality of the totem. They must exhibit several ways of respect with regard to the totem.

A sphere of holy comprises:

- (i) The very plants or animals which are totem
- (ii) The items bearing the representation of the totem

Eventually, the revered quality is conveyed to individuals. Holy things include plants, animals, their representations, individuals connected to these sacred objects through clan involvement. This realm of sacred things is prepared in a methodical manner. There are profane things towards which people behave in an economic manner as economic activities are considered the model of profane action itself.

Durkheim does not believe that totemism descends from ancestor worship. According to him, primitive phenomenon manifests itself in animal worship, placing individual totemism as anterior to clan totemism. He does not accept interpretations according to which local totemism, i.e., the attribution of a totem to a fixed locality, is the basic phenomenon. That is, for him, historically and logically, the totemism of the clan.

According to him, what the Australians refer to as external to profane things is primarily an anonymous, impersonal force which is personified randomly in a plant, an animal or the representation of any of those. All worship and belief is directed towards this impersonal and anonymous force.

Durkheim feels that society supports the rise of values because persons, brought together and living in communication with one another, are capable of making the divine create a religion through the exaltation of festivals.

Durkheim alludes to the revolutionary cult. On the occasion of the French Revolution, individuals were also seized with a kind of sacred eagerness. The terms ‘nation’, ‘liberty’ and ‘revolution’ were charged with a blessed value. Such periods of turmoil are favourable to the collective exaltations which produce the sacred. Durkheim admits that the exaltation during the French Revolution was insufficient to give rise to a new religion. But, he believed that other turmoil will arise and there will be a moment when modern societies will again be gripped by the sacred passion, from which new religions will originate.

Thus, the sociological understanding of religion takes two forms. One of these is expressed by the following plan:

In totemism, human beings worship their own society even without understanding it. Holiness is first connected to the collective and impersonal force which symbolizes

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the society. The second version of the theory believes that societies are discarded to give rise to gods or religions when they are in an exalted state. This takes place when society progresses in direction to strengthen itself. In Australian tribes, this exaltation takes place in the form of rituals, that exist even today.

Religion comprises a collection of beliefs, expressed orally and taking on the form of a system of thought.

Durkheim emphasized the importance of two kinds of social phenomena:

- Symbols
- Rites

A lot of social behaviour is addressed not merely to objects but also to their symbols. Human beings address their social behaviour to these objects/things themselves, as well as their symbols.

Durkheim proposes a detailed theory of rites where he differentiates between the types of rites and their functions. He states three kinds of rites:

- Negative rites
- Positive rites
- Odd rites or rites of compensation

Negative rites are interdicts such as prohibition of eating or touching. They develop in the direction of all religious practices of asceticism. Positive rites, on the other hand, are rites of communion aimed at promoting procreation or reproduction. Durkheim examines the mimetic or representative rites, which attempt to emulate the things one wishes to bring about.

These negative, positive or peculiar rites all have the primary purpose of establishing a social order. They are aimed at supporting the community, renewing the sense of belonging to the group, sustaining belief and faith, etc. A religion continues to exist only by practices which are both symbols of the belief and the traditions of renewing them.

Durkheim tries to understand the religious attitude and practices of the Australian tribes as well as the habits of thinking related to these beliefs. He develops a sociological theory of knowledge by examining Australian totemism. For him, religion is the centre from which not ethical and religious rules originate through differentiation. It is also the point of birth of scientific thought.

Therefore, it can be concluded that Durkheim considered religion to be the most significant institution of society, which formed the foundation for other social forms. This is so because religion knits humanity through collective consciousness. He believed that religion was born in the early human societies due to an inclination to relate collective emotions with an intangible force. With time, emotions came to symbolize something and interactions were transformed into rituals giving way to organized religion. As a result, there was a distinction the sacred and the profane. However, religion was eventually eclipsed by other social facts, and science and individualism began to have more relevance than religion. So, even when we see that religion no longer has the same hold over people's lives, it must be noted that it is religion that is fundamental to the society's existence, and that has made social interactions possible. Though other forces have come into existence, still religion cannot be replaced with any of these forces. Durkheim is skeptical about the advent of modernity and considers it as 'a period of transition and moral mediocrity'.

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Durkheim claimed that if we wish to understand the society, we must first try to understand how their origin is related to religion. For him, religion begot other social forms. Durkheim opined that it is the society that creates categories, and he refers to these categories as collective creations. So, as societies form, categories are formed too; but it is not done consciously. These categories precede individual experiences. It was along these lines that Durkheim tried to bridge the gap between seeing categories as constructed out of human experience and as logically prior to that experience. We understand the world by understanding social facts; for instance, we chiefly use calendar to measure time, but calendar was invented to keep track of our social gatherings and rituals; and these rituals have their origin in religion itself. Durkheim suggested that even science has its roots in religion. Durkheim remarks that 'religion gave birth to all that is essential in the society'.

System of Classification

It is probable that man has always classified, more or less clearly, the things on which he lived, according to the means he used to get them; for example, animals living in the water, or in the air or on the ground. But at first, such groups were not connected with each other or systematized. They were divisions, and distinctions of ideas, not schemes of classification. Moreover, it is evident that these distinctions are closely linked to practical concerns, of which they merely express certain aspects. The Australians do not classify the universe between the totems of his tribe with a view to regulate his conduct or even to justify his practice. It is because of the idea of the totem being fundamental for him that he is under an obligation to place everything else that he knows in relation to it. Therefore, we may think that the conditions on which these very ancient classifications are based may have played a key role in the origin of the classificatory function in general.

It is very simple to analyse how these classifications were modelled on the closest and the most basic form of social organization. However, it is not going far enough. Society was not just a model followed by the classificatory thought. It comprised its own divisions that served as divisions for the classification system. Social categories were the first logical categories; classes of men were the first classes of things into which these things were brought into integration. It happened because men grouped and identified themselves in the form of groups. Further, in their ideas they grouped other things, and in the beginning, the two means of grouping were merged to the point of becoming indistinguishable. Moieties were the first genera — clans, the first species. Things were supposed to be essential parts of society, and their place in society determined their place in nature. One may even wonder whether the schematic manner in which genera are usually conceived may not have depended in part on the same influences. It is a fact of current observation that the things that they comprise are commonly imagined as placed in a kind of ideational milieu, with a more or less plainly delimited spatial circumscription. It is definitely not without cause that concepts and their interrelations have so usually been represented by concentric and eccentric circles, interior and exterior to each other, etc.

Not just the external forms of classes, but also the relations uniting them among themselves possess social origin. Since human groups fit one into another — the clan into the moiety, the moiety into the tribe — hence, the groups of things are ordered in the similar manner. Their regular reduction in span, from genus to species, species to variety, and so forth, stems from the equally diminishing extent presented by social groups as one leaves the largest and oldest, and reaches the more recent and the more

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derivative. If the totality of things is viewed as a single system, it is because the society itself is viewed in a similar manner. It is a whole; or rather it is the exclusive whole to which everything is related. Hence, logical hierarchy is just another aspect of social hierarchy, and the unity of knowledge is nothing more than the very unity of the collectivity, enlarged to the universe.

Additionally, the ties that unite the things within a group or different groups to each other are themselves viewed as social ties. The expressions by which we refer to these relations still possess a moral implication; but whereas for us they are barely more than metaphors, initially they meant what they stood for. Things belonging to the same class were actually taken as relatives of the individuals of the same social groups, and hence, as a result, of each other. They are of the same flesh and the same family. Thus, logical relations are, in a sense, domestic relations. Sometimes, they can be compared at all points with the one existing between a master and an object possessed, and between a chief and his subjects. One may even wonder whether the idea of the pre-eminence of genus over species, so strange from a positivistic view point, may not be conceived here in its rudimentary form. Among the Zuni, the animals symbolizing the six main clans are set in sovereign charge over their respective sub-clans and over creatures of all kinds that are grouped with them.

But if the foregoing has allowed us to understand how the notion of classes, linked to each other in a single system, could have been born; we still do not know what the forces were which induced men to divide things as they did between the classes. From the fact that the external form of classification was furnished by society, it does not necessarily follow that the way in which the framework was used is due to reasons of the same origin. A priori, it is very possible that motives of a quite different order should have determined the way in which things were connected and merged, or else, on the contrary, in which things were distinguished and opposed.

All types of affective elements unite in the representation made of it. Religious emotions, particularly, not just give it a unique trace, but provide it the most basic properties it is constituted of. Above all, things are sacred or profane, pure or impure, favourable or unfavourable, i.e., their most elemental characteristics are just expressions of the manner in which they influence the social sensibility. The differences and similarities that determine the fashion in which they are grouped are more affective than intellectual.

It has usually been stated that man began to consider things by relating them to himself. It enables us to see more accurately what this anthropocentrism, which may better be termed as sociocentrism, consists of. The individual is not the centre of the first schemes of nature; rather, it is the society. It is this which gets objectified, not man. Nothing proves this more noticeably than the manner in which the Sioux retain the whole universe, in a way, within the limits of tribal space. Also, we have seen how universal space itself is nothing else than the site occupied by the tribe, only indefinitely extended beyond its real limits. By the virtue of the same mental disposition, so many people have placed the centre of the world, 'the navel of the earth', in their own political or religious capital, i.e., at the place which is the centre of their moral life. Similarly, but in another order of ideas, the creative force of the universe and everything in it was initially conceived as a mythical ancestor, the generator of the society.

The classification of concepts is logical. Now a concept is the notion of a clearly determined group of things; its limits may be marked precisely. Emotion, on the contrary, is something essentially fluid and inconsistent. Its contagious influence spreads far beyond its point of origin, extending to everything about it, so that it is not possible to say where

its power of propagation ends. The states of an emotional nature necessarily possess the same characteristic. It is not possible to say where they begin or where they end. They lose themselves in each other, and mingle their properties in such a way that they cannot be rigorously categorized. The pressure put forward by the group on all its members does not allow the individuals to freely evaluate the notions which society itself has elaborated, and in which it has placed something of its personality. These constructs are sacred for the individuals. So, the history of scientific classification is, in the final analysis, the history of the stages by which this element of social affectivity has progressively weakened, giving more and more room to the individuals for reflective thought. However, it is not the case that these distant influences which we have just studied have ceased to be felt presently. They have left behind them an effect that is surviving; it is the very cadre of all classification. It is the assembly of mental habits by virtue of which we envisage things and facts in the form of coordinated or hierarchical groups.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. State the characteristics of modern society.
5. Differentiate between negative and positive rights.
6. Differentiate between concept and emotion.

4.4 SUMMARY

- The heart of Durkheim's theory lies in his concept of social fact. Durkheim differentiated between two basic types of social facts—material and non-material.
- Durkheim's study of suicide is a good illustration of the significance of non-material social facts in his work. In his basic causal model, changes in non-material social facts ultimately cause differences in suicide rates.
- Durkheim differentiated among four types of suicide—egoistic, altruistic, anomic and fatalistic—and showed how each is affected by different changes in social currents.
- Durkheim was deeply offended by the Dreyfus affair, particularly its anti-Semitism. However, Durkheim did not attribute this anti-Semitism to racism among the French people.
- The basic feature of Durkheim's sociology is its steady foundation in a very substantial and definite epistemology. Actually, the intellectual career of the French sociologist was highlighted by the incessant effort to build a sociological science with a solid epistemological foundation (in fact, the epistemological concerns form the core of his research interests).
- The first major book of Durkheim was *De la division du travail social*, which was his doctoral thesis also and was highly influenced by Auguste Comte. The relation between individuals and the collective is the theme of this book which seeks to know 'how can a multiplicity of individuals achieve what is the condition of social existence namely a consensus?'
- Durkheim's best known book is his study of suicide. His aim in this book was not only to provide an account of suicide but also to illustrate how his methodology

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- could be applied to even the most individual of acts. Durkheim in this book showed that to what extent the individuals are determined by the collective reality.
- The various characteristics of modern society are social differentiation, organic solidarity, density of population, intensity of communications and the struggle for survival. All these phenomena should not be regarded as abnormal as they are related to the essence of modern society.
 - All sophisticated classifications are systems of hierarchized notions. Things are not simply arranged by themselves in the form of isolated groups, but these groups stand in fixed relationships to each other and together form a single whole. Moreover, these systems, like those of science, have a purely speculative purpose.

4.5 KEY TERMS

- **Totemism:** A belief in totems or in kinship through common affiliation to a totem
- **Rabbi:** A person trained in Jewish law, ritual, and tradition and ordained for leadership of a Jewish congregation, especially one serving as chief religious official of a synagogue
- **Proletariat:** The class of industrial wage earners who, possessing neither capital nor production means, must earn their living by selling their labour
- **Anthropology:** The scientific study of the origin, the behaviour, and the physical, social, and cultural development of humans
- **Moiety:** Either of two kinship groups based on unilateral descent that together make up a tribe or society
- **Sociocentrism:** The tendency to believe that one's ethnic or cultural group is centrally important, and that all other groups are measured in relation to one's own

4.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The two principles that can be clearly seen in Durkheim's sociology are as follows:
 - Sociology must be a science which has a methodology similar to the physical-natural sciences, that is, based on positivism.
 - The positivist science of society goes against philosophy and psychology.
2. Durkheim's division of labour differs from the concept of division of labour as defined by economists. The demarcation of occupations and multiplication of industrial activities stand for the social differentiation which took precedence according to Durkheim. The beginning of social differentiation signals the fall of mechanical solidarity and segmental structures.
3. According to the process of refutation, if we consider suicide to be contagion, then we would be able to see the geographical distribution of suicide as shown by areas that showed particularly high cases and where the suicide rate is higher and was spreading to other regions. But nothing of this sort is shown in the analyses on the geographical maps of suicide.
4. The following are the characteristics of the modern society:
 - Organic solidarity
 - Social differentiation

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- Density of population
 - Intensity of communication
 - Struggle for survival
5. Negative rites are interdicts such as prohibition of eating or touching. They develop in the direction of all religious practices of asceticism. Positive rites, on the other hand, are rites of communion aimed at promoting procreation or reproduction.
 6. A concept is the notion of a clearly determined group of things; its limits may be marked precisely. Emotion, on the contrary, is something essentially fluid and inconsistent. Its contagious influence spreads far beyond its point of origin, extending to everything about it, so that it is not possible to say where its power of propagation ends.

4.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a brief note on the early life of Durkheim.
2. What is the difference between repressive and restitutive law?
3. Write a short note on repressive law and collective consciousness.
4. State the concept of totemism in brief.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Name the sociologist by whom Durkheim was influenced. Discuss various elements of this influence.
2. Describe how Durkheim relates to sociology as a science.
3. What is collective consciousness? Discuss its effects on the law.
4. What is the difference between mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity? Describe with examples.
5. Explain the four types of suicides as described by Durkheim.
6. Describe the theoretical importance of religion in the elementary forms of religious life.

4.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 MAX WEBER

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Max Weber's Contribution to Sociological Theories
 - 5.2.1 Types of Social Action
- 5.3 Power and Authority
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- 5.9 Further Reading

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Max Weber, often referred to as the 'bourgeois Marx', became a sociologist 'in a long and intense debate with the ghost of Marx'. His work *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (*Economy and Society*) and his concern with the Protestant ethic showed that throughout his life he was engaged in the problems and issues raised by Marx. Though Weber was influenced by the German historical school—itsself engaged in a critical examination of Marx's (and Hegel's) conceptions—the main feature of Weber's overall work was shaped by his debate with Marx; and among those who took up the Marxian challenge, Weber was perhaps the most influential. His main interest, which became a lifelong preoccupation, was the origin and nature of modern capitalism. This eventually led him not only to a fastidious examination of the economic system of the West but all its major social and cultural institutions. Ultimately, his analysis gave him insights into the peculiar nature of Western civilization and allowed him to contrast it with the civilizations of the East. In working on this and other problems, he generalized and revised Marx's method. However, it is important to understand that Weber was not working to refute Marx; he accepted Marx's major methodological principles as extraordinarily fruitful.

Weber's refutation of Marx was limited to him showing the supposed inadequacy of some of Marx's revolutionary conclusions and of challenging the alleged human and moral superiority of socialism as compared with capitalism. Thus the American sociologist Talcott Parson's statement that Weber 'soon recoiled from this, becoming convinced of the indispensability of an important role of 'ideas' in the explanation of great historical processes', is quite incorrect and even has bizarre implications. For it implies that Marx, for whom class consciousness was fundamental in the transition from capitalism to socialism, did not know that ideas were important in history. But this allegation about Weber is also incorrect, for he retained throughout his life the greatest admiration for Marx as a thinker. If Weber 'recoiled', it was from vulgar and dogmatic Marxism—as, indeed, Marx himself had done. The position taken in the unit is that Weber's work must not be read as repudiation of Marx's methodological principles but rather as a 'rounding out' and supplementing of his method. The validity of this assertion can best be assessed by a re-examination of Weber's work.

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Max Weber has had a more powerful positive impact on a wide range of sociological theories than any other sociological theorist. This influence is traceable to the sophistication, complexity and sometimes even confusion of Weberian theory. Despite its problems, Weber's work represents a remarkable fusion of historical research and sociological theorizing. We open this unit with a discussion of the theoretical roots and methodological orientation of Weberian theory. We see that Weber, over the course of his career, moved progressively towards a fusion of history and sociology, i.e., towards the development of historical sociology.

The heart of Weberian sociology lies in substantive sociology, not in methodological statements. Although Weber based his theories on his thoughts about social action and social relationships, his main interest was the large-scale structures and institutions of society. We deal especially with his analysis of the three structures of authority—legal, traditional and charismatic. In the context of legal authority, we deal with his famous ideal—typical bureaucratic—and show how he used that tool to analyse traditional and charismatic authority. Of particular interest is Weber's work on charisma. Not only did he have a clear sense of it as a structure of authority, but he was also interested in the processes by which such a structure is produced. Although his work on social structures—such as authority—is important, it is at the cultural level, in his work on the rationalization of the world, that Weber's most important insights lie.

Weber's thoughts on rationalization and various other issues are illustrated in his work on the relationship between religion and capitalism. At one level, this comprises a series of studies of the relationship between ideas (religious ideas) and the development of the spirit of capitalism and, ultimately, capitalism itself. At another level, it is a study of how the West developed a distinctive rational religious system (for example, Confucianism, Taoism, Hinduism) that inhibits the growth of a rational economic system. It is this kind of majestic sweep over the history of many sectors of the world that helps give Weberian theory its enduring significance.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss Weber's opinion about traditionalism and rationality
- Explain Weber's theories of authority, power and religion
- Summarise the important parameters of the religious systems in India and China
- Evaluate the sociological perspective of Weber's works
- Assess Weber's concept of social action

5.2 MAX WEBER'S CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES

Max Weber was born in Erfurt, Germany, on 21 April 1864, in a typical middle-class family. The differences between his parents left a deep impression on both his intellectual orientation and psychological development. His father was a bureaucrat who acquired a comparatively significant political position. Weber's father was clearly a part of the political establishment and as a result eschewed any activity or idealism that would require personal sacrifice or threaten his position within the system. In addition, the

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senior Weber was a man who enjoyed earthly pleasures and in this and many other ways he stood in sharp contrast to his wife. Max Weber's mother was a devout Calvinist, a woman who sought to lead an ascetic life largely devoid of the pleasure craved by her husband. Her concerns were more otherworldly; she was disturbed by the signs of imperfection which made her insecure that she was not destined for salvation. These deep differences between the parents led to marital tension, and left an immense impact on Weber.

Since it was impossible to emulate both parents, Weber was presented with a clear choice as a child (Marianne Weber 1975, 62). He first seemed to opt for his father's orientation to life, but later he drew close to his mother's approach. Whatever the choice, the tension produced by the need to choose between such polar opposites negatively affected Max Weber's psyche. At the age of eighteen, Max Weber left home for a short time to attend the University of Heidelberg. He had already demonstrated intellectual precocity, but on a social level he entered Heidelberg as a shy and underdeveloped boy. However, it quickly changed after he gravitated towards his father's way of life and joined his father's old dueling fraternity. There he developed socially, at least in part because of the huge quantities of beer he consumed with his peers. In addition, he proudly displayed the dueling scars that were the trademarks of such fraternities.

After three terms, Weber left Heidelberg for military service, and in 1884 he returned to Berlin to his parent's home to take courses at the University of Berlin. He remained there for most of the next eight years as he completed his studies, earned his Ph. D., became a lawyer and started teaching at the University of Berlin. In the process, his interests shifted more towards his lifelong concerns—economics, history and sociology. During his eight years in Berlin, Weber was financially dependent on his father, the circumstances he progressively grew to dislike. At the same time, he moved closer to his mother's values. For example, during one semester as a student, his work habits were described as follows: 'He continues the rigid work discipline, regulates his life by the clock, divides the daily routine into exact section for the various subjects, saves in his way, by feeding himself evenings in his room with a pound of raw chopped beef and four fried eggs' (Mizman 1970, 48; Marianne Weber 1975, 105). Thus Weber, following his mother, had become ascetic and diligent, a compulsive worker—in contemporary terms a 'workaholic'.

This compulsion for work led in 1896 to a position as professor of economics at Heidelberg. But in 1897, with Weber's academic career blossoming, his father died following a violent argument between them. Shortly thereafter Weber began to manifest symptoms that were to culminate in a nervous breakdown. Often unable to sleep or to work, Weber spent the next six or seven years in near total collapse. After a long hiatus, some of his powers began to return in 1903, but it was not until 1904, when he delivered (in the United States) his first lecture in six and half years, that Weber was able to begin to return to active academic life. In 1904 and 1905, he published one of his best known works, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

After 1904, although he continued to be plagued by psychological problems, Weber was able to function, indeed to produce some of his most important works. During these years, Weber published his studies of the world's religions in a historical perspective (for example China, India and ancient Judaism). At the time of his demise (14 June 1920), he was working on his most significant work, *Economy and Society*. *Economy and Society* was published by his wife after Weber's death and was translated in numerous languages.

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Apart from producing voluminous writings during this period, Weber was engaged in various other activities as well. He helped in founding the German Sociological Society in 1910. In addition, Weber was politically very active and wrote essays on the important contemporary issues. We have to accept that there was a strife in Weber's life and, more significantly, in his work. He was perpetually torn between the bureaucratic mind, as represented by his father, and his mother's religiosity. This unresolved tension pervades through Weber's work as it permeated his personal life.

5.2.1 Types of Social Action

Weber's entire sociology, if we accept his words at face value, was based on his conception of social action (Turner, 1983). He differentiated between action and purely reactive behaviour. The concept of behaviour is reserved, then as now (Ritzer, 1975a), to automatic behaviour that involves no thought processes—a stimulus and response. Such behaviour was not of interest in Weber's sociology. He was bothered about action which clearly involved the intervention of thought processes (and the consequent meaningful action) between the happening of a stimulus and the eventual response. To put it another way, action was said to occur when individuals attached subjective meanings to their action. To Weber, the task of sociological analysis involved 'the interpretation of action in terms of its subjective meaning' (1921/1968:8). A good, and more specific example of Weber's thinking on action is found in his discussion of economic action, which he defined as 'a conscious, primary orientation to economic provision, but the belief that it is necessary' (1921/1968:64).

In embedding his analysis in mental processes and the resulting meaningful action, Weber (1921/1968) was careful to point out that it is erroneous to regard psychology as the foundation of the interpretation of action in sociology. Weber seemed to be making essentially the same point made by Durkheim in discussing at least some nonmaterial social facts. That is, sociologists are interested in mental processes, but this is not the same as psychologists' interest in the mind, personality and so forth. Although Weber implied that he had a great concern with mental processes, he actually spent little time on them. The sociologists Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills have called attention to Weber's lack of concern with mental processes: 'Weber sees in the concept of personality a much abused notion referring to a profoundly irrational center of creativity, a center before which analytical inquiry come to a halt' (1958:55). Schutz (1932/1967) was quite correct when he pointed out that although Weber's work on mental processes is suggestive, it is hardly the basis for a systematic micro-sociology. However, it was the suggestiveness of his work that made him relevant to those who developed the theories of individuals and their behaviour—symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and so forth.

In this action theory, Weber's clear intent was to focus on individuals and patterns and regularities of action and not on the collectivity. According to Weber, 'Action in the sense of subjectively understandable orientation of behaviour exists only as the behaviour of one or more individual human beings'. Weber was prepared to admit that for some purposes, we may have to treat collectivities as individuals 'but for the subjective interpretation of action in sociological work these collectivities must be treated as solely the resultants and modes of organization of the particular acts of individual persons, since, these alone can be treated as agents in a course of subjectively understandable action'. It would seem that Weber could hardly be more explicit; the sociology of action is ultimately concerned with individuals, not collectivities.

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All kinds of action, even the ones that are explicit, are not 'social' in nature. Overt action that is geared just towards the behavior of inert action is non-social. The subjective attitudes of individuals comprise social action only when it is oriented to others' behaviour. For example, religious behaviour is not social if it is just a matter of meditation or private prayer. The economic activity of an individual becomes social only when it takes into account the behavior of others. Thus, it can be stated that an action becomes social only when the actor's real control over economic goods is respected by others.

It is accepted that the individual's actions are strongly influenced just by the fact that he is a part of a crowd confined in a limited space. Further, it is also possible for huge numbers, though scattered, to be influenced simultaneously or successively by a source of influence operating likewise on all the individuals, e.g., by means of press. Here also the behaviour of an individual is affected by his membership of the crowd and by the fact that he is by the mere fact that the individual acts as the part of a gathering.

For Weber, there are four ideal types of action which he considered the basic building blocks for sociology. These four ideal actions are as follows:

- Traditional action
- Value-rational action
- Affectional action
- Instrumentally rational action

It is only when people accept completely technical means for realising their goals that action becomes *instrumentally rational*. Here, the means to achieve the most efficient way of reaching a goal or objective is chosen. For example, a businessman looks towards the most efficient way of maximizing profit, a politician tries to find the most feasible way to maximize his party's vote, etc. According to Weber, those economic, political and scientific actions that involve cautious choices and decision-making can be said to be instrumentally rational action. On the other hand, *value-rational action* can be described as that action which is based on reason in relation to some illogical or arbitrarily chosen value. A religious person who prays and gives alms to poor people can be said to be behaving in a value-rational manner. The religious person is acts in this manner for his own sake and because he considers it an absolute duty. Here instrumental considerations are not taken into account at all. In value-rational action usually there is no objective that that can be discerned easily, even though a religious person in the example may think that his or her action may lead to salvation. Moreover, in such actions, there is no suggestion that actions are technically suitable in cause-effect terms. However, they are rational in the means that they take up for expressing specific values. According to Weber, *traditional action* is that type of action which is a result of habit and thus is an unthinking action. Such action involves only some degree of logic and is routine in nature. As the name suggests in traditional action people act in the way like they have usually done in similar situations in the past. *Affectional action* is that action which is a result of a direct expression of emotion that does not take into account goals or objectives. An example of an Affectional action is a violent angry outburst.

Since the four types of action are idea; in nature, such actions do not distinctly appear in reality. Rather, all the substantial patterns of action are expected to be interpretable in terms of more than one type of action. To take an example, the actions of a manager of a company who needs to set the wage level for his employees may encompass various aspects of all the four types of Weber's ideal action. In this case, the manager may work out instrumentally the financial outcomes for the company for setting

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a certain rate of pay. The manager may also without thinking respond to the proposals of the employee union during the wage negotiations taking a reactive stance against them. Finally, a breakdown in the wage negotiation process might result in angry outbursts as one side or the other walks away from negotiations.

To figure out how an action corresponds to the four ideal actions Weber suggested a technique which he considered was central to sociology — the technique of understanding (*Verstehen* in German). According to Weber, the goal of a social science is to use ideal types as the means of comprehending the meanings which people give to their actions. These meanings encompass their intentions and motives, their expectations about the behaviour of others, and their insights of the situation in which they find themselves. Weber believes that sociologists should infer these meanings by scrutinizing people's actions, and then endeavor for an interpretative comprehension of the same. This for Weber would involve emphasizing with those that are being studied, although it does not mean sympathising with them. To take an example, any sane person will not approve of a serial killer but the only way one can hope to explain his or her actions is if one starts looking at the world the way a serial killer sees it. A sociologist may employ empathy by trying to identify with the serial killer up to the point so that the sociologist may comprehend the reasons for the serial killer's actions. However, we do not sympathize with them or condone their actions. To go beyond empathy to sympathy is to make the same mistake as those who go beyond factual judgements to value judgements.

Traditionalism and Rationality

Weber rejected the deterministic system of explanation as a result of his philosophy of science. The fundamental explanations formed by sociologists should always be based on an interpretative comprehension of the subjective meanings which individuals provide to their actions. In his theories Weber emphasized the free will of individuals and thus believed that any study of social development has to acknowledge the part played by individual action. Unlike Marx, Weber believed that individuals have the power to act independently and are not just as the occupants of a social role or a class position. For Weber then the future is open and undecided and cannot be predicted through analysis. Thus, Weber considers the critique of capitalism by Marx to be incorrect.

Weber assessed the change from feudalism to capitalism in terms of a change in the characteristic meanings which individuals provided to their actions. For Weber, this transition in Europe was a result of a process of rationalization. This process involved a transition from value-rational actions to instrumentally rational actions. In Weber's view, people's actions were shaped by absolute religious and political values in the feudal era. However, in modern societies, people employ logical calculations of the probable effects of various courses of action that they may take. To take an example, in the modern era political authority is based on legal procedures while in the feudal era it was based on religious values like the concept of the divine right of a king. Moreover, in the feudal era actions that took place every day were based on traditions. On the other hand, in modern societies most of the areas of social life are open up to rational and reflective considerations. For example, decisions relating to the economic action are based on market calculations in capitalist societies rather than the fixed ways of staying rooted in traditional life styles.

Weber does not mean to suggest that modern societies have completely rejected traditional actions, on the contrary, we still can see that in character everyday actions to an extent remains traditional. In modern society, the traditional forms of action may

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attain a new significance. This can be ascertained from Weber's considerations of modern day economic actions. Weber states that religious values motivated the actions of those who became the first generations of calculating capitalists. The later generations of individuals who became capitalist carried on with their business activities like it had become a routine matter. For Weber, as such capitalist entrepreneurs become mere cogs in the massive bureaucratic machine, their work becomes a 'dull compulsion' about which they possess no real choice. Finally they might remain free, but in practice they are constrained.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. State the four types of ideal actions stated by Weber.
2. What is traditional action?
3. When was *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* published?

5.3 POWER AND AUTHORITY

It was Weber's interest in politics that motivated his sociological interest in the structures of authority. Weber was no political radical; he was almost as critical of modern capitalism as Marx but he was not an advocate for revolution. He wanted to change society gradually, not overthrow it. He had little faith in the ability of the masses to accrete 'better' society. Moreover, Weber also saw little hope in the middle classes, who he felt were dominated by shortsighted, petty bureaucrats. For Weber the hope—if indeed he had any hope—lay with the great political leaders rather than with the masses or the bureaucrats. Along with his faith in political leaders went his unswerving nationalism. He placed the nation above all else: 'The vital interests of the nation stand, of course, above democracy and parliamentarianism' (Weber, 1921/1968:1383). Weber preferred democracy as a political form not because he believed in the masses but because it offered maximum dynamism and the best milieu to generate political leaders (Mommson, 1974). Weber noted that authority structures exist in every social institution, and his political views were related to his analysis of these structures in all settings. Of course, they were most relevant to his views on the polity.

Weber began his analysis of authority structures in a way that was consistent with his assumptions about the nature of action. He defined domination as the 'probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) will be obeyed by a given group of persons' (Weber, 1921/1968:212). Domination interested Weber and these were the legitimate forms of domination, or what he called authority. What concerned Weber, and what played a central role in much of his theories, were the three bases on which authority is made legitimate to followers—the rational, traditional and charismatic bases. In defining these three bases, Weber remained fairly close to his ideas on individual action, but Weber rapidly moved to the large-scale structures of authority. Authority legitimized on rational grounds rests 'on a belief in the legality of enacted rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands' (Weber, 1921/1968:215). Authority legitimized on traditional grounds is based on 'an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them' (Weber, 1921/1968:215). Lastly, authority legitimized by charm is supported on the loyalty of followers to the exceptional inviolability, heroism or commendable

character of leaders as well as on the normative order sanctioned by them. All these means of legitimizing authority plainly imply individual actors, through processes (beliefs), and actions.

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Legal Authority

Legal authority can take a variety of structural forms, but the one that interested Weber most was the bureaucracy, which he considered as 'the purest type of exercise of legal authority' (1921/1968:220).

Ideal-Typical Bureaucracy

Weber depicted bureaucracies in ideal-typical terms. Although he was well aware of their failings, Weber portrayed bureaucracies in a highly positive way.

Despite his discussion of the positive characteristics of bureaucracies, here and elsewhere in his work, there is a fundamental ambivalence in his attitude towards them. Although he detailed their advantages, he was well aware of their problems. Weber expressed various reservations about bureaucratic organizations. For example, he was cognizant of the 'red tape' that often makes dealing with bureaucracies so trying and so difficult. However, his major fear was that the rationalization which dominates all aspects of bureaucratic life was a threat to individual liberty.

Weber was appalled by the effects of bureaucratization and, more generally, of the rationalization of the world of which bureaucratization is but one component, but he saw no way out. He discussed bureaucracies as 'escape proof', 'practically unshatterable', and among the same lines, he felt that the institutions tend to destroy once they are established. Similarly, he felt that individual bureaucrats could not 'squirm out' of the bureaucracy after getting 'harnessed' in it. Weber summarized that 'the future belongs to bureaucratization' (1921/1968:1401), and since then, time has borne out his forecast.

Given below are what Weber believed to be the key characteristics of the ideal-typical bureaucracy:

1. It comprises a continuous organization of official functions (offices) constrained by rules.
2. Each office has a particular and defined sphere of competence and capability. The office carries with it a set of obligations and duties to perform different functions, the authority to fulfill these functions, and the modes of compulsion needed to accomplish the job.
3. The offices are organized into a hierarchical system.
4. The offices may involve technical qualifications with them that require that the participants get suitable training.
5. The staff which fills these offices does not own the production means associated with them. The staff members are allowed the use of those things which they require to finish the job.
6. The incumbent is not allowed to appropriate the position; it always remains part of the organization.
7. Administrative acts, decisions and rules are formulated and recorded in writing.

Bureaucracy is one of the rational structures which is playing an ever-increasing role in modern society, but one may wonder whether there is any alternative to the bureaucratic structure. Weber's clear and unequivocal answer was that there is no

possible alternative: 'The needs of mass administration make it today completely indispensable. The choice is only between bureaucracy and dilettantism in the field of administration.'

Although we might admit that bureaucracy is an intrinsic part of modern capitalism, we might ask whether a socialist society might be different. Is it possible to create a socialist system without bureaucracies and bureaucrats?

Weber believed that in the case of socialism we would see an increase, not a decrease, in bureaucratization. If socialism were to achieve a level of efficiency comparable to capitalism, 'it would mean a tremendous increase in the importance of professional bureaucrats' (Weber 1921/1968:224). In capitalism, at least the owners are not bureaucrats, but in socialism even the top-level leaders would be bureaucrats. Weber thus believed that even with its problems 'capitalism presented the best chances for the preservation of individual freedom and creative leadership in a bureaucratic world' (Mommsen, 1974: xv). We are once again at a key theme in Weber's work: his view that there is really no hope for a better world. Socialists can, in Weber's view, only make things worse by expanding the degree of bureaucratization in society.

A ray of hope in Weber's work—and it is a small one—is that professionals who stand outside the bureaucratic system can control it to some degree. In this category, Weber included professional politicians, scientists and even capitalists, as well as the supreme heads of the bureaucracies. For example, Weber said that politicians 'must be the countervailing force against bureaucratic domination' (1921/1964:1417). His famous essay '*Politics as a Vocation*' is basically a plea for the development of political leaders with a calling to oppose the rule of bureaucracies and of bureaucrats. Similarly, in '*Science as a Vocation*' Weber made a plea for professional scientists who can counteract the increasing bureaucratization and rationalization of science. However, in the end these professionals are simply another aspect of the rationalization process and that their development only serves to accelerate that process.

Traditional Authority

In his thinking about traditional authority structures, Weber used his ideal-typical bureaucracy as a methodological tool. His objective was to pinpoint the differences between a traditional authority structure and the ideal-typical bureaucracy. According to Weber, while legal authority stems from the legitimacy of a rational-legal system, traditional authority is based on a claim by the leaders, and a belief on the part of the followers that there is virtue in the sanctity of age-old rule and powers. The leader in such a system is not a superior but a personal master. The administrative staff consists not of officials but mainly of person retainers. Although the bureaucratic staff owes its allegiance and obedience to enacted rules and to the leader, who acts in their name, the staff of the traditional leader obeys because the leader carries the weight of tradition—he or she has been chosen for that position in the traditional manner.

What interested Weber was the staff of the traditional leader and how it measured up to the ideal-typical bureaucratic staff. He concluded that it was lacking on a number of counts. The traditional staff lacks offices with clearly defined sphere of competence which is subject to impersonal rules. It also does not have rational ordering of relations of superiority and inferiority. Further, it lacks a clear hierarchy. There is no regular system of appointment and promotion on the basis of free contacts. Technical training is not a regular requirement or obtaining a position or an appointment. Appointments do not carry with them fixed salaries paid in money.

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Weber used his ideal-type methodology not only to compare traditional to rational-legal authority and to underscore the most salient characteristics of traditional authority but also to analyse historically the different forms of traditional authority. A gerontocracy involves rule by elders, whereas primary patriarchy involves leaders who inherit their positions. Both of these forms have a supreme chief but lack an administrative staff. They therefore lack a bureaucracy. A more modern form is patrimonialism, which is traditional domination with an administration and a military force that are purely personal instruments of the master. Still more modern is feudalism, which limits the discretion of the master through the development of more routinized, even contractual, relationships between leader and subordinate. This, in turn, leads to more stabilized power positions that exist in patrimonialism. All four of these forms differ significantly from rational-legal authority.

Weber saw structures of traditional authority, in any form, as barriers to the development of rationality. Weber argued that the structures and practices of traditional authority constitute a barrier to the rise of rational economic structures—in particular, capitalism—as well as to various other components of a rational society. Even patrimonialism—a more modern form of traditionalism—while permitting the development of certain forms of ‘primitive’ capitalism, does not allow for the rise of the highly rational type of capitalism characteristic of the modern West.

Charismatic Authority

The concept of charisma plays an important role in Weber's theories, but he had a conception of it very different from that held by most lay people today. Even though Weber did accept that a charismatic leader may possess exceptional characteristics, his sense of charisma was more dependent on the group of followers and the manner in which they defined the charismatic leader. To put Weber's position straightforwardly, if the followers define a leader as charismatic, then he or she is likely to be a charismatic leader irrespective of whether he or she really possesses any outstanding characteristics. In this manner a leader is set apart from the ordinary people and respected as if endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least exceptional powers or qualities which are not available to the common people.

To Weber, charisma was a revolutionary force, one of the most important revolutionary forces in the social world. Whereas traditional authority clearly is inherently conservative, the rise of a charismatic leader may well pose a threat to that system (as well as to a rational-legal system) and lead to a dramatic change in that system. What distinguishes charisma as a revolutionary force is that it leads to changes in the minds of actors; it causes a ‘subjective or internal reorientation’. Such changes may lead to ‘a radical alteration of the central attitudes toward different problems of the World’. Although Weber was here addressing changes in the thoughts and actions of individuals, such changes are clearly reduced to the status of dependent variables. Weber focused on changes in the structure of authority, i.e., the rise of charismatic authority. When such a new authority structure emerges, it is likely to change people's thoughts and actions dramatically.

The other major revolutionary force in Weber's theoretical system, and the one with which he was much more concerned, is (formal) rationality. Whereas charisma is an internal revolutionary force that changes the minds of actors, Weber saw (formal) rationality as an external revolutionary force changing the structures of society first and then ultimately the thoughts and actions of individuals. Weber was interested in the

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revolutionary character of charisma as well as its structure and the necessity that its basic character be transformed and routinized in order for it to survive as a system of authority.

In his analysis of charisma, Weber began, as he did with traditional authority, with the ideal-typical bureaucracy. He sought to determine to what degree the structure of charismatic authority, with its disciples and staff, differs from the bureaucratic system. Compared to that of the ideal-typical bureaucracy the staff of the charismatic leader is lacking on virtually all counts. The staff members are not technically trained but are chosen instead for their possession of charismatic qualities or, at least, of qualities similar to those possessed by the charismatic leader. The offices they occupy form no clear hierarchy. Their work does not constitute a career, and there are no promotions, clear appointments or dismissals. The charismatic leader is free to intervene whenever he or she feels that the staff cannot handle a situation. The organization has no formal rules, no established administrative organs, and no precedents to guide new judgements. In these and other ways, Weber found the staff of the charismatic leader to be ‘greatly inferior’ to the staff in a bureaucratic form of organization.

Weber's interest in the organization behind the charismatic leader and the staff that inhabits it led him to the question of what happens to charismatic authority when the leader dies. After all, a charismatic system is inherently fragile; it would seem to be able to survive only as long as the charismatic leader lives. But is it possible for such an organization to live after the leader dies? The answer to this question is of greatest consequence to the staff members of the charismatic leader, for they are likely to live on after the leader dies. They are also likely to have a vested interest in the continued existence of the organization: if the organization ceases to exist, they are out of work. Thus the challenge for the staff is to create a situation in which charisma in some adulterated form persists even after the leader's death. It is a difficult struggle because, for Weber, charisma is by its nature unstable; it exists in its pure form only as long as the charismatic leader lives.

According to Weber, in order to cope with the departure of the charismatic leader, the staff (as well as the followers) may adopt a variety of strategies to create a more lasting organization. The staff may search out a new charismatic leader, but even if the search is successful, the new leader is unlikely to achieve the same aura as his or her predecessor. A set of rules also may be developed that allows the group to identify future charismatic leaders. But such rules rapidly become tradition, and what was future charismatic leadership is on the way towards becoming traditional authority. In any case, the nature of leadership is radically changed as the purely personal character of charisma is eliminated. Still another technique is to allow the charismatic leader to designate his or her successor and thereby to transfer charisma symbolically to the next in line. Again it is questionable whether this is ever very successful or whether it can be successful in the long run. Another strategy is having the staff designate a successor and having its choice accepted by the larger community. The staff could also create ritual tests, with the new charismatic leader being the one who successfully undergoes the tests. However, all these efforts are doomed to failure.

Theory of Power

According to Weber, power in a social relationship is the ability of an individual to achieve his or her will even against the opposition of others. Weber, to make his idea of power more useful for the study of history and society, gave domination as an alternative, or a

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more carefully defined concept. Domination for Weber is 'the probability that certain specific command (or all commands) will be obeyed by a given group of persons' (Weber, 212). According to Weber, the characteristics associated with domination are:

- Obedience
- Interest
- Belief
- Regularity

He believed that 'every genuine form of domination implies a minimum of voluntary compliance, i.e., an interest (based on ulterior motives or genuine acceptance) in obedience' (Weber, 212). A dominant relationship can be a parent-child relationship, employer-employee relationship, teacher-student issues, etc. According to Weber, a dominant power relation can comprise of the following four features:

1. In a dominant power relation, there is voluntary compliance or obedience. Individuals are not forced to obey, rather they obey voluntarily.
2. The people who obey voluntarily in a dominant power relation do so because they have an interest in obeying or at least believe that they have such an interest.
3. In a dominant power relation, there is a conviction in the legitimacy of the actions of the dominant individual or group (although it is defined by Weber as authority). As Weber states, 'The particular claim to legitimacy is to a significant degree and according to its type treated as valid'.
4. Obedience in a dominant power relation is not accidental or linked with a short-term social relationship. Rather, it is a continued relationship of dominance and subordination so that regular patterns of inequality are set up.

According to Weber, when dominance works for a significant period of time, it becomes a structured phenomenon. As a result of which the forms of dominance become the social structures of society. In Weber's understanding, temporary or transient types of power are not taken to be dominant. Weber's definition of domination thus does away with those types of power which are based on force, because force may not result in the recognition of the dominant group or voluntary obedience with its orders. In Weber's definition, the circumstances of open conflict and force are also comparatively unusual. To give an example, Weber believes that the explicit forms of class conflict are uncommon. Weber construct of domination helps gives us a proper understanding of structured relationships in the modern era. For example the employer-employee relationship can be analysed properly through Weber's notion. Using Weber's notion we find that while in employer-employee or other types of relationships characterized by domination and subordination usually consists of conflict, however, in such relationships the use of force is not a normal feature. We find that subordinates unreservedly obey and accept this subordination.

The British sociologist Giddens explained different levels of legitimacy, and how these may become established over a period of time. For Weber, when people start developing homogeneous types of conduct, it becomes usage. Long-established usages become customs. These may materialize within a group or society due to continued interaction, and need little or no enforcement by any particular group. Weber believes that convention is a stronger degree of conformity. Here obedience is not merely voluntary or customary; rather if someone does not conform to the convention, some kind of sanction may be the result. These sanctions may be mild in nature, like a disapproval, or

they may be serious, for example discipline or ostracism. To give an example, in a workplace what is considered office attire may become the norm, or be even enforced as a rule. Rules come to be enforced as a result of usage and custom and their violation may lead to sanctions being applied. A law comes into effect when a particular norm is taken up by an individual or a group which has the legal capacity and duty to enforce sanctions.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. What form of legal authority interested Weber the most?
5. State any two characteristics of ideal bureaucracy.
6. State the characteristics associated with domination.

5.4 THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM

According to Weber, capitalism was a modern phenomenon: a very sophisticated system of institutions, extremely rational in character, and the product of various developments atypical of Western civilization. In these terms, capitalism was unique—both in the sense that such a system never emerged spontaneously in the East. Capitalism is not as old as history and should not be confused with the various forms of capitalistic activity (speculative, commercial, adventurous, political, etc.) which were indeed known in previous periods of Western history and in the civilizations of the East as well. The emergence of the new socioeconomic system in the West could not be taken for granted as an automatic consequence of the growing rationalization of all aspects of life. According to Weber, capitalism had fought its way to supremacy 'against a whole world of hostile forces', and its victory over the traditional forces of the Middle Ages was not 'historically inevitable' or 'historically necessary'.

Weber stated, 'In the last resort the factor which produced capitalism is the rational permanent enterprise, rational accounting, rational technology, and rational law, but again not these alone. Necessary complementary factors were the rational spirit, the not these alone. Necessary complementary factors were the rational spirit, the rationalization of the conduct of life in general, and a rationalistic economic ethic.' In his book *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* Weber explored in a provisional way the source of the rational spirit and conduct. Although he was not altogether clear on this score, Weber does treat ethics as a 'necessary complementary factor'. What this really means, as it becomes clearer from his later essays, is not that capitalism would not have arisen without it—indeed he himself acknowledged that it had in some places—but rather that the peculiarly energetic form it assumed in a certain historical period might be attributed to the 'elective affinity' between the ethical injunctions of ascetic Protestantism and the spirit of capitalism. The emphasis here being on spirit; there was such great congruence between the two, that they mutually reinforced each other to produce a methodical devotion to work and business activity and thus to a vigorous development of capitalism.

In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber starts by drawing attention to what he considers important differences between Protestants and Catholics in terms of their inclinations towards technical, industrial, and commercial studies and

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occupations. Protestants were much more inclined to pursue these studies and to be engaged in capitalistic enterprise while Catholics seem to prefer the more traditional humanistic studies. Among workers too, it appeared that Catholics remained in the more traditional occupations, for example crafts, while Protestants acquired industrial skills and even filled administrative positions. These differences could not be accounted for in terms of advantages of inherited wealth but rather had to be explained by the character of the religious education and values which the two groups received and communities. What seemed all the more striking to Weber about the smaller representation of Catholics in 'modern business life' was that as a minority, suffering certain political disabilities, they should have sought all the more forcefully to engage in economic activity (as had other minorities, notably the Jews).

Weber looked, in particular, at the Calvinist forms of Protestantism that developed from the ideas of John Calvin. Calvinists believed that only a small minority were destined by God for salvation and would join Him in heaven. The remainders were destined for eternal damnation. Nothing that people did during their lives could make any difference to their destiny, which reflected God's choice, and there was no way in which any individual believer could know whether he or she was destined for salvation or damnation. As a result, Calvinists experienced what Weber called 'inner loneliness'. They were completely on their own, having no one to whom they could turn for authoritative guidance on their eternal destiny. This extreme anxiety about their fate caused great uncertainty about how they should behave. Protestant ministers and teachers responded to this by stressing those other aspects of Calvinism that might help to resolve the anxieties of their parishioners. Calvin had said that success in a person's calling might be seen as a sign that he or she was destined for salvation. A calling or vocation was the particular way of life to which one had been called by God. Calvin's followers concluded that God would hardly allow worldly success to those whom he had damned. The Puritan sects of the 17th century—especially the Quakers and the Baptists—developed an ethic that saw success in an occupation, business or profession as giving people some indication of whether they were saved or damned. They began to encourage their members to be diligent and hard-working in their work and disciplined in all aspects of their lives. Those who worked hard found that they were, indeed, likely to be successful, and this helped to lessen their sense of anxiety about their destiny (Marshall, 1982).

Weber described this lifestyle as one of asceticism. The ascetic lifestyle involved hard work, discipline, the avoidance of waste, and the rigorous and systematic use of time. This rational and calculative attitude was applied in all aspects of life. In the Puritan world-view, eating and sexuality were seen as stimulating the bodily appetites and, therefore, as things to be controlled. Fasting, the avoidance of non-reproductive sex, and, outside marriage, a life of chastity and celibacy were all seen as means of self-control through which a mastery of the body could be attained.

The pursuit of these values by 17th-century merchants in the Puritan sects led them to greater business success than their counterparts in other religions. Their ascetic way of life stressed the avoidance of excessive income and wasteful or luxurious consumption, and this led them to plough back their profits into their businesses and so to expand their scale of operations. Asceticism gave a new meaning to practical economic life. A distinctively modern view of commercial activity and an ethic of hard work were encouraged, and it was this new outlook and orientation that allowed capitalist business enterprises to expand on an unprecedented scale in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Protestant ethic, Weber argued, had given birth to the spirit of modern capitalism.

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In the favourable conditions provided by the nation states of western Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, this spirit helped to produce modern capitalist system of production. This system rapidly spread across Europe and into the wider world. In the longer term, however, the success of the capitalist system undermined sacred, religious meanings. In expanding capitalist societies, Weber argued that individuals are forced to work by economic necessity, and not by any spiritual commitment to it as a calling. For most people there is simply no alternative to capitalist economic activity: if employers do not make a profit, then the pressures of competition will force them out of business; and if employees do not work hard, they will be sacked and replaced by those who will. The spirit of modern capitalism disappears, and modern life becomes increasingly empty and meaningless.

5.4.1 Religion and Social Change

In Weber's opinion, social structures could be changed by encouraging religious belief. His social action approach was connected with interpretive sociology, where the interpretation of beliefs leads on to action. In his work *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism* Weber stated that the faith that Calvinists had regarding their lifestyle and attitude for work blended perfectly with the need for capitalism in a stage of dynamic early growth. In a time where mass poverty and depravation was common, one means of surviving was through self-reliance; A Calvinist would invest whatever money he had made back into his trade, would not indulge in overconsumption and live a simple life. Thus Calvinists survived by combining the wealth they made with a godly lifestyle. For example, some Calvinists like Leonard Chamberlain became very wealthy and set up Trusts to fund social, educational and religious causes. Thus, Weber argues that as a result of such religious beliefs and resulting action, there was a direct effect on capitalist growth.

In his works Weber analysed religions from all over the world like Hinduism, Buddhism and Ancient Judaism. His argument was that a change of attitude and action might come from a continuing traditional stance to the one of change and investment. Weber tried to explain social change by looking at the forms of rationality in modern society. According to Weber, religion has no social function even under a developed society. Although Weber believes that religion does retain some social role, such as observance in state occasions, and perhaps this is to keep a level of enchantment at state level, he asserts that religion is itself a part of the social change. Weber considered collective conscience in modern organic society as fragile; indeed he proposed that eventually religion would become not the worship of society but of individuals. In modern society it would be individuals who would be sacred. Therefore, For Weber religion would have moved away from a conservative social role inhibiting social change to none. Weber began among social groups and only had a partial systemic view; he regarded religion to be encouraging social change.

5.4.2 The Religion of China

Students of economic development in the West had stressed two factors, which, among others, have contributed greatly to the rise of capitalism: the great influx of precious metals and a significant growth in population. However, Weber observes that in the case of China similar developments were evident.

A typical city in China was fundamentally different from the Occidental one: it did not become a centre in which capitalist relationships and institutions could germinate, for

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it lacked political autonomy. Unlike the *polis* of antiquity and the commune of the Middle Ages, it had neither political privileges nor military power of its own. The Occidental city became sufficiently strong to repel an army of knights and was not dependent for its survival on any centralized bureaucracy. Political associations of merchant and craft guilds were nonexistent in the Chinese 'city', and legal contracts, either economic or political, could not be made. In short, there did not emerge a relatively independent bourgeois class centered in relatively autonomous towns (the fruit of prolonged struggle and revolts). Revolts were indeed common in Chinese cities but these were to remove specific officials or to change specific practices, not to guarantee the freedom of the city. These differences between the Occidental and Oriental cities can be traced to their different origins. The *polis* of antiquity was an overseas trading city, whereas in China trade was predominantly inland. And in order to preserve tradition, foreign trade and contact were limited to a single port, Canton. Furthermore, industrial development was not centered in the city where it could, as in the West, escape the control of traditional groups and interests. Thus the economic, political and formal-legal foundations of an autonomous and rational organization of industry and commerce were absent. Control of the rivers, in China as in Egypt and other ancient civilizations, led to some rationalization of the economy but was greatly limited due to religious and other conditions. River regulation, the basis of imperial authority, was assured not by empirical-rational means alone but by the conduct of the emperor who had to abide by the imperatives of the classical scriptures. If, for example, the dikes broke, this was evidence that he did not have the qualities of charisma demanded by heaven and therefore had to do public penitence for his sins. As in all large far-flung states with undeveloped systems of communication, administrative centralization remained negligible; nevertheless, this did not facilitate the growth of autonomous centres of power.

The dependence of the central government on its officials, and these in turn on provincial assistants, enhanced traditionalism; even the 'money economy contributed to the strengthening of traditional structures'. The officials became in effect 'tax farmers', who extracted what they could from their provincial subjects, gave as little as they dared to their superiors, and kept the rest. They were prebendaries who had a paramount interest in maintaining the existing socioeconomic conditions and hence the profits from their prebends. Thus as the money economy expanded so did prebendalization, a great obstacle to attempts at internal change. To become prebendaries they were dependent on the central government; once they became officials and received their assignments, however, they acquired only a very limited power, for they remained dependent on the indigenous elements of the provinces in which they were strangers.

The *sib* in China was so powerful that true alienation of land from it was impossible. Land was not unconditionally or permanently sold; rather, the *sib* always retained the right to repurchase. There were moneylenders and other forms of politically determined capitalism but these did not lead to modern rational, capitalistic enterprise. 'There was no rational depersonalization of business,' which for Weber is 'comparable to its unmistakable beginnings in the commercial law of Italian cities.' In China, the growth of wealth in the form of money led to different results. When officials retired, for instance, they invested their money in landholdings which enabled some of their sons to study so as to pass the state examination and thus become eligible for 'tax farming' careers of their own. In this way the whole familial community had a vested interest in the examination system and other traditional institutions. And this community was held together by powerful and rigid kinship bonds. The power of the *sib* rested to a large degree on the ancestor cult; ancestral spirits acted as mediators between their descendants and God.

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Cities were mere urban settlements of farmers and 'there remained only a technical administrative difference between city and village'. A 'city' was the seat of the mandarin and was not self-governing; a 'village' was a self-governing settlement without a mandarin. And autonomous military power developed in contrast with the West, in the villages and not in the cities.

There were repeated power struggles between the *literati* and the priests, in which the former were always victorious. Yet, ironically, the *literati* constantly availed themselves of the Taoist's priestly and magical services, affording Taoist heterodoxy a recognized place in religious practice. Not only were magic and animism tolerated, they were systematized and rationalized so that they became a tremendous power in Chinese life. All sciences which had empirical and naturalistic beginnings were completely rationalized as magical and supernatural practices and rituals. The Chinese world, despite its secular and rational-empirical elements, remained enchanted with a magic garden. 'Demagnification' of religion, Weber believed, was carried out in the West most consistently and thoroughly by ascetic Protestantism; but the process had begun with the ancient Jewish prophets. Weber emphasised that this did not mean that the Puritans did not retain superstitious beliefs; it is obvious that they were superstitious looking at their history of witch trials. Rather, it means that Protestants came to regard 'all magic as devilish'. For Weber, then, one criterion of the rationalization of religion is the degree to which it has rid itself of magic. 'To be sure,' stated Weber, 'the basic characteristics of the "mentality", in this case the practical attitudes toward the world, were deeply codetermined by political and economic destinies.' Yet, in view of their autonomous laws, one can hardly fail to ascribe to these attitudes effects strongly counteractive to capitalist development.'

5.4.3 The Religion of India

Weber in India also saw many social and cultural conditions which, it would seem, should have given rise to modern rational capitalism. Warfare, finance and politics, for instance, had been rationalized, and the last of these even in quite 'Machiavellian' terms. Many of the older type of capitalist forms had at one time or another been in evidence: state creditors and contractors, tax farmers, etc. Urban development also seemed to parallel that of the West at many points. In addition, what Weber called rationality was prominent in many aspects of Indian cultural life: the rational number system, arithmetic, algebra, rational science and in general a rational consistency in many spheres, together with a high degree of tolerance towards philosophical and religious doctrines. The prevailing judicial forms appeared compatible with capitalist development; there existed an autonomous stratum of merchants; handicrafts as well as occupational specialization were developed; and, finally, the high degree of acquisitiveness and high evaluation of wealth were a notable aspect of Indian social life. He regards Indian religion as 'one factor among many' which, he states cautiously, 'may have prevented capitalistic development'. Since there was no way of quantifying or weighing the elements, all one could do was to make as strong and as cogent a case as possible. If Indian religion had taken another form—e.g., equivalent to that of ascetic Protestantism—then, perhaps, a modern, rational type of capitalism might have developed there too. Since economic, urban, scientific and other developments were somewhat equivalent in India and the West, and modern capitalism emerged autonomously only in the latter civilization, the different religious ethos which took shape there must have made a significant causal contribution to the origin of the modern economic system.

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However, for Weber the difference is more than just the Protestant ethic; he suggests that despite the rational, scientific elements in the East, and the existence there of economic strata and forms seemingly conducive to the emergence of a modern rational economy, the East remained an enchanted garden. This meant that all the aspects and institutions of Oriental civilizations were permeated and even dominated by the magical mentality, which became a brake on economic developments in particular and on rationalization of the culture as a whole. On the other hand, Occidental civilization, already in its early stages of development, had undergone significant disenchantment, which has increased almost as a uni-linear development right to the present. This disenchantment or rationalization began with the scriptural prophets; but Christianity, Greek formal logic, Roman law, the medieval papal curia, cities and states, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, the various bourgeois revolutions, etc., all contributed to the process which made Western civilization, as a whole, fundamentally different from that of the East. This fact is implicit and occasionally given explicit emphasis in Weber's works.

In actual fact, Weber's study of world religions embraces much more than religious phenomena and institutions. In effect, he takes the entire social structure of the society in question into his purview. In the case of India, clearly the caste system was of fundamental importance. The origin of the four main castes or categories—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras—is shrouded in mystery; more is known about the proliferation of groupings, so that literally thousands of sub-castes crystallized in the course of Indian history. Basing himself on the best Indological sources, Weber sketches the process by which new castes form and other undergo schisms. With the increasing wealth of some strata, numerous tasks were defined by them as 'lower' and unclean so that eventually the native, resident population refused to engage in them. This made room for alien workers, whatever their origin, who moved into these occupations and became a 'guest' people tolerated for the economic function they fulfilled. They were not at first properly a part of the host village organization; they retained their own community organizations and had full jurisdiction over them. Certain ritual barriers were raised against these guest peoples; Weber calls them a *pariah people*. Eventually, through a variety of forms of transition, a *pariah people*, having established itself in some of the formerly native Hindu occupations, develops an interest in maintaining its hold over these occupations and demands and receives certain Brahmanical services. The members of the pariah group, underprivileged anyway, come to prefer a legitimate status to that of an alien people since 'caste organizations, like quasi-trade unions, facilitate the legitimate defense of both internal and external interests of the lower castes'.

The hope and promise which Hinduism held out to these negatively privileged strata helps to explain 'their relatively minor resistance in view of what one would expect of the abysmal distance Hinduism establishes between social strata'. Clearly, this is not the place to discuss the caste phenomenon in detail; what interests us here is the role Weber assigned to caste as a factor which may have imposed structural restraints on economic development. The caste system had essentially negative consequences for economic development; but not, as one might at first expect, primarily because it imposed restrictions and prohibitions on social interaction. Rather, it was because the caste system became totally traditionalistic and anti-rational in its effects.

That order was quite flexible in the face of the requirements of the concentration of labour in large-scale enterprises; caste proscriptions on interaction with the ritually impure were not the main impediment to industrial development. All the great religions, he suggests, have placed such restrictions on modern economy. It was the traditional,

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anti-rational 'spirit' of the whole social system which constituted the main obstruction; and this, along with the 'artisan's traditionalism, great in itself, was necessarily heightened to the extreme by the caste order'. The anti-rational spirit became manifest in the prevalence 'of magic and in the role of the Brahmins, whose very power was connected with the increasing significance of magic in all spheres of life'. Other religious developments had significantly modified the character of Indian economic conditions and strata. If, for example, there was an Indian 'bourgeoisie', it was very weak for at least two reasons:

- There was the absolute pacifism of the salvation religions, Jainism and Buddhism, which were propagated, roughly, at the same time as the development of the cities. There was a sort of causal interrelationship between urbanism and the salvation religions.
- There was the undeveloped but established caste system.

Both these factors blocked the development of the military power of the citizenry; pacifism blocked it in principle and the castes in practice, by 'hindering the establishment of a polis or commune in the European sense'.

The bourgeoisie as well as the guilds had no independent military organizations and therefore could be repressed whenever a prince found it expedient to do so. The Indian town enjoyed no true self-government or autonomy. Also, apart from the implications which the sacred cow had for Indian animal husbandry, magico-religious practices retarded technical-industrial development. Often 'tools were worshipped as quasi-fetishes' along with 'other traditional traits'. 'This stereotyping of tools was one of the strongest handicaps to all technical development.' Indian religions, including Buddhism, had attained a highly technical virtuosity but this resulted in an extreme devaluation of the world—none of them enjoined the adherent to prove himself or his grace through action or work. Quite the contrary, the highest good was a contemplative flight from the world. Indian asceticism never translated itself into a 'methodical, rational way of life that tended in its effects to undermine traditionalism and to change the world'. Thus India, like China, remained an enchanted garden 'with all sorts of fetishism, animistic formulae, finger-pointing magic, and the like'. In contrast to the Hebrew prophets, who never made peace with the magicians, the Brahmins in the interests of their power not only recognized the influence of magic but rationalized it and made numerous concessions to the unclassical magicians; this despite the fact that ideally, according to the Classic Vedas, magic was to be suppressed, or at least merely tolerated among the masses.

Weber concluded that the general character of Asiatic religion was a particular form of gnosis, i.e., positive knowledge in the spiritual realm, mystically acquired. Gnosis was the single path to the 'highest holiness' and the 'highest practice'. This 'knowledge was the single path to the 'highest holiness' and the 'highest practice'. This 'knowledge far from becoming a rational and empirical means by which man sought with increasing success to dominate nature became instead the means of mystical and magical domination over the self and the world by an intensive training of body and spirit either through asceticism or, as a rule, through strict, methodological ruled meditation'. It gave rise to a redemption aristocracy, for such mystical knowledge was necessarily esoteric and charismatic, hence not accessible or communicable to everyone. The holy and godlike was attained by an 'emptying' of experience of this world. Psychic peace, not restlessness, was godlike; the latter, being specifically creature-like, was illusory, transitory and soteriologically valueless. Hence, in contrast to the soul-saving doctrines of Christianity,

no emphasis was placed on 'this life'; Asiatic religion led to an otherworldliness. 'In Asia generally,' writes Weber, 'the power of a charismatic stratum grew.' The magical, anti-rational world had a profound impact on economic conduct and development could not be doubted.

The depth and tenacity of this magical mentality created conditions in which the 'lust for gain' never gave rise to the modern economic system which Weber called as 'rational capitalism'. What was notably absent from Asiatic religion therefore was the development which in the Occident ultimately broke the hold of magic over the minds of men and gave rise to a 'rational, inner worldly ethic'.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

7. What according to Weber is 'rational capitalism'?
8. Which was the *polis* of antiquity?

5.5 SUMMARY

- Max Weber, often referred to as the 'bourgeois Marx', became a sociologist 'in a long and intense debate with the ghost of Marx'. His work *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (economy and society) and his concern with the protestant ethic showed that throughout his life he was engaged in the problems and issues raised by Marx.
- Weber's entire sociology, if we accept his words at face value, was based on his conception of social action (Turner, 1983). He differentiated between action and purely reactive behaviour. The concept of behaviour is reserved, then as now (Ritzer, 1975a), to automatic behaviour that involves no thought processes—a stimulus and response. Such behaviour was not of interest in Weber's sociology.
- Weber rejected the deterministic system of explanation as a result of his philosophy of science. The fundamental explanations formed by sociologists should always be based on an interpretative comprehension of the subjective meanings which individuals provide to their actions.
- Weber's sociological interest in the structures of authority was motivated, at least in part, by his political interests. Weber was no political radical; he was almost as critical of modern capitalism as Marx but he was not an advocate for revolution. He wanted to change society gradually, not overthrow it. He had little faith in the ability of the masses to accrete 'better' society. Moreover, Weber also saw little hope in the middle classes, who he felt were dominated by shortsighted, petty bureaucrats.
- Legal authority can take a variety of structural forms, but the one that interested Weber most was the bureaucracy, which he considered as 'the purest type of exercise of legal authority'.
- Weber depicted bureaucracies in ideal-typical terms. Although he was well aware of their failings, Weber portrayed bureaucracies in a highly positive way.
- In his thinking about traditional authority structures, Weber used his ideal-typical bureaucracy as a methodological tool. His objective was to pinpoint the differences between a traditional authority structure and the ideal-typical bureaucracy.

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- The concept of charisma plays an important role in Weber's theories, but he had a conception of it very different from that held by most lay people today. Even though Weber did accept that a charismatic leader may possess exceptional characteristics, his sense of charisma was more dependent on the group of followers and the manner in which they defined the charismatic leader.
- According to Weber, power in a social relationship is the ability of an individual to achieve his or her will even against the opposition of others. Weber, to make his idea of power more useful for the study of history and society, gave domination as an alternative, or a more carefully defined concept. Domination for Weber is 'the probability that certain specific command (or all commands) will be obeyed by a given group of persons'.
- According to Weber, capitalism was a modern phenomenon: a very sophisticated system of institutions, extremely rational in character, and the product of various developments atypical of western civilization. In these terms, capitalism was unique—both in the sense that such a system never emerged spontaneously in the East.
- Weber concluded that the general character of Asiatic religion was a particular form of gnosis, i.e., positive knowledge in the spiritual realm, mystically acquired. Gnosis was the single path to the 'highest holiness' and the 'highest practice'. This 'knowledge far from becoming a rational and empirical means by which man sought with increasing success to dominate nature became instead the means of mystical and magical domination over the self and the world by an intensive training of body and spirit either through asceticism or, as a rule, through strict, methodological ruled meditation'.
- Weber wrote that 'In Asia generally, the power of a charismatic stratum grew.' Thus, that the magical, anti-rational world had a profound impact on economic conduct and development in Asia cannot be doubted.
- According to Weber, the depth and tenacity of this magical mentality created conditions in which the 'lust for gain' never gave rise to the modern economic system which Weber called as 'rational capitalism'.

5.6 KEY TERMS

- **Verstehen:** Verstehen essentially means understanding the meaning of action from the actor's point of view. To put it another way, it means to enter into the shoes of the other, and adopt a research stance that requires treating the actor as a subject, rather than an object of one's observations.
- **Patrimonialism:** A form of government where all the power flows directly from a leader is called patrimonialism. Such types of governments are autocratic or oligarchic in nature and keep out the upper and middle classes from power.
- **Historical sociology:** Sociological analysis based on historical sources—either primary (such as original documents in archives) or secondary (the written history produced by historians themselves).
- **Social action:** According to Max Weber, an action is 'social' if the acting individual takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course.

5.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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- The four ideal actions as stated by Weber are as follows:
 - Traditional action
 - Value-rational action
 - Affectional action
 - Instrumentally rational action
- According to Weber, traditional action is that type of action which is a result of habit and thus is an unthinking action. Such action involves only some degree of logic and is routine in nature. As the name suggests in traditional action people act in the way like they have usually done in similar situations in the past.
- In 1904 and 1905, Weber published one of his best known works, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.
- Legal authority can take a variety of structural forms, but the one that interested Weber the most was bureaucracy, which he considered as 'the purest type of exercise of legal authority'.
- Two characteristics of ideal bureaucracy are:
 - It comprises a continuous organization of official functions (offices) constrained by rules.
 - Each office has a particular and defined sphere of competence and capability. The office carries with it a set of obligations and duties to perform different functions, the authority to fulfill these functions, and the modes of compulsion needed to accomplish the job.
- According to Weber, the characteristics associated with domination are:
 - Obedience
 - Interest
 - Belief
 - Regularity
- The depth and tenacity of this magical mentality created conditions in which the 'lust for gain' never gave rise to the modern economic system which Weber called as 'rational capitalism'.
- The polis of antiquity was an overseas trading city, whereas in China trade was predominantly inland. And in order to preserve tradition, foreign trade and contact were limited to a single port, Canton.

5.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

- Write a short note on traditionalism and rationality.
- How has Weber defined 'charisma' in his analysis of charismatic authority?
- State the features of a dominant power relation.
- Write a short note on Weber's concept of religion in India.

Long-Answer Questions

- Compare and contrast the four types of social action given by Weber.
- Compare and contrast different types of authority propounded by Weber.
- Give a broad overview of the connection between religion and the rise of modern capitalism.
- Discuss the salient features of Weber's theory of power.
- Analyse the basic characteristics of Weberian bureaucracy.
- Elucidate the differences between charismatic authority and legal rational authority.

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5.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 6 KARL MARX

Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Unit Objectives
- 6.2 Influence of Karl Marx on Sociological Theory
 - 6.2.1 Dialectical Materialism
 - 6.2.2 Historical Materialism
- 6.3 Alienation and Capitalism
- 6.4 Class Conflict
- 6.5 Theory of Revolution and Other Concepts
 - 6.5.1 Transitional Proletarian State
 - 6.5.2 The Dictatorship of the Proletariat
 - 6.5.3 Surplus Value
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Key Terms
- 6.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 6.9 Questions and Exercises
- 6.10 Further Reading

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6.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit you will learn about the Marxian discussion on the dialectical approach which he derived from Hegel and which in fact shaped all of Marx's work. Much of sociological thinking was dominated by the contrast of dialect with causal logic. The dialectic emphasizes that among the elements of social world there are no simple cause and effect relationships; fact and value do not seem to be divided clearly between a line; and there are no hard and fast dividing lines among phenomena in the social world. Marx devoted his attention to dialectical and critical analyses of capitalist society, despite his political orientation towards the creation of a communist society. His insights into actors and structure should be viewed in the context of his opinions on human nature, which is the basis for his critical analysis of the contradictions of capitalism. According to him, a disagreement exists between our human nature and work in the capitalist system. Workers get alienated from their labour because it does not belong to them, but rather to the capitalist. Marx put forward most of his opinions in response to the quick changes taking place in Europe as a result of industrialization, primarily in Germany. He also studied the nature of the structures of capitalism and their adverse effects on the actors. He also elaborated on the pivotal role played by commodities in capitalism. Marx used the term 'rectification' to explain the process whereby social structure becomes naturalized, absolute and independent of human action. In this context, it can be said that capital is the most reified components in a capitalist society.

6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the contribution of Marx's works towards the evolution and growth of sociological theory

- Discuss the concept of dialectical materialism
- Analyse the various aspects of capitalism and its important constituents
- Explain the sociological elements involved in the process of commodity production

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6.2 INFLUENCE OF KARL MARX ON SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

Karl Marx was born in Trier, Prussia, on 15 May 1818. His father, a lawyer, provided the family with a fairly typical middle class existence. Both parents were from rabbinical families. But for business reasons the father had converted to Lutheranism.

In 1841 Marx received his doctorate in philosophy from the University of Berlin, a school heavily influenced by Hegel and the Young Hegelians, supportive, yet critical, of their master. Marx's doctorate was a dry philosophical treatise that bore little resemblance to his later, more radical and more pragmatic work. After graduation he became a writer for liberal-radical newspaper and within 10 months became its editor-in-chief. However, because of its political position, the paper was closed shortly thereafter by the government. The early essays published in this period began to reflect a number of standpoints that would guide Marx throughout his life. They were liberally sprinkled with democratic principles, humanism and idealism. He rejected the abstractness of Hegelian philosophy, the naïve and dreaming of utopian communists, and those activists who were urging what he considered to be premature political action. In rejecting these activists, Marx laid the groundwork for his own life's work:

Practical attempts, even by the masses, can be answered with cannon as soon as they become dangerous, but ideas that overcome our conviction, ideas to which reason has riveted our conscience, are chains from which one cannot break loose without breaking one's heart; they are demons that one can only overcome by submitting to them. (Marx, 1842/1977:20)

Marx married in 1843 and soon thereafter left Germany for the more liberal atmosphere of Paris. There he continued to grapple with the ideas of Hegel and the young Hegelians, but he also encountered two new sets of ideas—French socialism and English political economy. It was the unique way in which he combined Hegelianism, socialism and political economy that shaped his intellectual orientation. Also of great importance at this point was meeting the man who was to become his lifelong friend, benefactor and collaborator—Freidrich Engels (Carver, 1983). The son of a textile manufacturer, Engels had become a socialist critical of the conditions facing the working class. Much of Marx compassion for the misery of the working class came from his exposure to Engels and his ideas. In 1844 Engels and Marx had a lengthy conversation in a famous café. Engels said, 'Our complete agreement in all theoretical field became obvious ... and our joint work dates from that time (Mc Lellan, 1973:31) ... during this period Marx produced academic works (many unpublished in his lifetime) that were mainly concerned with sorting out his link to the Hegelian tradition (for example, *The Holy Family* and *The German ideology*), but he also produced *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* of 1844, which better integrated all of the intellectual tradition in which he was immersed and which foreshadowed his increasing preoccupation with the economic domain.

While Marx and Engels shared a theoretical orientation, there were many differences between the two men. Marx tended to be a highly abstract thinker, a disorderly

intellectual and very oriented to his family. Engels was a practical thinker, a neat and tidy businessman. They collaborated on books and articles and worked together in radical organization. Engels even helped and supported Marx throughout the rest of his life so that Marx could devote himself to his intellectual and political endeavours.

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In spite of the close association of the names of Marx and Engels, Engels made it clear that he was the junior partner:

Marx could very well have done without me. What Marx accomplished I would not have achieved. Marx stood higher, saw farther and took a wider and quicker view than the rest of us. Marx was a genius.

(Engels, cited in McLellan, 1973:131-132)

In fact, many believe that Engels failed to understand many of the subtleties of Marx's work. After Marx's death, Engels became the leading spokesperson for Marxian theory and in various ways distorted and oversimplified it.

Since some of his writings had upset the Prussian government, the French government (at the request of the Prussians) expelled Marx in 1845, and he moved to Brussels. His radicalism was growing, and he had become an active member of the international revolutionary movement. He was also associated with the Communist League and was asked to write a document (with Engels) expounding its aims and beliefs. The result was the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, a work that was characterized by ringing political slogans (for example, 'working men of all countries, unite!').

In 1849, Marx moved to London, and, in light of the failure of the political revolutions of 1848, he began to withdraw from active revolutionary activity and to move into serious and detailed research on the working conditions under capitalism. These studies ultimately resulted in the three volumes of *Capital*, the first of which was published in 1867 while the other two were published posthumously. He lived in poverty during these years, barely managing to survive on a small income from his writings and the support of Engels. In 1863 Marx became re-involved in political activity by joining the *International*, an international movement of workers. He soon gained dominance within the movement and devoted a number of years to it. He began to gain fame both as a leader of the *International* and as the author of *Capital*. But the disintegration of the *International* by 1876, the failure of various revolutionary movements, and personal illness took their toll on Marx. His wife died in 1881, daughter died in 1882, and Marx himself expired on 14 March 1883.

6.2.1 Dialectical Materialism

Many Marxists considered *Dialects Materialism* as the theoretical source of several types of Marxism. Marx never used this name which refers to the societal and economic transformation born of the material forces. Usually it is seen as the mix of Historical materialism (or the 'materialist conception of history') a name specified to Marx style in the study of society, economics and history. It is usually defined by the two declarations made by Marx: firstly he 'put Hegel's dialectics back on its feet' and secondly 'the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle' (The communist Manifest, 1848). Fundamentally it is described by the principle that history is the creation of class struggle and follows the universal Hegelian principle of philosophy of history, which is the growth of thesis into anti-thesis which is sustained by the 'Aufheben' which preserves the thesis and the anti-thesis whereas simultaneously bringing it to an end.

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Hegel's dialect focuses on the explanation of the growth and development of human history. For him truth was the product of history which passed through various moments including the moment of error or negativity which is the part of the development of truth. Compared to Hegel's idealism, Marxian dialectical materialism considers that history is not the result of spirit but consequence of material class conflict of the social order. Therefore, this presumption has basis in the materiality of societal survival. Dialectical materialism is also known as Diamat (short form for 'dialectical materialism') most likely used in 1887 by Joseph Dietzgen, a socialist tanner who was in touch with Marx. A formal reference to the phrase is also found in Kautsky's *Fredrick Engel* written in the same year, 1887. Georgi Plekhanov, the father of Russian communalism, afterwards used the term and therefore it came into usage in Marxist theory. Marx had stated on the subject of the 'materialistic conception of history' which has afterwards condensed to history materialism by Engels. He uncovered the 'materialist dialectic' not 'dialectical materialism' in his work *Dialectics of Nature* (1883). Diamat was discussed and analysed by a lot of Marxist thinkers, which resulted in a mixture of political and theoretical conflicts in the Marxist faction in universal and in the Comintern specifically.

Foreword

Marxism is a fundamentally materialist philosophy because the foundation of it is the belief that the overall account of everything is matter which is characteristic of reality. If empirical study is able to identify the whole aspects of matter, therefore, matter is accepted as the beginning and ending of all reality. An important part of Marxist thought is matter's independence in forming the course of nature which detaches dialectical materialism (the Hegelian dialectical method).

Marxism sticks to the triple laws of motion (originally proposed by the Greek thinkers and coded by Hegel). By means of these laws, Marxism tries to respond to the problems associated with both nature and humanity as well as tries to answer the query 'what is the beginning of energy or activity in nature?' Other such queries are:

- What is the basis of the continuous proration in the number of galaxies, solar system, planets, animals and all the realms of nature?
- What is the starting point of life, the beginning of species and the sources of awareness in the mind?
- What is the basis of regulation in society and the direction to which it is headed?
- Does the study of the past include an ending; if it is then what will it be?

By making use of triple laws of dialectics, Marx and Engels responded to all these queries. As an alternative of enforcing upon it, the laws were discovered inside the nature itself.

Laws of Opposites

Marx and Engels began with the impression that everything in reality is a union of opposites. As a case in point, the main feature of electricity is a positive and negative charge. Also, the atoms are made up of protons and electrons united but are in essence opposing forces. So it is befitting to say that humans also have opposite qualities like humbleness and pride, selfishness and altruism and so forth. The Marxist conclusion is that everything 'contains two mutually incompatible and exclusive but nevertheless equally essential and indispensable parts or aspects'. The essential idea is that this union of opposites in natural world is the feature which makes every unit auto-dynamic in nature along with ensuring a continuous drive for movement and transformation. This motion

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was analysed by George Wilhelm Hegel who stated that 'contradiction in nature is the root of all motion and of all life'.

More often than not this dichotomy exists in the natural world. A star is held collectively by the gravitational pull which is driving every molecule to the core, and an extremely high temperature is forcing the molecules to stay away as distant as feasible from the core. If either of any of the two pulls is totally successful the star cannot survive. If extremely high temperature is triumphant the star blows up into a supernova. Furthermore if gravitational pull is successful it implodes into a neutron star or black hole. Accordingly, live beings endeavour to stabilize inside and outside forces to sustain homeostatic, that is no more than a stabilization of contrasting powers, for example acidity and alkalinity.

Law of Negation

Here is a predisposition in environment towards continuously raising the numerical amount of the entire things. The law of negation was formed to explain this predisposition of natural world. Accordingly, Marx and Engels state that to organize to move forward or replicate a superior number, creatures are inclined in the direction of negating themselves. To say that the nature of opposing forces is inclined to negate the thing itself, at the same time as resulting in divergence in every part and giving them movement. Consequently creatures progress because of this energetic course of beginning and obliteration. This rule is generally made simple as the sequence of thesis, antithesis and synthesis.

Engels frequently referred to the example of the barley seed, which in natural process sprouts (which is the death of a seed or negation) and produces a plant, growing into ripeness and is negated after giving birth to barley seeds. So therefore, the natural world is continuously increasing from beginning to end in series.

In the social order, there is an example of class. The nobility, in this case, was wiped out by bourgeoisie and the proletariat was formed by means of bourgeoisie. This proletariat will eventually wipe out the bourgeoisie. This shows that never ending series of negation where every class produces its 'gravedigger', its heir, no sooner it finishes lying to rest its originator.

Law of Transformation

It states that constant quantitative growth leads to changes in quality by 'leaps' in the environment, resulting in production of a totally new variety or creature. This is the way in which 'quantitative development becomes qualitative change'. In the process of transformation, the rendering null and void of quality affecting quantity is also permitted.

This has many similarities to the theory of evolution. Marxist thinkers accomplished that creatures in the course of quantitative growth are in addition essentially able to 'leap' to new appearances and stages of realism. The rule shows that in a long duration of time, natural world builds up conspicuous transformations in course, all the way through a procedure of minute, roughly insignificant growths.

It is shown by the example of volcano explosion after the process of years of pressure adding up. When the magma cools, it will turn into a productive land where till that point in time there was none. As a societal case, years of stress among the contrasting groups in society becomes the cause of an uprising. The rule also happens in reverse. For example, introduction of better agriculture tools (changing quality) to farmland and these tools will help in producing bigger amount (changing quantity) of agriculture output.

History of Dialectical Materialism

Lenin's Contribution

Lenin was the foremost to provide a detailed description of **dialectical materialism** in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (1908). It involves approximately three axes: (i) the 'materialist invention' of Hegelian dialectics, (ii) the historicity of moral philosophy designed to class conflict and (iii) the junction of 'laws of evolution' in physics (Helmholtz), biology (Darwin) and in political economics (Marx). Lenin positioned himself among historicist Marxism (Labriola) and a determinist Marxism, close to 'Social Darwinism' (Kautsky). Preceding values of matter and materialism were confronted by new findings in physics (including x-rays, electrons and the initial stages of quantum mechanics). Matter looked as if to be vanishing. Lenin diverged:

'Matter disappears' means that the frontier within which we have until now known, matter vanishes, as our understanding is becoming insightful and deeper; the qualities of matter are fading compared to previously which looked total, not changeable, and basic, and which are at the moment exposed to be comparative and distinctive only at certain levels of matter. For the sole 'property' of matter with whose recognition philosophical materialism is bound up is the property of being an objective reality of existing outside of the mind.

Friedrich Engels was next, whose contribution was followed by Lenin, who had noted that 'with each epoch-making discovery even in the sphere of natural science, materialism has to change its form (*Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*). Lenin's major effort was to place materialism as a practical philosophical viewpoint away from what he considered as the 'regular materialism' uttered in declarations like 'the brain secretes thought in the same way as the liver secretes bile' (attributed to 18th century physician Pieve Jean Georges Cabanis 1757-1808); 'metaphysical materialism' (matter is composed of immutable, unchanging particles); and 19th century 'mechanical materialism' (matter was akin to tiny molecular billiard balls intermingling according to uncomplicated laws of mechanics). The explanations of Lenin and Engels to these arguments were 'dialectical materialism' in which matter was implicitly considered in the wider logic of 'objective reality' and which was constant with new progress in science. Soviet philosophy in itself was separated among 'dialecticians' (Deborin) and 'mechanists' (Bukharin).

Georg Lukacs Additions

History and Class Consciousness was published in 1923 by Georg Lukacs who was a Minister of Culture in short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic (1919). It had the explanation of dialectical materialism as the comprehension of society as a sum total and this explanation in itself was directly the consciousness of the proletariat. In the opening chapter, 'What is Orthodox Marxism?', the explanation of orthodoxy by Lukacs is specified as the faithfulness to the 'Marxist method' and not to the 'dogmas'. 'Orthodox Marxism, therefore, does not imply the uncritical acceptance of the results of Marx's investigations; it is not the "belief" in this or that thesis, nor the exegesis of a "sacred" book. On the contrary, orthodoxy refers exclusively to method. It is scientific conviction that dialectical materialism is the road to truth and that its method can be developed, expanded and deepened only along the lives laid down by its founders.'

Lukacs condemned Revisionist effort to go back to this Marxist method. Similarly Althusser described Marxism and psychoanalysis as 'conflictual sciences'. Lukacs

visualizes 'Revisionism' and political splits as intrinsic to Marxist premise and praxis, and for him dialectical materialism is the result of class struggle. 'For this reason the task of orthodox Marxism, its victory over revisionism and utopianism can never mean the defeat, once and for all, of false tendencies. It is an ever-renewed struggle against the insidious effects of bourgeois ideology on the thought of the proletariat Marxist orthodoxy is no guardian of traditions, it is the eternally vigilant prophet proclaiming the relation between the tasks of the immediate present and the totality of the historical process.'

He furthermore affirmed that 'the premise of dialectical materialism is, we recall, not men's consciousness that determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence that determines their consciousness... only when the core of existence stands revealed as a social process can existence be seen as the product, the hitherto unconscious product, of human activity'. Agreeing with Marx's views, the individualist bourgeois viewpoint of the theme was disapproved by him, which has been established on the voluntary and conscious topic. The importance of the societal relationships was emphasized by him. Survival and therefore, the whole world, is the result of human being's action; however, it can be perceived only if the dominance of societal progression on a person's awareness is acknowledged. The awareness of a person was cataloged as a result of philosophical spiritualism by him. Lukacs, in his thesis, does not control man's independence, on behalf of various types of sociological determinism to the contrary; this creation of survival is the likelihood of praxis. In July 1924, during the fifth Comintern Congress, this unorthodox explanation, nevertheless, which was preserved by him with affirming that 'orthodox Marxism' is faithful to the Marxist 'method', and not to 'dogmas', was criticized, beside with Karl Korsch's work by Grigory Zinoviev.

Stalin's Codification of Diamat

Stalin, in 1931, after his takeover, published a decree for deciding the issue of the debate between dialecticians and mechanists, which acknowledged dialectical materialism as related exclusively to Marxism-Leninism. It was encoded in *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* (1938) by specifying the 'Laws of Dialectics', which is the basis of specific subjects and especially of the science of history upholding the promise of compliance to the 'proletarian conception of the world'. So, Diamat turned into the authorized thinking of Stalinism and nearly attained the rank of state religious conviction.

Materialism in Dialectical Materialism

The argument of Marx talked about Epicurus and Democritus atomism, which is regarded at the same time as the founder, along with stoicism, of materialist viewpoint. Lucretius theory was well known to him. Dominance of material word is emphasized and matter-lead thinking is the focal point of materialism. Also materialism affirms that the world is material, and all occurrences in the creation are due to 'matter in motion'. Further, all things are interdependent and interconnected and develop in accordance with natural laws. It also holds that the world exists outside us which is independent of our perception of it, and the content we think is the reflection of the materialism in our mind; and that the world is in principle predictable. 'The ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought,' Karl Marx stated in *Das Kapital* (Vol 1). Against Hegel's idealism, Marx endorsed a materialist philosophy; he 'turned Hegel's dialectics upside down'.

Therefore, Marx approved materialist values in opposition to Hegel's idealism. One should not be perplexed with straightforward materialism as Marx's materialist

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thinking; in reality Marx disapproved of classic materialism as an additional idealist thinking. According to the famous *Theses on Feuerbach* (1845), thinking had to discontinue 'interpreting' the humanity in never-ending metaphysical arguments, for 'transforming' the earth. This 'transforming' of the humankind was occurring because of the increase in the workforce activity as perceived by Engels in England (Chartist movement) and by Marx in France and Germany. Therefore, the dominance of class struggle lies in historical materialism. The wisdom of Marx's materialism thinking is that the philosophy must take position in the class struggle, or it will get reduced to religious idealism (such as Kant or Hegel's philosophies) which in fact comprises just principles, i.e., the material result of societal survival. Therefore, Marx's materialism made the way for Frankfurt School's critical theory, resulting in the combination of the values with the social sciences in an attempt to analyse the disorders of society. Nevertheless, dialectical materialism may be summarized to the Diamat conventional theory.

Dialectics in Dialectical Materialism

As a prescribed approach, the foremost notion of 'dialectical opposition or contradiction' has to be appreciated as 'some sense' disagreement between the objects involved in an openly related context. 'Dialectical contradiction' is not reduced to simple 'opposites' or 'negation'. This is the discipline of the common and theoretical rules of growth of nature, society and thought. The major traits are:

1. Interdependences of the things as the creation is not a detached combination of things isolated from each other but a vital whole.
2. Cosmos, nature and the natural world is in a condition of continued movement.
All nature, from the smallest thing to the biggest, from a grain of sand to the sun, from the protozoa to man, is in a constant state of coming into being and going out of being, in a constant flux, in a ceaseless state of movement and change.
Friedrich Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*.
3. Irrelevant and unnoticeable quantitative changes lead to essential, qualitative changes in the process of development. The qualitative changes occur not gradually, but rapidly and abruptly in the form, rising from one state to another. For example water becomes steam at 100 degree (qualitative change) with a one degree increase in temperature (quantitative change). 'Merely qualitative differences, beyond a certain point, pass into qualitative changes,' Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1
4. Everything has within it the inner dialectical negations, which are the crucial source of activity, transformation and growth in the world.

Engels' Laws of Dialectics

Engels deduced the three laws of dialectics with his study of Hegel's *Science of Logic*. These are:

- The rule of the harmony and disagreement of opposites
- The rule of the course of quantitative transformations into qualitative transformations
- The rule of the reversal of the reversal

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For both Hegel and Lenin the first of Engels laws was considered the indispensable trait of a dialectical knowledge of matter which began with the early Ionian thinker Heraclitus.

It was Aristotle, from which second law was used by Hegel, and was compared to the phrase scientist label "phase transitions". The idea was inherited by Aristotle, also by Hegel and Engels, from ancient Ionian academics and "phase transition" of water to steam is one of the major examples of quantity, into quality change.

The last and the third law is the special expression of Hegel. With this terminology (along with additional things) Hegel's dialect became well known throughout his life-time.

Lenin's Elements of Dialectics

After reading Hegel's *Science of Logic* in 1914, Lenin made concise notes outlining three 'elements' of Logic in *Summary of Dialectics*.

1. The determination of the concept out of itself (the thing itself must be considered in its relations and in its development);
2. The contradictory nature of the thing itself (the other of itself); the contradictory forces and tendencies in each phenomenon;
3. The union of analysis and synthesis.

In additional progression of explanations, Lenin developed and argued that 'the transition of quantity into quality and vice versa' is a case in point of the union and the separation of opposites articulated cautiously as 'not only the unity of opposites, but the transitions of every determination, quality, feature, side, property into every other (into its opposite?)'. The relevance of the dialectic to history is taken up in Historical Materialism.

Marxist Criticism of Dialectical Materialism

Dialectical materialism was criticized by many Marxist academicians including Marxist thinkers like Louis Althusser or Antonio Gramsci who propounded a Marxist 'philosophy of praxis' in its place. Rest of the scholars in Marxist thinking returned to the original of praxis' in its place. Rest of the scholars in Marxist thinking returned to the original manuscripts of Marx and Engels and produced new Marxist theoretical proposals and ideas substituting dialectical materialism. In 1937, Mao Zedong propounded one more explanation in his essay *On Contradiction*, in which he discarded the 'laws of dialectics' and persisted on the complication of the negation. His manuscript motivated Althusser's effort on negation and it was a motivating subject matter for his famous essay *For Marx* (1965). Althusser tried to tone the Marxist thought of 'contradiction' by making use of the notion of 'overdetermination' from psychoanalysis. The teleological interpretation of Marx compared to Hegel's idealism was disapproved by him. Althusser built the notion of 'random materialism' (*matérialisme aléatoire*) compared to dialectical materialism, a shift which came from Althusser's scheme of 'anti-humanism', or the 'philosophy of the subject'. In an effort to solve the dilemma in a different way, Italian thinker Ludovico Geymonat made a historical epistemology from dialectical materialism. Althusser shortly supported the epistemological method and focused on the denial of the division among subject and object which resulted in making Marx's theory mismatched with its antecedents.

6.2.2 Historical Materialism

While dialectical materialism represents the philosophical bases of Marxism, historical materialism represents its scientific basis. It implies that in any given epoch, the economic relations of society – the means whereby men and women undertake production, distribution and exchange of material goods for the satisfaction of their needs – play an important role, in shaping their social, political, intellectual and ethical relationships. Marx applied dialectics to the material or social world consisting of economic production and exchange. A study of the productive process explained all other historical phenomena. Marx noted that each generation inherited a mass of productive forces, an accumulation of capital and a set of social relations which reflected these productive forces. The new generation modified these forces, but at the same time, these forces prescribed certain forms of life, and shaped human character and thought in distinct ways. The mode of production and exchange was the final cause of all social changes and political revolutions. Marx considered matter as being active, capable of changing from within. It was not passive, needing an external stimulus for change, a conception found in Hobbes.

The theory begins with the 'simple truth, which is the clue to the meaning of history that man must eat to live'. His very survival depends upon the success with which he can produce what he wants from nature. Production is, therefore, the most important of all human activities. Men in association produce more than men in isolation, and society is thus the result of an attempt to secure the necessities of life. But society has never accomplished that to the satisfaction of all its members, and has in consequence, always been subject to internal stresses and strains. The Marxian interpretation of human history is economic. Marx saw evolutionary changes in the ethical, religious, social, economic, and political ideas and institutions of mankind. According to him, institutions and ideas, and therefore, action are subject to endless change. The chief motive force which brings about this change in human beings is not the Hegelian idea but the material conditions of life. Human history, therefore, has a material basis.

The Marxist perspective postulates that the structure of society may be understood in terms of its base (the foundation) and superstructure (the external build-up). The base consists of the mode of production while the superstructure is represented by its legal and political structure, religion, morals, social practices, literature, art and culture etc. The mode of production has two components—forces of production and relations of production. Forces of production cannot remain static; they have an inherent tendency of development in the direction of achieving the perfect society. Forces of production have two components—means of production (tools and equipments) and labour power (human knowledge and skills). Men and women constantly endeavour to devise better ways of production. Improvement in the means of production is manifested in the development of technology. This is matched by development of human knowledge and skills as required to operate the new technology. Hence, there is the corresponding development of labour power. On the other hand, relations of production in any given epoch are given by the pattern of ownership of means of social production. This gives rise to two containing classes – haves and have-nots.

Marx talked of four stages of human history—ancient times, medieval times, modern times and future society based on communism. In earlier stages of historical development, development of the forces of production fails to make any dent in the pattern of ownership. In other words, changes in the mode of production bring about changes in the nature of contending classes but they do not bring about an end of the class conflict. Change in the nature of contending classes is itself brought about by a

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social revolution. When material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, these relations turn into their fetters. The new social class which comes to own new means of production, feels constrained by these fetters and overthrows the old dominant class in a revolution. As a result of social revolution, an old social formation is replaced by a new social formation. In this process, world contending classes are replaced by new contending classes but class conflict continues on a new plan. This has been the case still the rise of capitalism, which will be overthrown by a socialist revolution leading to the eventual emergence of classless society.

Marx, in his analysis of history, mentioned the important role of ideology in perpetuating false consciousness among people, and demarcated the stages which were necessary for reaching the goal of communism. In that sense both the 'bourgeoisie' (the capitalist wealth owning class) and the proletariat (the working class) were performing their historically destined roles. In spite of the deterministic interpretation of history, the individual had to play a very important role within the historical limits of his time, and actively hasten the process.

Marx had a very powerful moral content in his analysis, and asserted that the progress was not merely inevitable, but would usher in a perfect society free of alienation, exploitation and deprivation. His materialistic conception of history emphasizes the practical side of human activity, rather than speculative thought as the moving force of history. In the famous speech, Engels claimed that Marx made two major discoveries—the law of development of human history and the law of capitalist development.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. State the three laws of dialectics as developed by Engels.
2. Who provided a detailed description of dialectical materialism?
3. What does the Marxist perspective say about the structure of society?

6.3 ALIENATION AND CAPITALISM

Marx's thinking on this topic is rich and resists neat systematization. According to Marx, what is vital for the self-worth of human beings and the meaningfulness of their lives is the development and exercise of their essential human powers, whose focus is labour or production. Since these powers are historical in character, varying from society to society and (on the whole) expanding in the course of history, the degree to which alienation is a systematic social phenomenon also varies, as a function both of what society's productive capacities are and of the extent to which the human potentialities they represent have been incorporated into the lives of actual men and women. Generally speaking, the degree of systematic, socially caused alienation in a society will be proportional to the gap which exists in that society between the human potentialities contained virtually in society's productive powers and the actualization of these members. Thus the possibilities for alienation increase along with the productive powers of society. For as these powers expand, there is more and more room for a discrepancy between what human life is and what it might be. There is more and more pressure on social arrangements to allow for the lives of individual human beings to share the wealth of human capacities which belong to social labour. Marx's criticism of capitalism makes it clear that he regards it as a social system in which social arrangements have failed utterly to accommodate the

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potentialities for self-actualization which the social powers of production have put within people's reach.

According to the *Communist Manifesto*:

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The bourgeoisie during scarcely a hundred years of its rule has created productive powers more massive and colossal than all past generations together. The subjection of nature's powers, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam navigation, railways ... what earlier century dreamed that such productive powers slumbered in the womb of social labor? (1) In contrast to this unprecedented progress at the level of social production, capitalism has utterly failed to translate its expanded powers into expanded opportunities for individual self-actualization. It has diminished rather than increased the extent to which individual laborers, their intelligence, skills and powers, participate in the potentialities of social production, as well as sharply limiting the extent to which the laboring masses share in its fruits. As Marx puts it in *Capital*: Within the capitalist system all methods of raising the productive power of labor are effected at the cost of the individual laborer ... they mutilate the laborer into a fragment of a human being, degrade him to an appendage of a machine, annihilate the content of this labor by turning it into torture; they alienate from him the mental and spiritual potentialities of the labor process in the same measure as science is incorporated into it as an independent power. (2) How do capitalist social relations frustrate the human need for self-actualization? Self-actualization and spiritual fulfillment usually do not mean much to people whose more basic physical needs are still unsatisfied. And it is an important tenet of Marx's theory that capitalism cannot exist without imposing a brutalizing poverty on a sizeable proportion of the human race. There are a number of passages in which Marx appears to be saying that the downfall of capitalism is inevitable not because under capitalism people are alienated or spiritually unfulfilled, but simply because beyond a certain point capitalism will prove incapable of supplying the working population with the basic conditions for physical survival. The bourgeoisie, he says, becomes 'incapable of ruling because it is incapable of securing its slaves even their existence within their slavery'. The proletariat will overthrow capitalism (and with it alienation) not in order to lead more fulfilling lives but merely in order to be certain of survival. Marx does, however, identify some features of capitalist social relations which lead specifically to the crippling of people's powers and the frustration of their needs for self-actualization. One principal theme in Marx's account of the way capitalism 'robs workers of all life content' is the special manner in which it accentuates the division of labor. Modern capitalist manufacture, says Marx, is carried on increasingly by a 'collective laborer', whose actions are the carefully engineered result of the activities of many men, women and children. The labor process is carefully analyzed, its various operations are 'separated', 'isolated', 'rendered independent', and then 'laborers are classified and grouped according to their predominant properties. If their natural specificities are the basis for grafting them onto the division of labor, manufacture, once it is introduced, develops labor powers which are by nature fitted only to a one-sided special functioning.' In this way, 'the individual laborers are appropriated by a one-sided function and annexed to it for life ... The habit of a one-sided function transforms them into its unfailing organ, while their connection with the collective mechanism compels them to operate with the regularity of the parts of a machine.' Yet 'the one-sidedness and even the imperfection of the detail laborer comes to be his perfection as a member of his collective laborer'. But the process of capitalist manufacture not on of the well-rounded variety of powers and activities which they need to be full human beings; it also tends to render their specialties themselves more and more mechanical, dehumanizing in nature, less and less a matter of developed skills or powers: 'Every process of production is conditioned by certain simple manipulations of which every human being who stands and walks is capable. They too are cut off from their fluid connection with the content-

possessing moments of activity and ossified into exclusive functions.' Consequently, capitalist manufacture creates a positive need for mechanical, 'unskilled' labor, a need unknown to pre-capitalist handicraft manufacture: 'If it develops a one-sided specialty into virtuosity at the cost of the whole laboring faculty, (capitalist manufacture) also makes the absence of development into a specialty ... In (capitalist) manufacture the enrichment of the collective laborer, and hence of capital, is conditioned by the impoverishment of the laborer in his individual productive powers.' It is plain that Marx blames capitalist social relations, and not the technical requirements of modern industry, for the fragmentation of human beings and the impoverishment of their individual powers.

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Capitalist society is characterized fundamentally by the fact that the means of production are privately owned by a minority of the members of society who, acting largely independently of one another, tend to employ these means in such a way as to maximize the profit each earns on the investment. The nature of the means of production, moreover, is to a considerable extent at the discretion of this capitalist class, since their investment choices ultimately determine the selection of these means from the range of possibilities afforded by the technical capabilities of society, and even exercise a certain influence on the rate and direction of technical developments. These choices, moreover, are in the long run not arbitrary or at the mercy of individual capitalists, but are tightly constrained through competition with other capitalists by the requirement of profit maximization. Those capitalists who choose methods of production which maximize profits will survive and flourish; those who make different choices will lose their capital and the social power it represents. But the division of labor and the nature of individual laboring activity are largely determined by the means and techniques labor must employ. Hence under capitalism the factors which determine the life activities of the laboring majority are not in its hands but in the hands of a minority whose interests are opposed to its own; and the choices made by this minority are constrained by a principle (profit maximization) which deprives people of the well-rounded variety of powers and activities which they need to be full human beings; it also tends to render their specialties themselves more and more mechanical, dehumanizing in nature, less and less a matter of developed skills or powers. Consequently, capitalist manufacture creates a positive need for mechanical, 'unskilled' labor, a need unknown to pre-capitalist handicraft manufacture. It is plain that Marx blames capitalist social relations, and not the technical requirements of modern industry, for the fragmentation of human beings and the impoverishment of their individual powers.

In *Capital*, Marx argues in detail that there is no such happy coincidence, that it is just the kind of production dictated by profit maximization which has led to the alienating division of labor he describes. Marx believes that far from being incompatible with the technical requirements of modern industry, the potentiality for varied, well rounded human activity is inherent in modern scientific manufacture for itself, and will begin to appear naturally as soon as production comes to be regulated consciously by the workers instead of being driven blindly by dead capital's vampire-like thirst for profit at the expense of human life. 'The nature of large industry', he says, 'conditions change of labor, fluidity of function, all-sided mobility of the laborer'. Every step in technical progress demonstrates this fact by changing the laboring function required for manufacture, thus rendering whole categories of detail laborers (who have been trained only for one function) productively superfluous, and (under capitalist conditions) doing away with their only marketable skill. 'Change of labor' and 'fluidity of function' are not, however, inherently destructive or crippling. On the contrary, they represent precisely the potentiality for all-sided human development whose suppression under capitalism is a chief cause of alienation: But if change of labor now imposes itself as an overpowering natural law ... large industry through its catastrophes makes it a question of life or death to recognize the change of labor and hence the greatest

possible many-sidedness of the laborer as a universal law of social production, and adapt its relation to the normal actuality of this law; ... to replace the partial individual, the mere carrier of a detail function, with the totally developed individual, fit for the changing demands of labor, for whom different social functions are only so many modes of activity relieving one another.

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Capitalism and Freedom

Marx's adherence to this notion of freedom is explicit: to be free 'in the materialistic sense' is to be 'free not through the negative power of avoiding this and that, but through the positive might of making one's true individuality count'.

In most modern thinkers before Marx, however, the conception of positive freedom is given a predominantly individualistic and moralistic interpretation. To be sure, they note that the exercise of this freedom requires the satisfaction of certain social (especially political) conditions. But they conceive self-determination itself chiefly as the inner volitional disposition of individual human agents, their mastery over their impulses and passions through rational self-knowledge and moral fortitude. Given Marx's materialist conception of human beings as socially productive beings, he cannot be content with an introverted, spiritualistic sort of self-determination. For Marx, true self-determination must rather consist in the imposition of human control on the social conditions of human production.

Marx insisted that social institutions and relations of production are not facts of nature but historically transient social forms which are the products of human activity every bit as much as wheat, cloth or machinery. He does so in part to give the lie to those who would defend existing institutions by declaring them unalterable; but his purpose is also to make clear how much is required if human beings are to have genuine freedom or self-determination. If social relations are human products, then people cannot be accounted free until they create these relations with full consciousness of what they be (as Locke says) subject to the arbitrary will of others; it requires also that the social relations in which they stand should be products of their own will. To recognize this fully is already to see through the sophistry which represents capitalist society as free because its relationships result not from coercive laws or the will of rulers but (apparently) by accident, from unregulated economic decisions made by individuals.

Freedom for Marx requires the conscious production of people's social relations, it is something which can be achieved only in community with others, and cannot be attained by retreating into oneself or by the exercise of one's self-determination within the confines of a jealously guarded 'private domain' in which society does not interfere. Yet Marx does not neglect to emphasize the complementary point that no society can be free unless it 'gives to each the social room for his essential life expression'. There can be no genuine freedom unless men and women have the opportunity to exercise choice over their own lives and develop their individuality fully and freely. Marx is the consistent foe of political repression, press censorship and other such measures which curb the free development and expression of individuals. He has only contempt for any brand of communism which would turn the state or community into 'the universal capitalist' by imposing a uniform, impoverished mode of life on all members of society alike. There can be no doubt that for Marx individual liberty is necessary to a free society. But it is equally evident, to Marx at least, that the liberty proclaimed by bourgeois liberalism is not sufficient for genuine (that is, positive) freedom. Human freedom can be attained only when people's social relations are subject to conscious human control.

Therefore, it is only in communist society that people can be truly free, because human control over social relations can only be collective control, and only in communist society can this control be exercised by and for all members of society: Communism, says Marx, 'consciously treats all natural (*naturwüchsig*) presuppositions as creations of earlier human beings, divesting them of their natural character (*Naturwüchsigkeit*) and subjecting them to the might of the united individuals'. Only communist society can do this, because communist society will be a classless society, in it people will 'participate in society just as individuals'.

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Further, because individual self-expression and self-actualization are possible only through the capitalist division of labour, even individual freedom will become possible only with the collective human control over people's conditions of life. Only within the community has each individual the means of cultivating his abilities on all sides; hence personal freedom becomes possible only within the community. Marx does not conceive of social control over the means of production as the exclusion of individuals from ownership of what they produce and use. On the contrary, it is capitalism which involves such exclusion, since it delivers the means and objects of production over to a class of non-workers. Communism, as Marx sees it, will be a system of 'individual property for the producer', based on 'cooperation and the possession in common of land and the means of production'. The means of production must be owned collectively, because in modern industry labour is directly social, and the disposition of the means of production is always an act affecting society as a whole. Such acts, in Marx's communism, will be performed consciously. Decisions about them will be made democratically, by society as a whole, and not by a privileged class, acting contrary to the interests of the labouring majority and subject to the alien constraint of profit-maximization. Marx's critique of capitalism is based on some familiar philosophical value conceptions such as self-actualization and positive freedom.

Most of these issues are empirical ones, but this does not mean that they are clear cut or easily resolved. Any assessment seasoned with the proper scholarly caution would probably be inconclusive. It is unlikely that anyone, in Marx's time or today, knows enough to be entitled to a strong opinion for or against what Marx says about alienation and its social causes. If many people do hold strong opinions, this is largely because the only alternative to committing oneself in practice for or against Marx would be to take no effective stand whatever on the social reality around us.

Marx's account of alienation in capitalist society aims at substantiating three principal theses:

1. The vast majority of people living under capitalism are alienated.
2. The chief causes of this alienation cannot be removed so long as the capitalist mode of production prevails.
3. Alienation as a pervasive social phenomenon can and will be abolished in a post capitalist (socialist or communist) mode of production.

These three theses are obviously interrelated. Here, (1) is more or less presupposed by both (2) and (3). But (1) itself, as Marx understands it, is also dependent on (2) and (3), and on his grounds for holding them. In support of (1), a Marxist might cite widespread feelings of disorientation and dissatisfaction among people living in capitalist societies, or he might point to the preoccupation of philosophers, artists, social thinkers and popular consciousness with the problem of alienation, whether in an overtly Marxian or in various non-Marxian forms. But these considerations, however well substantiated, would not strictly show that alienation, as Marx understands it, exists in capitalist society.

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that they need in order to survive; objectifications is a necessary and universal aspect of human life. These objects are produced for use by oneself or by others in the immediate environment—they are use values. The objects are the products of human labour and cannot achieve an independent existence because they are controlled by the actors.

However, in capitalism this process of objectification takes on a new and dangerous form. Instead of producing for themselves or their immediate associates, the actors produce for someone else (the capitalist). The products, instead of being used immediately, are exchanges in the open market for money (exchange values). While people produce objects in capitalism, their role in producing commodities, and their control over them, becomes mystified. Initially they are led to assume that these objects and the market for them possess an independent existence. Thereafter this belief changes into reality as the objects and their market become real and independent phenomena. 'The commodity becomes an independent, almost mystical external reality' (Marx/1967:35).

Fetishism of Commodities

With the development of commodities, arrives the process labelled by Marx as the fetishism of commodities. The basis of this process is the labour which gives commodities their value. The fetishism of commodities comprises the process by which actors forget that it is their labour which provides the commodities their value. They start believing that value is generated by the natural properties of the things themselves or that the impersonal operation of the market is the source of commodities value. Thus the market takes on a function in the eyes of the actors that in Marx's terms, 'A definite social relation between men ... assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things' (1867/1967:72). Granting reality to commodities and the market, the individual in capitalism progressively loses control over them.

Therefore, a commodity possesses a mysterious nature, just because in it the social character of men's labour appears to them as an objective character imprinted on the product of that labour. It is because the relations of the producers to the sum total of their own labour are presented to them in the form of social relations that do not exist between themselves, but between the products of their labour.

The beauty of Marx's discussion of commodities and their fetishism is that it takes us from the level of the individual actor and action to the level of large-scale social structures. That is, people endowed with creative minds interact with other people and nature to produce objects, but this natural process results in something grotesque in capitalism. The fetishism of commodities imparts to them and to the marketplace an independent objective reality that is external to, and coercive of, the actor.

Reification

The concepts of commodities and fetishism of commodities would appear to be of limited sociopolitical use. The concepts seem to be restricted to the economic realm, i.e., to the end result of productive activity. Yet productive activity can—indeed must—be looked at more broadly if we are to grasp the whole of Marx's meaning as well as its application to sociology. We need to understand that people produce not only economic objects (food, clothing, shelters) but also social relationships and, ultimately, social structures. Looked at in this way, the fetishism of commodities is translated into the broad concept of reification (Lukacs, 1922/1968). Reification can be thought of as the process of coming to believe that humanly created social forms are natural, universal and absolute and, as a result, those social forms do in fact acquire these characteristics. The concept of

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reification implies that people believe that social structures are beyond their control and unchangeable. This belief often comes to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Then the structures actually do acquire the character people endowed them with. By using this concept, we can see that people reify not only commodities but also the whole range of social structures.

We can find the groundwork for a broader concept of reification in Marx's own discussion of labour. Basically Marx argued that as a social phenomenon, labour becomes a commodity under the peculiar circumstances of capitalism. 'Labor-power can appear in the market as a commodity, only if and so far as, its processor, the individual whose labor-power it is, offers it for sale, or sells it, as a commodity' (1867/1967:168). Once we admit the possibility of one social phenomenon (labour) becoming reified, it becomes possible for a wide range of other social phenomena to take on the same characteristic (Lefebvre, 1968:16). Just as people reify commodities and other economic phenomena (for example, the division of labour (Rattansi, 1982; Walliman, 1981) they also reify religious (Barbalet, 1983:47), political and organization structures. Marx made this point in reference to the state: 'And out of this very contradiction between the individual and the community the latter takes an independent form as the State, divorced from the real interest individual and community' (cited in Bender, 1970:176).

Marx had a few things to say about the range of reified social structures but he focused primarily on the structural components of the economy. It is these economic structures that Marx saw as causing alienation by breaking down the natural interconnectedness of people and nature.

Capital

The most general economic structural element in Marx's work is capital or the capitalist system. As an independent structure, capital (through the actors who operate on his behalf, the bourgeoisie) exploits the workers, who were and are responsible for its creation. Marx talked of the power of capital appearing a power endowed by Nature—a productive power that is immanent in 'Capital' (1867/1967). Thus people tend to reify capital by believing that it is natural for the capitalist system that they have forgotten they produced through their labour and have the capacity to change 'by means of its conversion into an automation, the instrument of labor confronts the laborer, during the labor process, in the shape of capital, of dead labor, that dominates, and pump away, living labor-power' (Marx, 1867/1967:423). This is what led Marx to conclude that capitalism is an inverted world.

Before we get to a discussion of some of Marx's economic ideas, the reader should be reminded that this is a book in sociological, not economic, theory. Thus, the economic ideas are introduced in order to illustrate underlying and more basic sociological ideas.

Circulation of Commodities

Marx discussed not only the character of capital in general but also the character of the more specific components of the capitalist system. For example, Marx examined the circulation of commodities, which he considered 'the starting-point of capital' (1867/1967:146). Marx discussed two types of circulation of commodities. Both represent the sum total of patterned economic relationships that are external to, and coercive of, the actor. One of these types of circulation—Money-Commodities-Money (M-C-M)—is characteristic of capital; the other—Commodities-Money-Commodities (C-M-C)—is not.

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In the simple circulation of commodities, the circuit C-M-C predominates. An example of C-M-C would be the fisherman who sells his catch and then uses the money to buy bread. In a society characterized by the simple circulation of commodities, exchange is accomplished by 'the conversion of the commodity into money, and the re-conversion of the money into a commodity' (Marx, 1867/1967:105). This circuit, however, does not exist in isolation; it is inextricably interrelated to similar circuits involving other commodities. This type of exchange process 'develops a whole network of social relations spontaneous in their growth and entirely beyond the control of the actors' (Marx, 1867/1967:112).

The simple circulation of commodities that is characterized by the circuit C-M-C can be considered the second historical type of circulation of commodities. Barter is the first historical form. Both of these circuits eventually lead to the circulation of commodities under capitalism, which is characterized by the circuit M-C-M.

In the capitalist circuit, referred to by Marx as 'buying in order to sell' (1867/1967:147), the individual actor buys a commodity with money and in turn exchanges it for money. Here our hypothetical fisherman buys new nets with his profits in order to increase his future profits. This circuit, similar to the circuit under the simple circulation of commodities, is characterized by two antithetical yet complementary phases. At one and the same time, one person's purchase is another's sale. The circulation of commodities under capitalism begins with a purchase (new nets) and ends with a sale (a large catch of fish). Furthermore, the end of this circuit is not the consumption of the use value, as it is in the simple circulation of commodities. The end is money in an expanded form, money that is qualitatively identical to that at the beginning of the circuit but quantitatively different (Marx, 1867/1967:150).

The importance of the M-C-M circuit, from our point of view, is that it is an even more abstract process than C-M-C. The 'real' commodity declines in significance with the result that the essence of capital is reduced ultimately to the 'unreal' circulation of money. This greater abstractness makes reification easier, with the result that the system is even more likely to become external to and coercive of actors.

Private Property

Marx also analysed the process by which private property becomes reified capitalism. In his view, of course private property, like the other structure components of capitalism, is derived from the labour of workers. 'Private property is thus the product, the result, the necessary consequences, of alienated labour of the external relation of the worker to nature and to himself' (Marx, 1932/1964:117). However, workers lose sight of, ultimately control over, this fact instead of controlling private property; the workers are controlled by it. As with all other structural components of Marx's work, his conception of private property was directly related to his early work on human potential and action as well as to his political goals. In relating private property to his earlier work Marx made it clear that not only is private property the product of alienated labour but, once in existence, it in turn exacerbates alienation by imposing itself between people and the production process. If people are to realize their human potential, they must overthrow private property as well as all the other structural components of capitalist society: 'the positive transcendence of all estrangement—that is to say, the return of man to religion, family, state etc., to his human, i.e., social existence' (Marx, 1932/1964:136).

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. How does Marx define 'freedom'?
5. What do you mean by reification?
6. What are the two types of circulation of commodities?

6.4 CLASS CONFLICT

According to Marxism, it can be easily stated that 'class is not than to say what class is.' A collection of persons having familiar characteristics is not a class. A case in point, the proletariat cannot be labelled as a collection of people 'as against capital'. In societal setting, class is not organizational or related to a particular 'place' (a position in society which a person may possibly 'occupy' or persons might be 'interpolated', etc.). The dissimilarity is insignificant one among 'empiricist' and 'structuralist' Marxism, which treat classes as crowds of persons or as 'places'. For the desire of an extra suitable expression we shall study the analysis which takes care of classes either as crowd of people or places as the 'sociological' formation of class.

For Marxists class was considered as a societal bonding 'like capital itself' (Marx 1965, 766). A bond is neither a collection of people even when there may be bonding in a specified collection of people or a position where a group may be formed or situated. Keeping away such ideas, it can be said that class is *the relation itself* (like the relationship between capital and labour) more particularly, *a relation of struggle*.

Therefore, classes as identified bodies in social context do not take part in the conflict. In fact the basic principle of class is *class struggle*. Even better, 'class struggle is class itself'. (This is the way Marx established 'class' in the beginning of *The Communist Manifesto*.) Marx noted that 'class struggle' is fundamental to 'class' by emphasizing that survival 'for itself'—which is the conflicting survival under pressure—is fundamental to the survival of 'class' (Marx 1969, 173).

Here we will talk about the origin of class as a bonding (a bonding of conflict) as the 'Marxist' origin of class: where, in addition to, it is easier to use this term. And on the other hand, disgracefully, the sociological origin of class comes up with the awkwardness that every person of bourgeois society is not clearly the integral part of the groups labelled 'capitalists' and 'proletarians'. The awkwardness is produced by the origin of classes as 'groups' or 'places' and to get away from this awkwardness sociological Marxism has taken refuge in labels like 'middle strata', 'middle classes' and so on and these labels are residual or consisting of the collection of people and are academic fabrications created by poor theoretical system. On the other hand, Marxist origin of class comes across no such problems, which considers class-bonding (for example, capital-labour bonding) as organizing the lives of dissimilar persons in dissimilar ways.

What type of qualitative appearances can the composition of life take as a result of capital-labour bonding (which is again, a bond of conflict)? The type referred by Marx was that of 'exploitation/expropriation'. Additional varieties consist of 'inclusion/exclusion' (Foucault), along with 'incorporation/refusal', 'appropriation/expenditure' in addition to 'homogeneity/heterogeneity' (Bataille) and (Marcuse, Tronti). The listing is 'phenomenologically' long and indefinite.

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There is a disparity among the Marxists and sociological analysis. As shown previously, Marxist observes the 'pure' labour (positioned at the farthest left-hand region), whose societal position (every one of dissimilar 'intermediate' forms) is not in any way at odds and in opposition to him, and he is by no means 'methodologically' advantaged; nor the 'pure' industrialist. Together they somewhat are viewed merely as forms fused together with each other in differently arranged multitude. Alternatively, the sociological observation takes care of the 'pure' labour in addition to the 'pure' industrialist like 'methodological pillars' suspended among the network of transitional classes.

According to Marx, this dissimilarity is significant as the 'pure' worker or labour does not exist. This is not for the reason of comparative reduction of the size of the 'traditional working class' (even if the particular hypothetically imagined collection of people is distinct). In fact, the opposite is true as the income bonding is a 'bourgeois and mystifying form' (Marx 1965 Part VI). And whosoever stays within its parameter, even and particularly the industrialist, who is a manufacturer of 'surplus value', lives a life separated with himself. His roots stay caught up in exploiting the labour while he dreams of idealist 'bourgeois' reality. Therefore, the series of class conflict goes all the way through the person who produces 'surplus-value'. Again, for the Marxist origin of class, there is no awkwardness in concerning the particular methods in which capital-labour bonding organizes in a hostile way. On the other hand, absence of the working class in its pristine form reduces the sociological origin of the class and brings it to the lowest level.

An additional marked divergence among the both formats of the Marxist view which states about a single class bonding (specifically, the capital-worker bonding) occurring in the present social order but the sociological proposal recognize numerous associations equal to the number of probable connections among societal space or collection of people. On this basis, the 'sociologists' lay blame on the 'Marxists' of decreasing societal divisions. In fact, sociologists have to be blamed of the charge of decreasing on these lines. The sociologists desire to place every person explicitly with no remnants in single or otherwise extra particular crowds or situations: a 'cross categorical' person is not capable of emerging within the depiction drawn by the sociologists.

The basis of sociologists' increase of societal divisions into various levels like 'middle class' 'new petty bourgeoisies', and so on is to search a clearly consigned slot for every person. Therefore, there exist specifically the patterns in which the expressions of class and the persons are alienated among themselves—the numerical complexity of the pattern system in which the 'geological fracture-line' of the conflict of class is present throughout is not just among person but casts a shadow on the hypothesis as well.

An associated position of Marxist origin is—different from that of sociologists—that class is not interpreted in the expression of attitude having anyone of various societal responsibilities. Since his earliest work 'On the Jewish Question' and beyond, Marx criticized any societal environment where classification of responsibilities is acquired as 'alienated' and not liberated. Far from marking the classification of responsibilities as a procedural theory, Marxian outlook of class portrays the person as a location of conflict; the individual conflict results in not merely as the 'universal' (attitude of responsibility and collectively alike), however in addition 'particular' (distinctive and in social context diverse) proportion of individualism participation. Neither theoretically nor practically has the classification of responsibilities liked 'proletarian' or 'bourgeois' (otherwise definitely 'man' or 'woman' or 'citizen') symbolizes the explanation of Marx; quite oppositely they form at the same time as one amongst the many tribulations which 'class' within its descriptions is proposed to solve.

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While among the Marxist and the sociological origins of class, again one more spot of dissimilarity is, naturally, political. The sociological outlook promotes policy of coalitions among classes and portions of class: along with it gives emphasis to the 'pure' labourer's class an advantaged—important and dominant—political character. In Marxist outlook, there is impossibility of these types of coalitions. The 'pure' labourer class (a person in a job as compared to jobless, the 'direct' manufacturers of 'surplus value' compared to the 'indirect' manufacturers, the 'proletariat' compared to the 'lumpen proletariat') does not have politically a procedural advantaged position, as these 'places' do not subsist. There is no issue of assigning to 'rising' as compared to 'declining' classes to domination of radical significance or power: these terms only make sense as soon as classes are viewed as positions or as collectivity of people. Lastly, the entire idea of forefront political party (added with its watered down variations) is reversed as the dissimilarities among 'advanced' plus 'backward' class fundamentally fade away amid the sociological origin of class.

However, classes are not collectivity of people or positions except bonds of conflict, therefore radical struggle obtains the shape of struggle among the collectivity (for all times it happens improperly and contaminatedly) which is implicitly the result of class conflict. It is not implicitly sociological as in the case, the appearance of 'pre given' classes—next to very last—interested more in already known academic and opinionated 'truth'. The issue facing the person is not on *whose* region however relatively, on *which* region (which region of class bonding) he or she is situated; and yet this concluding query is not implicitly the collective preference among the surviving positions or responsibilities. Not merely, in terms of quantity as well as in terms of quality, the characteristic feature of conflict of class is natural inconsistency. The focal point of the Marxist origin of class penetrating the question of alternatives by means of which class conflict deals with us and in this procedure forbids plea to whichever responsibility or position or collectivity of people in which (according to sociology) we are by now situated *prior to* whatsoever our decisive promise we want to make.

One can obtain sociological knowledge from Marx's manuscripts if there is a desire. Marx was not at all times a socialist, positively and particularly in his political works. In the 'two great camps' origin of class promoted in *Communist Manifesto*, the consequences of building the Marxist origin of class lie in outrightly sociological logic. A long time before his detractors and 'revisionists' criticized, it was Marx who wrote that with the growth of capitalism it was expected that the 'middle classes' would numerically increase. Marx, nevertheless, wrote a book labelled *Capital*, which had a single class bonding (the capital-labour bonding) which was academically 'object' addressed. This mystery can be solved merely by focusing on his comment regarding the 'middle classes' to be sociological and by means of evaluating the major argument of *Capital* as Marxist in the above mentioned logic.

The sociological origin of class, every time it needs to set up Marxist identification, forever turns into 'economic-determinist'. This is for the reason that the single 'indicator' of class link ('class' at this point being viewed again as a position or collectivity of people) is, according to Marx's work, the universal bonding to the 'means of production'. In addition to being bonded to the 'means of production', nevertheless persons are part of a class, and locate themselves bonded to the state and to 'ideology' and also to the local church and so on. Therefore, the sociological origin of class produces a system of detached societal 'levels' or 'practices' or 'instances' (Althusser) and has to tackle the query of how these 'levels' are linked. The reply is familiar: in the last instance 'the economic movement asserts itself as necessary'. In additional terminology, sociological

Marxism totals to a fiscal conclusion with lengthy and intricate 'deterministic' series. To assert that, as Althusser did, such a premise is no longer fiscal is like maintaining that a machine is no longer machine due to the asset of number of cogwheels its motor drives.

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The whole thing is dissimilar to the Marxist origin of class. Marx's difference among class 'in itself' and 'for itself' is in use as unique, not among the ranks of society but among the sociological and the Marxist origins of class itself: if a class turns out to be as soon as it is 'for itself' subsequently *political struggle* by means of all its erratic consequences and growth and expenses previously put together into what sociological Marxists identify as fiscal 'base'. While sociological Marxists try to unify ranks which it presumes to be separate and on the foundation of the threshold and difficulty can rely on the cause and effect and *external* associations nevertheless 'structural' (Althusser) variety; Marxist Marxism travels in the reverse direction and illustrates differences contained by an opposing entirety, i.e., inside an internally and destructively associated sum total: 'The concrete is concrete because it is the concentration of many determinations, hence the unity of the diverse' (Marx 1973, 101). The *totality* of the class-relation which is specific to, for example, bourgeois society (the capital-labour relation) is present—wholly present, though in qualitatively different ways—in each of the individuals who form that society's *moments* or part. The essential thing was said long ago by the early Lukács: 'It is not the primacy of the economic motives in historical explanation that constitutes the decisive difference between Marxism and bourgeois thought, but the point of view of totality' (Lukács 1971, 27).

Alongside with 'the point of view of the totality', a completely new origin of *class politics* is initiated. Previously 'politics' is perceived as a separate societal rank; the confirming assessment of the survival of class 'for itself' develops into creation of a political association of almost traditional—meaning to say: 'a bourgeois'-type. It is viewed that still a forefront party is perceived to different 'bourgeois' idea. Nevertheless, the 'bourgeois' social order, not Marx differentiates among the ranks of political state and general social order—'On the Jewish Question'—and recommends the previous as the ground where the societal collection of people in their readiness may participate. In the added terms, Marxist origin of class, 'the point of view of totality' discards specifically the *narrowness* of the formation of politics which the sociological origin of class necessitates. On top of the Marxist perception, the classification of politics develops into extensive variety in which class conflicts erratically take place. Not only no subject is disqualified from the political program; the idea of political program is itself disqualified as this type of program disqualifies and brings to periphery all that which is not part of some tentatively conventional political sphere of influence.

The already mentioned explanations do not assert to the wholeness or to the condition of a justification of the origin of the class which have been tried systematically to be retold. They aspire to, somewhat, make it lucid about what the Marxist perception of class involves. As for the consideration of the assessment of this perception, the proposition may possibly be dangerous that the *only possible* way of analytical inquiry which appears to be productive that which enquires is the 'capital-labour relation' is the only and exclusive such bonding of conflict which, in every part of its fulfillment, constitutes our lives. And at this point there can be no doubt of replacing Marx: additional types of bonding (sexual and racial bonds, for example) are arbitrated all the way through the 'capital relation' just as for its fractions; it subsists as arbitrated all the way through them.

The first and foremost sociologist and economist of the capitalist regime was Marx. He had a certain notion of that regime, of the fate it imposed upon men, and of the progression it would go through. As sociologist-economist of the system, he had the capitalist view of the sociological issues; he had no exact image of what the socialist system would be, and he repeatedly said that man cannot know the future in advance.

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From 1848 until the end of his life, Marx apparently ceased to be a philosopher and became a sociologist and, more of, an economist. He had received an excellent economic education and knew the economic thinking of his time a few men did. He was, and wanted to be, an economist in the strict and precise sense of the word.

The Communist Manifesto is a propaganda pamphlet in which Marx and Engels presented some of their scientific thoughts in combined form. The vital theme is the class struggle. They maintain that all history is the history of the class struggle: free men and slaves, patricians and plebeians, barons and serfs, master artisans and journeymen. In short, the oppressors and oppressed have been in perpetual conflict with one another and have carried on a relentless struggle, at times covert, at times open. It has always ended with a revolutionary change of the whole society or with the mutual devastation of the warring classes. Human history is characterized by the struggle of human groups called 'social classes', which are characterized in the first place by an antagonism between oppressors and oppressed and in the second place by an inclination towards a polarization into two blocs. All societies having been divided into warring classes, contemporary capitalist society does not vary from those that preceded it. However, the ruling and exploiting class of contemporary society, namely the bourgeoisie, presents certain characteristics which are without precedent.

The bourgeoisie is unable to maintain its superiority without permanently revolutionizing the instruments of production. According to Marx, the bourgeoisie has developed the forces of production more in a few decades than previous societies have done in many centuries. Engaged in heartless competition, the capitalists have revolutionized the means of production. The bourgeoisie is creating a global market; it is destroying the leftovers of the feudal system and the traditional communities. But just as the forces of production which gave birth to the capitalist regime had developed in the heart of feudal society, so the forces of production which will give birth to the socialist regime are ripening in the heart of modern society.

Marx did not deny that among capitalist and proletarians there are presently various in-between groups—artisans, petite bourgeoisie, merchants and peasant landowners. However, he made two statements. First, along with the development of the capitalist regime there will be an inclination towards crystallization of social relations into two groups: the capitalists on the one hand, and the proletarians on the other. Two classes, and only two, represent the possibility for a political system and an idea of a social system. On the day of the decisive conflict, everyone will be indebted to join either the capitalists or the proletarians. On the day when the proletarian class seizes power, there will be a final split with the course of all previous history. In fact, the hostile nature of all known societies will disappear.

Marx regarded politics and the state as phenomena less important to what is occurring within the society itself. He presented political power as the appearance of social conflicts. Political power is the means by which the ruling class, the exploiting class, maintains its control and its exploitation. The abolition of class contradictions must logically entail the disappearance of politics and of the state, because politics and the state are seemingly the by-products or the expressions of social conflicts.

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The idea is that men enter into specific relations that are independent of their will; in other words, we can follow the progress of history by analysing the structure of societies, the forces of productions and the relations of production, and not by basing our explanation on men's ways of thinking about themselves.

In every society there can be a notable economic base, or infrastructure, as it has come to be called, and the superstructure. The infrastructure consists basically of the forces and relations of production, while within the superstructure there are the legal and political institutions as well as ways of thinking, ideologies and philosophies. The instrument of the historical movement is the opposition between the forces and the relations of production. The forces of production seem to be basically a given society's capability to produce, a capability which is a function of scientific knowledge, technological equipment and the organization of combined labour. The relations of production seem to be basically distinguished by relation of property. However, relations of production need not be known with relations of property; or at any rate relations of production may contain, in addition to property relations and distribution of national income (which is itself more or less strictly determined by property relations).

Now, let us turn from these conceptual formulas to the understanding of capitalism. In capitalist society, the bourgeoisie is attached to personal ownership of the means of production and therefore to a certain allotment of national income. On the other hand, the proletariat, which constitutes the opposite pole of society and represents another association of the collectivity, becomes, at certain moment in history, the representative of a new social organization which will be more progressive than the capitalist organization. This new organization will mark a later phase of the historical process, a more development of the forces of production, a stage in the path of a progressive history. This dialectic of the forces and relations to production also implies a theory of revolution. Revolutions are not political accidents, but the expressions of a historical necessity. Revolutions carry out crucial functions. They take place when the conditions for them are ripe.

Capitalist associations of production were first developed in the womb of feudal society. The French Revolution occurred when the new capitalist relations of production had achieved a certain level of maturity. And, at least in this passage, Marx foresaw an analogous course for the change from capitalism to socialism. The forces of production must be developed in the womb of capitalist society; socialist relations of production mature in the womb of the present society before the revolution which will mark the end of 'prehistory' is to take place. Mankind said Marx always takes up only such problem as it can solve. Marx not only distinguished infrastructure and superstructure; he also opposed social reality to consciousness. It is not men's consciousness that determines truth; on the contrary, it is the social reality that determines their consciousness. It results in an overall beginning in which men's ways of thinking must be explained in terms of social relations which they are a part of.

Finally Marx outlined the stages of human history. Like Auguste Comte differentiated stages of human growth on the basis of ways of thinking, so also Marx distinguished stages of human history on the basis of their economic regimes; and he distinguished four of these or, in his expressions, four modes of production which he labelled as the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal and the bourgeois. The ancient, feudal and bourgeois modes of production have been realized in the history of the West. The ancient mode of production is characterized by slavery; the feudal mode of production is characterized by slavery and the serfdom; and the bourgeois mode of production by

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income earning. They form their different modes of man's exploitation by man. The bourgeois mode of production constitutes the last opposed social formation because, or rather to the level that, the socialist mode of production, i.e., the connection of producer, no longer involves man's exploitation by man or the subordination of manual labourers to a class wielding both possession of the means of production and political power.

On the other hand, the Asiatic mode of production does not seem to form a period in Western history. The Asiatic mode of production characterizes a civilization different from the West. The Asiatic mode of production does not seem to be distinguished by the subordination of slaves, serfs or wage earners to a class possessing the means of production, but by the subordination of all the workers to the State. If this understanding of the Asiatic mode of production is accurate, the social organization would be characterized not by class struggle in the Western sense of the term, but by the exploitation of the whole society by the state or the bureaucratic class. We must accept the fact that according to Marx, in view of that each society is characterized by its infrastructure or mode of production, distinguished four modes of production, or four stages in the history of the mankind, preceding to the socialist mode of production, which is situated beyond prehistory.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

7. What is the *Communist Manifesto*?
8. State the characteristics of the Asiatic mode of production.

6.5 THEORY OF REVOLUTION AND OTHER
CONCEPTS

Marx knew that revolutionaries needed a new theory of history. So he took the best theory of history available, that of Hegel, and he stood it on its head. The result was a new theory of history as summarized by Marx in his preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* written in 1859. These ideas were all expressed in one of the great literary documents of the nineteenth century, *The Communist Manifesto of 1948*.

The manifesto declares that 'the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy'. The normal way for the proletariat to win the battle of democracy in a democratic state would be for the workers to form a political party, appeal to the electorate, and by ordinary electioneering method, to secure a majority in the national parliament. Political supremacy thus gained should be used to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organised as a ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible. This clearly shows that the process of socialising capital is bound to be gradual; capitalism cannot be destroyed in one stroke. In this gradual process, some despotic inroads on the rights of property recognised and protected in bourgeois states, as also on the conditions of bourgeois production, would have to be made. Without such inroads the mode of production cannot be revolutionised. The measures for affecting the revolution would of

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course vary from state to state according to their circumstances, but the following are laid down as essential prerequisites for a communist society:

- Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
- Progressive or graduated income tax.
- Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
- Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
- Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state by means of national banks with state capitals and an exclusive monopoly.
- Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the states.
- Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state.
- Equal liability of all to labour. Establishments of Industrial armies especially for agriculture.
- Combination of agriculture with industry.
- Free education for all children in public schools.
- Abolition of all children's labour in factories in all its present forms.

These measures of social reform are to be taken only after the workers have been able to acquire control of the state through political methods. Until that happens, the workers and their sympathisers could easily support the measures adopted by non-socialists towards ameliorating the condition of factory-workers; e.g. reducing hours of work, fixing minimum wages, factory acts, etc. Marx described the 'British Ten-Hours Act' of 1847, as a measure of great moral and economic benefit to the workers.

All this goes to show that the Manifesto contemplates a gradual though rapid transition from capitalist to the new socialist order. This transition is to be effected by the state which represents the power of the workers. It is likely that the strongly entrenched bourgeoisie may not allow the proletariat to win the battle of democracy peaceably and constitutionally and may place serious obstacles in the way of the proletarian government enacting and enforcing measures which hit it hard. Marx held that under such circumstances the workers would have to resort to organised force. The resistance of the bourgeoisie to the revolutionary proletariat which is bound to be stiff makes revolution inevitable. Marx could not find in history any instance where a major social or economic group freely abdicated in favour of its rival. On the assumption that the future will resemble the past, the Manifesto declares that the proletariat can achieve their ends only 'by the forcible overthrow of all existing social condition'.

Marx's programme is thus both evolutionary and revolutionary. It is evolutionary in so far as Marx held that the new socialist society would emerge gradually out of the capitalist society and as a result of the natural and progressive decay of the latter. It is evolutionary also in as the sense that he held that the workers could attain their objectives by peaceful means in countries like England, USA and possibly Holland where democratic traditions exists. In the other countries where conditions are not so favourable, fundamental, social and economic change is impossible except by class war, violence and revolution. In so far as it holds that resort to violence and revolution is necessary for superseding the present system by a new one, it is definitely revolutionary. It should be remembered that it was the mission of Marx to make the working-class conscious of its miserable plight and exploitation under the capitalist system and to regard it as the inevitable

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effect of the system and to tell the workers that their emancipation lay in their own hands. The programme of Marx is revolutionary in as much as it insists upon the irreconcilable antagonism between the interests of capitalist and labour and regards class war as an inexorable historic necessity. It is revolutionary also in the sense that it has 'no respect for vested interest incompatible with its ideal, and is ready to take any steps towards its goal when considerations of formal or traditional legitimacy'.

Stages

The vital place which revolution occupies in the entire process by which the bourgeois system of production is to be replaced by the socialist in which the means of production are in the control and possession of the state would be better appreciated if we remember that Marx divides it into two stages.

The first stage is marked by the political revolution wrought by the middle class. Its purpose is to destroy the political superiority of the nobility and the clergy and win political power, first for the middle class and next for the mass of people. The political revolution tends to equalise civil liberties and destroy privilege. It is not its purpose to equalise economic difference or put power in the hands of the proletariat. For this purpose another revolution, namely, the proletarian, is needed. England had the first revolution in the seventeenth century which is known as the Bloodless Revolution of 1688. The Reform Act of 1832 also brought about a similar revolution. This revolution may be peaceful, but need not be so. The other type of revolution took place in Russia in 1918. It was accompanied by violence and force. According to Marx, real socialism cannot be established unless the proletarian revolution has taken place. We may say that his method is definitely revolutionary in the sense that it involves violence and force. It must however be remembered that the violent revolution which puts the proletariat in power and which ushers a new system of production is the final phase of the continuous struggle between the two classes. According to Marx, it can take place only when the way for it has been prepared by the development of the contraction inherent in capitalism, and the existing system of production has its vitality. It is unwise to force its phase in countries where the conditions are not ripe for it.

We may therefore conclude that whatever Marx might have said about the necessity of winning the battle of democracy as a part of the proletarian revolution, the entire trend of his argument is definitely revolutionary. He was convinced of the impossibility of reforming capitalism and of the inevitability of its violent overthrow.

6.5.1 Transitional Proletarian State

The working classes cannot simply seize the available ready machinery of the existing state and set in going for their own ends. The bureaucratic and military machine erected by the bourgeois must be completely smashed, and a new order must be set up in its place. This obviously takes time. Marx, therefore, contemplated a transitional stage between the conquest of power by the proletariat and the establishment of the new social order.

He writes: "Between Capitalist and Communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

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Unfortunately, Marx is reticent in regard to the organisation of the proletariat state which is to replace the capitalist order. Beyond laying down that the proletariat would organise itself as the ruling power after the capitalist state has been smashed, the Manifesto says nothing. But one thing is clear. The dictatorship of the proletariat would be as much a class organisation as the capitalist state, which it seeks to supplant; it would not be a free society and would retain certain features of the old order. It would preserve the coercive machinery of its predecessor. There are, however, two vital differences between it and the old regime. Whereas in the old capitalist state, the minority used political power to exploit and suppress the majority, in the new state it would be the majority which would expropriate the minority. In the second place, whereas the old capitalist state aimed at the maintenance of class distinctions and security of the owning class, the dictatorship of the proletariat would be as much a class organisation as the capitalist state, which it seeks to supplant; it would not be a free society and would retain certain features of the old order. It would preserve the coercive machinery of its predecessor.

In *Civil War in France* Marx gives us some details about the organisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariat would set up its own centralised apparatus of force in order to complete the defeat of the capitalist class and defend the new order against attacks from enemies within and without. It would set up a totally new legislative authority, a proletarian judiciary and code of law, a new proletarian police and military force and the authority would remain with the proletarian party. In short, the bourgeois parliament, civil service, police, etc. would all be demolished and something new would take their place. What the Communists did in Soviet Russia after having wrested power was wholly in accordance with the Marxian view; they had to maintain the state organisation in order to defend themselves and preserve the new state against its enemies.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. (Mazlish, p.105)

6.5.2 The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The controversial and ambiguous concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat emerged in the writings of Marx and Engels as a result of a debate with the German Social Democrats, the Anarchists and more significantly from the practical experience of the Paris Commune of 1871. These observations had to be put together from the remarks solely made en passant and from different sources. The two major texts, however, were the *Civil War in France* and the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

The concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat held the key to the understanding of Marx's theory on the nature of Communist society and the role of the proletarian state. It was a concept that divided the Marxists and Leninists from the Anarchists on the one hand and the Social Democrats on the other.

The Communist Manifesto

The phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" was not used in the Manifesto. Nor was there any mention of the complete elimination of the state power and the state machinery. Marx and Engels spoke about the "political rule of the proletariat", advising the workers to capture the state, destroy all privileges of the old class, and prepare for eventual disappearance of the state.

We have seen above that first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class, to win the battle of

democracy.... The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of the production in the hands of the state, i.e. of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive force as rapidly as possible. (Marx 1975)

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Marx and Engels were convinced that the existing states, whether as instruments of class domination and oppression or rule by bureaucratic parasites on the whole society, would grow inherently strong and would remain minority states representing the interests of the small, dominating and powerful possessing class. It was only when the proletarian majority seized the state structure that the state assumed that it was powerful machinery which the proletariat had to contend with while preparing its revolution. In the later part of his life, Marx was convinced of the imperative need to destroy the state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the initial stage, bearing in the example of the French Revolution of 1789, he anticipated a seizure of the existing state machine by the revolutionary proletariat; for he believed that political centralization would assist the revolutionary progress.

The initial "capture" thesis of the state, however, yielded to the "smash" thesis subsequently. The former viewpoint was articulated in the *Manifesto*, where the existing state structures would be used for revolutionizing the mode of production. The "smash" thesis was articulated in response to the experience of the Parisian Communards, as evident in the *Civil War in France* and the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. In a book review written around 1848-1849, Marx observed that the destruction of the state had only one implication for the suppression of the another Class. (Draper 1977)

In March 1850, the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" replaced the habitually used phrase "rule of the proletariat". Marx and Engels stressed the notion of extraordinary power during an emergency for a limited period of time. Marx did not define, in any specific way, what the dictatorship of the proletariat entailed and what its relationship with the state was. It was "a social description, a statement of the class character of the political power. It did not indicate a statement about the forms of government authority" (Draper 1975). But for some scholars, the concept was both a statement of the class character of political power and a description of political power itself. "It is in fact the nature of political power which guarantees its class character". (Miliband 1965)

To Marx and Engels, the dictatorship of the proletariat was by the entire class, for revolution would be made by the masses themselves. In a series of articles written in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which were subsequently compiled under the title *The Class Struggles in France (1848-1850)* Marx contended that

...The declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of the class distinctions generally to the abolition of all relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations.

Marx wanted to get rid of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. He saw the need to replace it with a dictatorship of the proletariat. And he saw this form of state as a necessary transition to the abolition of all classes into a classless society. Like the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat could assume a myriad of political forms. It could be very democratic. The dictatorship of the proletariat is in its essence the use of state power to defend the interests of the working class, the poor, and the formerly oppressed. It defends collective ownership of property as a right. It defends the right to a job, the right to universal health care.

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6.5.3 Surplus Value

In a capitalist society, the ruling class acquires surplus value as a kind of profit. Since the ruling class owns the land and the factory machinery as private property, the worker is forced to sell the labour power to the capitalist to earn their livelihood. So, in this way, the capitalist becomes the owner of not just the means of production, but also a worker's labour power which he has acquired by paying wages, to use in production, as well as the final product. Once the owner-capitalist pays a worker's wages, he owns the surplus value, in addition to the value of the worker's labour value. In a capitalist society, the surplus value is a kind of capital and the surplus value takes the form of the essence of production in capitalism. Thus, the only productive work is work which creates surplus value and all other surplus work is done away with. A capitalist may raise the amount of surplus value obtained from the workers in two ways:

- Through the absolute surplus value method: by making the working day as long as possible.
- Through the relative surplus value method: by reducing wages.

A capitalist may try to increase profits by bringing in new techniques or new machinery which would help speed up production. However, these techniques become useless as soon the new techniques are copied by their competitors. The final outcome of these enhancements in production may be to increase the productivity of labour, but if the rate of surplus value is not increased simultaneously, the rate of profit will actually decrease.

Different Kinds of Surplus Value

Marx says that a thing has two different kinds of Surplus Value:

- Use-value
- Exchange-value

A person wants to buy bread, butter and cloth because of the use-value these things have for him. The use-value differs from man to man. While wine and meat have great use-value for some persons it has none at all for others. At one time cloth may have more use-value than bread while at other times it has less value for the same individual. The exchange-value of a commodity is generally expressed in terms of price, and is usually the same for all persons at a given time. According to Marx, it is determined by the amount of necessary labour required to produce it, and its amount is determined by the process of exchange. If the supply of a commodity is limited and the demand for it is great, its exchange-value rises. The difference between it and the value of the socially useful labour needed to produce it represents the surplus value which is appropriated by the capitalist. Even if the demand and supply of a commodity are balanced, it has a surplus value. The position may be represented thus: a worker works for ten hours and produces a commodity. Marx held that he does not receive wages for all the value he has created through his labour during the period. According to the Iron Law of Wages, a worker receives just the amount sufficient to maintain him. If we suppose that six hours of work each day are sufficient to produce enough for the worker to keep himself and his family alive, then the value produced by him during the remaining four hours represents the surplus value. It goes to his employer because the worker is working for the employer and not for himself. Marx's theory assumes that a worker always creates more wealth than what he receives from his employers in the shape of wages. Because of the inherent viciousness of the capitalist system which separates the worker from the

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tools, this difference is taken away by the capitalist who provides the tools and the raw materials.

Production of Absolute Surplus Value

With the growth of the capitalist economy production, for local consumption gave way to production for profit. Production for profit is thus an essential feature of the capitalist system. On the one hand, it required persons with enough resources to build workshop and factories and equip them with tools, machinery, etc. and on the other hand, a number of people who can be engaged to work in them because they do not own the mean of production. The workers produce things, not for themselves, but for their employer who sell them for money and thereby makes profits. According to Marx, those who can own the material means of production and employs labour to work up the raw material make profits because they appropriate what he calls 'surplus value' (it consist of the difference between the exchange value of the product created by labour and the value of 'labour power'). Marx contends that in each factory or enterprise 'the wages paid to the workers are not equivalent of the full value they produce, even very less. The rest of the value are not equivalent of the full value they produce, even very less. The rest of the value produced by the worker during his working day is taken outright by his employer'. This excess value taken by the employer constitutes the 'surplus value'. It is the constant effort of the employer to increase its amount. These extra hours will create surplus value for the capitalist. This is the central point of Marx's theory of surplus value.

Production of Relative Surplus Value

As per Marx, the additional labour time that the worker spends to earn back for the capitalist the value for which the capitalist does not pay wages to the worker is translated into surplus value. The rate of surplus value is raised by increasing the length of the working day in order to extract surplus-labour on top of the specific amount of required labour. Conversely, surplus value can also be increased by cutting down the necessary labour time for a given day, which would mean that the value of the labor power would also fall. The surplus value derived from this method is known as relative surplus value, and is obviously different from absolute surplus value, which is an outcome of extending the working day.

Some Issues Concerning Surplus Value

It is called the theory of surplus labour and surplus value. In very simplified terms, surplus labour is profit. Things like rent, bills, wages, and other expenses are paid forthrough constant and variable capital (the two forms of capital described by Adam Smith). Marx took it one step further and described surplus value. When a worker spends say eight hours a day expressing himself through labour, he can produce large quantities of goods which lead to profit. However, the worker does not see any benefit of his labour; his wage has already been taken into account through constant capital. This inability to use, express, or see the benefit of labour leads to alienation, which causes the worker to stop seeing himself as a human being and he begins to see himself as merely an object.

It is not necessary to examine in any detail the Marxian theory of value and surplus value which 'has rather the significance of a political and social slogan than of an economic truth' (Max Beer quoted by Laski in his Communism, p.102). From the point of view of economists, the theory is unsound. And the assumptions on which its rests are false. It is not true that labour (by which Marx must mean wage labour, if the fact of

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exploitation is to be deduced from it) is the only value producing agency. There is no doubt that without labour capital remains unproductive; it produces value only when labour is applied to it. But it is equally true that labour would remain unproductive without capital. The labour of the entrepreneur, factory-manager and other people who work with their brains is as necessary as that of the manual labourer, skilled and unskilled. Laski points out that for Marx, the economist, all effort 'Whether of manager, financier, worker by hand or brain, which is socially necessary in the production of an article, goes to make up its exchange value', but he admits that Marx, the agitator, sometimes used sentences 'which seem to make his analysis more narrow than this'. But if we include in 'the socially necessary labour' which is required to create value the contribution of the manager, the financier, etc the injustice and exploitative character of capitalism disappears and Marx 'the agitator' is left with no stick with which to beat the capitalist. In the second place, the Iron Law of Wages which he borrowed from Ricardo is not valid. The 'labour power' of a worker is not a commodity like an article of furniture or a piece of cloth whose price is determined by the cost of producing it. Speaking of the 'labour power' in this way, Marx may be said to have treated value and surplus value in a highly abstract way. In his hand they do not remain concrete things but become pure abstractions. It is possible for one to reject Marx's theory of value and yet to hold that the labourer does not get his fair share under capitalism. It is this idea which constitutes the core of Marxism and not the theory of value.

Conclusion

Marx created a theoretical system in which workers were paid based on the quantity of their labour, as well as the quality of their labour. Marx also took into account social necessity and the amount of schooling a person had received when determining wages.

Criticism of Marx is often done from a very ignorant position. The complaints of communism (or what people believe is communism) is often true of capitalism. Say I am a labourer working for minimum wage in the United States. No matter how I perform my job, I will only make minimum wage, so why should I work hard? Marx recognized this fault of capitalism in the 19th century. Hence the reason behind his theory of surplus value and social necessity which would help encourage people to work hard so they could see the full benefit of their labour. Most capitalists who fail to understand Marxism can be summed up in this statement: "A moralizing philistine's favourite method is the lumping of reaction's conduct (Stalin, for example) with that of revolution (Marx, Lenin, Trotsky...)." What philistines fail to understand is that capitalism was (and still is, but has revived a bit, as I will describe shortly) a dying system and it is thanks to bourgeois opportunists, claiming to be Marxists (Kautsky, Bernstein, etc.) taking Marxist principles, and using those ideas to prop up capitalism by being nothing more than traitors to the working class. Capitalism would have collapsed years ago if not for this treacherous use of Marxism.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

9. When does the exchange value rise?
10. Who gets the surplus value in a capitalist society?
11. What is relative surplus value?

6.6 SUMMARY

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- While Marx and Engels shared a theoretical orientation, there were many differences between the two men. Marx tended to be a highly abstract thinker, a disorderly intellectual and very oriented to his family. Engels was a practical thinker, a neat and tidy businessman.
- Many Marxists considered Dialects Materialism as the theoretical source of several types of Marxism. Marx never used this name which refers to the societal and economic transformation born of the material forces. Usually it is seen as the mix of Historical materialism (or the 'materialist conception of history') a name specified to Marx style in the study of society, economics and history.
- Marxism is a fundamentally materialist philosophy because the foundation of it is the belief that the overall account of everything is matter which is characteristic of reality. If empirical study is able to identify the whole aspects of matter, therefore, matter is accepted as the beginning and ending of all reality.
- The Marxist conclusion is that everything 'contains two mutually incompatible and exclusive but nevertheless equally essential and indispensable parts or aspects'. The essential idea is that this union of opposites in natural world is the feature which makes every unit auto-dynamic in nature along with ensuring a continuous drive for movement and transformation.
- The law of negation was formed to explain this predisposition of natural world. Accordingly, Marx and Engels state that to organize to move forward or replicate a superior number, creatures are inclined in the direction of negating themselves.
- The law of transformation states that constant quantitative growth leads to changes in quality by 'leaps' in the environment, resulting in production of a totally new variety or creature. This is the way in which 'quantitative development becomes qualitative change'.
- Lenin was the foremost to provide a detailed description of dialectical materialism in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (1908). It involves approximately three axes: (i) the 'materialist invention' of Hegelian dialectics, (ii) the historicity of moral philosophy designed to class conflict and (iii) the junction of 'laws of evolution' in physics (Helmholtz), biology (Darwin) and in political economics (Marx).
- Dialectical materialism was criticized by many Marxist academicians including Marxist thinkers like Louis Althusser or Antonio Gramsci who propounded a Marxist 'philosophy of praxis' in its place.
- Marx's thinking on this topic is rich and resists neat systematization. According to Marx, what is vital for the self-worth of human beings and the meaningfulness of their lives is the development and exercise of their essential human powers, whose focus is labour or production.
- One cause of alienation cited by Marx is the frustration or abortion of human potentialities by the capitalist division of labour. Another, perhaps even more prominent and fundamental in Marx's account, is the Alienation and Capitalism.
- The basis of all of Marx's work on social structures, and the place in which that work is most clearly tied to his views on human potential, is in his analysis of commodities.

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- The most general economic structural element in Marx's work is capital or the capitalist system. As an independent structure, capital (through the actors who operate on his behalf, the bourgeoisie) exploits the workers, who were and are responsible for its creation.

6.7 KEY TERMS

- **Dialectical materialism:** Dialectical materialism (sometimes abbreviated diamat) is a philosophy of science and nature, based on the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and developed largely in Russia and the Soviet Union.
- **Historical materialism:** Historical materialism is a methodological approach to the study of human societies and their development over time that was first articulated by Karl Marx (1818–1883) as the materialist conception of history.
- **Iron law of wage:** A law of economics which states that the real wages always run in the long run, toward the minimum wage necessary to sustain the life of the worker.

6.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

- Engels deduced the three laws of dialectics with his study of Hegel's Science of Logic. These are:
 - The rule of the harmony and disagreement of opposites
 - The rule of the course of quantitative transformations into qualitative transformations
 - The rule of the reversal of the reversal
- Lenin was the foremost to provide a detailed description of dialectical materialism in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (1908).
- The Marxist perspective postulates that the structure of society may be understood in terms of its base (the foundation) and superstructure (the external build-up). The base consists of the mode of production while the superstructure is represented by its legal and political structure, religion, morals, social practices, literature, art and culture etc.
- Freedom for Marx requires the conscious production of people's social relations, it is something which can be achieved only in community with others, and cannot be attained by retreating into oneself or by the exercise of one's self-determination within the confines of a jealously guarded 'private domain' in which society does not interfere.
- Reification can be thought of as the process of coming to believe that humanly created social forms are natural, universal and absolute and, as a result, those social forms do in fact acquire these characteristics. The concept of reification implies that people believe that social structures are beyond their control and unchangeable.
- Marx discussed two types of circulation of commodities. Both represent the sum total of patterned economic relationships that are external to, and coercive of, the actor. One of these types of circulation—Money-Commodities-Money (M-C-

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M)—is characteristic of capital; the other—Commodities-Money-Commodities (C-M-C)—is not.

- The Communist Manifesto* is a propaganda pamphlet in which Marx and Engels presented some of their scientific thoughts in combined form. The vital theme is the class struggle. They maintain that all history is the history of the class struggle: free men and slaves, patricians and plebeians, barons and serfs, master artisans and journeymen.
- The Asiatic mode of production does not seem to be distinguished by the subordination of slaves, serfs or wage earners to a class possessing the means of production, but by the subordination of all the workers to the State. If this understanding of the Asiatic mode of production is accurate, the social organization would be characterized not by class struggle in the Western sense of the term, but by the exploitation of the whole society by the state or the bureaucratic class.
- The exchange-value rises when the supply of a commodity is limited and the demand for it is great.
- The employer or the owner receives the surplus value in a capitalist society.
- Surplus value that derives from a reduction in necessary labour-time is called relative surplus value.

6.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

- Give a brief note on the early life of Marx that shaped his overall approach in life.
- State the basic elements of dialectical materialism.
- State the 'Law of Transformation' in Marxist theory.
- What do you mean by the Engels' law of dialectics?
- Give the basic features of Asiatic mode of production.

Long-Answer Questions

- Define and discuss dialectics as a philosophical perspective, including how it differs from other approaches.
- Define and discuss the notion of dialectical materialism.
- What is the negation of negation?
- What does Marx mean by the term 'alienation' and in what sense are workers alienated?
- Discuss Marx's concept of labour and its role in capitalism.
- What is a 'commodity'? How does it differ from an ordinary object?

6.10 FURTHER READING

Adams, Bert N., Rosalind Ann Sydie and R.A. Sydie. 2001. *Sociological Theory*. California: Pine Forge Press.

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NOTES**UNIT 7 VILFREDO PARETO****Structure**

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Unit Objectives
- 7.2 Life of Pareto
 - 7.2.1 Pareto's Economic Concepts
 - 7.2.2 Circulation of Elites
- 7.3 Residues and Derivations
- 7.4 Logical and Non-Logical Actions
- 7.5 Summary
- 7.6 Key Terms
- 7.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 7.8 Questions and Exercises
- 7.9 Further Reading

NOTES**7.0 INTRODUCTION**

Pareto was an Italian economist and sociologist. He introduced several concepts in sociology that are used even today to explain the social movements, the structure of the society and also the societal history. His study of sociology developed the concept of Circulation of Elites which is a continuous process and is witnessed in every society.

Pareto also studied about human behaviour and the underlying factors which governed it. On the basis of his study, he further divided the human actions into logical and non-logical actions. These concepts are used even today and are helpful in studying how the society functions.

7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the concept of elites and their circulation
- Analyse the meaning of residues and derivations
- Describe the concept of logical actions
- Explain the functioning of non-logical actions performed by humans

7.2 LIFE OF PARETO

Vilfredo Federico Damaso Pareto (1848- 1923) was an Italian engineer, economist, sociologist, philosopher and political scientist. Pareto was born in 1848 in Paris. He lived in middle class environment receiving high quality education. Pareto earned a doctor's degree from now what is called the Polytechnic University of Turin in the year 1869. After his graduation, Pareto worked as a civil engineer for some years for Italian Railway Company and later for a private company. During his career as a civil engineer, he worked as a manager for Iron Works of San Giovanni Valdarno and also as the general manager of Italian Iron Works. Pareto was a fiery liberal and most of the times attacked any form of government intervention in the free market. He showed interest in economics

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in his mid forties. In 1886, he became a lecturer in economics and management at the University of Florence. During his stay in Florence, he attacked the government regulators and there was much political activity that kept him busy during his stay here. In 1893, Pareto became the chairperson of Political Economy at the University of Lausanne in Switzerland. In 1906, he made the discovery of the 80-20 rule according to which 20 percent of the population owned 80 per cent of property of Italy. This discovery was later generalized into the Pareto Principle. Though Pareto maintained cordial relationships with socialists, he believed that their economic ideas were flawed. He denounced the socialist leaders and believed that they wanted to despoil the country. He also launched labour in Italy. He was the first to realize that cardinal utility could be dispensed with and also introduced the notion of Pareto optimality. According to this notion, a system enjoys worse off.

Pareto studied sociology holding to the fact that much of social actions were non-logical and most person actions were designed to give spurious logic to the non-rational theories. He turned to sociology to understand why his abstract mathematical economic theories did not work out in practice and believed that one of the reasons for their failure was the intervention of social factors that were uncontrollable and unforeseen. According to Pareto, everyone is driven by certain residues and derivations from these residues. Pareto's sociology was introduced in the United States and had considerable influence on several sociologists who later developed many theories based on Pareto's findings.

7.2.1 Pareto's Economic Concepts

Pareto as an economist made several important observations and introduced concepts that built a strong foundation for micro-economics that we study today. Pareto's concepts can be used successfully in several economic calculations and observations. Some economic concepts that were conceptualized by Pareto are used currently as well. These include:

- **Pareto's principle or Pareto's law:** In 1906, Pareto made an observation that twenty per cent of people owned eight per cent of wealth. Based on this observation he created a mathematical formula that described the unequal distribution of wealth in his country. The 80/20 Rule or Pareto's Principle means that in anything a few (20 per cent) are vital and the many (80 percent) are trivial. In 1940s, Dr. Joseph Juran working on a universal principle that he called 'vital few and trivial many' could not make precise conclusions and used Pareto's principle as a base to write his research and findings. The 80/20 Rule in Pareto's case meant 20 per cent of people owned 80 per cent of wealth. In Juran's initial findings, the 80/20 Rule meant that 20 per cent of defects caused 80 per cent of problems. The 80/20 rule can be applied to almost anything. It is today used as an effective tool to manage efficiently. Pareto's Principle reminds one to focus on the 20 per cent matters as these 20 per cent matters produce 80 per cent of the results. Currently, there is a management theory floating around Pareto's Principle to produce what is called Superstar Management. According to this theory, since 20 per cent people produce 80 per cent results, the focus should be on managing only the 20 per cent. The theory looks and sounds flawed because it overlooks the fact that 80 per cent of the time should be spent doing what is really important.

- **Pareto index:** The Pareto index is a measure of inequality of income distribution. Pareto believed that in all countries and time, the distribution of income and wealth is highly skewed with only a few holding most of the wealth. According to him all observed societies followed a regular logarithmic pattern: $\log N = \log A + m \log x$; where N is the number of people who have wealth higher than x and A and m are constants.
- **Pareto's chart:** Pareto chart is a type of chart that has bars as well as lines. The individual values are represented in descending order by bars and the cumulative total is represented by a line. The purpose of Pareto's chart is to view the causes of a problem in severity from largest to smallest. The chart is used to statistically demonstrate and represent the 80/20 Rule.
- **Pareto distribution:** Pareto distribution is probability distribution used to describe social, scientific, actuarial and geo-physical phenomenon. It is used to mathematically realize Pareto's principle.
- **Ophelimity:** Ophelimity is an economic concept introduced by Pareto and is a measure of economic satisfaction. Pareto used this concept to use utility as a measure of broad based satisfaction that encompassed other dimensions as well. These included ethical, moral, religious and political dimensions. Pareto thus used utility in economic calculations.

7.2.2 Circulation of Elites

Circulation of Elites is a theory of regime change. The theory was introduced by Pareto and is by far one of the most interesting concepts of his sociology. According to Pareto, regime change or revolution took place when one elite was replaced by another and not when rulers were overthrown. Pareto believed that every individual was born with different abilities and so acquires different concepts, skills, aptitudes and attitudes. According to Pareto, classes existed in every society and so each society was heterogeneous. Pareto also believed that the heterogeneity in the society was achieved on the account of moral, mental, physical and cultural reasons. Heterogeneity was important in the society to maintain social balance and organization in the society. Pareto also believed that people were different morally as well as intellectually. He believed that some people were more gifted than others and those most capable in a group were called the elite. Pareto defines elite as "a class of people who had highest indices in their branch of activity". Examples of elite according to Pareto are successful businessmen, professors, artists and successful writers. Pareto divided the elite class of people into two broad categories. These were:

- Governing elite was an individual who directly or indirectly played some considerable part in the government and its functioning.
- Non-governing elite were the rest of individuals.

Pareto's discussion was mainly based on the governing elite and he developed his theory of Circulation of Elites based on the governing elite. According to Pareto, governing elites were concerned with administration directly or indirectly. They played an important role in the society and even held prestigious places and positions in the government but governing elites did not participate in the administration or running of the government but held a position that in some manner did influence the administration and how it functioned.

Pareto enlisted the following characteristics of elites:

- The class of elite is a universal concept and a continuous process

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- The individuals who did not belong to the governing elite or the non-governing elite were called non-elites
- The elite had to power to manipulate political power overtly or covertly
- The elite also had the power to establish his superiority over others
- The elites always tried and ensured that the non-elites did not influence the society in any manner whether economically or politically
- The non-elites respected only those elites who had a liberal outlook and approach
- The elite and non-elite members always show circulation whether upward or downward.

Pareto also believed that every society had elite groups of different kinds and since these elites were best or excellent, their number was a few. Though a minority group, the elites could influence the development and progress of the society. Pareto concluded that Circulation of Elites was between elite and non-elite or between governing and non-governing elite. This meant that an individual could circulate between elite and non-elite. According to Pareto, this process of replacement was continuous and could take place in two ways; one way gradual process of infiltration while the other was by violent revolution. Pareto further explained the Circulation of Elites in terms of changes in the psychological characteristics of the elites as well as that of the non-elites. According to Pareto, when an elite no longer possessed the required power and characteristics essential for keeping it in power, the elite is replaced. This replacement can be done by the elite himself who chooses the next elite from amongst the non-elites who now possesses the power and the required characteristics. On the other hand, when an elite becomes weak, a non-elite who now possesses power can violently overthrow the elite to take control of the power.

According to Pareto, the circulation of elites can take place between different classes of elites as well. A few individuals may join the elite class from the non-elite class while elites may become non-elites as well. Pareto also stated that the number of the elite groups may decline. This can happen in either arithmetical terms or in the quality and significance of the elite group on account of the various factors. When this decline takes place, the elites cease to be elites and come down to the non-elite group. The reverse also holds true. When some members of the non-elite groups achieve excellence or acquire special powers, they tend to join one or the other elite group. Pareto also claimed the fact that the increase or decrease in the number and strength of elites as well as non-elites is a part of the society and one of the major foundations on which society runs. Pareto also observed that in a free society, the circulation of elites would be constant and free. But in a free and ideal society imperfections do exist and so circulation of elites is seldom free in the society that we live in. According to Pareto, upward or downward circulation of elites always. However, Pareto was also of opinion that societies with aristocracies with governing elite at the top never last. To quote Pareto, 'History is the graveyards of Aristocracy'. According to Pareto, elite class emerges, dominates, falls into decadency and is finally replaced by non-decadent elites. This process has been going on in history for generations. Mortality of aristocracy is definite according to Pareto. This is because aristocrats were involved in historic wars leading to the degeneration of aristocracy. Pareto also believed that the inheritors of aristocracy do not necessarily possess all the qualities that their forefathers had to rule. They rule because of the inherited position but may not have the required skills, knowledge,

and ability to govern and thus fall in decadence and thus the kingdom or empire of the aristocrats finally falls.

According to Pareto, the governing elite are always in a state of continuous and slow transformation. During its rule, the governing elite may face some problems and violent disturbances and is replaced by a new elite group. This new elite group then resumes the process of transformation. Pareto's theory of Circulation of Elites, however, faces some criticism. The main criticism comes because of the fact that Pareto was unable to provide a method of measuring and defining superior qualities of the elite. Pareto simply assumes the fact that the qualities of the elite are superior than the non-elite which may not always be the case.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is the 80/20 rule as observed by Pareto?
2. What is ophelimity?
3. What is Pareto distribution?
4. When did regime change take place according to Pareto?
5. What is the criticism for the theory of Circulation of Elites?

7.3 RESIDUES AND DERIVATIONS

In his study of sociology, Pareto always tried to unmask non-scientific theories and belief systems. In his attempt to do so, he made a distinction between the changing elements that somehow accounted for these theories and he called these derivations while the permanent elements were called residues.

According to Pareto, most of the human behaviour was illogical. However, the humans want to believe that their behaviour is logical and do not want to accept the fact that the behaviour is governed and determined by emotions. Thus, a human being tries to give logical reasons to rationalize his thoughts and behaviours. Thus, he observed two distinct elements to reach the theory. These were the constant elements of the phenomenon under consideration and the numerous ingenious theories that humans make use of to rationalize their actions. Pareto called the former residues and the latter derivations.

In order to prove that non-logical actions are more important in the society as compared to logical actions, Pareto developed the theory of residues and derivations. To arrive at the distinction between residues and derivations, Pareto used the following method. Pareto investigated doctrines that were associated with actions. From these theories, Pareto separated the elements that corresponded to logic and science. Pareto then separated the remaining non-scientific elements into constants and variables. He called the constants as residues and variables as derivatives. According to Pareto, derivations or variables arose only when there was reasoning, justification and arguments. Pareto also believed that in the presence of these derivations, it was possible to analyse the underlying constant elements called residues. Pareto also claims the fact that an infinite number of derivations are used by humans to prove their actions to be logical but the residues remain constant. Pareto listed six residues that he believed to have remained constant throughout in the Western World. Pareto also claims that these classes of residues are closely related to human instincts and propensities. These include:

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- Instinct for combination
- Group persistence
- Ability to show sentiments through actions and outer expressions
- Power to impose power on society
- Residue of personal integrity
- Residue of sex

Pareto intended to show that the same set of residues could give rise to a wide variety of belief systems as well as derivations. He also claimed that men deceive themselves when they take some action on the basis of a theory that they believe in. However, the real cause of action or behaviour could be found in the underlying constancy of the residue. In most cases, the residue of personal integrity explains the behaviour of humans and the actions that they take.

Pareto has named four different classes of derivations. These include:

- Derivations of assertions include statements that are dogmatic in nature
- Derivations of authority include concepts that are held in high esteem in the society
- Derivations in agreement with common principles and sentiments
- Derivations of verbal proof that rely on verbal gymnastics, metaphors, etc.

According to Pareto it was the derivation that was the actual content and formed the ideology itself.

Criticism of Residue and Derivations

Pareto's theory of residues and derivations has been subject to criticism. Pareto used the residues as drives but he never made clear the nature of the residues. Pareto was not able to say clearly whether the residues were natural or physical forces or facts or were they a result of some socio-historical process. Another criticism is that Pareto was never able to describe the actual nature of residues and the relationships that existed between the different residues. Another criticism that came from Bogardus states that the classification of the residues was vague and that these were just human instincts and sentiments named in a different manner. Another criticism is the fact that residues have not been defined well in the sense that these are seem to be a decorative name given to instincts. The theory is also criticised because it is believed that residues and derivations are not justifiable in all circumstances. According to Sorokin, derivations are just like a weather cock and these are changed according to the wind direction and not same even if the underlying residue is constant. The theory also comes into criticism because the use of residues and derivations may give rise to wrong notions sometimes.

Pareto's theory of residues and derivations is helpful in explaining social movements, the structure of the society and the history of the society.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

6. How did Pareto arrive at the distinction between residues and derivations?
7. How is the theory of residues and derivations helpful?

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7.4 LOGICAL AND NON-LOGICAL ACTIONS

While studying economics, Pareto concluded that economics was limited to only a single aspect of human action: the action that was rational and logical and was followed to acquire limited resources. Pareto, however, believed that human behaviours were logical subjectively as well as objectively. According to him an action was logical if the means employed to attain the resources are objectively united and the goal is achieved objectively. Pareto was also convinced of the fact that true logical action was very rarely performed. He turned to sociology when he was convinced of the fact that human affairs were guided by non-logical and non-rational actions.

Pareto broadly divided all actions into two broad categories: personal and social. He further said that all actions or social phenomenon had two aspects: form and reality. Form is the way in which the social phenomenon presents itself to the human mind and is something subjective. Reality, on the other hand, involves the actual existence of things and is completely objective. Pareto also claimed that all personal and social actions had two parts: ends and means. Using the basic traits of actions, Pareto finally divided actions as logical actions and non-logical actions.

Pareto said that every social or personal action of humans was based on either logical actions or non-logical actions. Logical actions are the actions that are based on logic and experiment. These actions are the ones in which the means and ends are connected.

Logical Action

A logical action is the one in which the logical connection between the means and the ends exist both in the mind of the person who performs the action and the objective reality. Logical action is thus pure rational action. In a logical action, the logical connection between the means and the end must be approved by the person who performs the action and other people who have enough knowledge of the fact whether the action being performed is real or not. Thus, a logical action is both subjective and objective. Pareto said that a logical action is subjective because it is liked by certain people because of personal reasons. A logical action is objective because the end result obtained has been predicted on the basis of some observations. Thus, Pareto enlisted the following characteristics of logical actions.

- Logical actions are based on logic and experiment.
- All personal or social actions that have adjustment between means and ends are logical actions.
- Logical actions are real.
- Logical actions are objective.
- Logical action must be accepted by the actor and defined objectively.
- For logical actions, the ends and means must be scientific and justified.
- There is no place for logical actions in prejudices and imaginations.
- If logical actions are justified then there must be social sanctions behind the justification.
- For an action to be logical, there must be a logical connection between the means used and the end so attained.

- Logical actions must be motivated by reasoning.
- Logical actions must be rational.

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Non-Logical Actions

Non logical actions are all those human actions that do not fall in the scope of logical actions. Pareto says that since these actions are non-logical it does not mean they are illogical. Non logical actions are guided by sentiments and other non-logical factors. Non logical actions are all those actions that do not show any logical connection between the means and ends either subjectively or objectively. The non-logical actions can be divided into four categories.

- The no- no category in which the actions are not logical. There is no connection between the ends and the means and the means applied do not give any result that is logical.
- The no- yes category is the category in which the result that an action will give is not logically connected to the act performed. However, in such actions, the actor wrongly believes that the means that he has applied will give the result that he desires.
- The yes- no category of actions does produce a logical result depending on the means applied but the actor does not have any logical connection between the ends and the means in his mind.
- The yes- yes category gives the logical results depending on the means applied and the ends and means are subjectively connected but the objective result does not follow the subjective sequence.

Characteristics of non-logical actions

- Non-logical actions are basically determined by subjective factors
- Non-logical actions cannot be proved either by objective experimentation or observation
- Non-logical actions are guided not by reasoning but by impulses
- Non-logical actions also cannot be determined by reality
- Non-logical actions are to some degree motivated by sentiments.

Logical and non-logical actions as discussed by Pareto do come under some criticism. One of the major criticisms that this theory faces is the fact that it is very difficult to distinguish between actions and tell which action is logical and which action is non-logical. Another criticism is that it is also difficult to distinguish between the means and the ends related with an action. Another criticism is that the number of non-logical actions is more than that of logical actions. This is because humans want to perform any action that is guided by imagination, sentiments and thinking. Also humans want to prove that non-logical actions are very logical because they think so and are somehow able to achieve the desired goal.

Pareto studied actions on the basis of their relation through logic. In other words, Pareto believed that every action was based on logic and humans tried to prove every action to be logical through their actions and in their own way. In other words, humans often fail to demonstrate logical action but they always want to make their thinking appear logical. This in turn helps humans attain the desired goal which may not be achieved objectively or as was desired by the action when it was performed.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

8. What is a logical action as defined by Pareto?
9. What is a non-logical action according to Pareto?
10. What is the criticism of logical and non-logical actions?

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7.5 SUMMARY

- Pareto as a sociologist and economist gave several theories and principles that can be applied today as well to the society.
- Pareto's Law or the 80/20 Rule can be applied to anything and every action in the society. According to Pareto, the 80/20 Rule says that 20 percent of people possess 80 percent of wealth.
- This principle holds true for a wide range of activities in the present day as well. In addition to this, Pareto also gave several other economic concepts that are used today.
- Pareto developed the theory of Circulation of Elites in which he said that regime change or movement does take place in every society and is a continuous process. However, according to
- Pareto, regime change or a movement took place when one elite was replaced by another and not when rulers were overthrown.
- Pareto said that the governing elite are people who somehow affect the way the administration functions while the non-governing elite are the rest of the individuals.
- The non-governing elite though not powerful are in a position that can affect the decisions of the elite. The Circulation of Elites according to Pareto takes place between the governing and the non-governing elites.
- Pareto also developed the concept of residues and derivations. Residues according to Pareto were the constant factors that affected the way the humans behave while derivations are the underlying elements and keep changing.
- Pareto developed the concept of logical and non-logical actions to explain the behaviour of human. According to Pareto, logical actions were rational as well as based on experiment.
- But most of the actions that humans performed were non-logical and were guided by sentiments and non-logical factors.
- Pareto also concluded that the humans tried to prove that their actions were logical and helped them achieve their goals. The concepts developed by Pareto are used to study the various aspects of a society.

7.6 KEY TERMS

- **Logical action:** A logical action is the one in which the logical connection between the means and the ends exist both in the mind of the person who performs the action and the objective reality.

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- **Residues:** Residues are intermediary between the sentiments, we cannot know directly and the belief systems and acts that can be known and analysed.

7.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Pareto observed the fact that 20 per cent of people owned 80 per cent of wealth and mathematically described it. This later came to be known as Pareto's Rule.
2. Ophelimity is an economic concept that was introduced by Pareto and is a measure of economic satisfaction.
3. Pareto distribution is probability distribution that describes social, geo-physical, actuarial and scientific phenomenon.
4. According to Pareto, regime change took place when one elite was replaced by another and not when rulers were overthrown.
5. The criticism of theory of Circulation of Elites is that Pareto was unable to provide a method for measuring and defining the superior qualities of elites. Pareto just assumed that the elite would have superior qualities than the non-elites.
6. To arrive at a distinction between residues and derivations, Pareto investigated doctrines that were associated with actions. From these theories, Pareto separated the non-scientific elements into constants and variables. The constants were called residues and the variables derivations.
7. The theory of residues and derivations is helpful in explaining social movements, structure of the society and the history of the society.
8. Logical actions are rational actions based on experiments. In these actions, the means and the ends are logically connected.
9. Non-logical actions are those actions that do not fall in the scope of logical actions. They are guided by sentiments and non-logical factors. There is also no logical connection between the ends and the means of non-logical actions.
10. The criticism of logical and non-logical actions comes from the fact that it is not easy to distinguish which actions are logical and which are non-logical. Also it is not easy to distinguish between the means and the ends.

7.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the life sketch of Pareto.
2. State the different characteristics of elites.
3. How are the different classes of residues closely related to human instincts?
4. Write a short note on the criticism of residue and derivations.

Long-Answer Questions

1. 'Circulation of elites is a theory of regime change.' Discuss.
2. 'The circulation of elites can take place between different classes of elites as well. A few individuals may join the elite class from the non-elite class while elites may become non-elites as well.' Discuss.

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3. Analyse the concept of logical and non-logical actions.
4. 'Pareto studied sociology holding to the fact that much of social actions were non-logical and most person actions were designed to give spurious logic to the non-rational actions.' Analyse the statement.

7.9 FURTHER READING

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SOCIETY IN INDIA

BA [Sociology]

Third Year

Paper - III



RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

Society of India

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
UNIT 1 Unity in Diversity: Types of Diversity-Ethnic Racial, Religious, Linguistic, Economic, Regional and Caste; Types of Unity-Cultural, Political, Geographical, Social and Religious; Unity and Diversity.	Unit 1: Unity in Diversity (Pages 3-35)
UNIT 2 The Structure and Composition of Indian Society: Villages, Towns, Cities; Rural-Urban Linkages; Tribes; Weaker Section, Dalits, Women and Minorities.	Unit 2: The Structure and Composition of Indian Society (Pages 37-63)
UNIT 3 Basic Institutions of Indian Society: Caste; Class, Kinship, Family, Marriage and Religion.	Unit 3: Basic Institutions of Indian Society (Pages 65-108)
UNIT 4 Rural Power Structure: Bases and Emerging Pattern of Rural Leadership; Panchayat Raj; and Dominant Caste.	Unit 4: Rural Power Structure (Pages 109-127)
UNIT 5 Problems of Indian Society: Poverty, Dowry, Gender Inequality, Human Trafficking and Communalism.	Unit 5: Problems of Indian Society (Pages 129-157)
UNIT 6 Developmental Concern: Regional Disparities, Development Induced Displacement, Ecological Degradation, Climatic Change, Sustainable Development.	Unit 6: Developmental Concern (Pages 159-186)
UNIT 7 Transformation of Indian Society: Process of Transformation-Globalization; Secularization; Industrialization, Urbanization and Modernization-It's Impact on Indian Society.	Unit 7: Transformation of Indian Society (Pages 187-214)

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INTRODUCTION

In India, languages, religions, dance, music, architecture, food and customs differ from place to place. However, they possess a unity in diversity. The culture of India is a mix of these varied sub-cultures. India happens to be the birthplace of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism. Family plays an important role in the Indian culture. For generations, India has had a prevailing tradition of the joint family system. Rig-Vedic Sanskrit is one of the oldest languages of the world. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata are the oldest preserved and well known epics of India. Family, religion, caste, class and kinship constitute the basic institutions of the Indian society.

After Independence, the Indian society has undergoing gradual transformation. The rural landscape has evolved with the coming up of the Panchayati Raj Institutions. Still, Indian society is plagued by several problems such as poverty, dowry, gender inequality, human trafficking and communalism. In addition to these problems, India is also going through issues such as development induced displacement, regional disparities, climate change and sustainable development. There are a number of factors which are responsible for continuity and change in Indian society namely, globalization, industrialization, urbanization and modernization.

This book, *Society in India*, has been written in the Self-Instructional Mode (SIM) wherein each unit begins with an 'Introduction' to the topic followed by an outline of the 'Unit Objectives'. The detailed content is then presented in a simple and an organized manner, interspersed with 'Check Your Progress' questions to test the understanding of the students. A 'Summary' along with a list of 'Key Terms' and a set of 'Questions and Exercises' is also provided at the end of each unit for effective recapitulation.

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UNIT 1 UNITY IN DIVERSITY

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

India is a land of diversities. Myriad languages, religions, ethnic groups, cultures, customs, food habits and attires are its prized possessions. It is a truly plural state and absorbs all pluralities into itself. The adage 'unity in diversity' sits pretty on her. Despite the numerous diversities, the country stands as one and all its citizens are proud citizens of one glorious nation.

Despite numerous foreign invasions in its history and foreign rule at various times in the past, the country never lost its unique identity. It stood firm during such onslaughts and attained independence in 1947. The idea of a united India was kept alive by its founding fathers who gave it a written and popular Constitution that secured for its citizens fundamental rights. It also gives its people secularism and protects the religious and linguistic minorities.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the concept of religious diversity in India
- Analyse the existence of linguistic and regional diversity in India
- Interpret the meaning of 'Unity in Diversity'
- Explain the types of unity existing in India

1.2 RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY IN INDIA

Religious pluralism is usually used as a synonym for religious tolerance, although both the concepts have distinct meanings. Religious tolerance means that each person is entitled to his own set of religious beliefs without having to conform to some societal

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standard. Religious pluralism, on the other hand, includes religious tolerance. Thus, it is a broader term that asserts that religious truths and values exist in many different doctrines.

Some theologians argue that God created all the religions of the world in order to speak to people in ways that most appeal or relate to their circumstances in life. As such, all religions have originated from the same source. As a theological argument, religious pluralism suggests that if all religions are from the same original source, then they all must be having a common truth. This argument stresses upon the similarities between religions and relies upon common stories, figures and doctrines.

People, who identify themselves as practitioners of religious pluralism, often mean that they have developed their own spiritual doctrine on a wide variety of traditional religious beliefs. Instead of subscribing to one religion, pluralists pick and choose those beliefs from various religions that are similar to their own beliefs.

The concept of religious pluralism is tricky, especially when subjected to scientific and logical analysis. Most religions contradict the position accepted in another religion and this leaves the pluralists caught in the middle of some arguments. Religious pluralism aims to unite people by rising above the differences arising from various religious beliefs. Historically, such efforts have met with varying degrees of success. Nonetheless, such efforts are praiseworthy.

Religions in India

There are a number of religions with substantial followers in India. Some of them are briefly discussed as follows:

- **Hinduism:** The Hindu religion or Hinduism is one of the oldest religions in the world. It is supposed to have developed about 5,000 years ago in India and is followed by various racial and ethnic groups. Hinduism is the third largest religion of the world after Christianity and Islam.

Hinduism is the most dominant religion in India today. More than 80 per cent of Indians are Hindus, which means that about 960 million people are followers of Hinduism in India. This figure could touch a billion if you include all the Hindus in the world. But Hinduism or Indian Hinduism should not be perceived as a threat by anyone, especially our neighbouring countries. Hinduism offers a great deal of space for every religion and is very tolerant of other faiths.

Hinduism does not have any united system of belief. It is programmed in a declaration of faith. It comprises the plurality of religious phenomena originating from and based on the Vedic traditions. Hinduism describes a religious mainstream that evolved organically and spread over a huge territory having considerable ethnic and cultural diversity. This mainstream came up both by innovation from within, and by incorporation of external traditions or cults into the Hindu fold. The result is a huge variety of religious traditions that range from different small and unsophisticated cults to major religious movements with millions of adherents.

- **Islam:** Islam originated in the Arabian Peninsula. The basic unifying agent in Islamic civilization was Prophet Mohammed (AD 570–632). Mohammed's message did not contain anything new. It had been narrated by a long line of Jewish prophets from Noah to Mohammed, who was the last of God's chosen prophets.

Islam came to India quite early. Infact, the Islamic influence was initially felt in the early AD seventh century with the advent of Arab traders. The spread of

Islam in India was basically due to Sufism, as a lot of Sufi beliefs found their parallels in Indian philosophical literature.

Some of the sufi saints who preached in India are Hazrat Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chishti, Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, Nizam-ud-din Auliya, Shah Jalal, Amir Khusro, etc.

Islam basically spread during the reign of Muslim leaders in the medieval period. The Mughals took a lot of initiatives to spread this religion. As a result, it is the second largest religion of India.

- **Christianity:** Christianity is the largest religion in the world with more than two billion followers. It has dominated western culture for centuries and remains the most important religion of Europe. Christianity discusses the life of Jesus Christ.

Jesus's teachings focussed on the following themes:

- o Kingdom of God
- o Love of God
- o Love of neighbour

His teachings and his growing popularity with the masses was seen as a threat to Jewish religious leaders and the Roman Government. This led to his execution by crucifixion. Christians believe Jesus rose from the dead three days after his burial. The most typical belief of mainstream Christianity is the doctrine of the Trinity, which views the one God as consisting of the following three persons:

- o The Father
- o The Son
- o The Holy Spirit

Bible is the sacred text of Christianity. It consists of the Old Testament and the New Testament. Most of the Christians consider the Bible as divinely inspired and authoritative.

In India, Christianity is one of the prominent religions. At present there are about 25 million Christians in India. It is interesting to note that the Christian population in India is more than the entire population of Australia and New Zealand.

- **Sikhism:** Sikhism is the fifth largest organized religion in the world. It is based on the teachings of Guru Nanak and his nine successive Gurus. This organization of religious doctrine is known as the *Gurmat*. Guru Nanak founded Sikhism. He is generally depicted as a reconciler of the two religious traditions.

The chief belief of Sikhism is faith in *Wahe Guru*. The Sikhs call their God *Wahe Guru*, which means that God is great. Sikhism recommends the pursuit of salvation by trained, personal meditation on the name and content of God. The followers of Sikhism are bound to follow the instructions of the ten Sikh Gurus as well as the Holy scripture, which is known as the *Guru Granth Sahib*. This scripture includes selected works of devotees from different socio-economic and religious backgrounds.

The key belief of Sikhism is that God exists as a real entity and not merely as an idea or a design.

- **Buddhism:** Buddhism was found in India. Gautam Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, kept his teachings limited to *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*. Buddhism is an ethical arrangement, a way of life that leads towards a particular goal.

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The essence of Buddha's preaching is the four noble truths. These four truths are as follows:

- (i) Acceptance of sufferings
- (ii) Knowing the cause of sufferings
- (iii) Bringing the sufferings to an end
- (iv) Using the eight fold path as a mechanism for release from sufferings

Buddhism has been divided into many philosophical schools and has a vast literature. Buddha was primarily an ethical teacher and a social reformer rather than a theoretical philosopher. He referred to a number of metaphysical views prevalent during his times and condemned them as futile.

- **Jainism:** Jainism also took its birth in India. Vardhaman Mahaveer was the founder of Jainism. Like Buddhism, Jainism also had its origin in the idea of non-acceptance of the Vedic authority of Hinduism.

The Jains believe that there are twenty four great circles of time and in each circle, one great prophet comes to the world. These prophets are known as *Tirthankaras*. Vardhaman Mahaveer is recognized as the twenty fourth and last *Tirthankara*.

There are two main sects in Jainism—*Digambara* and *Svetambara*. Jainism believes that all nature is alive. It states that everything from rocks to insects have a soul known as *jiva*.

- **Judaism:** Judaism is the oldest of the three great monotheistic religions of the world along with Islam and Christianity. It is the religion and way of life of the Jewish people.

The basic tenets of Judaism have originated from the *Torah*, which are the first five books of the Bible. The most important tenet of Judaism is that there is only one eternal God who desires that all people must do what is just and merciful. It also says that each person must be respected and loved as all of them are God's creations.

Judaism was one of the first foreign religions to arrive in India. About three quarters of its followers in India today are residing in Manipur, Mizoram and Mumbai.

- **Zoroastrianism:** It is the ancient, pre-Islamic religion of Iran. It still exists there in isolated areas and in India. The descendants of the Zoroastrian Persian immigrants are known as Parsis in India. The population of Parsis is very less in India and they are mostly concentrated in Mumbai.

This religion was founded by the Iranian prophet and reformer Zoroaster in the sixth century BC. Zoroastrianism contains both monotheistic and dualistic features. Its concepts of one God, judgment, heaven and hell, etc., greatly influenced the major Western religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Equality of Religions in India

Throughout its history, India has observed the principle of equality of all religions and has treated the followers of every religion equally. Even when we were not a Republic and were ruled by hereditary rulers who belonged to a particular religion, these rulers did not impose their religion on their citizens. Rather, they allowed the followers of all religions to freely profess and practise their own respective faiths. There might have been some

aberrations in between, but generally this tradition of religious tolerance prevailed. This age-old tradition was inherited by the country at the time of its independence on 15th August, 1947 and was embedded into its Constitution (in the form of secularism), which was adopted a little over two years later.

India is the home to the largest number of Hindus, and of the second largest number of Muslims, in the entire world. It is also home to millions of Buddhists and Christians. Besides, there are sizable numbers of followers of several other religions like Jainism, Sikhism, Judaism, etc. In the pluralistic and multi-religions society of India, religious tolerance and religious values have always had, and continue to have, a strong influence.

In all other South Asian countries surrounding India, one religion has an official or an otherwise privileged status, for example, Buddhism in Bhutan and Sri Lanka, Hinduism in Nepal, and Islam in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Maldives. In this South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) group of nations, India stands out as the only secular state having no state religion and no single officially patronized religion. Religion-state relations in this country are indeed unique in every sense of the term.

Unlike other SAARC nations, where it is mandated by law or convention that the head of the State must belong to a particular religion, that position in India can be occupied by any citizen irrespective of religion or caste. Despite the overwhelming predominance of Hindus in India, in sixty-one years of the post-Constitution era, the country has had four Presidents, three Vice-Presidents and a Prime Minister belonging to minority religions.

Whenever a head of the State or Government dies while occupying a position, his or her last rites are performed under the management of the Government. It is done with full State honours. However, this is invariably done in accordance with the rites of the religion of the deceased. On all such occasions, the Government and the official media arrange and broadcast all-religion prayers.

Unity in Diversity

There have been various judicial decisions wherein religious pluralism has been emphasized as the quintessence of the Indian society.

The Apex court's description of India as a mosaic representing a synthesis of different religions and cultures only put a seal of affirmation on what indeed has always been the ground reality in this country.

The law in the secular India of our times respects religious beliefs and practices. It ensures religious liberty but keeps it within internationally recognized limits. It prohibits abuse and misuse of religion and religious sensitivities and provides laws and statutory mechanisms for controlling and managing specific religious and religion-related affairs. On the whole, modern India remains a deeply religious country and spirituality continues to be an integral part of the social order. India's secular Constitution and constitutionally sanctioned legislation are, therefore, sensitive enough to this ground reality.

Secularism

Let us try and understand the concept of secularism as it exists in India. Secularism is a basic feature of the Indian Constitution, which cannot be changed even by the Parliament. There is no state religion and the state is prohibited against discrimination on the basis of religion. Secularism ensures that religion does not determine state policy. It insulates public policy-making from the influence of religion and, thereby, eliminates any bias or

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discrimination that can creep into this process. Secularism is a very important aspect of the Indian way of life and governance. It has helped in promoting communal harmony and in keeping national integration at the forefront. Communal harmony can prevail only when you ensure equality of status among people and equal opportunity for everyone as conceived in the Constitution of India.

Notwithstanding the adoption of secularism, India has witnessed horrifying communal riots at times. In this context, it is commonly felt that secularism is the solution to such religious violence in India, especially with regard to conflicts between Hindus and Muslims. On the contrary, secularism is fiercely contested by a variety of groups.

It is important for us to know that, historically, notions of secularism and tolerance originated as solutions to problems related to the religious strife in the West. Therefore, it is important for religious studies to develop an understanding of those problems that secularism and tolerance can solve, and whether or not these are also the problems Indian society faces with regard to religious pluralism.

Religious Conversion in India

Religious conversion has become a controversial issue in contemporary India. One side of the debate on religious conversion is represented by those who claim that conversion and proselytization are basic and inalienable human rights. The other side claims that the conversion activities of Christianity and Islam violate the integrity of Hindu traditions and disturb the social peace in a plural India. The two positions on conversion are considered to be incompatible and are governed by feelings of mutual incomprehension, unease and resentment.

This problem has to be addressed in a very proactive and forceful way to protect the secular character of the country. While conversion might be an integral part of a few religions, the Government must ensure that nobody changes his/her religion under threat or inducement. At the same time, anyone wishing to change his/her religion voluntarily must get the full protection of the State. Such steps would only ensure the sanctity of our pluralism and strengthen Indian society.

1.3 LINGUISTIC AND REGIONAL DIVERSITY

India has always been a multi-lingual country. Language has also been an important source of diversity as well as unity in India. According to the Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India, 1903–28) there are 179 languages and as many as 544 dialects in the country. The Constitution of India, in its 8th Schedule recognizes 22 official languages with English as an important associate language. All the major languages have different regional variations and dialects. Some of the dialects of Hindi are Bhojpuri, Rajasthani, and Haryanvi. Originally, only 14 languages were included in the 8th Schedule. Bodo, Dogri, Konkani, Maithili, Manipuri, Nepali, Santhali and Sindhi were recognized later. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had remarked, ‘The makers of the Constitution were wise in laying down that all the 13 or 14 languages were to be national languages.’ The languages listed in this schedule have acquired different names at different stages and are better known as the scheduled languages now. The Minorities Commission report and the official Language Resolution 3 of 1968 considered languages listed in the schedule as major languages of the country. The ‘Programme of Action’ Document, 1992 of the National Policy on Education, 1986 considered them as modern Indian languages.

Check Your Progress

1. Name the popular religions followed in India.
2. What is the most important tenet of Judaism?

The Bhasha Research and Publication Centre (BRPC), Vadodara conducted the People's Linguistic Survey of India. The survey was completed in 2013 and it identified 860 Indian languages, with Arunachal Pradesh having the maximum. At least 300 languages are no longer traceable since independence, according to the survey. As many as 40 crore people in India can communicate in Hindi. It was found that Hindi as a language has gained popularity more than English and anything communicated in the language which is popular among the masses, would have a better reception.

The highest literary awards in the country are given to 24 literary languages in India by the Sahitya Academy, and newspapers and periodicals are published in 35 languages every year.

English is recognized as an important instrument of knowledge dissemination, commerce and maintenance of international relations. A provision was made to extend the use of English language in the article 343 as 'Official language of the Union' for all official purposes of the Union even after a period of fifteen years with a provision that 'the President may, during the said period, by order authorize the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language'.

Table 1.1 provides a list of 22 languages arranged in descending order of speakers' strength. Originally among the scheduled languages, the speakers of Hindi had the highest percentage (41.03 per cent). However, it is noticed that the linguistic regions in the country do not maintain a sharp and distinct boundary; rather they gradually merge and overlap in their respective border zones.

Table 1.1 Scheduled Languages in Descending Order of Speakers' Strength, 2001

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Population</i>
1	Hindi	41.03
2	Bengali	8.11
3	Telugu	7.19
4	Marathi	6.99
5	Tamil	5.91
6	Urdu	5.01
7	Gujarati	4.48
8	Kannada	3.69
9	Malayalam	3.21
10	Oriya	3.21
11	Punjabi	2.83
12	Assamese	1.28
13	Maithili	1.18
14	Santhali	0.63
15	Kashmiri	0.54
16	Nepali	0.28
17	Sindhi	0.25
18	Konkani	0.24
19	Dogri	0.22

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20	Manipuri	0.14
21	Bodo	0.13
22	Sanskrit	N

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Source: 2010-11, Office of The Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, New Delhi.

* Excludes figures of Paomata, Mao-Maram and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati district of Manipur for 2001.

** The percentage of speakers of each language for 2001 has been worked out on the total population of India excluding the population of Mao-Maram, Paomata and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati district of Manipur due to cancellation of census results. N - Stands for negligible.

Though all the languages spoken in India are different from each other, yet they may be grouped into four linguistic families; the Austric Family (Nishada), Dravidian family (Dravida), Sino-Tibetan Family (Kirata) and Indo-European Family (Arya). The languages of the Austric family are spoken by tribal people in Meghalaya, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and in parts of Central Indian tribal belts like Ranchi, Mayurbhanj, etc.

The languages of the Dravidian family are spoken in southern parts of India. The dialects and languages of the Sino-Tibetan family are spoken by the tribal people of the North-Eastern region and in the sub-Himalayan region in the North and North-West. People in the Ladakh region, Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh also speak these languages. The speakers of the languages of Indo-European family are found in North India. The majority of the people in the North Indian plains speak Indo-Aryan (Indo-European family). Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh also have large population of speakers of these languages.

The degree of linguistic diversity in India is perplexing, not only for visitors but also for Indians. Each of the country's 29 states has adopted one or two of the 22 official languages. India's linguistic barriers are compounded by the fact that each language also has a unique written form, with an alphabet that is unrecognizable to people who are ignorant of that language.

The linguistic diversity found across India stems from a history that saw numerous ancient kingdoms, each with its own language. These languages remained distinct to the area even after a kingdom was dissolved or merged with another. State lines later drawn by the colonial rulers often crossed former political and linguistic boundaries.

After Independence, many of the southern states in India opposed the installation of Hindi as India's national language. Simultaneously, there was a strong lobby across different regions of the country for organization of states on a linguistic basis. This has resulted in the protection and encouragement of linguistic diversity. The formation of groups based on common linguistics, each with the political rights to administer itself within the structure of the federal system, resulted in that particular linguistic community becoming the majority in that specific region. The Telengana issue in 2009 is an important example where there was a demand for a separate linguistic province. Telangana was formed in 2014. 'Language also becomes a diversifying factor when it is used as a vote bank for politics'. (Kamraj Nadar) Slogans like 'Tamil Nadu for Tamils', 'Maharashtra for Marathis', and so on further aggravated the language problem.

Although there is a great diversity of languages and dialects in India, fundamental unity is found in the ideas and themes expressed in these languages. Sanskrit has influenced many languages in India. However, in spite of diversities, Hindi continues to be the national language and people of one State can communicate with people of another State and a national language generates national sentiment.

1.3.1 Ethnic and Racial Diversity

Racial classification is a system used to categorize humans into large and distinct groups. This research is conducted through various characteristics such as phenotypic characteristics, genetic features, heredity, geography, ethnicity and social status.

The basic characteristics or distinguishing traits used to classify people into various races are:

- Looks or phenotypic characteristics or physical features and body type
- Region or place of origin
- Ethnic as well as social status in society



Fig. 1.1 Different Physical Traits of People Belonging to Different Ethnic/Racial Backgrounds

From the following sections, it will be clear why racial classification is important and how it is used for various studies targeting humans. But the main point of emphasis here is that though racial classification was introduced to make human identification easier, in today's world racial classification has taken the form of racism itself. Certain discriminatory behavioural practices have been associated with this deeply political concept. Some political parties have been found guilty of using racial classification as a weapon to influence people for and against each other. This affects the material lives of people and in a way reinforces the negative side of 'races' into their minds. The beauty and true meaning of the classification thus gets ignored. We as citizens of India should try to ignore the use of such classifications and put them to appropriate use rather than getting politically influenced and deceived.

Benefits of Racial Classification

Racial classification was introduced way back in the early years of the twentieth century as a tool for taxonomic studies of human beings. This includes use of identifying features to ease certain researches. Benefits or utility areas of racial classification include the following:

- **Forensic studies:** Like identification of skeletons from bone structures. This is known as forensic anthropology.
- **Biomedical research:** A way of relating diseases to phenotypic and genotypic characteristics.

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- **Medicine and gene therapy research:** Finding new treatment methods, targeted towards a particular population or race.
- **Psychology and sociology studies** also use racial categories to understand and relate to human behaviour.
- In some countries, profiling of suspects is done on basis of their race.

Benefits of racial classification are tremendous and foreseeing the same our early thinkers had evolved this into a way of categorizing humans. Over time certain social and economic factors have crept in and changed the concept of racial classification. As a result, racism can be seen, observed and overheard today. At times, racial biases interfere with our thoughts and create discrimination between various races. This mindset tends to give more power, better status and better recognition to some races while marginalising others and regarding them as inferior or backward. This has even been the cause of tragic instances like slavery, genocide and discrimination. This kind of thought process must be discouraged. Only then can we fully understand the significance of racial classification.

Racial Classification

From the above discussion, the basis of forming races can be understood. But it should be made clear that while physical characteristics influence a person's belongingness to a race, there is no possibility of strict boundaries to any of the races. Hundreds of phenotypic characteristics have been identified as distinguishing features but it is not always possible to have a strict group of set of characteristics in one race. Intermixing is possible and very much noticed. Thus, while identifying and listing features, the majority rule applies. There might be groups of people with characteristics of more than one race. In earlier times when caste system was followed almost all over the country, strict rigidities pertaining to non-allowance of inter-caste marriages helped maintain purity of genes. That is the phenotypic characters in one racial group could be easily related to the generalised characters of the group. With time as more and more people are entering into inter-caste marriages, the rigidity of determining physical characteristics is fading. Racial classification is based on secondary physical features. Here, a brief difference between primary and secondary characteristics is to be understood. All human beings share some similar basic structural forms and features which include the following:

- Upright posture
- Gripping fingers
- No bony eyebrows
- Well developed and well formed feet
- Separate and prominent features like chin and forehead
- Complex brain activity

All the above contribute to primary features and are common to all human beings. Apart from these, descriptive features, like those used to describe the above or the personality and nature of a human being comprise secondary features. These include skin colour, shape of eyes, neck formation and height, broad or narrow shoulders etc. Therefore, uniformity in primary characters and variations in secondary characters is important.

The variation in secondary features is attributed to wide-ranging environmental, social and other related factors.

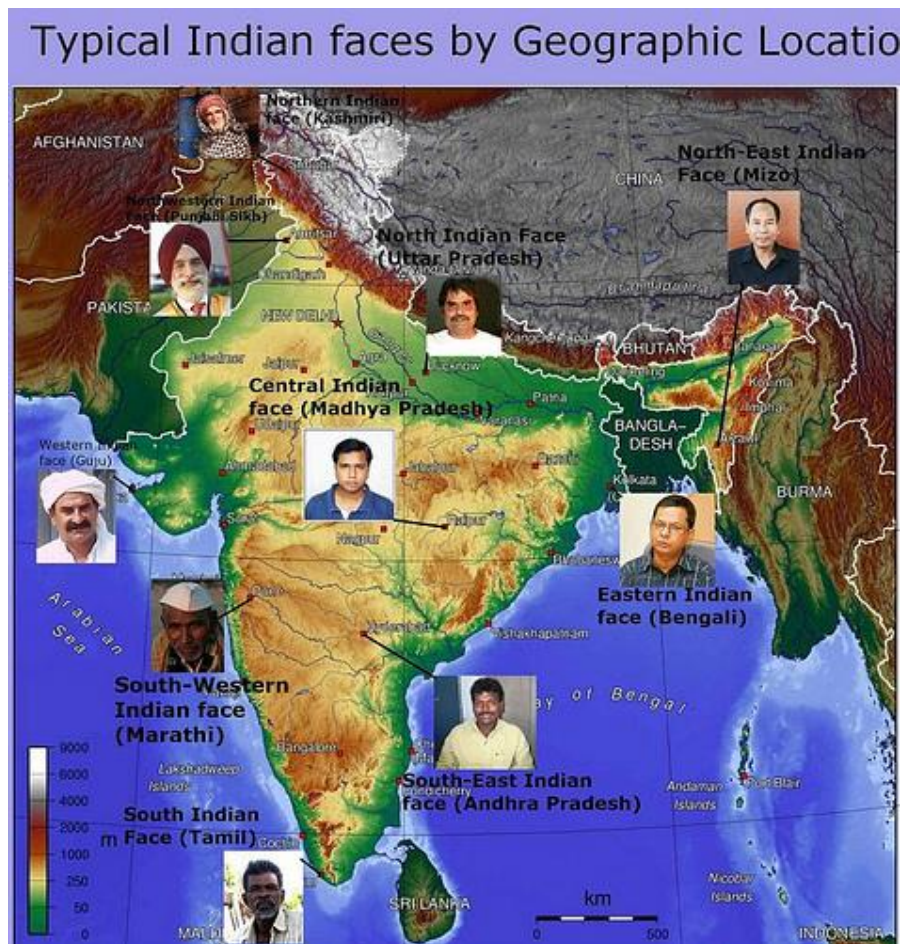


Fig. 1.2 Typical Indian Faces by Geographic Location

Polycentric Racial Classification

As per the polycentric theory of evolution (by Franz Weidenreich of USA), the development of modern man took place in separate regions, independent of the existence of others. This separate development led to varying characteristics. As per the same theory, man in these regions evolved from the influence of the oldest inhabitants of those regions. They adapted themselves in such a manner that they were able to adopt certain characteristics of their ancestors thereby making a mark for themselves as a distinct race. Different regions of development became the different centres of the origin of races. This is why the origin of race is considered to be polycentric. As per this approach of classification, four major races have been observed. Table 1.2 provides a brief study of the varied races and their identifying features.

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Table 1.2 Four Major Races as per the Polycentric Racial Classification System

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S. No	Name of the Race	Identifying features
1	Caucasoid or Eropoid Non-Indian origin	Skin: White Hair (medium to thin) of lighter shades Head – broad to long Nose- medium to long Non projecting jaw No pragnathism seen High forehead Thin to medium lips Medium to tall in height and Eye colour is usually light.
2	Negroid Non-Indian origin	Skin- dark brown to black Hair- woolly and frizzy usually black Prominent head formation with protruding features especially ear lobes; Round head; Broad to flat nose with low or broad bridge; Marked pragnathism observed; Thick and averted lips; Either very short or tall in stature; Eye colour compliments hair (dark brown to black).
3	Australoid Usually found in South and Central India	Skin- medium to dark brown in colour; Curly and wavy hair which are medium to dark brown in colour; Narrow and long head; Broad nose with marked root and thick tip; Medium to pronounced pragnathism observed; Short face and receding chin; Fuller lips and medium to dark brown eyes; Eye brow ridges are broad and prominent; Height is medium to tall.
4	Mongoloids Usually inhabitants of North-Eastern parts of India.	Skin- yellow or yellow brown; Hair-brown to brown black; Straight and coarse hair; Predominantly broad head; Medium to broad nose with low or medium nose bridge; Face is medium to very broad with broad and flat cheek bones; Lips are thin; Eyes are brown to dark brown; Eyes shape is oblique with narrow opening slit; Short to medium height;

Table 1.2 gives an account of four major races identified as per the polycentric racial classification system. Alongside the name of the races, a brief list of identifying feature has also been given.

Monocentric Racial Classification

Monocentric classification was given by Henri Victor, G Olivier (France), Francis Howell (USA), Kenneth Oakley (Britain), and V P Yakimov of USSR. The founders of this classification had a view that all human beings originated in a single region and developed into various races only after spreading out into various regions. This is how the different races came into existence, as per the anthropologists with monocentric view.

Racial Classification in India

India has witnessed immigration on a large scale. Each group entering into the country has come with the specific traits of its own racial group. This has added to the diversity of characteristics observed in our land. Several studies and attempts have tried to acknowledge the actual characteristics of the dominant racial groups in India. Several European anthropologists have made attempts to classify the same. Some important ones have been mentioned in the Table 1.3. Although no two classifications are the same, some similarities nevertheless can be seen. In terms of feasibility and application, each of the mentioned classification have considerable weight age.

Table 1.3 Varied Classifications to Identify Racial Groups Prominent in India Along with their Year of Attempt

S. No	Name of classification	Year of attempt
1	Risley's Classification	1951
2	Giufrida-Ruggari's Classification	1921
3	Haddon's Classification	1924
4	V. Eickstedt's Classification	1934, Improvised in 1952
5	Guha's Classification (most widely used)	1935, Improvised in 1937
6	Roy's classification	1938
7	Sarkar's Classification	1958, Improvised in 1961
8	Biasutti's Classification	1959
9	Roginskij and Levin Classification	1963
10	Buchi's Classification	1968
11	Bowles's Classification	1977

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Racial Groups in India

Based on Guha's classification, which is the most widely used racial classification system, racial distribution chart of the people of India has been made. This distribution has been depicted in Figure 1.3.

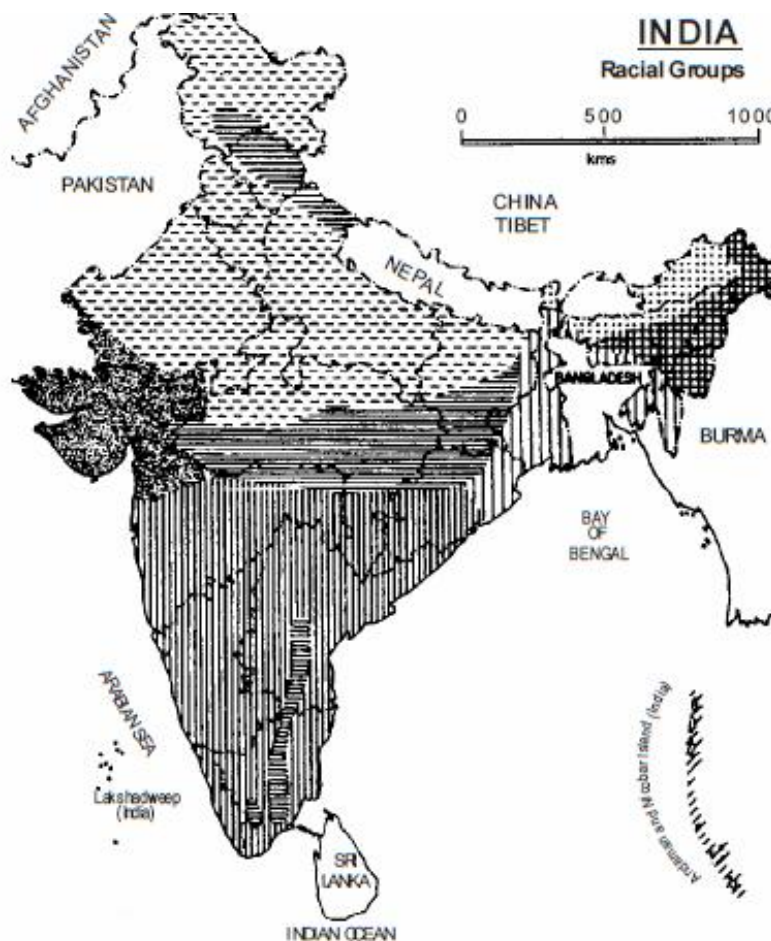


Fig. 1.3 A Pictorial Representation of Racial Domination in Different Regions

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Races depicted in figure 1.3 include the following:

- **Negritos**
- **Proto-Austroloids**
- **Paleo-mediterraneans** (long head, medium to tall in height, long and narrow face structure, vertical forehead, brow to dark brown skin colour)
- **Alpo-dinerics** (light to medium colour of skin, round head, hook nose and acrocephalic)
- **Orientos** (broad, head, broad face and medium stature)
- **Mediterraneans**
- **Proto-nordics** (pure to near blond, long head, fair skin, delicate nose, prominent chin and blue eyes)
- **Tibeto-Mongoloids**
- **Paleo-Mongoloids**

The above mentioned list describes the list of races found prominently in India. The names in the list are evident that the races have been formed upon intermixing of the major groups. Thus, giving rise to new races or ethnic groups describing features of each of the above and other minority groups or races found in India is out of the scope of this book, however, Figure 1.2 gives the reader an idea about the major races prominent in Indian society. In the following paragraphs, you will study in brief regarding the major contributing races of Indian society.

Negritos: It is the oldest race or oldest type of human beings who survived changing times. Studies prove, Negritos were the first inhabitants of South East Asian regions. Some hints or traces of the presence of Negritos can be observed in the hilly regions especially in the hills of South India, Assam, Burma and Bengal.

Proto-Austroloids are known to belong to the West. Prominent in chota Nagpur are the tribes of South India and some parts of Central India. These are sometimes referred to as the original inhabitants of the country and, thus, given the name 'Adi-Basis'.

Mongloid: Mongoloid races or Mongoloid element is prevalent in groups of people belonging to Northern as well as North Eastern parts of India especially the Himalayan range. Even Eastern Bengal has seen prevalence of racial groups with Mongoloid elements. Other than this, Mongolian features have also been observed in the tribes of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar.

Other prominent racial elements visible in Indian society are:

Paleo-Mediterranean, traces from historical excavations have revealed their early arrival in India. The features or traits similar to Paleo-Mediterraneans have been seen among people of North India.

1.3.2 Caste

The Indian caste system is characterized by several unique identifying features and at the same time, each caste has specific features or characteristics that distinguish it from other castes. Though the caste system came about for functional purposes and to clearly demarcate division of labour for orderly functioning of society, through the ages it degenerated into an exploitative and discriminatory tool and became a social evil plaguing Indian society. Through its long existence since 1500 BCE, the caste system came to acquire the following characteristics:

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¶ **Caste system is hereditary:** The caste of an individual is strictly determined by his heredity, i.e. the caste into which he or she is born. It is not within individual power to change one's caste status.

¶ **Caste system is endogamous:** Marriages are allowed only within the caste and inter-caste marriages are strictly prohibited. Marrying below one's caste is considered a sin.

¶ **Caste system is hierarchal:** The Indian caste system is governed by a rigid hierarchy and a system of superiority and subordination. As per this hierarchy, Brahmins enjoy the highest status followed by Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and the lowermost are the Shudras.

¶ **The caste determines the occupations:** The occupation of a person is governed by his caste, and as mentioned earlier, it is also hereditary. As defined in the Vedas and the Upanishads, each caste has a specific role and thus, members of each caste have to pursue jobs or occupations specified for their caste. Defined occupations include the following³⁴

- (i) Brahmins: Teaching, guiding, conducting religious rituals and so forth.
- (ii) Kshatriyas: Governance, warfare, management and so forth.
- (iii) Vaishyas: Trading, service category jobs and craftsmanship.
- (iv) Shudras: Menial jobs like shoemaking, cleaning, gardening and so forth.

A farmer's son will become a farmer, a warrior's son has to be a warrior and a sweeper's son can never aspire to a higher vocation.

¶ **Untouchability is practised:** The caste system is marked by extensive discrimination and exploitation. The Shudras and the untouchables were not only exploited economically and physically, but socially too, they were shunned upon. Even if the shadow of a low caste person fell on a Brahmin, the latter was said to have been polluted. Lower castes are also not allowed to use common worship places or educational institutions or even the cremation grounds of those used by the higher castes of society.

¶ **Caste System is reinforced by religious beliefs:** The Hindu religious beliefs play a significant role in reinforcing the caste system. The religious texts and scriptures assign a superior role to the Brahmins and so, reverence and awe is accorded to them. This religious support has helped in maintaining the rigidity of the caste system.

However, it needs to be clarified here that these characteristics were present in the caste system as it was traditionally practised ages ago. Through centuries of social reform, advent of modern education, era of urbanization and industrialization and improvement in literacy and awareness levels of the people, the traditional caste system has been largely marginalized. It is no longer followed rigidly and people are free to choose the occupation for which they are best suited. The hierarchical lines are also greatly blurred. A Brahmin priest still gets respect and reverence and a sweeper is still shunned but a professional, say a corporate employee may belong to any caste and his social status will be determined by his inter-personal skills, his quality of work and other factors and not by his caste.

Regional Diversity of the Caste System

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Though caste system is mostly associated with Hindus and Hinduism but it is also a fact that it has been found to be practised in various other regions as well. Caste-based divisions have also been observed among Buddhists, Muslims and Christians. Similarly, existence of the caste system is not confined to India alone; the same is followed in other parts of the world like Yemen, some parts of Spain (in Christian colonies) and among Buddhists of Japan.

But even within India, there are wide regional variations as far as the practice of caste system is concerned. According to the well known sociologist, Babul Roy, 'The Caste system of even a small region is extraordinarily complex. For instance, a local caste-group claiming to be Kshatriya may actually be a tribal or near-tribal group or of a low caste which acquired political power in the recent past. The local trading caste might be similar in its culture to one in the 'Shudra' category and far removed from the Sanskritized Vaishya of the Varna system. Castes included in the Shudra category might not only be servants, but landowners wielding a lot of power over everyone including local Brahmins.' The text book model of the four-fold classification of Varna in some sense is found in the North – the heartland of Hindu India, whereas in Dravidian south, the castes are mainly grouped into the opposition of Brahmins and non-Brahmins. So is the case in Himalayan states and in eastern and extreme north-eastern India. In south, there are no genuine Kshatriyas and Vaishyas; these two categories only refer to the local castes that have recently claimed Kshatriya or Vaishya status by virtue of their occupation and marital tradition, and the claim is seriously disputed by others.

Roy's research found that in Bengal, the different merchant castes did not constitute a single group nor did they enjoy equivalent status. In Assam, the Kalita is an influential cultivating caste, unique to this region. The Ganak (astrologer) enjoys higher social position in Assam than in Bengal. Regional variations have also been observed in the degree of caste-based discrimination and disabilities. The rigidity with which the caste system is followed also varies across regions.

Caste and Relationships

In the ancient and medieval times when the caste system was rigidly followed, a person's caste determined the nature of his social interactions and relationships with other members of society.

The three major areas of life that were dominated by caste were marriage, meals and religious worship. Marriage outside one's caste lines was strictly forbidden. In fact, most people married within their own sub-caste. Regarding meals, offering food to a Brahmin was considered a privilege and a pious act. Anyone could accept food from a person of lower caste. If an untouchable dared to draw water from a public well, the water was considered to be polluted and nobody else could use it. For religious worship, the priestly class or Brahmins conducted religious rituals and services. This included occasions like marriages, births, festivals, as well as funerals.

The Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas had full rights to worship, but Shudras were not allowed to enter temples or offer sacrifices to the gods. The untouchables were barred entirely from worshipping. In some regions, untouchables had to hold their footwear in their hands when a Brahmin passed and in certain other regions, they had to lie face down at a distance.

Caste and Occupations

As has been mentioned in earlier sections, the caste system is essentially a functional categorization that was devised to ease division of labour. It placed people in occupational groups according to the status of their caste in the hierarchy.

India's caste system has four main classes (also called *varnas*) based on birth and profession. In descending order, the classes are as follows:

- **Brahmin:** Engaged in scriptural education and teaching, essential for the continuation of knowledge and conducting religious rituals and sacrifices. Other castes considered Brahmins to be the medium between them and the gods.
- **Kshatriya:** Engaged in all forms of public service, including administration, maintenance of law and order and defence.
- **Vaishya:** Engaged in commercial activities as traders and businessmen.
- **Shudra:** Engaged in semi-skilled, unskilled and menial jobs.

Though originally conceived to provide orderliness to society, the problem with this system was that under its rigidity, the lower castes were prevented from aspiring to climb higher, and, therefore, economic progress was restricted.

1.3.3 Economic

We will now discuss the socio-economic classification or classes existing in Indian society. The rural population forms a dominant part of Indian society and, thus, we will begin our discussion of class hierarchy with this section of society.

In rural areas or Indian villages, a clear demarcation between class and caste is not present. Caste and class categories arise from one another and overlap. Caste decides a person's occupation and based on the same his economic position and social status or rank in society are determined. 'Brahmins' constitute the highest caste and are involved in professions like performing rituals, marriages, priesthood and teaching. All this brings them a great deal of respect and high social status. Similarly 'Vaishyas' in villages are destined to be involved in jobs like those of craftsmen, traders or small scale farmers. Accordingly, their economic growth remains restricted and their status in society also remains lower than Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The latter are large landholders, zamindars and leaders of the village. The lowest caste or 'Shudras' take jobs of landless and hired labourers or perform other menial jobs and are accordingly given meagre social status and recognition. Here, the caste affects job type, which in turn decides the economic and social status of a being.

As in villages, in towns too social status is dependent on economic assets and power of the individual but occupation is not a limiting factor. In urban areas, caste system is not given as much importance as it is given in rural areas. With education and urbanization, mindsets of people have become radical, rational and less orthodox. Thus, cross-cutting of caste boundaries has become a common trend in cities. In cities, based on the economic status of an individual, he is ascribed to upper, middle or lower class.

Let us first define social class. A social class can be defined as a group of people who fall under common brackets of wealth, power or influence in society and receive similar respect or social status. For analysing a person's social class, his economic status



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is the first thing that is judged. Following aspects are ascertained when considering economic well-being of a person:

- Income group
- Economic stability
- Spending pattern
- Economic security

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In addition to these, other factors also contribute to the process of determining the social class of an individual. These include the following:

- Hard facts or practical information like income, expenditure, level and type of expenditure and other aspects are measured. This is called the objective method of evaluating the social class.
- Knowing and understanding a person’s thinking, ideologies and lifestyle values form under the subjective method of evaluating the social class.
- The indirect approach when people are asked to comment about other people’s living and expenditure habits is called the reputational method of evaluating social class.

Using the above-mentioned three processes, the following social classes have been recognized in Indian society:

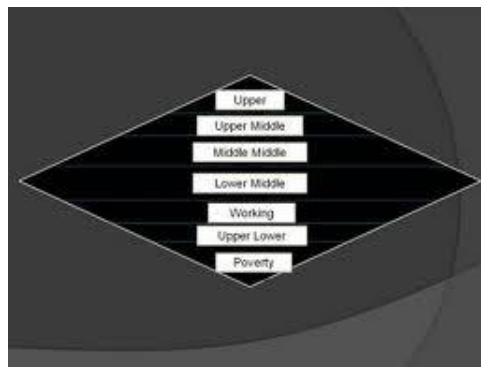


Fig. 1.4 Types of Social Classes Recognized in India Society

Upper Class

These people are owners of a major chunk of the nation’s wealth and belong to one of following professional categories:

- Owners of large lands or real estates
- Large scale industrialists
- Descendants of former royal families or ‘gharanas’
- Company CEOs or top executives
- Established and prosperous entrepreneurs



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Following are the characteristics of the Indian upper class:

- Within this group also, some stratification is noticed. The first category would include those who own inherited wealth and property and may belong to well-established business families or royal dynasties. The second category would comprise those first generation wealth-earners like top executives or industrialists who have hard-earned wealth as against inherited wealth. It must be mentioned here that the former category may have some families that belong to the upper class but may have lost the bulk of their wealth for some reason or the other. There are instances of families that struggle to maintain their erstwhile opulent lifestyle while in reality, they are deep in debt. It is, thus, clear that class is not always indicative of economic well-being.
- However, by and large, upper class people belong to the exceptionally rich group of people or those with more money and resources than their spending needs.
- In India, 10 million people belong to the category of upper class, i.e., 1 per cent of the population.
- Such people often indulge in conspicuous consumption by spending on highly expensive luxury goods and services.

Middle Class

Next in hierarchy is the middle class or what is sometimes called the sandwich class. An easy definition of people belonging to this class would be:

Members of the middle class are wealthier than the lower class and poorer than the upper class. So, being on the middle position of the social ladder, the middle class people constitute the thick central layer. Many millions of Indians fall in this category.

According to the findings of Credit Suisse, a global financial services firm based in Zurich, from its Global Wealth Report 2015, India accounts for 3 per cent of the global middle class with 23.6 million people. The Credit Suisse report has estimated the middle class on the basis of their wealth rather than their income. The report estimated that 664 million adults belonged to the global middle class in 2015, or 14 per cent of the adult population. India has 23.6 million adults who qualified as middle class in 2015. There is no clear definition of middle class in India, but the latest definition dramatically lowers the number of Indians considered to fall in that category.

The Indian middle class is characterized by the following:

- The Indian middle class people mostly occupy medium to high level jobs (white collar respectable jobs) and aspire to rise higher in their organizations.
- Here again, two groups are observed. There is the lower middle class (low income group) which has members who occupy low to medium paying jobs like secretaries, clerks, small business owners, managers and so forth. There

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is also the upper middle class that includes people with high professional status, better education and more income. They include CEOs, lawyers, businessmen, doctors and others.

- The lower and upper middle class together constitute half of the Indian population.
- Middle class people have sufficient resources to satisfy their needs and desires. Their basic needs of housing, food, good healthcare and education are looked after by their economic means. Overall, they lead decent lives.

Working Class

Another important social class is the working class. This class basically includes people in blue-collared jobs like labourers, carpenters, technicians, plumbers, factory workers and others. They are the skilled working class people.



The characteristics of the working class are:

- The skills required for blue-collared jobs are relatively easy to acquire. There is considerable lateral movement among this class as a mason may easily acquire the skills of a tile layer and upgrade his position and income.
- Non-skilled and less educated members of this class have job options of becoming care takers, drivers, maids, waiters and others.
- There is no or negligible scope of career enhancement for members of this caste and their economic and social status remains almost the same throughout their life.
- They have minimal or elementary educational background and, thus, cannot aspire to get better paying jobs. This restricts their economic growth.

Lower Class

- Poverty, unemployment, deprivation and non-fulfilment of daily needs are the identifying features of this group of people. A large chunk; almost half of the population in India belongs to this category, which is a shameful reality.
- These people have minimal or no education and, thus, take up jobs like rag picking, cleaning, sweeping, begging, becoming bonded labourers and so forth. Their income is not fixed and is rarely sufficient to even fulfil basic needs of clothing, shelter, food and medical aid.
- Given this economic condition, for members of the lower class, obtaining vocational training or education remains an unattainable dream. This further poses a barrier to their growth.

- Many belonging to this group often get frustrated and take the path of crime and illegal activities or drug abuse.



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Upper Middle Class

- In the recent past, India has seen the phenomenon of the fast growing upper middle class. Those who do not fit in the upper class but possess more resources than the middle class come under this group. By commanding more resources than the middle class, we mean that these people have sufficient economic strength to avail all basic needs, enjoy some if not all luxuries and also keep aside a good amount as their savings.



- Savings is an important activity for such people. They save to complement their income and also to secure their future.
- With good education and high ambitions, these people aspire to attain not only better salary levels but also dream of emulating the lifestyle of members of the upper class.

1.4 MEANING OF UNITY AND DIVERSITY

India is a land of diversities. It consists of varied landscapes, seasons, races, religions, languages as well as cultures. The main source behind this unity is elusive and it cannot be easily identified. The unity can only be felt, but it is beyond any kind of analysis. In his book, *Discovery of India*, Jawaharlal Nehru presents a very sensitive and fascinating account of his search for the unity at the root of India's amazing diversity.

Check Your Progress

3. List the distinguishing traits used to classify people into various races.
4. State the benefits of racial classification.

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India's cultural progress can be compared with a moving river, which originates from the Himalayas and merges in the sea. It passes through forests and wastelands, as well as orchards and farms, villages and cities. The river absorbs the waters from its tributaries as well as its streams, its environment changes; still it basically remains the same. Indian culture also shows an identical combination of unity as well as diversity, continuity as well as change. In the due course of her long history, India has witnessed many changes, faced various aggressions, accommodated numerous cultural groups and assimilated elements from diverse sources. However, despite all this, the continuity and the basic theme never broke.

In the excavation at the site of the Indus Valley Civilization (3000–1800 BC) many art forms were discovered. During these excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, a statue of a man in meditation was found, this statue hinted at the fact that yoga was practiced in those days as well. Also was found a clay seal of deity, which was quite similar to Lord Shiva. The bangles, beads and other ornaments found during the excavations are similar to the ones available in our shops today. Recent research shows that the Indus Valley's influence got extended towards various regions of northern and western India. The people of the Indus Valley had close contacts with the people of the Dravidian civilization. The Dravidian civilization thrived in southern India long time before the Aryans arrived.

During 2000 to 1600 BC, a section of the Aryan family, popularly known as the Indo-Aryans, migrated to India. They brought the following customs with them when they came:

- The usage of Sanskrit language
- A religion based on sacrifice
- A ritual honouring of deities symbolizing the elemental forces of nature. These symbols were as follows:
 - o Indra, the God of rain and thunder
 - o Agni, the God of fire
 - o Varuna, the lord of the seas, rivers and seasons

Hymns addressed to the above-mentioned deities were collected in the four 'Vedas'. The oldest of the 'Vedas' is the Rig Veda (1500–1200 BC). The Rig Veda describes the quest for finding the ultimate supreme reality, which underlies all diversity. This quest was reinforced in the discussions of the 'Upanishads' (900–600 BC). The Vedic poetry is marked by lofty ideas, literary beauty and a movement from external ritual to inwards experience.

In the sixth century BC, two religions emerged in India outside the Vedic tradition. These religions were Buddhism and Jainism. The Buddha's personality and his emphasis on love, compassion and harmony, deeply influenced the Indian thought and culture. However, Buddhism as an organized religion found huge recognition even outside India. Jainism, which was founded by Mahavira, emphasized on truth and non-violence and it even made huge contributions towards Indian art as well as philosophy.

Alexander of Macedon crossed the Indus River in 326 BC, but he went back soon after. His invasion persuaded Indian culture to initiate relation with the Greco-Roman world. Six years later, Chandragupta Maurya united the scattered empires of India under one centralized empire, with their capital at Pataliputra, which is modern Patna in Bihar. Chandragupta's grandson, Ashoka, who ruled from 273 to 237 BC got hugely affected by the horrors of the Kalinga war and became an ardent Buddhist. He inscribed the message of compassion and gentleness on rocks and polished stone columns.

From 185–149 BC, kings of the Shunga dynasty ruled over India. They were orthodox Hindus. But Buddhism, got strong Buddhist revival under the rule of the Kushana king, Kanishka. He ruled in the north–western India during AD 78 to 101. A lot of Buddhist art and sculpture of the Gandhara style (strongly influenced by Greco-Roman art) developed during this period. Mathura, which is situated towards the south of Delhi, was another centre of Buddhist art in those days.

During the Gupta Empire (AD 319–540), the golden age of ancient Indian culture, Pataliputra became the centre of political as well as cultural activity. Gupta kings (Chandragupta and Skandagupta) were poets as well as musicians. Kalidasa, the greatest poet among all Sanskrit poets and dramatists, lived during Chandragupta’s reign. Popular artistic images of that period are the Buddha images at Sarnath and the frescos painted in the caves of Ajanta in western India. Political fragmentation led to the decline of the Gupta Empire. King Harsha of Kannauj tried to control this disintegration but after his death in AD 648, many independent kingdoms arose in Kashmir, Bengal, Orissa and other regions of southern as well as northern India.

The post-eighth century period was very rich culturally. The Pallavas, Rashtrakutas and Cholas of South India built wonderful temples at Mamallapuram, Ellora and Tanjore, respectively. The Sun Temple of Konark in Orissa and the Shiva Temple at Khajuraho in Central India were constructed in AD eleventh century. In all these temples, carving is an essential part of the architecture. In literature, Sanskrit was gradually being replaced by regional languages like Bengali, Marathi, Hindi and Punjabi. In the south, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada had developed their literary traditions. The Vedanta philosophies of Shankara (eighth century) and Ramanuja (twelfth century) wielded a deep influence. There was a conventional trend in social and religious life. The caste system, which was originally based on disparities of aptitude, became severe and unfair.

The establishment of Muslim rule at the end of the twelfth century was a crossroad in India’s cultural history. A preliminary period of conflict was expected due to the radical differences between Hinduism and Islam. But a progression of accommodation started soon after. One of its meeting points was Sufi mysticism, which was philosophically close to Vedanta. A lot of Muslim kings, at Delhi and in regional kingdoms, were patrons of Indian literature and music and they contributed in Hindu festivals. The trend towards integration was strengthened after the foundation of the Mughal Empire in AD 1526. The base of a national culture was firmly laid under the wise and liberal rule of Akbar (1556–1605). The Hindu and Muslim traditions, while they were keeping their individualness, influenced each other deeply.

In the beginning, the Islamic architecture in India was very sombre and simple. But soon the builders started accepting decorative elements, which included the lotus motif from the Hindu temples. Similarly, a lot of temples that were built in medieval India had Islamic features, like the dome, the arch and screens carved of stone and marble. The Indian architecture reached its peak during the reign of Shah Jahan (1627–1658), who built masterpieces such as the Taj Mahal at Agra.

Painting also had a blend of the two traditions. Motivated by Bihzad and other great Persian artists, painters at the Mughal court made a new style of miniature paintings. By combining this style with subtlety and religious and aesthetic spirit of India, painters of the Rajput School created their own distinctive contributions.

Medieval India’s greatest geniuses were Amir Khusro. He was a poet, musician as well as linguist. He invented many musical instruments, which are played in classical Indian music. Khusrao’s poetic experiments led to the emergence of Urdu, which is one

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of the major Indian languages. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were quite full of devotional poetry in local languages. During this time, Guru Nanak founded Sikhism; Tulsidas wrote the Hindi version of the Ramayana, which is recited and read by a lot of people. Saint Kabir, whose poetry rose above all sectional differences, also preached his universal religion of tolerance and love during this period.

During the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Mughal Empire declined quit swiftly. In the mean time, the Europeans were making inroads into India. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and finally the British entered India during this century. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, British authority was firmly established in India. The introduction of English education and the Christian missionaries in India had a profound impact on the cultural and religious life of people. The new capital, Calcutta, became the centre of Western thought. It was followed by Bombay and Madras. Some of the educated Indians, in their enthusiasm for European culture, turned away from their own legacy. Nevertheless, a reform movement known as Brahma Samaj, which was founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, guided in a spiritual and cultural renaissance. The leaders of the Brahma Samaj emphasized on the deeper truths of Hindu and Muslim scriptures while accepting progressive elements from Western thought. One more source of inspiration was Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa (1836–1886), who was thought of different religions as paths leading towards the same goal. His famous disciple, Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), is known as India's first spiritual and cultural ambassador towards the Europe and America.

Though politically subjugated during the British rule, India retained its cultural dominance and dynamism. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, political, historical and social ideas were taken up by novelists and dramatists. Ghalib, the great Urdu poet, and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the Bengali novelist, made huge inputs to the Indian literature. A lot of outstanding musicians, some of whom were Muslims, kept alive the tradition of classical Indian music. The Kathak School of dance was developed at Lucknow and Jaipur. Later, there was a period of renaissance in Indian painting, which was initiated by Rabindranath Tagore and other artists of the Bengal School. There were a lot of plays based on mythological as well as modern subjects that were staged at Calcutta and Bombay.

In the meantime, the movement for India's independence was gaining strength under the leadership of the Indian National Congress. The sense of patriotism that, thus, got stimulated got reflected in the literature of that era. When, after his gallant struggle against racism in South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India, he opened a new chapter in India's life and history. He touched every aspect of the Indian life, although his major concern was social and political issues. Some of the greatest writers of that period were Bharati in Tamil; Premchand in Hindi, Sharat Chandra in Bengali and others. They expressed Gandhian ideals in their poems and novels.

In the twentieth century, the Indian culture was dominated by the towering genius of Rabindranath Tagore. He was one of the greatest poet-philosophers in world history. Tagore left the imprint of his personality and worked on every field of creativity, i.e., poetry, music, drama, novel, short story and even painting. He was the first non-Western writer who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. He was the founder of the international university, Vishwa Bharati, at Santiniketan and he even introduced many modern concepts in education. A whole generation of Indian writers and artists was swayed by Tagore. So, Gandhi and Tagore are correctly regarded as the makers of modern India.

On 15th August 1947, India became independent. According to Jawaharlal Nehru 'India had kept her tryst with destiny after a century of struggle. The partition of the country on the basis of religion; the bloodshed that followed; and the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi were painful shocks. But the trauma was gradually overcome and India began building her future as a sovereign country taking her rightful place in the comity of nations.'

Since, independence, India has made huge progress in many areas of culture. In almost all the major twenty three languages of India (including English), artistic literature of the utmost order has been created. Few of the outstanding artists/performers who have enriched Indian culture in recent decades are as follows:

- Filmmakers, like the late Satyajit Ray, Guru Dutt and Gulzar
- Musicians, like Pandit Ravi Shankar, Lata Mangeshkar and A.R. Rehman
- Painters, like the late M.F. Hussain
- Sports persons, like Vijay Amritraj, Prakash Padukone, Milkha Singh, Sunil Gavaskar, Kapil Dev and Sachin Tendulkar
- Writers, like R.K. Narayan, Gulzar Anita Desai and Gurcharan Das
- Academicians, like C. Ramanujan, Amartya Sen and Jagdish Bhagwati

The long and glorious history of India has been characteristic of assimilation and adjustment. It has confronted and overcome many periods of crisis and uncertainty. Today, there are new challenges, which are demanding new adjustments. Now, we are in the age of science and technology and rapid advancements in this field. A fundamental question facing us is how to preserve whatever is of enduring worth in the spiritual and aesthetic tradition that has stood the test of five thousand years? How to reinterpret that tradition in the contemporary context? These questions have to be dealt with by the thinkers, leaders, artists and writers of India. Their ability to handle this task in a balanced and imaginative manner will determine the future course of the Indian culture.

The cultural unity of India stands and has stood on the vast diversities prevalent in our cultural practices and beliefs.

1.5 TYPES OF UNITY

The Indian society is not a uniform one. It is a natural corollary to the fact that diversity is a part of the Indian way of life. From region to region, diversity in the social structure is prominently seen. The North Indian social traditions and customs are markedly different from those of eastern India. Similarly, there is a great difference between the traditions and culture of South and West India. The element of mystery associated with India essentially originates from within this diversity.

As per the provisional figures of the Census 2011, India has more than 17 per cent of the world's population. It is a big country with a huge population and would be overtaking China in a few years time to become the most populated country in the world. With these kinds of numbers, there is bound to be a great deal of diversity amongst the people. Moreover, the population lives in various social, ecological, geographic and economic conditions that add to the diversity prevalent in the country.

As seen earlier, India has a 5000 year old history. It has a cultural heritage that has been handed down from very ancient times. But the cultural heritage has had to travel through various stages, ages and ups and downs to reach the present era. It has had to face the challenge of various diversities through its journey. Diversities can be of

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Check Your Progress

5. What customs were brought by Indo-Aryans when they migrated to India?
6. Who founded the Brahma Samaj?

numerous types and is seen in different spheres. They run through various races, religions, castes, tribes, languages, social customs, cultural beliefs, political thoughts, ideologies and so forth.

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The diversity factor notwithstanding, there is a common thread of cultural unity running through the Indians. Over centuries, various cultural traits from various parts of the country and from outside got assimilated and synthesized.

Unity in diversity is best seen in India in a maze of seemingly disparate people. Diversity in India can be observed and analysed from various perspectives. We can be dispassionately seen as communal (Hindu, Muslim, etc.), casteist (Brahmins, Kshatriya, Shudra) and regional (Odia, Telugu, Marathi, Punjabi, etc.). Our cultural orientation is also in sync with our communal, casteist or regional identity. Thus, our cultural diversity stems from our diverse identities.

Our diversities can also be analysed through the same prism of communalism, casteism and regionalism. Communalism is the ugliest of them all. It ignites such base feelings at times that people do not hesitate to resort to violence on the most irrational of issues. Hindu–Muslim riots are so irrational but they continue to raise their ugly heads at regular intervals. Religion is a private affair and when it comes out of the private domain, as it does in India, the fault lines become bolder. India’s cultural and social unity is strong yet fragile. Whenever communal passions rise to extreme heights and result in catastrophes (like the massacre of the Sikhs in 1984; the Godhra and post-Godhra violence and killings of 2002; the violent clashes between the Christians and the tribal in Kandhamal district of Odisha in 2009 and others), the idea of India suffers immensely. All the religions have contributed tremendously to Indian culture and it is in our best interest to keep all religious groups together. Their common existence is the best advertisement of the idea of India.

Though caste rigidity of earlier times has given way to flexibility to a large extent, casteism still remains a divisive force in our country. Our modern history is replete with instances of exploitation and humiliation of the lower caste people. The basic quality of humanism was and is missing in our society as a large section of our population was and is considered to be ‘untouchable’. A human being is untouchable because he was born in a particular family or caste! What could be worse than this kind of discrimination and characterization? Our unity would always be fragile because the fissures that exist between castes are still very deep and we have to do a lot more to redress the situation. However, over the last few years, caste is increasingly becoming a vehicle for identity politics. While the degree of exploitation of the lower castes has come down, they have themselves become more assertive of their low caste. Caste rigidity has definitely come down. It is not uncommon to come across families of the so-called incompatible castes entering into matrimonial alliances. Modern education and western outlook have brought about this positive change in the rigid caste system.

Regionalism implies the affinity with one’s region. While we all are Indians, we also are north Indian or south Indian. Going down further, we also are Tamils or Gujaratis. However, regionalism here does not merely refer to the geography. It includes our linguistic plurality also. Linguistic diversity is like a double-edged sword. It enriches our culture through the sheer number of languages spoken and written. It has resulted in great literature with masterpieces coming out from all the leading languages. At the same time, linguistic plurality has resulted in creating fissures amongst our people. It is not uncommon to see one linguistic group close ranks so strongly that the others get excluded. It is not uncommon to hear pejorative terms like ‘Telugu lobby’, ‘Bengali lobby’ and so

forth working for the interests of their linguistic groups. Even the most educated and the most accomplished people fall prey to such base instincts. This is not to suggest that one should not feel proud of one's mother tongue or take steps to protect one's language. The problem lies when people in power become biased towards people of their language and ignores the merits of others.

Having seen the diversity in Indian society from the perspectives of communalism, casteism and regionalism, we can briefly discuss some cultural diversities emanating from our distinct backgrounds.

India has a rich cultural and artistic heritage. The fact that India was invaded and ruled by various kings down the ages is already reflected by its impact on Indian culture.

Music exists on this land since the existence of humanity. It was probably inspired by the whistles of the wind, the splash of the waves, the chirping of the birds or may be the falling of the rain. Our musicians designed many musical instruments and innumerable ragas. They then developed different notes for different times, seasons and feelings. Different regions developed their own style of singing.

One of the powerful attractions of India and a great cultural showcase is the colourful and diversified attire of its people. The silk sarees, brightly mirrored cholis (blouses), colourful lehngas (long skirts) and the traditional salwar-kameez have fascinated the visitors to our country over the centuries. Though a majority of the Indian women wear these traditional costumes, the men in India can be found in more conventional western clothing. Men from all regions in India wear shirts and trousers. However, men in villages are still more comfortable in their traditional attire like the dhoti, lungi, cotton vest or Khadi dress. Indian dressing styles have many variations, both in the form of religion and region, and one is likely to witness a plethora of colours, textures and styles in garments.

Indian dance is a mix of nritta (the rhythmic elements) 'nritya' (the combination of rhythm with expression) and natya (the dramatic element). Most of the Indian dances take their themes from India's rich mythology and folk legends. All Hindu gods and goddesses like Vishnu and Lakshmi, Rama and Sita, Krishna and Radha are all depicted in classical Indian dances. Each dance form draws encouragement from stories that depict the life, ethics and beliefs of the Indian people. The genesis of the contemporary styles of classical Indian dances can be attributed to the period between AD 1300 and 1400 India proposes a lot of classical dance forms, each of which can be traced to different sections of the country. Each form describes the culture of a specific region or a group of people belonging to a particular place (Table 1.4).

Table 1.4 Dance Forms Describing the Culture of a Place

Dance	Place
Bharatnatyam	Tamil Nadu
Odissi	Orissa
Kathak	Uttar Pradesh
Kathakali	Kerala
Kuchipudi	Andhra Pradesh
Manipuri	Manipur
Mohiniyattam	Kerala

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There is a multiplicity of festivals in India. Most of the festivals owe their origin to legends, gods and goddesses arising out of mythology. There are as many festivals as the number of days in a year. Fun, colour, gaiety, enthusiasm, feasts and a variety of prayers and rituals characterize the festivals of our country. Some important festivals are Deepawali or Diwali, Krishna Janmashtami, Onam, Pongal, Ramzan Id, Rath Yatra, Baisakhi, Easter, Ganesha Chaturthi, Holi, Raksha Bandhan, Ram Navami, Christmas, Good Friday, Makar Sankranti, Muharram, Shivratri and Durga Puja.

Cultural Unity in India

Despite the numerous diversities in our cultural life and the extent of cultural pluralism in India, we do adhere to certain common national ethos and notions. There is definitely an 'Indian culture' that permeates our existence howsoever diverse we may be at an individual or group level. We respect the same traditions and heritage; we celebrate the same festivals; and we share similar food habits.

Some important questions that arise are what bring about the cultural unity among Indians despite the plethora of diversities existing in our society? Is the unity maintained administratively or it comes from within our society? What is the role of religion in forging this cultural unity?

The answers to these three questions are not easy to find. Firstly, the reason or reasons for the cultural unity among Indians, despite the plethora of diversities, is/are not easy to pinpoint. Thus, the first question remains unanswered even though the readers are free to do their own research and come to certain conclusive findings.

However, with regard to the second question, we can say with reasonable correctness that the unity has not been brought about administratively. Rather, it has come from within the Indian society. This is so because cultural unity in India is more than skin deep. People genuinely share a common culture that is symbolized by festivals, art, rituals, and others which are similar. These things cannot be brought about through administration or external directions. Rather, cultural unity emerges from the depths of our society. While the administrative reasons could be there, like the modern and progressive constitution; the integration of princely states with the nation; the promotion of Hindi as the national language; would only be a modern day phenomenon. This gives rise to some further queries like how can we explain the cultural unity that prevailed hundreds of years earlier? Or was there no such unity in those times and it is a recent phenomenon, i.e., something which was observed only after the beginning of the freedom movement in the nineteenth century?

In the context of these sub-queries, it would suffice to say that it would be incorrect to hold the view that cultural unity is a thing of the recent past. Centuries ago, even though there was no political state called India; the people residing in the sub-continent had certain common cultural traits. Though the various territories were often at war with each other, the people of these territories were generally a large homogeneous group with shared values and ideals. They celebrated festivals like Diwali and Rath Yatra with devotion and fanfare. With the advent of the Muslim rulers, the cultural unity amongst the Hindu population got stronger in the face of foreign aggression. However, there were many benevolent Muslim and Mughal rulers, like Akbar, who made all religious groups feel safe and secure. Such rulers promoted the cultures of different religious groups and tried to create a national culture.

The third question as to what role religion has played in forging this unity is complex and demands a careful analysis. We have earlier talked about communalism and the danger that it poses to unity in our country. People get swayed away by irrational religious issues and become violent towards people belonging to a different religion. Thus, it would appear that religion would have a negative bearing upon cultural unity. But it is not so simplistic. Admittedly, communal passions are ignited by religion and unity gets torn apart. But religion also has a tremendous contribution towards the growth of cultural unity in India. One reason for this could be the overwhelming majority of the Hindu population.

More than 80 per cent of the Indians are Hindus. This huge number covers all kinds of people belonging to different regions, castes, linguistics, classes and so forth. The Hindu religion acts as an umbrella for Marathi Brahmins, Kashmiri Pandits; Orissi farmers, Telugu entrepreneurs; Bihari zamindars, etc. They are all from diverse backgrounds and enjoy different levels of social status but they all are united by the bond of Hinduism. They celebrate Hindu festivals together, like Holi, Diwali, Durga Puja, Ganesh Chaturthi and others. They practice similar customs and rituals during times of birth and death in the family. Thus, we see that a religion is playing the role of a unifier. Hinduism is promoting cultural unity among diverse groups.

A related question that arises is that if one religion promotes unity amongst its followers, is it not promoting communalism? Is it not creating an adversarial position between different religions? Is it not true that Hindu unity might make the smaller religions feel insecure? These are all very difficult questions to answer. They may be true or at least partly true. But that does not take away from the role of religion – especially the religion followed by a vast majority of the population – in fostering cultural unity.

A peculiar thing about this issue is that Hinduism is not seen merely as a religion. It has been accepted by many as a way of life. Even many non-Hindus have accepted this view. If that is so, then we can say that Hinduism has played a very big role in bringing together the disparate groups of people in our country. Thus, on balance, we can say that religion does play a significant role in unifying people and making them share their cultural beliefs and traditions.

Another important facet about India is its caste system. We have discussed in the previous section that casteism has been generally a divisive force in our country. However, there is another school of sociological thought which believes that the caste system has also provided a common cultural ideology to Indians. This school believes that though caste has created inter-caste conflicts and the social problems emanating from untouchability, it is also true that the *jajmani* system had succeeded in maintaining harmony and cooperation among various castes in the rural areas of our country. *Jajmani* system or *vetti-chakiri* is an Indian social caste system and its interaction between upper castes and lower castes. It was an economic system in which lower castes have only obligations or duties to render free services to the upper caste community.

In recent years, the numerically large castes – who had been socially exploited for centuries – have realized their potential in the political arena and have started flexing their muscles. They have forged a caste unity among like groups and have attained political power. This is both good and bad for cultural unity. While it is good for the groups that have come together, it is bad in the overall social scenario as it puts some castes against the others.

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Like in case of caste, there is an alternate school of thought in relation to languages. This school holds the view that language also contributes towards cultural unity because a national language binds the people together and preserves and protects the culture of a nation. This is true but does not address the issue of the effects of a plethora of languages as is the case in India.

The discussions in this and the previous section can be summarized by saying that though religion, caste and language have definitely created some problems in the Indian society, they also contain the idea of the unity of India within themselves.

1.6 SUMMARY

- Religious pluralism is usually used as a synonym for religious tolerance, although both the concepts have distinct meanings. Religious tolerance means that each person is entitled to his own set of religious beliefs without having to conform to some societal standard.
- Some theologians argue that God created all the religions of the world in order to speak to people in ways that most appeal or relate to their circumstances in life.
- The concept of religious pluralism is tricky, especially when subjected to scientific and logical analysis. Most religions contradict the position accepted in another religion and this leaves the pluralists caught in the middle of some arguments.
- Buddhism was found in India. Gautam Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, kept his teachings limited to *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*. Buddhism is an ethical arrangement, a way of life that leads towards a particular goal.
- Judaism is the oldest of the three great monotheistic religions of the world along with Islam and Christianity. It is the religion and way of life of the Jewish people.
- There have been various judicial decisions wherein religious pluralism has been emphasized as the quintessence of the Indian society.
- Secularism is a very important aspect of the Indian way of life and governance. It has helped in promoting communal harmony and in keeping national integration at the forefront. Communal harmony can prevail only when you ensure equality of status among people and equal opportunity for everyone as conceived in the Constitution of India.
- Religious conversion has become a controversial issue in contemporary India. One side of the debate on religious conversion is represented by those who claim that conversion and proselytization are basic and inalienable human rights.
- India has always been a multi-lingual country. Language has also been an important source of diversity as well as unity in India. According to the Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India, 1903–28) there are 179 languages and as many as 544 dialects in the country.
- The linguistic diversity found across India stems from a history that saw numerous ancient kingdoms, each with its own language. These languages remained distinct to the area even after a kingdom was dissolved or merged with another. State lines later drawn by the colonial rulers often crossed former political and linguistic boundaries.

Check Your Progress

7. Give instances to suggest the existence of cultural unity in India.
8. How has language contributed to the cultural unity of India?

- Racial classification was introduced way back in the early years of the twentieth century as a tool for taxonomic studies of human beings.
- As per the polycentric theory of evolution (by Franz Weidenreich of USA), the development of modern man took place in separate regions, independent of the existence of others. This separate development led to varying characteristics. As per the same theory, man in these regions evolved from the influence of the oldest inhabitants of those regions.
- Monocentric classification was given by Henri Victor, G. Olivier (France), Francis Howell (USA), Kenneth Oakley (Britain), and V P Yakimov of USSR. The founders of this classification had a view that all human beings originated in a single region and developed into various races only after spreading out into various regions.
- The caste system is marked by extensive discrimination and exploitation. The Shudras and the untouchables were not only exploited economically and physically, but socially too, they were shunned upon.
- The three major areas of life that were dominated by caste were marriage, meals and religious worship. Marriage outside one's caste lines was strictly forbidden. In fact, most people married within their own sub-caste.
- The rural population forms a dominant part of Indian society and thus, we will begin our discussion of class hierarchy with this section of society.
- India is a land of diversities. It consists of varied landscapes, seasons, races, religions, languages as well as cultures. The main source behind this unity is elusive and it cannot be easily identified.
- In the excavation at the site of the Indus Valley Civilization (3000–1,800 BC) many art forms were discovered. During these excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, a statue of a man in meditation was found, this statue hinted at the fact that yoga was practiced in those days as well.
- Though politically subjugated during the British rule, India retained its cultural dominance and dynamism. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, political, historical and social ideas were taken up by novelists and dramatists.
- The cultural unity of India stands and has stood on the vast diversities prevalent in our cultural practices and beliefs.
- The Indian society is not a uniform one. It is a natural corollary to the fact that diversity is a part of the Indian way of life. From region to region, diversity in the social structure is prominently seen.
- The diversity factor notwithstanding, there is a common thread of cultural unity running through the Indians. Over centuries, various cultural traits from various parts of the country and from outside got assimilated and synthesized.
- India has a rich cultural and artistic heritage. The fact that India was invaded and ruled by various kings down the ages is already reflected by its impact on Indian culture.
- Despite the numerous diversities in our cultural life and the extent of cultural pluralism in India, we do adhere to certain common national ethos and notions. There is definitely an 'Indian culture' that permeates our existence howsoever diverse we may be at an individual or group level. We respect the same traditions and heritage; we celebrate the same festivals; and we share similar food habits.

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1.7 KEY TERMS

- **Jajmani:** It is a system in which each caste group within a village is expected to give certain standardized services to the families of other castes.
- **Zamindar:** This term refers to a landowner who is also a collector of land revenue.
- **Sankranti:** It refers to the transition of the Sun into *Makara rashi* on its celestial path.
- **Secularism:** It refers to the principle of separation of the state from religious institutions.
- **Corollary:** It is a proposition that follows from (and is often appended to) one already proved.

1.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Sikhism are some of the popular religions followed in India.
2. The most important tenet of Judaism is that there is only one eternal God who desires that all people must do what is just and merciful.
3. The distinguishing traits used to classify people into various races are as follows:
 - Looks or phenotypic characteristics or physical features and body type
 - Region or place of origin
 - Ethnic as well as social status in society
4. The benefits of racial classification are as follows:
 - Forensic studies: Like identification of skeletons from bone structures. This is known as forensic anthropology.
 - Biomedical research: A way of relating diseases to phenotypic and genotypic characteristics.
 - Medicine and gene therapy research: Finding new treatment methods, targeted towards a particular population or race.
 - Psychology and sociology studies also use racial categories to understand and relate to human behaviour.
 - In some countries, profiling of suspects is done on basis of their race.
5. When Indo-Aryans migrated to India, they brought the following customs with them:
 - The usage of Sanskrit language
 - A religion based on sacrifice
 - A ritual honouring of deities symbolizing the elemental forces of nature.These symbols were as follows:
 - o Indra, the God of rain and thunder
 - o Agni, the God of fire
 - o Varuna, the lord of the seas, rivers and seasons
6. Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded the Brahmo Samaj.

7. Cultural unity lies in the depth of the Indian society. The existence of various religions, cultures and castes together is an apt example of the existence of cultural unity in India.
8. One school of thought holds the view that language has also contributed towards cultural unity of India because a national language binds the people together and preserves and protects the culture of a nation.

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1.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the existence of various religions in India.
2. Mention the salient features of the Indian caste system.
3. Write short notes on the following:
(a) Regionalism (b) Casteism (c) Communalism.

Long-Answer Questions

1. 'Religious pluralism is usually used as a synonym for religious tolerance.' Explain the statement.
2. Discuss the existence of linguistic and regional diversity in India.
3. Analyse the concept of 'unity in diversity' with reference to India.
4. Discuss how religion is responsible for preserving cultural unity in India. Do you agree with this idea? Give reasons for your views.

1.10 FURTHER READING

- Atal, Y. 2006. *Changing Indian Society*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
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UNIT 2 THE STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF INDIAN SOCIETY

*The Structure and
Composition of
Indian Society*

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Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Villages in India
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2.0 INTRODUCTION

The structure and composition of society is a very important concept of social science and has been discussed in great detail by numerous social scientists. While some scholars believe that it is the set of rules that bind a society together, others view it as the interplay amongst various members of the society. It all gives a definite and tangible structure to the society.

Drawing from such varied viewpoints, it would suffice to say that the structure and composition of a society is the sum total of the relationships between human beings existing in that society. These relationships are well-established and accepted. For example, the relationship between a man and a woman as husband and wife is governed by the marital practice and leadership of the family.

Thus, if the man heads the family, it is said to be a patriarchal society where the husband is bestowed with greater rights and powers by the norms of that society.

India is widely known as a land of villages and these villages cumulatively constitute the Indian rural society.

As per the provisional figures of the Census 2011, about 69 per cent of India's population stays in rural areas spread across the country. This is a huge number and very critical statistical information. The rural society of India is very much backward. Its backwardness is due to the several problems that haunt the rural society. The process of change in rural society is quite slow and so the problems are more or less age old.

The urban society is also an important aspect of Indian society. With its growing proportion, it is set to dominate sociological studies in future. The urban society consists of the towns and cities. It has a specific way of life. But, even the urban society has

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many social problems such as congestion of population and acute shortage of facilities and resources.

In this unit, you will study about the rural and urban landscape of India. The unit also deals in depth with topics such as the existence of tribes, Dalits and women and minorities in India.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- List the characteristics of Indian villages and urban cities
- Differentiate between the rural-urban landscape
- Discuss the classification of tribes in India
- Analyse the position of women in the current scenario in India
- Interpret the position of Dalits, weaker sections and minorities in India

2.2 VILLAGES IN INDIA

Villages are an integral part of the Indian society. The rural landscape of India is dotted with lakhs of villages. There are around 649,481 villages in India, according to Census 2011, the most authoritative source of information about administrative boundaries in the country. Of these, 593,615 are inhabited. Thus, the expansion of the village community in India is enormous. The sociological study of the communities of India reveals the true nature of the rural society in India.

Common characteristics of Indian villages are as follows:

- **Isolation and self-sufficiency:** Villages in India were, and still are to some extent, isolated from the rest of the country. They have a self-sufficient existence wherein they grow their own food, build their own houses and carry out social relationships amongst each other within the village.

However, post-independence, things have changed quite a lot. With the growth of means of transport and communication and the laying of an extensive road and rail network, the distance or barrier between villages and towns has been removed. Political and economic factors have also contributed towards diminishing the isolation of Indian villages. Economic development has made the people of the villages more mobile and they are moving out to urban centres in search of new employment opportunities. Their dependence on agriculture has come down significantly. Political parties have also made villages the epicentre of their political activities. Many people from rural areas have actively joined politics and made frequent visits to their party headquarters in the cities.

- **Peace and simplicity:** Indian villages are generally peaceful wherein people reside together with a spirit of togetherness and have a fellow feeling. An atmosphere of calm and simplicity prevails in our villages. The hectic pace of activities prevalent in our cities is conspicuously absent from the villages. Life moves along at a slow but fulfilling pace. The villagers lead a simple life characterized by frugal eating, simple dressing, small houses and so forth.

- **Conservatism:** Indian villagers are very conservative in their thoughts and deeds. They do not accept change very easily. They prefer to hold on to their old customs and traditions.
- **Poverty and illiteracy:** The poverty and illiteracy that exists in our villages on a massive scale is one of the most depressing features of our villages and also a very shameful aspect of modern India. Despite independence and rapid economic progress, we have failed in eradicating poverty and illiteracy from our villages. The per-capita income might have increased and the literacy rate might have climbed up, but the fact remains that the levels are abysmal by global standards. The per-capita income is so low that people at the bottom of the pyramid cannot think beyond their survival. Similarly, the quality of education is so poor that the literacy rates mean nothing significant.

Economic growth of the last twenty years has not percolated down to our villages. The availability of educational and health facilities is very poor. Lack of money forces them to depend upon local facilities, which are of very poor quality. Ignorance does not enable them to take advantage of modern techniques of agriculture. Thus, they continue to remain in poverty. A vicious cycle of poverty–ignorance–poverty engulfs the life of our villagers.

- **Local self-government:** In ancient India, villages were models of self-governance and autonomy. They used to run their own administration and judiciary through the institution of Panchayat. The British altered the scenario by resorting to a highly centralized form of governance. However, post-independence, efforts were started to revive the institutions of local self-governance under Gandhiji's vision of Gram Swaraj. This culminated in the 73rd Constitution Amendment Act in 1993 by which the Panchayati Raj institutions were strengthened. Thus, a prominent feature of the Indian villages has been restored with constitutional backing.

Indian Rural Society: Changing Nature of the Village Community

Though change occurs more in urban society, it also does take place in the rural society. The village community undergoes change but at a gradual pace. The changing nature of the village community in India can be understood from the following perspectives:

- **Economic system:** The village economy in India has changed. It no longer remains an agricultural economy alone. The educated youth do not stay back in the villages anymore. Rather, they move out to cities in search of employment. Besides, the farmers have started to employ modern tools and technology in their fields to get more out of their land. Thus, the mechanization of agriculture is also taking place. Rural banking has encouraged the village community to put their savings in the bank and also to avail credit facilities. They use this credit in starting small business ventures and also in meeting some emergency expenses in the family.
- **Political system:** The revival of the Panchayati Raj system in Indian villages through the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act in 1993 has truly changed the political landscape in rural India. Political consciousness and participation in electoral politics has increased tremendously. People have become very aware about local, state and national politics. However, the negative impact of this change is that people have become divided on lines of political affiliations. The fellow feeling of our village community has been adversely affected.

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- **Marriage system:** Indian villages have slowly accepted the reality of love marriages. Even though majority of marriages in our villages are arranged by family elders, a few love marriages are indeed taking place. Besides, even in arranged marriages, the boys and girls are being asked to give their views or consent. Child marriage has been almost abolished.
- **Family system:** The joint family system is no more the dominant family type in Indian villages. Nuclear families have also started coming up. Though the extended family stays in close vicinity, the nuclear families have been established through separate hearths. Girls in the family are being educated and their status in rural society has improved.
- **Caste system:** The caste system used to be followed very rigidly in Indian villages in earlier times. However, modern education, social and administrative reforms, impact of modernization and other factors have resulted in reducing its hold over the village community. The restrictions imposed by the caste system on choice of occupations, choice of spouses, mode of living and so forth have weakened.

From the above, it is clear that Indian villages are not static but undergoing changes.

2.3 TOWNS AND CITIES

Just as it was difficult to define a village or rural society, it is equally difficult to define the word 'urban' or the terms 'urban society' and 'urban community'. An urban area may be an area that has a very high density of population. But density of population alone cannot be the defining feature. While the distinction between 'rural' and 'urban' is comprehensible to everybody, it is not easy to define the terms scientifically.

Generally speaking, an urban community is large, dense and heterogeneous. It can also be said to be predominantly occupied in the industrial and service sectors. Urban growth is a recent phenomenon and till 1850, the urban population in the world was estimated to be only 2 per cent of the global population.

Ancient India did have a few cities, which were important centres of pilgrimage and governance. Ayodhya, Pataliputra, Magadha and others were some of these cities. Notwithstanding this fact, urbanization in India is also a recent phenomenon. Prior to independence, apart from the cities of ancient times, India had a few cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Delhi. The first three were important cities for the British rulers as they had ports, which facilitated trade and commerce. After Independence, with the advent of planned economic development, urbanization gathered pace in India. The reason for this was the Government's thrust on industrial growth and the resultant development of industrial towns. Thus, industrialization led to urbanization in independent India. Besides industrial towns and cities, urban areas have come up in the shape of state capitals, district headquarters and educational centres. Thus, while Rourkela (Orissa) and Bokaro (Jharkhand) are industrial towns, Bhubaneswar (Orissa) and Bhopal (Madhya Pradesh) are capital cities. Similarly, Pune and Kota are urban areas that are recognized as centres of educational excellence.

As per the provisional figures of Census 2011, the share of urban population in India has gone up to 31 per cent from 17 per cent in 1951. Thus, as stated earlier, urbanization has taken place in a major way after the independence of the country.

Check Your Progress

1. List any two characteristics of Indian villages.
2. State any one feature denoting change in the rural Indian villages.

The census of India defines urban area as all places with a Municipality, Corporation, Cantonment Board, Notified town area committee, etc. and all other places satisfying the following criteria:

- Having a minimum population of 5,000
- At least 75 per cent of the male main workers being engaged in non-agricultural work
- Having a density of population of at least 400 per square kms.

The characteristics of urban society in India are as follows:

- **Anonymity:** Urban areas are large and have very high population. Besides, the communities do not reside in close proximity. In such circumstances, anonymity of individuals and urban communities becomes a way of life. Unlike villages, where everyone knows each other, people in towns and cities are very impersonal and know only very few people by name. Given the high population and the hectic pace of life in Indian cities and towns, it is not possible to know each other personally.

Anonymity refers to loss of identity in a city teeming with millions. Many urbanites live in a social void or vacuum in which institutional norms are not effective in controlling or regulating their social behaviour. Although they are aware of the existence of many institutional organizations and many people around them, they do not feel a sense of belongingness to any one group or community. Socially, they are poor in the midst of plenty.

- **Social heterogeneity:** Compared to rural society, the urban society in India is far more heterogeneous. People from diverse backgrounds with great racial, cultural and educational variations live together in the cities and towns. The urban society in India is a melting pot for all cultures and traditions and people learn about each other in this setting. This society has thrived by recognizing and rewarding individual differences. The personal traits and the ideas of the members of the urban society are completely different from those of their rural counterparts.
- **Social distance:** Due to anonymity and heterogeneity, the urban dweller becomes lonely and stays removed from other persons. All social interactions are routine, mechanical and impersonal. There is no social cohesiveness between one another. Rather, there is a great deal of social distance amongst the members of the urban community.
- **Homelessness:** The housing problem in Indian cities is so acute that many people from the lower class of income do not get a roof above their heads. They spend their nights in railway stations, on footpaths or under the flyovers or bridges. This homelessness is a very disturbing feature of our urban society and is a violation of basic human rights. Even the middle class families do not get homes of their choice. They reside in small and badly located houses, which do not provide the children of such families with any space to play.
- **Class extremes:** Indian cities are characterized by inhabitants of all classes. The richest persons of the country like Mukesh Ambani, Sachin Tendulkar, Aamir Khan and other celebrities cohabit with the poorest of the poor in a city like Mumbai. Thus, urban society is replete with class extremities. Such extremities have their own problems and can create a sense of dejection in the minds of the poor people. Sometimes, this leads them to the door of crime in lure of easy money.

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- **Hectic pace of life:** Life is very fast-paced and hectic in the urban areas and is completely different from the languid pace of rural life. People are always in a hurry to do their work so that they accomplish their targets and get their rewards. This endless run eventually affects their health and creates a great deal of tension in their personal lives.
- **Materialism:** The urban community of India is greatly focused upon material acquisitions and wealth accumulation. An individual's worth is expressed in terms of his material possessions. There is a lot of conspicuous consumption and an urban Indian feels happy to lead a luxurious lifestyle.
- **Secularism:** The urban community is more secular than its rural counterparts. Religious, caste and community feelings take a back seat as people are more concerned about working and earning a good livelihood. Interactions amongst people of different castes and communities at workplaces force them to adopt a more secular outlook.

2.3.1 Rural-Urban Linkages

While studying about the rural and urban society, it is imperative for us to know about the concepts of rural–urban continuum and rural–urban contrast. Briefly put, while the first analyses the similarities between rural and urban areas, the second does so about the differences.

Rural–urban continuum

Both rural and urban societies are part of the same human society and do share a lot of features of each other. There is no clear demarcation between the two. There is no sharp demarcation to tell where the city ends and the country begins. It is very difficult to actually distinguish between the two societies in the geographical realm. While theoretically we talk about the two societies, the dichotomy between the two is not based upon scientific principles.

Since, no concrete demarcation can be drawn between the 'rural' and the 'urban', sociologists take recourse to the concept of rural–urban continuum. The bottom line of the concept is that rural and urban societies do not exist in water tight compartments but do have a lot in common. They share lifestyles, value systems, traditional festivals and customs because they, ultimately, belong to the same society. The difference between them is usually of degree rather than of kind. They are not mutually exclusive.

The differences between them are getting further blurred with the advent of modernization and industrialization. Countries where these processes have become universal are good examples of similarities between rural and urban areas. Universal modern education, modern means of transportation, access to television and computers, and others aspects have radically changed the lifestyle in rural areas and have reduced the differences that were earlier visible between rural and urban areas. Countries like India still have huge differences between these two areas because of poverty and illiteracy continuing to dominate the rural landscape (Figure 2.1).

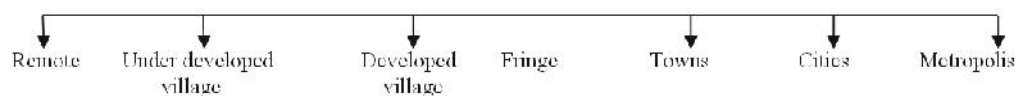


Fig. 2.1 The Rural–Urban Continuum

The extreme left depicts a remote village and the extreme right a metropolitan city. Such sharp differences do not usually exist between villages and cities and, in reality, rural and urban areas can exist at any point on the above line or continuum. Thus, there is no clear cut demarcation and the difference can be seen to be one of degree and not kind.

The fringe at the centre of the diagram is an interesting concept. It is also known as the rural–urban fringe. It is some sort of an overlapping geographical area between a city and a rural area. The cities have expanded and penetrated into rural areas. This is due to haphazard and unplanned growth of the cities. As one moves out of cities, one can see some residential colonies, a few factories, open sheds storing marble, timber or other construction material, automobile showrooms, petrol/diesel filling stations and so forth. In between these structures, one can see large tracts of agricultural fields. These areas are known as the rural–urban fringe. The fringe is defined as an area of mixed urban and rural land users between the point where city services cease to be available and the point where agricultural land users predominate.

Rural–urban contrast

There is a different school of thought among sociologists, which believes that a strong dichotomy exists between rural and urban areas. Notwithstanding the wide acceptability of the concept of rural–urban continuum, this group believes in the other concept, i.e., rural–urban contrast. This concept seeks to highlight the differences between the rural and urban areas and some of these differences are as follows:

- **Differences in social organization:** The systems of family and marriage are quite different. While joint families and arranged marriages are the order of the day in rural areas, urban areas see a lot of nuclear families and love marriages. Besides, the status of women is higher in urban areas.
- **Differences in social relationship and interaction:** Rural society exhibits greater cooperation and fellow feeling amongst individuals whereas; in urban areas people are very self-centred. While rural areas have personal relationships, urban areas have impersonal ones.
- **Homogeneity vis-à-vis heterogeneity:** Villages are small in size and, therefore, the inhabitants develop many identical characteristics due to physical proximity. Cities are much bigger in size and there is a great deal of heterogeneity.
- **A difference in economic life:** Agriculture is the predominant economic feature of the rural society. It results in low income and, consequently, low standard of living. On the other hand, there is a great deal of variety in the economic life of the urban society. Most people are engaged in industries or pursue their own business. The standard of living of the urban people is higher.
- **Differences in cultural life:** Rural culture is relatively static and is dominated by traditions and age-old customs. The urban areas have a dynamic culture and less room for superstitious beliefs.
- **Differences in social mobility:** Since hierarchy in the rural society is based upon the caste system in a country like India, social mobility in the rural society is almost impossible. In other countries, where hierarchy is based upon class, social mobility in rural areas is relatively easier. However, it is in the urban areas that social mobility does take place most easily as the people have the freedom to choose their occupation and move up in life.

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- **Differences in social change:** The process of social change in rural areas is very slow. The reasons for this are predominance of traditional thinking and conservatism, less innovation and competition and a high degree of stability. On the contrary, urban areas see rapid social changes due to the influence of modernization and westernization.
- **Differences in social control:** In rural societies, primary institutions like the family, caste, neighbourhood and others exercise a great deal of control on the behaviour of individuals. In contrast, there is hardly any control on the members of the urban society. A man in an urban society is free from all primary controls.

2.4 TRIBES

In India, tribe and caste are two important aspects of social organization. These two have many attributes in common. This similarity has led many scholars to identify these two as synonymous. As a result, many tribes have been described as castes and vice versa. After a period of prolonged controversy, it was finally recorded in the Imperial Gazetteer of India that a tribe consists of the following:

- Collection of families bearing a common name
- Speaking a common dialect
- Occupying or professing to occupy a common territory

The definition of caste gives an almost similar picture. A caste is also a collection of families bearing a common name, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and very often speaking the same dialect, though it is always endogamous.

While distinguishing a tribe from a caste in India, British social anthropologist, Bailey writes that an ideal tribe has always an organic unity, which is characterized by lack of interaction and absence of any hierarchical system. On the other hand, an ideal caste encourages interactions and always hankers after a position in the hierarchical system.

As regards tribe-caste differences, Surajit Sinha, author of *Anthropology in India*, has made a number of valuable observations. He holds that a tribe is isolated from other ethnic groups in ecology, demography, economy, politics and other social relations. This isolation generates a strong in-group sentiment. Internally, a tribe is characterized by homogeneity as there is always a lack of social stratification and role specialization other than by age, sex and kinship. On the contrary, a caste is a typically connected, stratified and heterogeneous group. Further, a caste is characterized by multi-ethnic residence in the local community, inter-ethnic participation in an economy involving occupational specialization by ethnic groups.

Classification of Tribes in India

Though tribal populations are found across the world, the largest concentration of tribal population is found in India. The tribes are the autochthonous people of the Indian peninsula and are believed to be the earliest settlers here. The tribal population in India, in absolute terms, is the highest in the world at 8.43 crore (provisional figures as given by the 2011 census). Tribal constitute about 7 per cent of India's total population and an overwhelming majority of them (about 92 per cent) reside in rural areas.

Check Your Progress

3. List two characteristics of urban Indian society.
4. What does the fringe denote in the urban-rural continuum?

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Classification on the basis of religion

The bulk of the tribal population regard themselves as Hindus. The influence of Hindu religion on the tribes is tremendous and almost 90 per cent of the tribal follow it in one form or the other. A significant number have embraced Christianity also. Buddhism, Jainism and Islam are also followed by a negligible proportion of the tribal population in India.

One important point to be noted in this context is that even those tribes that have embraced any of the above-mentioned religions, have not necessarily shed their local tribal beliefs and rituals. They continue to practice their traditional faith even while following their acquired faith.

When you view this phenomenon from the geographical perspective, it is seen that most of the tribes of southern India, western India and Central India have adopted Hinduism as their new religion. The tribes of north-eastern India, especially those residing in Nagaland and Mizoram, have adopted Christianity in a big way. In Central India, some major tribes of Chota Nagpur also follow Christianity. The tribes following Islam are few in number and are scattered all across the country. Buddhism among Indian tribes is represented mainly by some tribal groups of Arunachal Pradesh. The impact of Buddhism can also be seen in the Himalayan and Maharashtrian tribes.

Classification on the basis of location

Considering the widespread distribution of the tribes all across the country, it is necessary to group them in broad geographical regions. L.P. Vidyarthi (ICSSR, Survey of Research in Sociology and Anthropology, Volume 3) divided the tribal people into the following four major zones:

1. The Himalayan Region, comprising Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh (Bhot, Gujjar and Gaddi), Terai area of Uttar Pradesh (Tharus), Assam (Mizo, Garo, Khasi), Meghalaya, Nagaland (Nagas), Manipur (Mao) and Tripura (Tripuri) and having 11 per cent of the total tribal population of the country.
2. Middle India, comprising West Bengal, Bihar (Santhal, Munda, Oraon and Ho), Orissa (Khond and Gond) and having about 57 per cent of the Indian tribal population.
3. Western India, comprising Rajasthan (Bhil, Meena, Garasia), Madhya Pradesh (Bhil), Gujarat (Bhil, Dubla, Dhodia) and Maharashtra (Bhil, Koli, Mahadeo, Kokana) containing about 25 per cent of the Indian tribal population.
4. Southern India, comprising Andhra Pradesh (Gond, Koya, Konda, Dova), Karnataka (Naikada, Marati), Tamil Nadu (Irula, Toda), Kerala (Pulayan, Paniyan) and Andaman and Nicobar Islands (Andamanese, Nicobari) and containing about 7 per cent of the total tribal population.

Racial classification

L.P. Vidyarthi observes that the most acceptable racial classification of the Indian population is the one done by Guha in 1935. The latter had identified the following six main races with nine sub-types:

1. The Negrito
2. The Proto-Austroloid

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3. The Mongoloid
 - (i) Paleo Mongoloid
 - (a) Long-headed
 - (b) Broad-headed
 - (ii) Tibeto Mongoloid
4. The Mediterranean
 - (i) Paleo-mediterranean
 - (ii) Mediterranean
 - (iii) Oriental type
5. The Western Brachycephals
 - (i) Alpinoid
 - (ii) Dinaric
 - (iii) Armenoid
6. The Nordic

Against this backdrop of the overall racial composition of the people of India, Guha has classified the Indian tribal population into three major racial categories:

1. **The Proto-Austroid:** This group is characterized by dark skin colour, sunken nose and lower forehead. The Munda (Chota Nagpur), the Oraon (Central India), the Ho (Bihar), the Gond (Madhya Pradesh) and the Khond (Orissa) tribes belong to this racial strain.
2. **The Mongoloid:** This group is characterized by light skin colour, broad head and face, low nose bridge and slanting eyes with a fold on the upper eye lid. These features are found amongst the Bhutiya (Central Himalayas), the Wanchu (Arunachal Pradesh), the Naga (Nagaland) and the Khasi (Meghalaya) tribes.
3. **The Negrito:** They are characterized by dark skin, wooly hair and broad lips. The Kadar (Kerala), the Onge (Little Andaman) and the Jarwa (Andaman Island) tribes have these features.

It is to be clarified that classification of the tribal or any population by racial type only means pre-dominance of certain hereditary physical traits among the concerned population. The same traits can be found in different degrees among other populations also. There is no pure race anywhere anymore and there is no correlation between racial strain and mental faculties.

Biraja Sankar Guha's (Director of Social Education Training Centre in Ranchi) classification of the Indian tribes in terms of race is not free from controversy. He questions the existence of the Negrito strain in India as a hereditary racial trait. He considers that mutation has played its role in the prevalence of Negrito features among some tribal population. There are also missing links in Guha's classification. The pastoral Todas of Nilgiri hills in the South are predominantly of Nordic type. Besides, the presence of Mediterranean features among the Indian tribes has been underplayed by Guha. Taking an overall view, it can be said that the population included in the list of Scheduled Tribes share in different proportion the same racial traits as the rest of the population of the country.

Linguistic classification

The linguistic classification of Indian tribes is very complex. According to a recent estimate, the tribal people speak 105 different languages and 225 subsidiary languages. Since, languages are highly structured and reflect the social structure and values of a society, this linguistic diversity indicates the great variety found among the Indian tribes. However, for the purpose of clarity and understanding, the languages have been classified into the following four major families:

- **Austro-Asiatic family:** There are two branches of this family, namely, Mon-Khmer branch and Munda branch. Languages of the first branch are spoken by Khasi and Nicobari tribes. Languages of the Munda branch are spoken by the Santhali, Gondi and Kharia tribes.
- **Tibeto-Chinese family:** There are two sub-families of this type, namely, Siamese-Chinese sub-family and Tibeto-Burman sub-family. In the North-Eastern frontier of India, Khamti is one specimen of the Siamese-Chinese sub-family. The Tibeto-Burman sub-family is further sub-divided into several branches. Tribal people of Nagaland and Lepcha of Darjeeling speak variants of Tibeto-Burman languages.
- **Indo-European family:** Tribal languages such as Hajong and Bhili are included in this group.
- **Dravidian family:** Languages of this family are spoken by Yeruva of Mysore and Oraon of Chota Nagpur.

This broad classification does not necessarily mean that there is a high degree of understanding of languages among the speakers of different languages within the same language family. For example, the Nagas are divided in about fifty different language groups and quite often the speaker of one language variant does not understand the language spoken by another group.

Economic classification

Various social scientists have classified tribal populations on the basis of their economic activity. Indian tribes have also been, thus, classified. The classical classification of Adam Smith and the more recent classification of anthropologists, Thurnwald and Herskovits have been applied throughout the world in classifying tribes on the basis of their economic life. Though Indian scholars like Majumdar have also classified the tribal people of India on this basis; it is the scheme presented by Thurnwald that is taken as most acceptable. His classification is as follows:

- **Homogeneous communities of men as hunters and trappers, women as collectors:** The Kadar, the Chenchu, the Kharia and the Korwa are some of the tribes that fall under this economic activity.
- **Homogeneous communities of hunters, trappers and agriculturists:** The Kamar, the Baiga and the Birhor tribes fall under this category.
- **Graded societies of hunters, trappers, agriculturists and artisans:** Most of the Indian tribes fall under this category. The Chero and the Agariya, amongst so many others are famous artisans.
- **The herdsmen:** The Toda and some sections of the great Bhil tribe are the best examples of this category.
- **Homogeneous hunters and herdsmen:** This category is not represented among Indian tribes.

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- **Ethnically stratified cattle breeders and traders:** The Bhotiyas of the sub-Himalayan region breed yaks and are also traders.
- **Socially graded herdsmen** with hunting, agriculture and artisan population.

Thurnwald's classification has been criticized by Majumdar on the ground that though it is useful, it does not indicate the nature of economic difficulties experienced by the tribal communities.

Nadeem Hasnain, Professor of Social Anthropology at University of Lucknow, has classified the Indian tribes on the basis of the conditions of their economic life in the following categories:

- **Tribes hunting in forests:** This class of tribes is mainly found in southern India. The Chenchu and the Chandi of Andhra Pradesh, Kadar, Malapatram and Kurumba of Kerala, Paliyan of Tamil Nadu, and Onge, Jarawa, Sentenelese and Nicobarese of Andaman and Nicobar islands are some of these tribes.
- **Tribes engaged in hilly cultivation (shifting or slash and burn cultivation):** Almost all the tribes of Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura and some tribes of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh produce their crops through this mode of cultivation.
- **Tribes engaged in cultivation on levelled (plain) land:** The Oraon, Munda, Ho and Santhal tribes have taken to settled agriculture on plain land as means of their livelihood.
- **Simple artisan tribes:** Some Indian tribes earn their livelihood through basket-making, rope-making, weaving, iron smelting, woodwork and so forth. The main examples are the Gujar of Kashmir, the Kinnauri of Himachal Pradesh, Asur of Bihar, Munda of Orissa, Agariya of Madhya Pradesh and Irula of Tamil Nadu.
- **Pastoral tribes:** These tribes earn their living by selling milk of cattle reared by them or by trading the cattle itself. The Toda of Nilgiri hills, Gaddi and Bakriwal of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir, Nageshia of Madhya Pradesh, Maldhan of Gujarat and some other tribes of northern and southern India are notable examples.
- **Tribes living as folk artists:** Some tribal groups are very good exponents of art forms and earn their livelihood by performing the same. The Mundupptu of Orissa are expert acrobats, the Kota of Tamil Nadu are snake charmers and the Gonds of Madhya Pradesh are dancers.
- **Agricultural and non-agricultural labour oriented tribes:** Among the tribes engaged in agricultural labour are those which are traditionally agriculturists but work as farm labourers on others' lands owing to their landlessness. Non-agricultural tribal labour force includes those tribes who are working in local factories and mines.
- **Tribes engaged in service and trade:** A small proportion of the tribal communities are engaged in Government and semi-Government jobs, mainly due to the Constitutional provisions of reservations for Scheduled Tribes. The tribes of north-eastern India and the Meena tribe of Rajasthan have been the major beneficiaries of this policy.

Classification on the basis of culture

Indian tribes are also classified according to their cultural distance from the rural–urban groups. Scholars believe that the indigenous tribes of India lose their originality, individuality and distinct identity on account of the cultural influence from non-tribals. This intermingling of tribal people with non-tribal is known as culture contact.

Majumdar (1976) opines that classification of Indian tribes in accordance with the degree and influence of culture contact is very useful in formulating rehabilitation plans for the tribal as it focuses upon the problems of tribal India. He believes that these problems arise due to the tribal people's contact with, or isolation from, the rural–urban groups. According to him, the tribal cultures fall into the following groups:

- Tribes that are culturally most distant from the rural–urban groups and, hence, more or less out of contact.
- Tribes that are under the influence of the culture of rural–urban groups and have developed discomforts and problems consequently.
- Tribes that are in contact with rural–urban groups but have not suffered due to such contact or have turned the corner and do not suffer any more because they have now got acculturated into rural or urban culture.

Majumdar never agreed with the view of Verrier Elwin that every contact with the civilized world brings misery to the tribal people. Rather, he believed that all the three types of tribal communities mentioned above should be encouraged to establish healthy and creative contacts with the rural–urban groups.

The Indian Conference of Social Work (1952) appointed a Tribal Welfare Committee that suggested the following classification of the Indian tribes on the basis of their culture contact:

- Tribal communities
- Semi-tribal communities
- Acculturated tribal communities
- Totally assimilated tribes

2.5 WOMEN

It is very important to study the status of women in India through a historical perspective. Finding answers to questions like when did women start losing their status is not easy. The place that women occupied in the medieval and in the colonial period is of paramount significance to comprehend why obstacles still remain in trying to bring about the upliftment of women.

Pre Colonial India

Ancient Period

Historians or scholars of Indian civilizations cannot clearly state whether men and women were given equal rights during the Vedic age. But available sources show that women in India reached one of their glorious stages during this time. Although the father held supreme sway in the affairs of the family, the mother also enjoyed a high position, and she exercised considerable authority in the household affairs (Apte, 1964). The Aryans

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Check Your Progress

5. Mention the linguistic classification of Indian tribes.
6. Define a tribe.

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sought cooperation of their women in almost every walk of life and they were given full freedom for their development. Their women enjoyed the property rights and had access to the property of their fathers and husbands. They discussed political and social problems freely with men. They composed and chanted Vedic hymns during holy sacrifices. Women enthusiastically involved themselves in matters of religious and social significance. Moreover, by and large, women were free to choose their partner in marriage. Widow re-marriage was in existence. They also had the privilege of adoption (Kapadia, 1968). The law did not discriminate between men and women. In the economic field, women enjoyed the freedom to earn. The home was the centre of production, where women took active part in spinning, weaving, agricultural production as well as in teaching.

The status and condition of women in the later Vedic period significantly declined from what it was in the early Vedic period. Ancestry began to be sketched through the male heir with sons becoming solitary heirs to family property. Women became entirely dependent on men, and were subjected to the authority of their fathers, husbands, and sons in the different periods of their life as daughters, wives and mothers. Their education, religious rights and privileges were curbed. Due to social, economic and political changes, women lost their position in the society. Subsequently, unnecessary and unwarranted customs such as purdah, sati, child marriage, polygamy and enforced widowhood crept in. As the economic and social status of sons began to go up, the status of women saw a sharp decline. Women subjugation was predominant in the patriarchal society. All the decisions were taken by men and they did not bother to share their decisions with their wives. Rather they did everything according to their own will and pleasure.

The status of women in the ancient period reached its lowest ebb during the period of the Dharmasastras. It is during this time period that codes of conduct setting down the behaviour norms were established. This age also saw the segregation of women from religious and economic spheres. During the period of Dharmasastra, child marriage was encouraged and widow remarriage was prohibited. During this period, many anti-women traditions and superstitions also came into being. The birth of a girl child started being considered an ill-omen with parents going to the extent of killing their infants and sati also became quite widespread.

Medieval Period

The system of purdah which was prevalent among royal families, nobles and merchant prince classes, prior to the advent of Muslims, spread to other classes also. During the medieval period, practices such as polygamy, sati, child marriage, ill treatment of widows, Devadasi system, already prevalent during the Dharmasastra age gained further momentum. The priestly class misinterpreted the sacred texts and created an impression that all these evil practices had religious sanction.

Colonial Period

At the time of the advent of the British rule in India, the status and position of Indian women was very low. The spread of Christianity among the Indians with the British conquest of India and the network of educational institutions in India established by the British created a far-reaching transformation. As a result, a new class of educated Indians came into existence. It was a section of this class that became the vanguard of all progressive movements in India. Many of the social reformers were the products of this British educational system. The social reformers in the 19th century included Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Swami

Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and many others, who were in the forefront of the struggle for women emancipation. These reformers brought about many social reforms in the 19th and early 20th century. Let us study some of them:

Abolition of Sati: The first serious challenge for the reformers was the problem of 'widow immolation' or sati, where Hindu widows climbed the funeral pyres of their husbands; an ancient tradition, prevalent in Bengal, Rajasthan, and the South Indian kingdom of Vijayanagar. Sati was never a religious obligation, but it was believed that by burning herself on the funeral pyre, a widow sanctified her ancestors and removed the sins of her husband. She was believed to ascend to the heaven on committing such an action. Strong social pressures on the widow and the status of widows among the Hindus were also factors that promoted the growth of this custom. Sati was first abolished in Calcutta in 1798; a territory that fell under the British jurisdiction. Raja Ram Mohan Roy fought bravely for the abolition of sati with assistance from Lord William Bentinck, and a ban on sati was imposed in 1829 in the British territories in India.

Widow Remarriage: The status of widows in India was deplorable in that they were not allowed to participate in any religious and social functions. Their lives were worse than death, one of the reasons as to why many widows opted for sati. The upper-caste widows were most affected by the customs prevailing at that time. Prohibition against remarriage of widows was strictly observed only among upper-caste Hindus. Attempts to make laws to facilitate remarriage of widows by the British were vehemently opposed by the conservative Hindus, who held that remarriage of widows 'involved guilt and disgrace on earth and exclusion from heaven.' Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, who wrote *Marriage of Hindu Widows* relying heavily on the *Shastras*, fought for widow remarriage. Reformers like Mahadev Govind Ranade and Dayananda Saraswati also actively participated in the reform movement, resulting in the enactment of the Hindu Widows Remarriage Act XV of 1856. The major drawback of the Act was that it was only applicable to the Hindus. Also, people showed little enthusiasm to implement the provisions of the Act. In Maharashtra, social reformers like Pandit Vishnu Shastri, Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, Agarkar, D.K. Karve have made significant contributions in this regard.

Right to Property: There was a lot of ambiguity on the question of the rights of a widow to property which made it difficult for a widow to remarry. Before the 'Hindu Women's Right to Property Act XVIII of 1937' and the 'Hindu Succession Act XXX of 1956' came into effect, the *Dayabhaga* and *Mitakshara* Laws laid down that a widow could become a successor to her husband's estate in the absence of the nearest male heir and the estate which she took by succession to her husband was an estate which she held only during her lifetime. At her death, the estate reverted to the nearest living heir of her dead husband.

Child marriage: Another serious problem that women faced was that of child marriage. Small kids and in some cases even infants in the cradle were married off. Early marriage affected the growth and development of the children. Fixing the minimum age of marriage of men and women by law was voiced as early as the mid-19th century by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Keshab Chandra Sen. Vidyasagar argued that early marriage was detrimental to the health of women. Their efforts, coupled with those of Mahatma Gandhi, resulted in passing of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929.

Female infanticide: The practice of female infanticide was common among certain castes and tribes in India, especially in the north and north-western states. The custom of infanticide was particularly prominent among communities which found it difficult to

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find suitable husbands for their daughters and an unmarried daughter was considered a disgrace to the family. The difficulty was exacerbated by the extravagant expenditure which conventions demanded on the occasion of a daughter's marriage. The earliest efforts to stop female infanticide were made in Kathiawar and Kutch. In 1795, infanticide was declared to be murder by Bengal Regulation XXI. The evil of female infanticide was ended by propaganda and the forceful action on the part of the British Government. Through the efforts of Keshab Chandra Sen, the Native Marriage Act of 1872 was passed, which abolished early marriages, made polygamy an offence, sanctioned widow remarriages and inter-caste marriages. In 1901, the Government of Baroda passed the Infant Marriage Prevention Act. This Act fixed the minimum age for marriage for girls at 12 and for boys at 16. In 1930, the Sarda Act was passed to prevent the solemnization of marriages between boys under the age of 18 years and girls under the age 14 years. However, even today, the Act remains merely on paper on account of several factors.

The movement for the liberation of women received a great stimulus in the rise of the nationalist movement in the 20th century. Gandhi's efforts led to the elevation of the women's status, involving them in the struggle for social progress and political independence. Prominent among them were Sarojini Naidu, Kasturba Gandhi, Kamala Nehru and Aruna Asaf Ali, who participated in the political arena. After initial hesitation, even Muslims took to modern western education in large number, thanks to the efforts of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and others. The Muslim student population in modern high schools was generally proportionate to their numerical strength.

The early 20th century witnessed a nascent women's movement which campaigned for furthering female education, raising the age of marriage for woman, and the abolition of purdah. In 1929, the All India Women's Conference passed a resolution against purdah. The All India Women's Conference passed a resolution favouring girl's education at its Lucknow session in 1932. Resolutions were also passed against communal electorates for women untouchability, abolition of the unilateral right to divorce and communal unity. More than any other factor, participation of women in the national movement contributed to their awakening and emancipation. Women's struggle for equality took a big step forward with the coming of independence. Thus, the colonial period witnessed profound changes in the history of women in India.

Post-Colonial Period

Independence of India heralded the introduction of laws relating to women. The framers of the Indian Constitution rightly felt that it was not sufficient to confer some minor benefits on women, but it was necessary to declare in unequivocal terms, their right to equality with men and various other rights which would help them in attaining an equal status or an equal footing with men. These include Articles 14, 15, 23 and 39, among others, in the Constitution. Article 14 of Indian Constitution says that the state shall not deny to any person equality before or equal protection of the law. Article 15 says that no women can be discriminated against on the ground of sex. Article 15(3) emphasizes that the state shall make special provisions for women and children and Article 16 provides equality of opportunity in matters relating to employment by the state. Article 39(a) emphasizes that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood. Article 39(d) says that the state should secure equal pay for equal work for both men and women and in Article 34 it provides that the state shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions for work and maternity relief.

Besides the provisions in the Constitution, the following legislations were passed since 1950:

- The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955: It prohibits polygyny, polyandry and child marriage and concedes equal rights to women to divorce and remarry.
- The Hindu Succession Act, 1956: It provides for women the right to their parental property.
- The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956: It Gives a childless woman the right to adopt a child and to claim maintenance from the husband if she is divorced by him.
- The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961: It declares the taking and giving of dowry an unlawful activity and thereby prevents the exploitation of women.

Along with these, special laws have been enacted to prevent indecent representation of women in the media, sexual harassment in workplaces, equal wage laws, maternity benefit laws, and so on. The Hindu Code Bill gave the women the right to share the property of their parents. Many other social evils were removed. Widow remarriage was encouraged and child marriages were prohibited. The right of divorce was also given to women. The law also gives women equal rights in the matter of adoption, maternity benefits, equal pay, good working conditions and so forth. Along with these, legislations were also passed that mandated political representation of women right from the grassroots. The 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution passed in 1993 paved the way for women's entry into local governance by reserving 33 per cent of seats for them in the panchayats at all the levels, including that of the chairperson's seat. In most states, reservation of seats has met with success, with female representation exceeding the 33 per cent quota in states such as Karnataka, Kerala and Manipur.

However, many of these rights were more on papers than in actual practice. The traditional customs were so strongly rooted in the minds of people that they did not easily take these new reforms. When we start drawing a comparison between their role and status of women in modern India and in the other countries of the world, particularly in the matter of emancipation of women, we cannot but be stuck with certain unexpected contrasts. Although the status of Indian women has changed, it does not prove satisfactory. Indian society has all along been a maledominated society, where women's roles are confined to their homes. Their role was limited to procreation and upbringing of children and catering to the needs of men folk. In fact, in all the ages, women did not have an independent existence of their own. They existed for men and always played a second fiddle to them.

Some of the recent legislations pertaining to women include the following:

- The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1983: It seeks to stop various types of crimes against women.
- The Family Court Act, 1984: It seeks to provide justice to women who get involved in family disputes.
- The Indecent Representation of Women Prohibition Act, 1986: It prohibits the vulgar representation of women in the media such as newspaper, cinema, Television and so on.
- The 73rd and 74th Constitution Amendment Acts, 1993: It empowers women and seek to secure greater participation of women at all levels of the Panchayat System.

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2.5.1 Population Enumeration by Gender Composition

Sex Composition

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Gender equality is more than a goal in itself. It is a precondition for meeting the challenges of reducing poverty, promoting sustainable development and building good governance.

— Kofi Annan

Population enumeration by gender composition is one of the basic demographic characteristics and provides meaningful demographic analysis. Indian census has the tradition of bringing out information by gender composition on various aspects of the population. Changes in gender composition largely reflect the underlying social, economic and cultural patterns of the society in different ways.

Sex ratio is defined as the number of females per 1,000 males in the population and is an important social indicator to measure the extent of prevailing equity between males and females in a society at a given point of time. It may be noted that the sex ratio is expected to be almost at parity in nature. According to experts, sex differential in mortality, sex selective outmigration and skewed sex ratio at birth are the major contributory factors that influence changes in sex ratio.

In India, sex ratio is skewed in favour of males and has continued to rise and expand in various forms. This has drawn wide attention of policy makers and planners to reverse the trend to bring it back to parity.

As per the provisional results of Census 2011, total population of India is 1, 21, 08, 59, 977 which comprises of 62,37,24,248 males and 58,64,69,174 females with the sex ratio of 940 females per 1000 males. The sex ratio in India from the year 1901 to 2011 is given in Table 2.1. States/Union Territories which account for the highest and lowest sex ratios in the country are mentioned in Tables 13.3 and 13.4. As per Census 2011, top five states/union territories which have the highest sex ratio are Kerala (1,084) followed by Puducherry (1,038), Tamil Nadu (995), Andhra Pradesh (992) and Chhattisgarh (991). Five states which have the lowest sex ratio are Daman and Diu (618), Dadra and Nagar Haveli (775), Chandigarh (818), NCT of Delhi (866) and Andaman and Nicobar Islands (878).

Table 2.1 Sex Ratio in India

Year	Females per 1000 males
1901	972
1911	964
1921	955
1931	950
1941	945
1951	946
1961	941
1971	930
1981	934
1991	927
2001	933
2011	940

Table 2.2 Top Five States/Union Territories having the Highest Sex Ratio

S.No.	States/Union Territories	Sex Ratio (Females per 1000 Males)
1	Kerala	1,084
2	Puducherry	1,038
3	Tamil Nadu	995
4	Andhra Pradesh	992
5	Chhattisgarh	991

Source: Census 2011

Table 2.3 Five States having the Lowest Sex Ratio

S.No.	States/Union Territories	Sex Ratio (Females per 1000 Males)
1	Daman & Diu	618
2	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	775
3	Chandigarh	818
4	NCT of Delhi	866
5	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	878

Source: Census 2011

2.6 DALITS AND WEAKER SECTIONS

Dalit is a designation for a group of people traditionally regarded as untouchable. Dalits are a mixed population, consisting of numerous social groups from all over India; they speak a variety of languages and practice a multitude of religions. There are many different names proposed for defining this group of people, including Panchamas ('fifth varna'), and *Asprushya* ('untouchables'). The word 'Dalit' may be derived from Sanskrit, and means 'ground', 'suppressed', 'crushed', or 'broken to pieces'. It was perhaps first used by Jyotirao Phule in the nineteenth century, in the context of the oppression faced by the erstwhile 'untouchable' castes of the twice-born Hindus.

According to Victor Premasagar, the term expresses their 'weakness, poverty and humiliation at the hands of the upper castes in the Indian society.'

The contemporary use of Dalit is centred on the idea that as a people they may have been broken by oppression but they survive and even thrive by finding meaning in the struggle of their existence towards human dignity.

Mohandas Gandhi adopted the word Harijan, translated roughly as 'Children of God', to identify the former untouchables. But this term is now considered derogatory when used to describe Dalits. In addition, the terms 'Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes' (SC/ST) are the official terms used in Indian Government documents to identify former 'untouchables' and tribes. However, in 2008 the National Commission for Scheduled Castes, noticing that 'Dalit' was used interchangeably with the official term 'scheduled castes', called the term 'unconstitutional' and asked state governments to end its use.

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Check Your Progress

7. What was the status and condition of women in the later Vedic period?
8. List certain legislations pertaining to women formulated in Independent India.

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History of Dalits

In the context of traditional Hindu society, Dalit status has often been historically associated with occupations regarded as ritually impure, such as any involving leatherwork, butchering, or removal of rubbish, animal carcasses and waste. Dalits worked as manual labourers cleaning streets, latrines, and sewers. As a result, Dalits were commonly segregated, and banned from full participation in Hindu social life. For example, they could not enter a temple or a school, and were required to stay outside the village. Elaborate precautions were sometimes observed to prevent incidental contact between Dalits and other castes. Discrimination against Dalits still exists in rural areas in the private sphere, in everyday matters such as access to eating places, schools, temples and water sources. It has largely disappeared in urban areas and in the public sphere. Some Dalits have successfully integrated into urban Indian society, where caste origins are less obvious and less important in public life. In rural India, however, caste origins are more readily apparent and Dalits often remain excluded from local religious life, though some qualitative evidence suggests that its severity is fast diminishing.

Modern India: Since 1950, India has enacted and implemented many laws and social initiatives to protect and improve the socio-economic conditions of its Dalit population. By 1995, of all jobs in India, 17.2 per cent of the jobs were held by Dalits, greater than their proportion in Indian population. Of the highest paying, senior most jobs in government agencies and government controlled enterprises, over 10 per cent of all highest paying jobs were held by members of the Dalit community, a tenfold increase in 40 years. In 1997, India democratically elected K. R. Narayanan, a Dalit, as the nation's President. In the last 15 years, Indians born in historically discriminated minority castes have been elected to its highest judicial and political offices. The quality of life of Dalit population in India, in 2001, in terms of metrics such as access to health care, life expectancy, education attainability, access to drinking water, housing, etc. was statistically similar to overall population of modern India. In 2010, international attention was drawn to the Dalits by an exhibition featuring portraits depicting the lives of Dalits by Marcus Perkins. Babu Jagjivan Ram became the first Dalit to hold the post of Deputy Prime Minister of India from 1977 to 1979.

Problems Faced by Dalits in India

The varna system which existed during the vedic period, in due course of time has degenerated into the caste system. Since then, the Scheduled Castes/Dalits also known as 'untouchables' have been suffering from various social, legal, economic, educational and other disabilities. For centuries they were denied political representation, legal rights, civic facilities, educational privileges and economic opportunities. Even today, the Scheduled Castes are not free from problems.

The social restrictions and inabilities of the Scheduled Castes

The Scheduled Castes or the Harijans suffered for centuries from a number of social disabilities among which the following may be noted:

- **Lowest status in history:** They were considered to be unholy, inferior, and low and were looked down upon by the other castes. They bear the stigma of untouchability. They have been treated as the servants of the other castes. They were not allowed to interact with people of other castes.

- **Education disabilities:** The Harijans were forbidden from taking up to education during the early days. Sanskrit education was denied to them. Even today majority of them are illiterate and ignorant.
- **Civic disability:** For a long time, untouchables castes were not allowed to use public places and avail civic facilities such as- village wells, ponds, temples, hotels, schools, hospitals and so forth. They were forced to live on the outskirts of the towns and villages during the early days. Even today, they are segregated from others spatially. Some lower caste people were not allowed to carry umbrellas, to wear shoes or golden ornaments and to milk cows.
- **Religious disabilities:** The Dalits also suffer from religious disabilities even today. They are not allowed to enter temples in many places. The Brahmins, who offer their priestly services to some lower castes, are not prepared to officiate in the ceremonies of the 'untouchable' castes.
- **Economic disabilities:** Due to social and religious disabilities, people of Scheduled Caste have to face many types of economic disabilities. They have to face many problems in life due to these economic disabilities. Majority of them depend on agriculture but only a few own land. For Harijan, the selection of occupation is limited. They are not allowed to do work allotted to the upper castes. Majority of them are landless labourers. More than 90.1% of the agricultural labourers in India belong to the lower classes.
- **Political disabilities:** The untouchables hardly participate in political matters. They were not allowed to take part in political and administrative functions of the state. Under the British rule, they were given the right to vote for the first time. After independence, equal political opportunities and rights have been provided for Harijans also. Politically, the Harijans are yet to become an organized force.

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Measures for the Welfare of Scheduled Castes

The government of independent India has been trying to uplift the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes right from its very inception. The government attempts to promote the welfare of the SCs and STs. The initiatives of the government have been classified into two groups. (a) Constitutional and legislative measures and (b) other welfare measures and programmes.

Constitutional and legislative measures

The Government of India has taken many steps to uplift the status of scheduled caste people. The Constitution ensures the protection and assures the promotion of interest of SCs and STs and other weaker sections of the population in the fields such as (a) political representation, (b) representation in services, (c) economic development, (d) socio-cultural safeguards and (e) legal support.

- The preamble of the Constitution of India declares that it assures equality, promotes fraternity, guarantees liberty and ensures justice to one and all.
- Articles 15, 16, 17, 38 and 46 guarantee that the state shall not discriminate between person on account of their religion and caste or class.
- Article 46 promotes educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections of the society.

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- Article 330 reserves representation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People.
- Article 334 relates to reservation of seats and special representation to cease after fifty years [Originally reservation was made for ten years and it was extended four times, the present period of expiry being AD 2000)
- Article 335 mentions the claims of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to services and posts.
- Article 338 empowers the Central Govt. to appoint a National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
- Article 339 empowers the President to appoint a Commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in the States.
- Article 341 empowers the President to specify the castes, races or tribes deemed as Scheduled Castes in a particular State or Union territory.
- Article 342 empowers the President to specify the tribes or tribal communities deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in a particular State or Union territory.

Legislative measures for the removal of untouchability

The government has been taking up the required legislative measures for the removal of untouchability. In pursuance of the provision of the Article 17 of the Constitution practice of untouchability a punishable offence, the Parliament passed the Untouchability Offences Act, 1955. It was later substituted by the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1976. The offences of Untouchability as per the 'Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1976' are the following:

- (i) Committing any kind of social injustice, such as denying access to any shop, restaurant, public hospital, educational institution or any place of public entertainment.
- (ii) Preventing a person, on the grounds of untouchability, from entering a place of worship and offering prayers, or from drinking water from a public well or spring.
- (iii) Refusal to sell goods or render services to a person on the grounds of untouchability is an offence punishable with imprisonment for six months or a fine upto ' 500 or both.
- (iv) Enforcing occupational, professional, trade disabilities in the matter of enjoyment of any benefit under a charitable trust and so forth.

2.6.1 Minorities

Minorities in a community refer to a sect of people who are lesser in number in comparison to the total population of the country, with the different religions in it. The Indian society has a long history of external aggression. But it is adept in accommodating and assimilating the alien cultures in spite of resentment to the outside forces. In a plural society like India, such co-operative activities sometimes have been responsible for insecurity. The period of the Mughal dynasty that preceded colonial rule was a turbulent period witnessing numerous wars and upheavals. Moreover, the Divide and Rule policy of the British sowed the seeds of communalism in India.

The most drastic effects of communalism was felt by the minorities. Minorities in India, being in lesser number face these atrocities and indifferent ideology.

Check Your Progress

9. What does the term 'Dalit' denote?
10. List the offences of untouchability as per the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1976.

2.7 SUMMARY

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- The structure and composition of society is a very important concept of social science and has been discussed in great detail by numerous social scientists.
- India is widely known as a land of villages and these villages cumulatively constitute the Indian rural society.
- Villages in India were, and still are to some extent, isolated from the rest of the country.
- Indian villages are generally peaceful wherein people reside together with a spirit of togetherness and have a fellow feeling. An atmosphere of calm and simplicity prevails in our villages.
- The revival of the 'Panchayati Raj' system in Indian villages through the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act in 1993 has truly changed the political landscape in rural India.
- The joint family system is no more the dominant family type in Indian villages. Nuclear families have also started coming up.
- Generally speaking, an urban community is large, dense and heterogeneous. It can also be said to be predominantly occupied in the industrial and service sectors. Urban growth is a recent phenomenon and till 1850, the urban population in the world was estimated to be only 2 per cent of the global population.
- Urban areas are large and have very high population. Besides, the communities do not reside in close proximity. In such circumstances, anonymity of individuals and urban communities becomes a way of life.
- Life is very fast-paced and hectic in the urban areas and is completely different from the languid pace of rural life.
- Both rural and urban societies are part of the same human society and do share a lot of features of each other.
- There is a different school of thought among sociologists, which believes that a strong dichotomy exists between rural and urban areas. Notwithstanding the wide acceptability of the concept of rural–urban continuum, this group believes in the other concept, i.e., rural–urban contrast.
- After a period of prolonged controversy, it was finally recorded in the Imperial Gazetteer of India that a tribe consists of the following:
 - o Collection of families bearing a common name
 - o Speaking a common dialect
 - o Occupying or professing to occupy a common territory
- Though tribal populations are found across the world, the largest concentration of tribal population is found in India. The tribes are the autochthonous people of the Indian peninsula and are believed to be the earliest settlers here.
- Various social scientists have classified tribal populations on the basis of their economic activity. Indian tribes have also been thus classified. The classical classification of Adam Smith and the more recent classification of Thurnwald and

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Herskovits have been applied throughout the world in classifying tribes on the basis of their economic life.

- It is very important to study the status of women in India through a historical perspective. Finding answers to questions like when did women start losing their status is not easy. The place that women occupied in the medieval and in the colonial period is of paramount significance to comprehend why obstacles still remain in trying to bring about the upliftment of women.
- The status and condition of women in the later Vedic period significantly declined from what it was in the early Vedic period.
- At the time of the advent of the British rule in India, the status and position of Indian women was very low.
- The social reformers in the 19th century included Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and many others, who were in the forefront of the struggle for women emancipation. These reformers brought about many social reforms in the 19th and early 20th century.
- The movement for the liberation of women received a great stimulus in the rise of the nationalist movement in the 20th century. Gandhi's efforts led to the elevation of the women's status, involving them in the struggle for social progress and political independence.
- Independence of India heralded the introduction of laws relating to women. The framers of the Indian Constitution rightly felt that it was not sufficient to confer some minor benefits on women, but it was necessary to declare in unequivocal terms, their right to equality with men and various other rights which would help them in attaining an equal status or an equal footing with men.
- Sex ratio is defined as the number of females per 1,000 males in the population and is an important social indicator to measure the extent of prevailing equity between males and females in a society at a given point of time.
- Dalit is a designation for a group of people traditionally regarded as untouchable. Dalits are a mixed population, consisting of numerous social groups from all over India; they speak a variety of languages and practice a multitude of religions.
- The contemporary use of Dalit is centered on the idea that as a people they may have been broken by oppression but they survive and even thrive by finding meaning in the struggle of their existence towards human dignity.
- In the context of traditional Hindu society, Dalit status has often been historically associated with occupations regarded as ritually impure, such as any involving leatherwork, butchering, or removal of rubbish, animal carcasses and waste.
- The government has been taking up the required legislative measures for the removal of untouchability. In pursuance of the provision of the Article 17 of the constitution practice of untouchability a punishable offence, the Parliament passed the Untouchability Offences Act, 1955.

2.8 KEY TERMS

- **Heterogeneity:** It is the quality of being diverse and not comparable in kind.
- **Panchayati Raj:** It is a system of governance in which 'gram' (village) panchayats are the basic units of administration.
- **Autochthonous:** It refers to indigenous rather than descended from migrants or colonists.
- **Gram Swaraj:** This refers to independent self-rule by villages.
- **Sati:** It was a former practice in India whereby a widow threw herself on to her husband's funeral pyre.

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2.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Two characteristics of Indian villages are as follows:
 - Isolation and self-sufficiency
 - Peace and simplicity
2. The revival of the Panchayati Raj system in Indian villages through the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act in 1993 has truly changed the political landscape in rural India. Political consciousness and participation in electoral politics has increased tremendously. People have become aware about local, state and national politics.
3. Two characteristics of urban Indian society are as follows:
 - Anonymity
 - Social heterogeneity
4. The fringe in the urban-rural continuum is defined as an area of mixed urban and rural land users between the point where city services cease to be available and the point where agricultural land users predominate.
5. The linguistic classification of Indian tribes has been divided into the following four major families:
 - Austro-Asiatic family
 - Tibeto-Chinese family
 - Indo-European family
 - Dravidian family
6. As per the British social anthropologist, Bailey, a tribe possesses organic unity, which is characterized by lack of interaction and absence of any hierarchical system.
7. The status and condition of women in the later Vedic period significantly declined from what it was in the early Vedic period. Ancestry began to be sketched through the male heir with sons becoming solitary heirs to family property. Women became entirely dependent on men, and were subjected to the authority of their male counterparts. Their education, religious rights and privileges were curbed. Customs such as purdah, sati, child marriage, polygamy and enforced widowhood crept in.

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8. Certain legislations pertaining to women passed in Independent India are as follows:
 - The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1983 – seeks to stop various types of crimes against women.
 - The Family Court Act, 1984 – seeks to provide justice to women who get involved in family disputes.
 - The Indecent Representation of Women prohibition Act, 1986 – prohibits the vulgar representation of women in the media such as newspaper, cinema, television and so on.
 - The 73rd and 74th Constitution Amendment Acts, 1993 – empowers women and seek to secure greater participation of women at all levels of the Panchayat System.
9. Dalit is a designation for a group of people traditionally regarded as untouchable.
10. The offences of untouchability as per the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1976 are the following:
 - Committing any kind of social injustice, such as denying access to any shop, restaurant, public hospital, educational institution or any place of public entertainment.
 - Preventing a person, on the grounds of untouchability, from entering a place of worship and offering prayers, or from drinking water from a public well or spring.
 - Refusal to sell goods or render services to a person on the grounds of untouchability is an offence punishable with imprisonment for six months or a fine upto ₹ 500 or both.
 - Enforcing occupational, professional, trade disabilities in the matter of enjoyment of any benefit under a charitable trust and so forth.

2.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Mention the common characteristics of Indian villages.
2. Write a short note on rural-urban continuum.
3. Prepare a short note on the classification of Indian tribes on the basis of culture.
4. Write a short note on the measures taken for improving in the position of women in Independent India.
5. What are the problems faced by the Dalits in India?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the changing nature of the Indian rural society.
2. Explain the differentiating features of rural-urban landscape.
3. 'In India, tribe and caste are two important aspects of social organization.' Explain the statement.
4. Describe the classification of tribes in India on the basis of location and economic life.

5. Evaluate the position of women in the pre-colonial and post-colonial period in India.
6. Discuss the measures taken by the Indian government for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

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2.11 FURTHER READING

- Atal, Y. 2006. *Changing Indian Society*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Dube, S.C. 1990. *Indian Society*. New Delhi: National Book Trust.
- Hasnain, N. 2004. *Indian Society and Culture: Continuity and Change*. New Delhi: Jawahar Publishers and Distributors.
- Naidu, A. and Murty, K. 1989. *Indian Society: Structure and Change*. Cuttack: Kitab Mahal.

UNIT 3 BASIC INSTITUTIONS OF INDIAN SOCIETY

NOTES

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Caste
- 3.3 Class
- 3.4 Family
- 3.5 Marriage
 - 3.5.1 Kinship
- 3.6 Religion
- 3.7 Summary
- 3.8 Key Terms
- 3.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 3.10 Questions and Exercises
- 3.11 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit will introduce you to the various institutions of Indian society. The family is the smallest unit in a society and is the tiniest form of social organization. Indian society is no different and the family is a very important part of it. It is one of the basic institutions of Indian society and contributes immensely to the social fabric of India. Family is a very important component of our social structure and occupies a central position.

Like elsewhere, the two major types of family in the Indian society are the nuclear family and the joint family. In nuclear families, the members comprise the husband, wife and their children. This type of family has become more common with the advent of industrialization and urbanization. It has forced people to move out to new urban centres and seek employment. The Hindu joint family system found in the Indian society is a unique institution. It consists of members spanning horizontally (siblings) and vertically (generations) and living together with common goals and common assets.

The family is no doubt the basic establishment of Indian society and contributes immensely to the social fabric of India. Moving ahead, in this unit, you will also study about castes and classes, which are also important elements of the Indian society. Across human societies, one finds systems that divide a society into different categories. Rarely are societies a united whole. Divisions are generally seen to be on the basis of race, religion, caste and class. While race is the most rigid division, being biologically determined, class is the most mobile division and people can move across classes with minimum hurdles.

Class is a system that rewards achievements and status. Indian society has traces of racial and religious discrimination and quite a bit of class distinction. However, the unique characteristic of Indian society is the overbearing and all pervasive nature of the caste system. The caste system has compartmentalized Indian society in such a manner that there is great distrust across castes and a very strong caste endogamy.

In this unit, you will study about the basic institutions of the Indian society such as family, caste, class, marriage and kinship.

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3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the various theories of caste
- Analyse the changing nature of the caste system
- List the characteristics of social class
- Differentiate between caste and class
- Discuss the functions of family
- Describe the types of family
- Explain the rules of mate selection as per the Hindu law
- State the recent changes in the institution of marriage
- Analyse the importance of kinship
- Explain the origin and evolution of religion

3.2 CASTE

The word caste has been defined from the Portuguese word *Casta*, which means race, breed or kind. British anthropologist and linguist, Risley defines caste as 'a collection of families or groups 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 is regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogenous community'.

The caste system in India has been studied from the following three different perspectives:

- **Indological:** The Indologists have viewed caste from the scriptural point of view and believe that the ancient Hindu scriptures have given birth to the concept of caste. They maintain that the varnas have originated from Brahma—the *Virat Purusha* (the Great Man)—and castes are units within the varna system, which have developed as a result of hypergamy and hypogamy. The rituals to be performed by the four varnas are status bound and laid down in the Brahmanas (800 BC), while the customs and laws to be followed by each caste are laid down in the Smritis (100–200 BC).

The Brahmins were given the pre-eminent position in the society as it was believed that they had the divine right to interpret law and religion. The Indologists believe that the caste system would continue to exist as it was divinely ordained and cannot be dismantled by human beings.

- **Social-anthropological:** The social anthropologists have studied caste from the cultural point of view. The organizational and structural approaches of Hutton consider caste as a unique system found in India alone. The institutional approach of Kroeber and Risley does not view the caste system as relevant only to India. They find it in ancient Egypt, medieval Europe and present southern United States. The relational approach finds caste situations in army, business, factory and so forth. It states that the presence/absence of caste in a society depends upon the absence/presence of mobility in groups. If mobility is normal, there is no caste system and vice versa.

- **Sociological:** Sociologists have viewed caste from the stratificational point of view. They study caste in terms of social stratification in a society. They study it as a phenomenon of social inequality. According to them, society has certain structural aspects and it distributes its members in social positions. The interaction is the basis of social structures and types of interactions along with associated norms categorize social structures.

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Theories of Caste

Though a number of theories explaining the origin of caste in India have been propounded, not one of them has managed to explain it properly. While Herbert Risley, a British ethnographer, explains the origin of caste with reference to racial differences, Abbe Dubois, author of *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, traces the origin of caste to the role played by the Brahmins. Some such theories are as follows:

- **Traditional theory:** Various scholars have described Hindu society as a supernatural-centred society. In it, people are attracted to abstract truths and try to find its reality through mysticism. There is no effort to analyse these things scientifically. These scholars have observed, and rightly so, that the Hindus try to explain every phenomenon in terms of God and religion. Even the origin of the institution of caste is sought to be explained in terms of religion by relating it to the body of Brahma.

The traditional theory believes that the Indian caste system has been divinely ordained. While the sociological theory views caste system as an artificially created system of stratification in which the role and status of an individual is determined by birth (ascriptive status), the traditional theory views it as a natural system of stratification. The traditional theory has two versions— mythical and metaphysical.

The mythical version treats the four varnas as the four castes and it believes that the four emerged from different parts of Brahma's body. This theory finds the caste system to be a completely normal and natural institution of social functions. It believes that membership of an individual in a caste is determined by the doctrines of karma and dharma. According to the doctrine of karma (actions), a man is born in a particular caste due to his actions in his previous incarnation. Srinivas (1952) summarizes the doctrine of karma as the birth of a man in a particular caste. It is certainly not an accident. He was born in that caste because he deserved to be born there.

The doctrine of dharma (religious duty) propounds that a person who accepts the caste system and regulates his life according to the norms of his particular caste, is living by his dharma. On the other hand, one who questions a norm governing his caste is violating dharma. While the former is rewarded, the latter invites punishment. This reward and punishment would befall both in this life and in the next incarnation. Thus, a person who lives according to his dharma will be born in a high caste in his next life whereas somebody who violates his dharma would be born in a low caste.

The metaphysical version explains the function, hierarchy and other characteristics of caste. Each caste has a separate function, which is determined by the nature and qualities of the members of that caste. The Hindus believe that an individual's nature consists of two sets of qualities—*gotrika* and *namika*. The *gotrika* (lineage) qualities are the hereditary qualities, which an individual inherits from his *gotra* and shares with the members of his family. The *namika* (individual) qualities, on

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the other hand, are specific individual qualities that one does not share with any other member of his family. Thus, while the *namika* qualities differentiate an individual from others, the *gotrika* qualities identify him with a particular group. The *gotrika* qualities explain the characteristic of hereditary membership of the caste system.

Another characteristic of the caste system is fixed occupation. It is explained by the close connection between nature (*swabhav*) and occupation. The nature of a man determines his occupation and since people of a particular group have the same *gotrika* qualities, they tend to do the same kind of occupation. Thus, a particular caste gets limited to a particular occupation.

The traditional theory identifies two kinds of functions—ordinary and extraordinary. While ordinary functions require no specialized skills, extraordinary functions do. It further divides extraordinary functions into three types – techno-economic, politico-legal and cultural-religious. The traditional theory accords the highest status to cultural-religious functions. Politico-legal and techno-economic functions are placed after it. The lowest status is accorded to the ordinary functions. The Brahmins get the highest status in caste society because they discharge the cultural-religious functions. Kshatriyas follow them by performing politico-legal functions. Vaishyas are placed at the third place as they are engaged in techno-economic functions. The Shudras are placed at the bottom of the four-fold system because they perform the ordinary functions.

The traditional theory of the origin of caste has been rejected by many scholars because it considers caste as a natural phenomenon and it considers the four varnas as the four castes. If we accept this view, then it would mean that the varna and not the caste is the unit of the caste system. Refuting this view, M.N. Srinivas has stated that the idea of caste as the four-fold division of society is a gross oversimplification of facts. He says that the real unit of the caste system is not the varna but the jati, which is a very small endogamous group, practicing a traditional occupation and enjoying cultural and ritual autonomy.

- **Brahmanical theory:** Abbe Dubois feels that that the caste system originated and developed in India due to the Brahmins. His view is that the caste system was designed by the Brahmins for the Brahmins. They devised this system to place various restrictions (food, marriage and others) on non-Brahmins so that they can protect their purity, which is necessary to perpetuate their monopoly in matters of religious and sacred functions.

G.S. Ghurye also believed the view professed by Abbe Dubois. He supports the Brahmanical theory. He maintains that the various factors that characterize caste society were the result of the efforts of the Brahmins to exclude the Shudras from religious and social communion with them. He concludes that caste in India is a Brahmanic child of the Indo-Aryan culture of North India and was thereafter transferred to other parts of the country.

- **Racial theory:** Herbert Risley is the main proponent of this theory and finds support from scholars like Ghurye, Majumdar and Westermarck. According to this theory, the clash of cultures and the contact of races crystallized castes in India. This theory believes that the perceived superiority of the Aryans vis-à-vis the aboriginals and the social intercourse between the two groups laid the foundation for the caste system. Marriages between the Aryans and the aboriginals resulted in the birth of half-breeds and they were called the *chandals* who had to be

confined to the lowest position in society. Risley has referred to six processes in the formation of castes:

- o **Change in traditional occupation:** Adoption of a new occupation often resulted in the creation of a distinct caste.
- o **Migration:** Migration of a caste group to a new place often resulted in development of a distinct caste.
- o **Change in customs:** Adoption of new customs and practices led to the growth of a new caste.
- o **Preservation of old traditions:** Preservation of traditional customs by a group led to their moving away from those who had adopted new customs and resulted in growth of a new caste.
- o **Hinduization:** Sometimes a tribe enters the fold of Hinduism by adopting Hindu customs and beliefs and this results in the creation of a new caste that is distinct from the other caste Hindus.
- o **Role of religious enthusiasts:** Preaching of his own doctrines by a religious leader often resulted in the formation of a new religious sect, which gradually became a new caste.

Risley's racial theory is supported by other scholars. According to Ghurye, the Aryans tried to show off their superiority because they were fairer in colour in comparison to the natives. Westermarck observes that India was inhabited by the dark people before the Aryans came and took control. The Aryans had bitter contempt for the original inhabitants of India and drew sharp distinctions between themselves and the latter. These distinctions gave rise to the caste system.

Acceptance of Risley's racial theory would give rise to the question as to why then the caste system should be confined to India. Risley himself believes that the caste system exists in other countries too. The discrimination on the basis of skin colour in countries like South Africa, South America, Canada and others has been put forward as a kind of caste discrimination.

- **Occupational theory:** Nesfield is the proponent of this theory and is ably supported by Ibbetson. This theory holds that caste has nothing to do with race or religion and its origin is due to occupations. Nesfield maintains that occupations were passed on hereditarily across generations and practising the same occupation resulted in the creation of occupational guilds. These guilds gradually came to be known as castes. The hierarchy in the caste system was due to the feeling of superiority or inferiority of occupations. Answering a question as to how the Brahmins got the highest status in this hierarchy, Nesfield explained that Brahmins had specialization in the occupation of sacrifices, hymns and rituals, which were of the greatest importance for the people of the society. Thus, the Brahmins acquired the highest position in the caste system.

Ibbetson, supporting Nesfield, says that tribes developed as occupational guilds and came to function on religious lines. Eventually, these tribes developed as castes in the process of social evolution.

Many scholars have criticized the occupational theory of Nesfield and Ibbetson. D.N. Majumdar has rejected the idea of hierarchy of castes in terms of the superiority or inferiority of occupations. He maintains that the status of castes does not depend upon the occupation but upon the degree of purity of blood and the extent of isolation maintained by the groups. Hutton too believes that the

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occupational theory does not explain the social status of various agricultural castes. The same agricultural caste has a higher status in North India than in South India. The occupational theory fails to explain this.

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Characteristics of the Indian Caste System

According to Dr. G.S. Ghurye, any attempt to define caste 'is bound to fail because of the complexity of the phenomenon.' He has outlined the following characteristics of the Indian caste society:

- Segmental division of society
- Hierarchy of castes
- Restrictions on commensality and social intercourse
- Differential civil and religious privileges and disabilities
- Restrictions on occupational choice
- Restrictions on marriage

Changing Nature of Caste

Caste has never been static. The caste system has been changing continuously and has always undergone adaptive changes. Though the pace of change might have been slow earlier, in the post-independence period the changes have occurred rapidly. The changes can be mainly categorized as follows:

- **Structural changes:** The following are some of the major structural changes in the caste system:
 - **Decline in the supremacy of the Brahmins:** Due to the forces of modernization and rapid economic development, Brahmins have lost their dominance of yore.
 - **Dilution of caste hierarchy:** Factors like migration to urban areas, diversification of jobs and others have reduced the gaps between different castes and there is greater intercourse amongst members of various castes.
 - **Socio-economic empowerment of Dalits and Harijans:** The Government's policy of affirmative action in case of the oppressed castes has led to an upwards movement of their social status.
- **Functional changes:** The functional changes in the caste system are as follows:
 - **Birth no longer the sole determinant of status:** Unlike earlier, birth is no longer the sole factor determining social status. Wealth, education, occupation and others aspects have become the determinants of status and caste as an ascriber of status has been relegated to the background.
 - **Change due to occupational diversity:** Occupation is no longer hereditarily determined. The so-called high status occupations are accessible to members of all castes. On the other hand, members of high castes have also taken to manual work to earn a decent and dignified living.
 - **Dilution of restrictions on marriage:** The Special Marriages Act, 1954 and the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 have removed the restrictions on inter-caste marriages by legalizing them. Caste endogamy is no more the basis of choosing a mate.
 - **Change in commensality:** Restrictions on food intake by members of various castes have been virtually removed.

- o **Lifestyle changes:** Due to westernization and modernization, the sharp differences in lifestyle of various caste members have come down. A common lifestyle is emerging, which breaks the caste barriers.
- o **Educational restrictions removed:** Education is no more the preserve of the high caste people. Government policies have resulted in providing access to education to all citizens. The amendment of the Constitution to make the right to education a fundamental right is going to improve the situation further.
- o **Changes in political system:** Democracy and universal adult franchise have ensured that every citizen of this country exercises political power through the ballot. Reservation of seats for members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to contest elections has also empowered them politically.
- **Attitudinal changes:** The attitudinal changes in the caste system are as follows:
 - o **Decline of the concept of ascriptive status:** The processes of modernization, westernization, industrialization and so forths have seriously eroded the hold of the caste system. People do not accept the notion of ascriptive status any more as it is determined only by birth. Status is now achieved through ability, efficiency, wealth, political power and other factors.
 - o **Philosophical basis of caste system has become unacceptable:** The belief of people that caste system is divinely ordained has undergone change. They have no faith on the philosophical basis of the caste system because they have stopped accepting the doctrine of karma.

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Factors Responsible for the Changes in the Caste System

The main factors responsible for the changes in the caste system are enumerated as follows:

- **Industrialization:** The process of industrialization has affected the caste structure to a remarkable extent. Caste system functions well in an agrarian economy because in such an economy there is interdependence among the various castes for economic reasons. For example, the cultivator has to avail the services of the carpenter and the weaver and the latter are dependent on the cultivator for food grains. Thus, the village economy functions as a self-sufficient unit.

The growth of industrial economy has weakened this bond of interdependence among the castes. Industrialization has provided new sources of livelihood to people and made occupational mobility possible. Due to this mobility, different castes come together to work at one place. For example, in a factory a Brahmin works alongside a Shudra and cannot avoid the latter's touch or shadow.
- **Urbanization:** Industrialization has resulted in the process of urbanization. New townships have emerged around factories and the rural people migrate to these townships to avail better employment opportunities. Development of modern towns and cities has eroded the hold of caste taboos and restrictions by forcing people to intermingle in their daily lives. Eating out in restaurants where the caste of the cook or the person sitting on the next table is not known, has eroded all notions of purity and pollution.
- **Modern means of transport and communication:** Modern means of transportation have increased mobility of the people and thereby put an end to the

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geographical isolation, which was a favourable condition for the creation and continuation of the caste system in India. Moreover, while travelling in the modern modes of transport like buses, trains and airplanes, it is impossible to observe caste rules regarding food, drink and social intercourse.

- **Growth of materialism:** The caste system gets its strength from divine and religious sanctions. People believe in the doctrine of karma and the theory of reincarnation, which make them obey caste rules. But the modern age is dominated by scientific and technological knowledge and this has changed the consciousness of human beings to a great extent. Traditional beliefs, faiths and philosophies are no more the powerful moulders of human behaviour. Material considerations like wealth, power and prestige are given importance. A Shudra having wealth and political power would have a higher status today than a poor Brahmin who follows all the traditional customs rigidly. Such a change from spiritualism to materialism has gone against the caste system.
- **Modern education:** Modern liberal education introduced by the British has played a crucial role in undermining the importance of caste in Indian society. Modern education is accessible to all irrespective of one's caste or community. It popularized the idea of freedom of association, equality before law, equal rights of all citizens and equal freedom to follow any vocation. It also acts as a powerful force towards the removal of untouchability.
- **New legal system:** The new legal system established by the British has also played a vital role in weakening the influence of caste in India. This system has firmly established the concept of equality before law in India and has given a blow to the age-old legal discrimination against the lower castes, which is a main characteristic of a caste society. Further, with the establishment of modern judicial courts, the caste panchayats have lost their power and effectiveness. Besides, modern legislations like the Untouchability Offences Act, 1955 and Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 have proved to be disastrous for the caste system.
- **Social and religious reform movements:** Several religious and social reform movements also played their role. The Bhakti Movement and the Sufi Movement laid emphasis on oneness of mankind and exposed the idea of inequality as man made rather than being divinely ordained. Though they could not eliminate the caste system, they definitely facilitated relaxation of caste rigidities.

Several social reform movements like the Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj movements made direct attacks on the caste system, especially targeting its ritual aspect of purity and pollution.

- **Influence of Indian Constitution:** Last but not the least, the influence of the Indian Constitution in weakening the caste system has been universally recognized. Our Constitution confers fundamental rights to all our citizens irrespective of their caste, creed or colour. Article 15(2) of the Constitution directly attacks the caste system by declaring all citizens as equal.

Check Your Progress

1. List the essential characteristics of the Indian caste system.
2. What is the view of the sociologists regarding the Indian caste system?

3.3 CLASS

Class is one of the most important bases of social stratification. Classes are groups of people into which a society is divided. These groups are ranked on the basis of specific criteria. Thus, classes are social groups that occupy specific high and low positions in a

given society. Each class is a sub-culture with a set of attitudes, beliefs, values and behavioural norms, which differ from those of other classes. Class lines are not clearly drawn but represent points along a continuum of social status. The exact size and membership of a given class is difficult to establish.

Karl Marx defined a social class as 'all those people who share their relation to the means of economic production.' According to him, a class is determined by its possession of economic criteria like wealth, occupation and income.

Max Weber has defined social class as 'an aggregate of individuals who have the same opportunities of acquiring goods and the same exhibited standard of living.'

Maciver and Page define a social class as any portion of a community marked off from the rest by social status. Similarly, Ogburn and Nimkoff define social class as an aggregate of persons having essentially the same social status in a given society.

Class consciousness emerged in India during the British Rule as they introduced modern education, civil services, legal system and means of transportation in India. These new instrumentalities changed the mindset of the people and they started looking beyond caste. Post-independence, the Government's developmental initiatives accelerated the process of decline of the caste system. With industrialization around the country, intermingling among people grew and they aspired to achieve a higher social status. The class system of social stratification allowed people to have vertical mobility and the lower caste people, by sheer dint of their hard work and competence, could manage to climb up the class ladder. In today's era, though caste is still a strong factor in our society, class has been accepted as an alternative system of social stratification in India.

In the rural areas of the country, agrarian class structure has strong roots. It has been studied in detail by sociologists like Andre Beteille. The agrarian class structure was the creation of the British period but there was an agrarian hierarchy in the pre-British period. In this hierarchy, the high caste people were the large land owners while the lower caste people were landless labourers. In between were the members of certain castes who did the actual cultivation on these lands. Thus, it was a three-tier structure. Andre Beteille has observed that wherever the agrarian hierarchy is elaborate, the caste hierarchy is also elaborate.

The agrarian class structure in post-independent India is seen to possess the following four classes:

- (i) Landowners
- (ii) Tenants
- (iii) Labourers
- (iv) Non-agriculturists

Professor D.N.Dhanagre has suggested an alternative agrarian class structure, which has the following five classes:

- (i) Landlords
- (ii) Rich peasants
- (iii) Middle peasants
- (iv) Poor peasants
- (v) Landless labourers

Apart from the traditional agrarian class structure, modern rural India also has a non-agrarian class structure. It can broadly be classified as follows:

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- Political functionaries and government officials
- Civil work contractors
- Village teachers and doctors
- Priests and astrologers
- NGO workers

Though pre-independent India had trade centres and port cities like Calcutta (Kolkata), Bombay (Mumbai) and Madras (Chennai), urban India is mainly a post-independence phenomenon. In the last sixty four years, large numbers of people from rural India have migrated to old and new urban centres in search of better education, employment and living standards. This has weakened the hold of the caste system and has given rise to a class system in urban India which is different from the agrarian class structure.

The modern urban class structure can be classified as follows:

- Political personalities like Ministers, MPs and civil servants
- Technocrats (software engineers, CEOs and others), Professionals (doctors, lawyers, sportsmen and media persons and others) and industrialists/entrepreneurs
- Educationists and academicians
- People in the organized sector other than the above categories (service men, traders)
- People in the unorganized sector (hawkers, daily labourers and so forth)

Characteristics of Social Class

The following are some of the important characteristics of a social class:

- **Class—a status group:** A social class is essentially a social group. Class is related to status. Different statuses arise in a society as people do different things, engage in different activities and pursue different vocations.
- **Achieved status and not ascribed status:** Status in the class system is achieved and not ascribed. Birth is not the criterion of status. Achievements of an individual mostly decide his status. Class system provides scope for changing or improving one's status. Factors like income, occupation, wealth, education, lifestyle and other factors decide the status of an individual.
- **Universal:** Class is almost a universal phenomenon. The class system appears in all the modern complex societies of the world.
- **Mode of feeling:** In a class system, you may observe three modes of feeling. Firstly, there is a feeling of equality in relation to the members of one's own class. Secondly, there is a feeling of inferiority in relation to those who occupy the higher status in the socio-economic hierarchy. Thirdly, there is a feeling of superiority in relation to those who occupy the lower status in the hierarchy. These kinds of feelings develop into class consciousness and finally result in class solidarity.
- **Element of prestige:** Each social class has its own status in society. Status is associated with prestige. Thus, the status and prestige enjoyed by the ruling or rich classes in every society is superior to that of the poorer classes. The prestige that a class enjoys depends upon our evaluations. In many societies knowledge, purity of race or descent, religion, wealth, heroism, bravery and similar other traits confer a high degree of prestige on the persons possessing them.

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- **Element of stability:** A social class is relatively a stable group. It is not unstable like a crowd or mob. Though status of a class might change, it rarely does so in a radical manner. Radical changes occur in extraordinary situations like war, economic depression and others arenas and such changes can alter the social position of the class suddenly.
- **A way of life:** Every social class tends to have a lifestyle of its own, which distinguishes it from other classes. Lifestyle includes the type of dress one wears, the quality and location of residence in which one resides, the means of recreation one resorts to, the relationship one enjoys with close relatives, the books, magazines and so forth one reads, the cultural products one is able to enjoy, political affiliations and others. Lifestyles reflect the preferences, tastes and values of a class.
- **An open group:** Social classes are open groups and represent an open social system in which vertical social mobility is possible. This means there are either no restrictions or very mild restrictions imposed upon the upwards and downwards movement of individuals in the social hierarchy.
- **Social class—more than an economic group:** Social classes are mostly economic but not merely economic groups or divisions. Subjective criteria such as class-consciousness, class solidarity and class identification on the one hand, and objective criteria such as wealth, property, income, education and occupation on the other, are equally important in the class system.

Classification of Social Classes

Traditionally, sociologists have classified class into following types:

- Upper class
- Middle class
- Lower class

Warner and Lunt, in their study of a New England town, have divided each of the three traditional classes into two sub-classes. Thus, they have given the following six-fold classification of class:

- The upper-upper class
- The lower-upper class
- The upper-middle class
- The lower-middle class
- The upper-lower class
- The lower-lower class

Karl Marx, the champion of the theory of social class and class conflict, has spoken of only two major social classes – the haves and the have nots, or the rich and the poor, or the capitalists and the workers, or the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat.

Sorokin, sociologist and social critic, has spoken of three major types of class stratification. They are economic, political and occupational classes.

Differences between Caste and Class

The caste system is based on the principle of inherited inequalities. On the other hand, the class system is based on the principle of equal opportunities. Both are important systems of social stratification but represent two opposite poles.

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The following are the major differences between caste and class:

- While stratification in a caste society is based on birth, it is based primarily on wealth in a class society. Therefore, caste provides an individual with a status that is ascribed whereas class status is an achieved one.
- While the structure of the caste system is closed, the class system has an open structure. Mobility is virtually impossible in the caste system but is very much possible in the class system.
- The caste system insists upon the observance of certain rules regarding eating, drinking and social intercourse among the members of different castes. However, such rules are conspicuous by their absence in a class society.
- The caste system is unique to India whereas, the class system is found all over the world.
- The caste system is believed to have had a divine origin. It is based on religious dogmas like karma, rebirth and so forth. Class system, on the other hand, is purely secular and has got nothing to do with religion.
- The idea of purity and pollution is associated with the caste system. However, it does not find place in the class system and there is no concept of untouchability as it is found in the caste system.
- Caste societies have strong caste panchayats, which maintain the caste structure by punishing those who violate the customs and traditions of their respective castes. No such organization exists in a class society.
- The caste system is conservative and orthodox whereas, the class system is liberal and progressive.
 - o Caste is an endogamous social unit whereas, a class is not so. Members of a class are free to select their life partners from any other class. Unlike the caste system, a class system never imposes restrictions on marriage.
 - o The caste system is a complex system. There are more than 800 castes and sub-castes in India and each one of them are complex categories. The class system is much simpler with only three broad categories, i.e., upper class, middle class and lower class.

3.4 FAMILY

The family is the most important primary group in society. It is often called the basic social institution because of its important functions of procreation and socialization. Robert Bierstedt is of the opinion that ‘the family, almost without question, is the most important of any of the groups that human experience offers. Other groups we join for longer or shorter periods of time for the satisfaction of this interest or that. The family, on the contrary, is with us always or rather more precisely, we are with it.’

Sociologists have defined the family in a number of ways. MacIver and Page hold that the family is a definite and long-term group defined by sexual relationships that reproduce and bring up children. It may include other blood relations also but it is mainly formed by living together of man, woman and their children. The unit formed by their living together is called family. Ogburn and Nimkoff held that the family is an association formed by the sex relations of husband and wife with or without children. They believe that husband and wife or only the woman and her children or only the man and his

Check Your Progress

3. Mention the four classes of the agrarian class structure in post-independent India.
4. List any two essential features of a social class.

children by living together can form a family. But the family is not limited to these individuals alone. Its size can be large also. People of many generations and various relatives can also live together in a family.

Characteristics of family

The basic characteristics of family are as follows:

- **Mating relationship:** A family is based on mating relationship, that is to say that family comes into existence when a man and a woman establish mating relations between them.
- **A form of marriage:** The mating relationship is established through the institution of marriage. It is an institutional arrangement made by the society according to which the individuals establish marital relationships among themselves. Marriages may be of the following types:
 - o Monogamy
 - o Polygamy
 - o Group marriage
- **A system of nomenclature:** Every family is known by a name and has its own system of recognizing descent. Descent may be traced through the male line, i.e., patrilineal or through the female line, i.e., matrilineal or through both the lines, i.e., bilateral.
- **Economic provisions:** Every family has certain economic needs and the head of the family looks into ways and means to satisfy these needs. He has to ensure the comfort of the family members.
- **Common habitation:** Each family has a common habitation that implies that the members of a family must reside together under one roof.

Distinctive Features of Family

Family is a very important component of our social structure and occupies a central position. Its distinctive features are discussed as follows:

- **Universality:** The family is universal. There is no society in which some form or the other of family does not exist. A typical family consists of mother, father and their progeny. It is found in all communities.
- **Emotional basis:** The family is grounded in emotions and sentiments. It is based upon our impulses of mating, procreation, maternal devotion, fraternal love and parental care. It is built upon sentiments of love, affection, sympathy, cooperation and friendship.
- **Limited size:** A family usually means a small-sized organization. As a primary group its size is necessarily limited. Biological conditions are primarily responsible for the small size.
- **Formative influence:** Family helps in the formulation of the characters of its members and in shaping their personalities. Freud and other psychologists have proved that a child exhibits the same character and mental tendencies in adulthood, which he has acquired in the family.
- **Nuclear position in the social structure:** The family is the nucleus of all other social organizations and controls the social life of the individual. It influences the whole life of the society.

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- **Responsibility of the members:** Every member of the family has certain responsibilities, duties and obligations. The smooth running of the family depends on how best the members discharge their responsibilities in coordination with the other members of the family.
- **Social regulations:** The family is guarded by social taboos and legal regulations. The society takes steps to safeguard this organization from any possible breakdown due to divorce, desertion or separation.
- **Permanent and temporary:** The family is a permanent institution. Since, it is based on the organic and emotional nature of man, it continues to exist. But family as an association may be temporary in character.

Functions of Family

The family fulfills a number of functions. According to American sociologist, Goode, a family has the following functions:

- Procreation
- Socio-economic security to family members
- Determination of status of family members
- Socialization and emotional support
- Social control

Kingsley Davis, American Sociologist and demographer, talks about the following four functions of the family:

- Reproduction
- Maintenance
- Placement
- Socialization

Sociologists, Ogburn and Nimkoff have outlined the following six functions of the family:

- (i) Affection
- (ii) Economic
- (iii) Recreational
- (iv) Protective
- (v) Religious
- (vi) Educational

The functions of a family mentioned above can be divided into four broad categories:

- (i) Biological
- (ii) Social
- (iii) Psychological
- (iv) Economic

The biological needs of an individual are satisfied in the family. Thus, it is a very important function of the family. Firstly, the family institutionalizes the need of sex satisfaction through marriage. Social sanction is accorded to this need by the family. Secondly, the family also fulfills the biological need of procreation. The existence of the human race is

dependent upon procreation and, therefore, this is a very crucial function discharged by the family.

The family discharges the various social functions also. According to Goode, it brings up children and helps in their socialization. Children learn their language, customs and traditions while growing up in the family. The family also discharges the functions of imparting socialization to its members, regulation of their behaviour and ensuring social control. The family transmits the familial values to its members and they do not deviate from the path of proper social behaviour.

In addition to biological and social functions, the family also satisfies psychological and emotional needs of its members. The members get love, adulation, sympathy and emotional support from within the family.

Another important function of the family is economic. In pre-industrial economies, the family is the unit of production. All members of a family contribute to the family occupation like agriculture, cattle-rearing, hunting and so forth. The family provides economic security to its members. It takes care of their basic needs like food, shelter, clothing, education, health and other aspects.

Types of Family

Though family is a universal institution, its structure or forms vary not only from one society to another but also from one class to another within the same society. Sociologists have spoken of different forms or types of families and they have taken into consideration different factors for the purposes of making such classifications. A few types of family classifications are discussed as follows:

- On the basis of marriage, family has been classified into two major types:
 - o Monogamous
 - o Polygamous
 - (i) Polyandrous
 - (ii) Polygynous

Monogamy is a system of marriage in which one man marries one woman. In almost all the modern societies, marriages are monogamous and such families are known as monogamous families.

- Polygamy is a system of marriage that permits the marriage of one man with more than one woman or the marriage of one woman with more than one man. Polygamous marriages or families are rarely seen in the modern societies.
- On the basis of nature of residence, family can be classified into three major types:
 - o Family of matriarchal residence
 - o Family of patriarchal residence
 - o Family of changing residence

When the wife goes to stay with her husband in his house after marriage, the residence is known as patriarchal residence. Such families are known as patriarchal families. Most of the families in all modern societies are of this type.

In cases where the husband stays in the wife's house after marriage, the residence type is known as matriarchal residence. Such families are known as matriarchal families and are predominantly found in tribal societies. In India, such families can be seen amongst the Khasi, Jaintia and Garo tribes of Meghalaya.

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A third type of residence system is the one where both the husband and wife stay in a new house after marriage and start a family. This kind of family is known as a family of changing residence.

- On the basis of ancestry or descent, family can be classified into two main types:
 - o **Matrilineal family:** When descent is traced through the mother, we have the system known as the matrilineal system. Families that trace their descent through this system are known as matrilineal families. In such families, lineage and succession are determined by the female line.
 - o **Patrilineal family:** When descent is traced through the father or the male line, we have the patrilineal system. Families that follow this system are known as patrilineal families. Most of the families in the world belong to the patrilineal system and the lineage and succession in such families are determined through the father.
- On the basis of the nature of authority, family can be classified into two main types:
 - o **Matriarchal family:** The matriarchal family is also known as the mother-centred or mother-dominated family. In such families, the mother or the woman is the family head and she exercises authority. She is the owner of the family property and controls the household. The Khasis of North-East India may be called mother-right people. Amongst them, descent is traced through the mother, not the father. Inheritance passes from mother to the daughter.
 - o **Patriarchal family:** A patriarchal family is also known as father-centred or father-dominated family. The head of the family is the father or the eldest male member and he exercises authority. He is the owner and administrator of the family property. His voice is final in all family matters.
- On the basis of nature of relationship amongst its members, a family can be classified into two types:
 - o **Conjugal:** Ralph Linton has given this classification. He is of the view that a family based on blood relationship is known as **consanguine** family. For example, the relationship between a father and a son.
 - o **Consanguine:** On the other hand, a family in which there exists sex relationship between the members on the strength of marriage is known as a conjugal family. The sexual relationship between the husband and wife is a basic ingredient of the conjugal family.
- On the basis of the in-group and out-group affiliation, family can be classified into two types:
 - o **Endogamous:** It is one where the social norms make it compulsory for members of the family to marry within the larger social group to which it belongs. For example, a Brahmin family in India would be in the nature of an endogamous family because the rigid caste system does not allow inter-caste marriages. Therefore, an Indian family is usually endogamous.
 - o **Exogamous:** In societies where there is no such restriction of marrying within one's own group, families are usually exogamous. For example, members of a family belonging to one class can marry members belonging to another class in an open society.

- On the basis of size, family can be classified into three types:
 - o Nuclear or individualistic family
 - o Extended family
 - o Joint family

Nuclear or individualistic family

In nuclear families, the members comprise the husband, wife and their children. This type of family has become more common with the advent of industrialization and urbanization, which has forced people to move out to new urban centres and seek employment. Further, factors like individualistic ideology, economic aspirations and housing problems in urban areas have strengthened the nuclear family.

Murdock has further sub-divided the nuclear family into the following two types:

- The family of orientation
- The family of procreation

The family of orientation is the family in which an individual is born and in which his parents and siblings reside. He grows up in this family of orientation and stays in it till his marriage.

Extended family

The extended family comprises members belonging to three or more generations. For example, a man living with his parents, his wife and their children is said to be living in an extended family. According to Murdock, an extended family 'consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship, i.e., by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents.' Thus, the nuclear family of an individual and the nuclear family of his parents can combine together to form an extended family. This type of extended family can be seen in India, China and other countries. The joint family of India is also a type of extended family.

An extended family can also be formed when an individual and his several wives live together with the families of his several sons. This kind of extended family is seen in some African and Arab societies.

Joint family

A joint family, though a type of extended family, is an important social unit of Indian society. Smt. Iravati Karve says that 'a 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 are related to each other as some particular kind of kindred.'

In brief, a joint family consists of members spanning horizontally (siblings) and vertically (generations) and living together with common goals and common assets.

You will read about the joint family system in detail in the next section.

The Joint Family System

The joint family system can be seen across societies in various forms of extended families. However, it is more prevalent in India and has certain peculiar Indian characteristics.

The joint family has been defined as a mode of combining smaller families into larger units through the extension of three or more generations. It has also been defined

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as one which consists of members related through blood and spread over several generations living together under one roof and working under a common head.

C.B. Memoria has observed that the fundamental principle of the Hindu joint family is the tie of *sapindaship* without which such a family cannot be formed. He defines a joint family as a kin group consisting of all the male descendants from a common ancestor, their wives and their unmarried daughters. Daughters, on their marriage, become members of their husbands' families. Normally, a joint family is composed of members of three generations. However, at times it may include members of four or more generations. All the members of a joint family are related to one another as *sapindas*.

In the Hindu society in India, the joint family, the caste system and the village system are considered as the three pillars on which the social edifice is built. It is a very old system and is regarded by the Hindus as a sacred institution having been derived from religion.

There are two types of joint family:

- (i) Patriarchal joint family
- (ii) Matriarchal joint family

Both types are found in India. The patriarchal joint family is father-dominated and matriarchal joint family is mother-dominated. The patriarchal joint families are found among the Nambudaris of Malabar, the Mundas of Chotanagpur and the Angami Nagas of Assam. The matriarchal joint families are found among the Nairs of Malabar and the Khasis and Garos living on the Garo hills of Assam.

Characteristics of the Joint Family System

Following are the important characteristics of the joint family system in India:

- **Collection of generations:** The joint family consists of people belonging to at least three generations. Besides, it also has people related to each other and belonging to a particular generation.
- **Common roof:** Normally, the members of a joint family reside together under one roof. Due to housing problem, educational problem and employment problem, people are sometimes unable to continue with the joint family under a common roof. However, they still continue to maintain contact and relationships with each other.
- **Joint kitchen:** Merely living together under one roof does not constitute a joint family. There has to be a common kitchen for the family and all the members must eat food cooked at one hearth. Separation of kitchen implies breaking up of the joint family. Normally, in patriarchal families, the eldest female member is in charge of this joint kitchen. The womenfolk of the family serve the food to the male members first and eat only after the male members have finished eating.
- **Common property:** The members of a joint family hold property in common. Melley observes, 'a joint family is a co-operative institution similar to a joint stock company in which there is a joint property.' The earnings of the family are pooled together and household expenses are met out of the pool. The joint property is managed by the head of the family who is known as the *karta*.
- **Joint worship:** The Hindu joint family derives its strength from religion and is associated with various religious practices and rituals. Members of the family pray together and have a common family deity.

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- **Exercise of authority:** In patriarchal joint families, the eldest male member is the head of the family and his directions are obeyed by all other members. He exercises complete authority in family matters. Similarly, in joint matriarchal families, this role is played by the eldest female member in the family. This exercise of supreme authority by one member is a key feature of the joint family.
- **Arranged marriages:** In the Hindu joint family, the head of the family arranges the marriages of the younger members by choosing the prospective bride or bridegroom, as the case may be. The individual members of a joint family in India do not have the freedom to choose their life partners. They rarely challenge the decisions made by the elders and the family head. However, this trend is slowly changing.
- **Procreation:** In a joint family, procreation is regarded as a religious duty. As a result, the rate of production in such families is higher. As no birth control measures are adopted by the married couples, the size of joint families is usually big. However, with modernization, this is changing and family sizes are getting smaller.
- **Self-sufficiency:** In the past, joint families used to be fully self-reliant. The members of the families derived their economic, emotional, educational, recreational and other needs from the family itself. However, things have changed today and no family can remain self-reliant in that manner as inter-dependence has increased in society.
- **Family obligations:** Members of a joint family identify themselves strongly with their family obligations. They discharge their duties towards the family diligently and the family, in turn, protects their interests.

Advantages of the Joint Family System

The joint family system has a number of advantages. Some of them are as follows:

- **Stable and long-lasting:** The joint family is more stable than a nuclear family and, therefore, it lasts for a long time. Even if a couple of members leave the family, it has no impact upon its stability and the family stands as a unit. Due to its durability, it is helpful in carrying forward the cultural traditions.
- **Ensures economic growth:** The joint family contributes to welfare and economic progress of the family members by providing the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter of its members. Further, it helps in productivity by contributing more hands to the labour force. Besides, in agricultural communities, the joint family prevents fragmentation of the family's land holdings.
- **Economizes expenditure:** Since, no member has an individual control over the family property, the family head ensures that they remain spendthrift. Joint purchases of household needs also result in savings.
- **Division of labour:** The joint family raises efficiency through division of labour. Due to the presence of a large number of members, a joint family divides various tasks amongst them. This is especially beneficial for a joint family in an agricultural community.
- **Provides social insurance:** The basic needs of family members like orphans, widows, deserted, diseased, divorced and so forth are taken care of very well in a joint family. Thus, such a family provides social security.

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- **Provides leisure:** Due to the advantage of numbers, work within a joint family is shared among the members and gets completed quickly. This allows the members to have more time for leisure and relaxation.
- **Provides recreation:** Due to the presence of a large number of persons of different age groups, a joint family is an ideal place for enjoyment and entertainment. The interaction between the young and the old, the games played by the children, the combined celebration of festivals and other aspects all add up to provide valuable recreation to the members.
- **Provides social security:** A joint family, apart from acting like an insurance company for its relatively disadvantaged members, also provides social security to the aged, infirm and sick members of the family. In times of crises like accidents, the joint family takes care of the affected members. It is often said that a joint family takes care of an individual from his cradle to his grave.
- **Provides psychological security:** A joint family provides psychological security to its members by giving them a feeling of staying with one's own. It does not allow any member to develop strong individualistic mindset, thereby preventing him from becoming aloof and lonely.
- **Promotes cooperative virtues:** A joint family instills many virtues into the minds and characters of its members. Qualities like cooperation, discipline, sympathy, tolerance, sacrifice, loyalty and other qualities are learnt and imbibed in such families. All the members get tied in a bond of love and sacrifice and promote the welfare of their family through their positive traits.
- **Ensures social control:** The joint family acts as an agency of social control by controlling the behaviour of its members. It teaches each member to think about the common interests of the family and sacrifice individual interests.
- **Develops a sense of tolerance:** The presence of a large number of members results in expression of divergent views on a variety of issues. The members learn to respect each other's views and this helps them in developing a sense of tolerance while dealing with the views of other members of the society. Such a sense of tolerance is good for any society as it leaves room for discussion and debate.

Disadvantages of the Joint Family System

It is not that the joint family system only has positive things to offer. It also suffers from many demerits. Some of such demerits or disadvantages are as follows:

- **Retards personality development:** Due to the overbearing nature of the family head in a joint family, the younger members fail to develop any leadership quality. They remain protected and become weak and shaky in life. They never get a chance to show their talents or develop strong personalities.
- **Kills individual initiative:** The joint family does not allow its members to develop their talents. Individual enterprise gets killed in such an environment. The young members do not get a chance to show their originality or creativity.
- **Promotes lethargy:** The joint family does not provide much incentive for hard work because everybody is assured of his food, shelter and clothing. This results in promoting a dependency syndrome, which is bad for the economy and society.

- **Disincentive savings:** Since basic needs of every member are assured, there is no incentive to save money and invest the same in quality assets. Besides, savings is not easy for the earning members as there are a large number of non-earning members who have to be taken care of.
- **Hampers privacy:** Personal privacy is badly affected in the joint family system due to the presence of large number of family members in the house. This is especially true in case of newly married couples who do not get the desired privacy to know each other intimately and share their feelings of love. This affects them both emotionally and psychologically.
- **Promotes quarrels:** In a joint family, chances of frequent quarrels among the family members are more due to the presence of a number of persons. This is true in case of married women of the family as they come into this large family from different families with different upbringing. They usually do not get along well with each other and end up spoiling their relationships.
- **Adversely affects children's socialization:** Since, the parents are not able to devote exclusive time to their children in a joint family set-up, the socialization of the children does not take place in a proper way. Children remain aloof to their parents and get more attached to their grandparents. The values instilled by the grandparents may sometimes be not in tune with the modern times.
- **Promotes higher reproduction:** A joint family system promotes higher reproduction as there is no disincentive of giving birth to more children. Irrespective of the number of children that they have parents are assured that the basic needs of their children – food, health, education and clothes would be automatically taken care of by the family.
- **Adversely affects status of women:** A joint family system is unfavourable for women. They are treated badly in the patriarchal joint families and are made to work like servants of the household. They do not get any respect for the work they do and have no financial or social autonomy. Sometimes, they do not even have a say in matters personal to them like their health, higher education, visits to their parental homes and so forth.
- **Promotes litigation:** Due to the presence of common property in a joint family system, there is bound to be a lot of litigation and it does happen. A plethora of cases are filed by family members against each other to gain control over the family assets.
- **Limits social mobility:** Joint families restrict the social mobility of their members. They are not encouraged to adapt to the modern world and are forced to remain bound by traditions. This prevents them from accepting changes and moving ahead in life.
- **Delays decision-making:** Due to the presence of a large number of family members, decision-making is very slow in a joint family set-up. There are discussions and deliberations before taking any major decisions. While such discussions are good and help in taking the right decisions, its slow pace frustrates the younger members.

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Changing Nature of the Joint Family System and the Causes of Change

The institution of joint family has started undergoing change and is moving towards disintegration. This is primarily the result of the forces of modernization, which is transforming Indian society.

Industrialization and urbanization have resulted in the breakdown of the joint family because the latter is better placed to handle agricultural societies. With industrialization, family has ceased to be the unit of production as it used to be in an agrarian set-up. People leave their villages in search of employment in new industries coming up in urban areas and break their link with their joint family. Thus, the new industry-based economy has shaken the foundations of the joint family system.

Industrialization has been helped further by the modern means of transportation and communication. Bus and train services from rural areas to the towns and cities have enabled people to travel to urban areas in search of employment opportunities. This has quickened the pace of the decline of the joint family. With the spread of telecom facilities, especially with the easy availability of mobile telephony, people can stay connected with their families without staying together under a common roof. Due to this, the dependence of people on their traditional family occupation, which was a major factor for the survival and importance of the joint family, has reduced. They are migrating to urban areas for better employment opportunities.

The influence of the western countries on our thinking and way of life is also an important factor that has changed the joint family system in India. The family structure of the western world is characterized by the nuclear family. This is so because they base their family on the ideas of freedom, equality, love between husband and wife and communication. The Indian joint family has very little scope for all of these. Therefore, the younger generation in India prefers the nuclear family. The joint family is trying to adapt to this situation and the family heads are trying to provide more space to all the members by decentralizing power. Notwithstanding this, westernization has resulted in greatly reducing the importance of the joint family system.

Indian women have managed to break the shackles of male-domination upon them to a significant extent. This has happened due to the empowerment of women through the forces of education and employment. For women to come of age, it was important for them to get out of the conservative and oppressive environment prevalent in joint families. The status of women was very low in joint families and an enhancement in their status is directly linked to the decline of such families. Thus, higher status of women can be said to have adversely affected the joint family system in India.

The joint family system has faced serious challenges from progressive social legislations enacted during the British Rule and after independence. Legislations like The Civil Marriage Act, 1872; The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 and The Hindu Succession Act, 1956 have eroded the pre-dominant position of the joint family system in the Indian society. These acts resulted in empowering women by giving them various rights relating to marriage, divorce and inheritance of property. This empowerment of women shook the joint family system in which women used to be treated with scant respect. As a result, joint families in India are reinventing themselves and women are being given the respect that they deserve. But the trend is towards more individualistic or nuclear families as they provide greater freedom and privacy to the young couples.

Another reason for the decline of the joint family is the shortage of residential space in urban areas. Since, houses are small; it is not possible for a large number of

family members to cohabit. In villages, even if the houses were small, there were vast open spaces in and around the house, which is not the case in towns and cities. Therefore, the family size had to be necessarily small in urban areas. This aspect goes against the joint family system.

The quarrels among the members of the joint family are yet another reason for its decline. The presence of many members, especially the women members hailing from different families, often resulted in such quarrels. Nuclear families became the preferred option for people as they wanted to avoid such frequent quarrels.

The changes and the causes of those changes discussed above would indicate that the joint family system in India is disintegrating. However, scholars have pointed out, it would be wrong to say that joint family has been or would be completely replaced by nuclear families. Empirical studies by eminent sociologists like I.P. Desai, K.M. Kapadia, Aileen Ross, M.S. Gore, A.M. Shah and Sachchidananda have shown that the jointness in the joint family is decreasing whereas the nuclearity is increasing. They have pointed out that joint families would continue to exist in their evolved forms and would never fade away.

These scholars have found out from their studies that the joint family continues to exist but their sizes have come down. They are no longer the huge families with large number of members spread vertically and horizontally. The joint family has evolved to give way to a trimmer joint family wherein a maximum of three generations reside. It is now a compact and functional unit. It now includes only the siblings and the father's brothers.

Therefore, it can be concluded that so long as the old cultural values persist among the people, the functional type of joint family would continue to thrive in the Indian society. The residential type of joint family would be under strain as people tend to move out in search of employment, freedom and privacy.

3.5 MARRIAGE

Hindu marriage is considered a sacrament, or a sacred bond. Its aim is not only to secure sexual gratification but also to advance spiritual development. According to K.M. Kapadia, 'Hindu marriage is a socially approved union of men and women aiming at dharma, procreation, sexual pleasure and observance of certain obligations.' Ancient Hindu texts point out three main aims of marriage. These are *Dharma*, (fulfillment of religious duties, which was the highest aim of marriage), *Praja* (progeny) and *Rati* (sexual pleasure). Several reasons are given for considering a Hindu marriage as sacred:

- (i) *Dharma*.
- (ii) Performance of the religious ceremony includes certain rites like *havan*, *kanyadan*, *panigrahan* and *saptapadi*.
- (iii) The rites are performed before *agni* by reciting mantras from the Vedas by a Brahmin.
- (iv) The union is considered inviolable and irrevocable and husband and wife are bound to each other not only until death but even after death.
- (v) Though a man performs several sacraments during the course of his life, a woman performs only one sacrament of marriage in her life, hence, it carries great importance for her.

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Check Your Progress

5. Mention the distinctive features of family.
6. What is a matrilineal family?
7. What is a joint family?

- (vi) Marriage is considered to be a social duty towards the family and the community and there is little scope for individual interest and aspiration.

Forms of Hindu Marriage

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Hindu scriptures described eight forms of Hindu marriage. These are:

- 1. Brahma vivah:** This is the ideal form of Hindu marriage. It is settled by parents, a Brahmin is called to preside over the marriage rites and the daughter is given by her father to the groom (this is called *kanyadan*), along with some dowry of ornaments and clothes.
- 2. Daiva vivah:** The father of the bride offers his daughter in the hand of the priest as *dakshina*. It was considered as an ideal form of marriage in ancient times but has become irrelevant today.
- 3. Arsha vivah:** In this form of marriage the bride's father gets something from the groom, like a pair of cattle, in exchange for his daughter.
- 4. Parjapatya vivah:** In this form of marriage, the consent of the parents is essential but no ceremony is performed.
- 5. Asura vivah:** The bride price is given by the groom to the bride's father. This is a sort of an economic contract and there is no limit or stipulation on the amount given.
- 6. Gandharva vivah:** This was the traditional form of love marriage. Here neither is the consent of parents necessary nor are the rites or dowry essential.
- 7. Rakshasa vivah:** This type of marriage is by capture or abduction without obtaining the consent of the girl or her parents. This was practised in times when group conflicts and tribal wars were very common. The victorious groups used to carry away the girls of the conquered group.
- 8. Paisacha vivah:** This is the least acceptable form of marriage. A woman who is seduced when asleep or unconscious or when incapable of protecting herself is given the status of the wife.

Of these eight forms of marriage, Brahma vivaha is considered to be the best marriage where a girl is given to a boy of merit in the same caste or in a caste of equal status. Both bride and groom are competent enough to give consent.

Rules of Mate Selection

In order to ensure the purity and maintain the distinctive identity of different groups in society, Hindu law-makers have stipulated detailed rules and regulations governing the choice of a partner for the union of marriage. These laws are based on two rules:

- (i) **Endogamic rule:** Endogamy is a social rule that requires a person to select a spouse from within certain groups. These endogamous groups specifically refer to varna, caste and sub-caste. Thus, a Brahmin boy has not only to marry a Brahmin girl but a *kanyakubja* boy has to marry a *kanyakubja* girl, a *saryupari* boy has to marry a *saryupari* girl and a *gaur* boy has to marry a *gaur* girl. Although endogamy is restricted to a tribe or a caste, there are exceptions in some cases. The Anuloma, or hypergamy, allows the alliance of lower caste women to higher caste men. This practice occurs mainly among different sub-sections of a caste or sub-caste rather than between castes. In Pratiloma marriage based on the rule of hypogamy, an upper caste woman can enter into an alliance with a man of a lower caste.

(ii) **Exogamic rule:** Exogamy is a social rule which forbids selection of a spouse from certain groups. The two types of exogamy practiced by Hindus are gotra exogamy and sapinda exogamy. In a few cases, besides *gotra* and *sapinda*, the village is also treated as an exogamous group. McLennan in his book *Studies in Indian History* writes that the custom of exogamy arose owing to the paucity of women in early times.

(a) **Sagotra exogamy:** A *gotra* is a group whose members are believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor of a rishi. Initially, there were only eight gotras but gradually their number increased to thousands. The *gotra* exogamy prohibits marriage between members of the same *gotra*. The four-clan rule or four *gotra* exogamous rule prevails among Hindu castes in North India. In accordance with this four-clan rule, a man cannot marry a girl from: (i) his father's *gotra* or clan (ii) his mother's *gotra* or clan (iii) his father's mother's *gotra* and (iv) mother's mother's *gotra*. In almost all castes in the northern zone, according to Karve (1953) the marriage between cousins is prohibited. It was Manu who imposed restrictions on *gotra* marriage. However the restrictions on *gotra* marriage were removed in 1946 by the Hindu Marriage Disabilities Removal Act.

(b) **Sapinda exogamy:** The word *sapinda* has two meanings: those who can offer rice balls to the deceased, and those who share the particles of the same body. *Sapinda* are those who are related to one another in ascending or descending order, by five generations through the mother's side and seven generations through father's side. Marriage with such a person is prohibited. Gautam has recommended avoiding seven generations from the father's side and five from the mother's side. The Hindu Marriage Act 1955 prohibits *sapinda* marriage in general, but allows this in the form of cross cousin marriages as a peculiar custom of South India. Among Christians and Muslims, the elementary nuclear family is the exogamous unit. Today, even though this rule is followed by and large by all Hindus, some cases of cousin marriages are known to happen.

Tribal Marriage in India

The institution of marriage is another issue on which tribal people throughout the world have been much maligned. Indian tribes, like their counterparts in other parts of the world, practice several forms of marriage as a matter of convenience and social acclimatization in their respective cultural and ecological settings. Most tribes are monogamous with few exceptions, such as on some festive occasions. Even among the most primitive tribes like the Toda, the Andamanese, the Kadar, and the Chenchu, where sexual morals are lax, there still exist strict marriage rules. Marital fidelity is practiced and enforced in most tribes. Proscriptions, prescriptions and preferences that determine the choice of spouses or partners in tribal societies, are based on very strict rules.

Preference in Mate Selection

The tribes of India differ from each other in the manner in which mate selection is carried out. On one hand, society prohibits sexual liaisons or matrimonial alliances between particular kin or in the same clan or *gotra*, but on the other hand, it encourages matrimonial alliances between certain other kins. The following are some of the popular types of preferential marriages prevalent among the Indian tribes:

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Cousin marriage: Both types of cousin marriages, i.e., cross cousin and parallel cousin, are quite popular among the Indian tribes. The Gond, Kharia, Khasi and Kadar are some of the important Indian tribes practicing cousin marriage. When the children of a brother and a sister marry it is a cross cousin marriage. On the other hand, it is parallel cousin marriage when the children of two sisters or two brothers get married. The Gonds of Madhya Pradesh call this form of marriage 'doodh lautawa' (return of milk). Levirate and sororate are two other types of preferential marriages which are also said to promote 'inter-familial cordiality' by making certain linkages imperative.

Marriage among Different Ethnic Groups

Ways of acquiring mates: There are nine important ways of acquiring mates among tribes:

- (i) **Marriage by capture:** When a man snatches a woman away from her village and marries her, it is called marriage by capture. Many tribal societies give social sanction to this type of marriage which symbolizes valour and chivalry. It is popular among the Naga tribes of the north eastern region, where Naga tribals of one village used to invade the enemy's village and capture grown up girls. Among the Ho it is called *oportipi* and among the Gond it is called *posiothur*. It is of two types: physical capture and ceremonial capture. In the case of physical capture, the man carries away the woman forcefully, and marries her. However, in ceremonial capture, the man adopts a procedure wherein he surprises the woman by smearing vermilion on her forehead.
- (ii) **Marriage by exchange:** This method has evolved primarily to avoid the payment of a high bride price. According to such a marriage, two households exchange women with each other and, thus, avoid the payment of bride price. The Uralis of Kerala, the Muria Gonds and Baiga of Bastar and the Koya and the Saora of Andhra Pradesh practice this trend.
- (iii) **Marriage by purchase:** It is a common mode of matrimony throughout India. In this form of tribal marriage the parents of the bridegroom pay in cash or kind to the bride's parents. This money or material goods is the bride price. It is prevalent among Munda, Oraon, the Santhal, Rengma Naga and others. The worst financial consequence is seen among the Ho tribals of Chota Nagpur, Bihar. Their poor economic condition has been made worse by the increasing amount of bride price.
- (iv) **Marriage by elopement:** This takes place when a couple love each other and want to marry against the wishes of their parents who are against this marriage. In this situation, both of them run away from the village for a certain period of time after which they come back and are then acknowledged as husband and wife. This is called *raji khusi* marriage among the Ho tribes of Jharkhand. The tribes of Chotanagpur also practice this.
- (v) **Marriage by service:** This is another way of avoiding the payment of bride price altogether (or minimizing it considerably) through services rendered by the prospective groom at the bride's residence for a particular period. If the girl's father is satisfied with the work done, then he gives his daughter's hand to him at the end of the period. If he is dissatisfied, then the man is asked to leave the house and never come back. This is practised among the Gonds, Baigas, Birhor and others.

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- (vi) **Marriage by intrusion:** In this kind of marriage, the girl is desirous of getting married to the young man, but he is unwilling. The girl thrusts herself on the unwilling groom and his parents. She does this in order to serve the would-be man in her life but is humiliated and tortured in return. If she persists in her efforts and endures her torment for a considerable period of time, she is finally accepted as the daughter-in-law. Among the Oraons it is known as *nirbolok* and among the Ho as *anader*.
- (vii) **Marriage by trial:** This is the recognition of personal courage and bravery as highly desirable traits in a young man. It is most popular among the Bhils during the Holi festival. Young men and women perform a folk dance around a pole or a tree, to the top of which coconut or gur are tied. The women make an inner ring of dancers around the tree. When a young man attempts to break through the cordon to climb the tree to eat the gur and break open the coconut, the girls resist his attempt. If, in spite of this, the man succeeds then he has the right to demand any of the surrounding girls as his wife.
- (viii) **Marriage by mutual consent:** This is a result of the contact that the tribals have had with Hindus over a period of time. This practice is similar and prevalent among Muslims, Hindus, Christians and so forth in which all the formalities of marriage are arranged by the parties concerned through the process of mutual consultation and consent.
- (ix) **Probationary marriage:** As per this practice, the husband and wife are permitted to live together for some time in the bride's house. If they like each other and decide to marry, the elders arrange their early marriage. In case the couple do not find each other's temperament to be suitable and compatible, they separate, and the man has to pay cash compensation to the girl's parents. It is prevalent among the Kuki of Arunachal Pradesh.

Divorce among Hindus

Marriage in the traditional Hindu society, regarded essentially as *dharmic*, is gradually becoming secularized in the modern era. Desertion, separation and divorce, though not clearly sanctified by Hindu law except in very unusual circumstances, have received significant attention in the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955. This code also eliminated the discriminatory status of previous customs by which a man exerted more power, enjoyed a superior position, and had the right to seek a divorce or abandon a wife on his own. The Marriage Law Amendment Act, 1976 widened the basis for seeking divorce by providing divorce through mutual consent and on the grounds of desertion and cruelty.

Marriage among Muslims

In marriage among Muslims, a man and woman enter into a solemn pact for life. There is a popular conception that in Islamic law, marriage is not considered to be sacrament but rests entirely on a contractual basis. Muslim marriage is called *Nikah* and is both an act of *ibadat* (devotion to God) and *maumalat* (dealings among men). Witnesses are a necessary condition for a valid marriage. There are two main sects of the Muslim community in India, Shias and Sunnis. Inter marriages among these groups are discouraged. There are two types of Muslim marriages, regular (*shahi*) and irregular (*fasid*).

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Muta marriage

Muslims also have a system of temporary marriage called *muta* marriage. This is a marriage settled by a man and a woman by mutual consent and without the intervention of kin. A man is permitted to contract *muta* marriage with a Muslim, a Jew or a Christian girl but a woman cannot contract such a marriage with a non-Muslim. A wife secured through *muta* marriage is known as *sigha*. In this form of marriage, the period of cohabitation must be stipulated and the amount of dowry should be predetermined. Where the duration of the marriage has not been fixed, the marriage remains illegitimate.

Dower (*Mehr*)

Dower comprises of money or property which the wife gets from her husband when she marries him. As per Muslim law, dower is the obligation which is imposed on the husband as a mark of respect to his wife. The amount of the *mehr* is determined either before, or after, or at the time of the marriage. Though it cannot then be reduced, it may be increased at the husband's will. It can either be prompt (*muajjal*) or deferred (*muwajjal*).

Divorce among Muslims

Under Muslim law, the contract of marriage can be dissolved either with or without the intervention of the court. The divorce can be obtained either on the basis of Muslim law by judicial decree, or the marriage can be broken without the court's intervention, by the husband at his will (called *talaq*) or by the mutual consent of husband and wife called (*khula* or *kohl* and *mubarat*). The difference between *khula* and *mubarat* is that, in the former the divorce is initiated at the instance of wife, whereas in the latter, since both the parties desire separation, the initiative can be taken by either wife or husband. Divorce or *talaq*, can be carried out in any one of the following three ways:

- (i) **Talaq-e-ahasan:** This consists of a single pronouncement made during a *tuhr* (period of maturation) and followed by abstinence from sexual relations throughout the period of *iddat*.
- (ii) **Talq-e-hasan:** This consists of three pronouncements made during three successive *tuhrs* and no intercourse taking place during any of these three *tuhrs*.
- (iii) **Talaq-ul-bidat:** This is a disapproved form of divorce which includes two types of triple declaration and a single irrevocable declaration. The triple declaration comprises three pronouncements made in a single *tuhr*, either in one sentence or in three sentences. This form of *talaq* is irrevocable. It is the most common mode of *talaq* in the country.

In addition to these three types of *talaq*, the Shariat Act of 1937 makes a mention of three other kinds of divorce as well:

- (i) **Illa:** In this, the husband swears by god promising not to enter into sexual relationships with his wife for four months or more. If the husband follows his promise, the marriage is considered dissolved.
- (ii) **Lian:** If the husband imposes a false charge of adultery on the wife, the wife prays to the court that the husband be ordered to take back his charge.
- (iii) **Zihar:** In this, the husband compares his wife with some near relative whom he cannot marry. For instance, if the husband compares his wife with his mother, he cannot enter into sexual relationship with her unless he repents for this comparison. If he fails to do so, the wife can divorce him.

Marriage among Christians

The Christian society is stratified into Protestants and Catholics. The Catholics are further divided into Latin Catholics and Syrian Catholics. These groups are generally endogamous and do not marry intra-group. In Christianity, religion plays a predominant role in marital unions. Christians believe that marriages are made in heaven and decided by God. The Christians usually practice monogamy and there are strict restrictions on polygamy. Divorce is not appreciated by the Church. The Christian marriage system is quite different from the Hindu marriage system. The Indian Christians follow the Western marriage system of the British.

The Christian Marriage Act 1872 is the law that regulates solemnization of marriages among Christians. It extends throughout India except the territories, which immediately after 1 Nov. 1956 comprised of the states of Travancore, Cochin, Manipur, and Jammu and Kashmir. Christian marriage focuses on certain important aspects like procreation, prohibition of sexual relations without marriage and mutual help and comfort. Hence, it is correct to state that Christian marriage is a bond between man and woman, normally intended to be binding for life, for sexual union, mutual respect and companionship, and establishment of a family. In a true marriage, each partner seeks the fulfilment of the other. By complementing each other, the union between husband and wife is enhanced. In their love for one another, through their faithfulness to one another and in their fruitfulness, husband and wife reflect God's image in a mysterious and wonderful way. Their union is the fruit of more than companionship or partnership; it is the deepest intimacy. (Arnold, 2007). As Friedrich Nietzsche writes, 'It is brought about by the resolve of two to create a unity which is more than those who created it. It is reverence for one another and for the fulfilment of such a resolve.' (Arnold, 2007).

Marital unions

The Syrian Christians remained as endogamous groups and marriage between Latin and Syrian Christians were rare. In the Kerala Church, denominational divisions grew. The Syrian Christians are ethnic groups who differ from others in terms of their doctrinal beliefs and religious principles. Marriages between different denominations are possible only if they belong to a single origin of Syrian Christians, rather than being converts. While selecting a marriage partner, it is ensured that the partners are not related by blood. The Christian wedding takes place in a church in the presence of a priest. However, Christian marriage takes place with the consent of both the bride and the groom. The Christians practice divorce as well, and grounds like adultery and cruelty can lead to the dissolution of marriage. Among the Christians, widow remarriage is accepted and also encouraged.

Recent Changes in the Institution of Marriage

The onset of globalization has brought about innumerable changes in the institution of marriage. For instance, in the case of India, the majority of citizens, even those who have formal education, practice arranged marriage. However, commitment towards the union of marriage is disappearing as a result of modernization in India these days (*India Today*, Aug. 1, 1998). In urban India, youngsters are more inclined to choose their own partners, though arranged marriages still continue to dominate. The cultural values of upper and middle class Indians, as well as urban Indians have changed considerably due to the influence of media and the evolving trends of a cosmopolitan, Western culture.

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Even though the traditional nature of marriage has changed considerably, the belief in marriage remains intact and marriage continues to be an important institution in Indian society. At this point in time, India is undergoing rapid changes on the basis of strong economic growth, which is leading to high consumption patterns, new professional and economic opportunities and upward mobility. Marriage and family are pre-eminent institutions that govern and impact the lives of people on a personal level. These connect very closely with economic growth and its related benefits. Demographic trends, intra and inter-country migration, economic shifts and political and gender struggles are rapidly changing the marriage scenario in societies across the globe. The questions then arise, are these fundamental shifts in the importance, types and nature of marriage actually challenging the sanctity of marriage per se? Are the younger generations ignoring parental matchmaking criteria and basing marriages on romance and love (or choosing their own partners)? Which sections of youth (class, caste, occupation, location, and region) are embodying these changes the most? Where and how do meetings, matchmaking and courtship take place? How are marital preferences being discussed and negotiated within the wider circles of the family, community and caste nexus? These are some of the important questions which should be addressed.

In a far-reaching recommendation to the Ministry of Women and Child Development, the National Commission for Women has sought a change in the definition of 'wife' — as described in Section 125 of CRPC, which deals with maintenance — and suggested that it include women involved in live-in relationships as well. The move aims to harmonize other sections of the law with the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act that treats a live-in couple's relationship at par with that of a legally married husband and wife.

Despite the changing rules of marriage, divorce and live-in relationships, the institution of marriage still occupies an important place in the hearts and minds of people in India.

3.5.1 Kinship

In every society, a male at some time in his life, plays the roles of a husband, a father and a son and a brother in some family; and a female plays the roles of a wife, a mother and a daughter and a sister. But due to the incest taboo, a man cannot play the roles of a father and a husband in the same nuclear family in which he is a son and a brother. Similarly, a woman cannot play the roles of a mother and a wife in the same nuclear family in which she is a daughter and a sister. Hence, every adult individual belongs to two nuclear families—the *family of orientation* in which he was born and reared, and the *family of procreation* which he establishes by marriage. This fact of individual membership in two nuclear families gives rise to kinship system.

Due to the fact that individuals belong to two nuclear families, every person forms a link between the members of his family of orientation and those of his family of procreation. Such links bind individuals to one another through kinship ties.

According to Theodorson and Theodorson, 'kinship is a social relationship based upon family relatedness'. The nature of relationship which may be consanguineal or affinal determines the rights and obligations of related persons. **Akin group** is group united by ties of blood or marriage. Most kin groups, other than the family, are consanguineal. According to Theodorson, 'kinship system is the customary system of statuses and roles that governs the behaviour of people who are related to each other through marriage or descent from a common ancestor'. According to Mudrock, 'kinship

is a structured system of relationship in which kin are bound to one another by complex inter-locking ties’.

Categories of Kinship

There are mainly four kinship categories: primary kin, secondary kin, tertiary kin, and distant kin. The *primary kin* are those kin who belong to the Ego’s nuclear families of orientation and procreation. Thus, father (Fa), mother (Mo), sister (Si), and brother (Br) in one’s family of orientation, and husband (Hu), wife (Wi), son (So), and daughter (Da) in one’s family of procreation, are one’s primary kin. Each of Ego’s primary kin will have his/her own primary kin, who will not be primary kin of Ego. These will be called Ego’s *secondary kin*. For example, FaFa, FaMo, MoFa, MoBr, etc. There are 33 types of secondary kin. The primary kin of the secondary kin are called *tertiary kin*. There are 151 types of tertiary kin. Lastly, the primary kin of tertiary kin are called *distant kin*. Their number is very large. Kinship relationship characterizes every relationship between kin and it determines reciprocal behaviour.

Part of the reciprocal behaviour characterizing every relationship between kin, consists of a verbal element, i.e., the terms by which each addresses the other. In some cases, people use personal names, in others they use kinship terms, and in a few cases they employ what Tylor has called ‘teknonymy’, i.e., combination of personal and kinship terms; for example, Suresh’s father, Pinki’s mother, and so forth. Murdock has classified kinship terms on three bases:

- (i) **Mode of use of kinship terms:** This refers to the kinship term employed either in direct address (*term of address*) or in indirect reference (*term of reference*). Some people have distinct set of terms for address and reference, for example, *pita* (*term of reference*) and *baba* (*term of address*) for father, or *mata* and *amba* for mother, but others make only grammatical distinctions or none at all. Terms of address tend to reveal more duplication and overlapping; for example just as in English language the term ‘uncle’ is used for a number of people (like FaFa, MoBr, father’s elderly cousin, and for all elderly persons). Similarly in Indian languages, the term *bhai* is used not only for one’s own brother but also for cousin and many other persons.
- (ii) **Linguistic structure of kinship terms:** On this basis, kinship terms are distinguished as elementary, derivative and descriptive. *Elementary* term is one which cannot be reduced to any other term, for example, English terms ‘father’, ‘nephew’, etc. or Hindi terms *sali, jeth, mata, pita, bhai, kaka, chacha, taoo, bahen*, etc. *Derivative* term is compounded from an elementary term, for example, grandfather, sister-in-law, step-son, or Hindi terms *pitamaha* (FaFa), *prapitamaha* (FaFaFa), *duhitri* (daughter), *mausa* (MoSi Hu), *bahnoi* (SiHu) and others. The *descriptive* term is one which combines two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative, for example, wife’s sister, brother’s wife, sister’s husband, or Hindi terms *bhratra-jaya* (BrWi), *arya-putra* (father-in-law), *mauseri-bahen*, (MoSiDa), *phuphera-bhai* (FaSiSo).
- (iii) **Range of application of kinship terms:** On this basis, kinship terms are differentiated as denotative and classificatory. *Denotative* or isolative term applies only to one kin as defined by generation, sex and geneological connection, for example, father, mother, brother, sister, or Hindi terms *pati, patni, bhai, bahen*, and so forth. The *classificatory* term applies to persons of two or more kinship categories, for example, grandfather (used both for father’s father and mother’s

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father), cousin (used for father's brother's son and mother's sister's son), brother-in-law (used for sister's husband and wife's brother). It is through the liberal use of classificatory terms that all societies reduce the number of kinship categories from the thousands to a very modest number. A term arises only by ignoring one or more fundamental criteria of distinction between kins, for example, criterion of sex (cousin refers to both male and female), generation (bhai ignores ego's own generation as well as first ascending or descending generation), affinity (whether kin related through blood or marriage), collaterality (consanguineal relative of same generation, for example, brother and cousin), bifurcation (whether kin is secondary, tertiary or distant, for example *pitamaha*), age (whether younger or older for example, *bhai*) and decedence (whether alive or dead).

Importance of Kinship

Next to family, kinship group plays a very crucial role in the daily life, rituals and social ceremonies of Hindus. People turn to their kin not only for help in exigencies of life but even on regular occasions too. The kinship group may consist of 4 to 5 families or as many as 20 to 35 families. The important kinship groups after the family are *vansh* (lineage) and *gotra* (clan).

Vansh is an extension of family. It is a consanguineous unilateral descent group whose members trace themselves from a known (and real) common ancestor. *Vansh* is based on more precise and specific genealogy. It may be either patrilineal or matrilineal.

The *Vansh* members are treated as brothers and have fraternal allegiance to each other. Its ties lapse after several generations but the number of obligated generations is not usually specified clearly. The *Vansh* fellows who live in the same neighbourhood or same village exchange economic aid, pool labour at harvest, help in dispute settlements, and cooperate with each other almost on all important occasions.

A main link among the families of a *vansh* is common participation in ritual functions. They participate together in each other's lifecycle observances like birth, death and so forth. They worship the same deities and follow the same restrictions. The *Vansh* fellows also cooperate for economic purposes.

The *vansh* passes into *gotra* which is also a unilateral kin group but is larger than the *vansh*. It has a mythical ancestor and is exogamous. Each person inherits the *gotra* of his father. According to T.N. Madan, 'the separation of a lineage is usually a gradual process and comes about through the slow, piecemeal relinquishing of mutual exchanging—sometimes under protest and sometimes mutually accepted—rather than in an abrupt, explosive break'. The exogamous principle is, however, not relinquished, even after abandoning lineage cooperation.

The *vansh* relations are limited in time and space, whereas the *gotra* relations endure through time and across space. The members of a *gotra* usually have an origin story linking all of them to the same supernatural or mythical source. Cooperation within the *gotra* depends on economic factors as well as distance in place of residence. Today, the functions of *gotra* are minimal and is now limited for regulating marriage.

A man's relations with his feminal kin, *i.e.*, kin related through his mother, his married sisters, his wife and his married daughters, are equally important in his life. The exchange of gifts, periodic visits, reciprocal support in personal emergencies, and regular communication strengthen their relations with each other. Mother's brother has many obligations to perform for his neices and nephews on different occasions. The feminal kinsmen, are more concerned with the individual and his problems as a person

than as a member of a group. Hence, we can say that feminal relationships help to integrate each person and each village into a social network of villages that affect many aspects of village life.

Features of Kinship in Different Zones

Let us look at the features of kinship in different zones.

Northern zone

Though kinship behaviour in the northern zone changes slightly from region to region and within each region from caste to caste, yet comparative study shows that it is possible to talk of an 'ideal' northern pattern referring to practices and attitudes generally found to be common among the majority of castes. Some important features/folkways of the kinship organization of the northern zone are as follows:

- (i) Kin junior to 'ego' are addressed by their personal names and senior to 'ego' by the kinship term.
- (ii) All children in ascending and descending generations are equated with one's own sibling group (brothers and sisters) and all children of one's sibling group are again equated with one's own children.
- (iii) The principle of unity of generations is observed (for example, great-grandfather and grandfather are given same respect as father).
- (iv) Within the same generation, the older and the younger kin are kept distinct.
- (v) The duties and behaviour patterns of the members of three generations are strictly regulated.
- (vi) Some of the ancient kinship terms having Sanskrit origin have been replaced by new terms; for example, *pitamaha* is replaced by *pita*. Suffix 'ji' is added to kinship terms used for kin older than the speaker (for example, *chachaji*, *tauji*, etc.) In Bengal, instead of 'ji' suffix 'moshai' is added.
- (vii) Marriage among close kin is not permitted.
- (viii) After marriage, a girl is not expected to be free with her parents-in-law; but when she becomes a mother, she achieves position of respect and power, and restrictions on her are lessened.
- (ix) The family is so structured that children, parents and grandparents either live together or social kinship obligations towards them are clearly met.
- (x) Apart from the joint family which represents a person's intimate and nearest circle of relations, there is always a larger circle of kin who play a part in his life. This kindred represents the circle of his *patri*-kin or *matri*-kin who may stand by him and help him when the immediate family no longer suffices.

Central zone

The important features of kinship in Central India are:

- (i) Consanguinity is the main consideration which rules marriage.
- (ii) The kinship terminology shows intimacy and closeness between various kin. The relations between kin are governed by the custom of *neota*-gifts according to which cash-gift is given equivalent to cash-gift received. The *neota*-registers are maintained and preserved for generations.

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- (iii) Many castes are divided into exogamous clans. Among some castes, the exogamous clans are arranged in hypergamous hierarchy.
- (iv) Some castes like Marathas and Kunbis practice bride-price too, though dowry custom also exists among them.
- (v) In Gujarat, *mamera*-type of cousin marriage (with mother's brother) and levirate (marriage with husband's brother) are practised by some castes.
- (vi) The custom of periodic marriages in Gujarat has led to child marriages as well as unequal marriages. Such marriages are practised even today.
- (vii) In Maharashtra, the clan organization of the Marathas is similar to that of the Rajputs which is arranged in a ladder manner. Clans are grouped into divisions and each division is named according to the number of clans it comprises; for example *panch-kuli*, *sat-kuli*, etc. The clans are arranged in hypergamous order, the highest being the *panch-kuli*, followed by the *sat-kuli*, etc. The *panch-kuli* can marry among themselves or can take a girl from the *sat-kuli*, etc., but do not give their daughters outside the *panch-kuli*.
- (viii) Though the kinship terms are mostly northern yet some terms are borrowed from the Dravidians in the south; for example, use of the terms *manna* and *nana* for brother along with the term *dada*. Similarly, use of terms *makka*, *tai* and *mai* for sister.
- (ix) Though the family system in Maharashtra is patrilineal and patrilocal, yet in castes like Marathas, the wife moves to and from her father's house very frequently. Once she goes to her father's house, it is difficult to get her back to her husband's house.
- (x) The kinship system of the tribals in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh is somewhat different from that of the caste Hindus. The difference exists in terms of kinship terminology, marriage rules, inheritance system and clan obligations.

Southern zone

The southern zone presents a complicated pattern of kinship system. Though patrilineal and patrilocal family is the dominant family type for the greater number of castes and communities like Nambudris, there are important sections of population which are matrilineal and matrilocal like Nayars; also there are quite a few castes whose systems possess features of both patrilineal and matrilineal organizations like Todas.

Similarly, there are some castes/tribes who practise only polygyny like Asari, Nayars and yet others, who practise both polygyny and polyandry like Todas. Then there are polyandrous patrilineal groups like Asari and also polyandrous matrilineal groups like Tiyan, Nayars; and polygynous patrilineal groups like Nambudris but no polygynous matrilineal groups. There are patrilineal joint families and also matrilineal joint families. Matrilineal joint family, called *Tarwad*, is found among the Nairs of Malabar in Travancore and a few other groups.

The important characteristics of *Tarwad* are:

- (i) The property of *Tarwad* is the property of all males and females belonging to it.
- (ii) Unmarried sons belong to mother's *tarward*, but married sons belong to their wife's *Tarwad*.

- (iii) Manager of *Tarwad* property is oldest male member in the family, called *Karnavan* (his wife is called *Ammayi*).
- (iv) *Karnmavan* is an absolute ruler in the family. On his death, the next senior male member becomes *Karnavan*. He can invest money in his own name, can mortgage property, can give money on loan, can give land as gift, and is not accountable to any member in respect of income and expenditure.
- (v) When *Tarwad* becomes too large and unwieldy, it is divided into *Tavazhis*. A *Tavazhi* in relation to a woman is 'a group of persons consisting of a female, her children, and all her descendants in the female line'.

The following changes may be noted in *Tarwad* after the 1912 Act:

- (a) The *Tarwad* property can now be divided.
- (b) The authority of *Karnavan* has now become limited.
- (c) The members of *Tarwad* have now become entitled to maintenance outside the ancestral house.
- (d) The ancestor worship of *Karnavan* is now no longer common.
- (e) The relations between husband and wife have now become informal and personal and more close and intimate.
- (f) The self-acquired property of a member of a *Tarward* after his death, now goes to his widow and children, and in their absence to mother and mother's mother.

Clan organization and marriage rules in south: A caste is divided into five exogamous clans. The important characteristics of clan organization are as follows:

- (i) Each clan possesses a name of some animal or a plant or some other object.
- (ii) A person from one clan can seek a spouse from any other clan except his own. However, this choice is theoretical because of the rule of exchange of daughters.
- (iii) In marriage, there is not only the rule of clan exogamy but also of family exchange of daughters.
- (iv) Because of the marriage rule of exchange of daughters, many kinship terms are common. For example, the term used for *nanad* (HuSi) is also used for *bhabhi* (BrWi); the term used for *sala* (WiBr) is also used for *bahnoi* (SiHu); the term used for *sasur* (HuFa) is also used for *bhabhi's father* (BrWiFa).
- (v) Marriage between children of two sisters, is not permissible.
- (vi) The marriage with wife's younger sister is practised. Also, two sisters can marry two brothers in one family.
- (vii) There is a system of preferential mating in the south. In a large number of castes, the first preference is given to elder sister's daughter, second preference to father's sister's daughter, and third preference to mother's brother's daughter. However, today cross-cousin marriage, especially the uncle-niece marriage, is a thing of the past.
- (viii) The taboos prescribed for marriage are: a man cannot marry his younger sister's daughter; a widow cannot marry her husband's elder or younger brother; and a man cannot marry his mother's sister's daughter.

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- (ix) Marriage is dependent on the chronological age differences. One example is that the marriage of grandfather and granddaughter is possible in south.
- (x) Marriage is not arranged with a view to widening a kin group, but each marriage strengthens already existing bonds and makes doubly near those people who were already very near kin.
- (xi) A girl has to marry a person who belongs to the groups older than her, i.e. *tam-mum*, and also to the group younger than her parents, i.e., she can marry any of her older cross-cousins. A boy must marry in *atam-pin* group and to one who is a child of a group of *tam-mum*.
- (xii) In south, a girl after marriage does not enter the house of strangers. One's husband is one's mother's brother's son and so on. Marriage in the south, does not symbolize separation from father's house for a girl. A girl moves freely in her father-in-law's house.

Comparison of kinship system of North and South India

- (i) In the south, organization of kin is arranged according to age categories in the two groups, i.e., older than Ego (*tam-mum*) and younger than Ego (*tam-pin*).
- (ii) No special norms of behaviour are evolved for married girls in the south; whereas in the north, many restrictions are imposed on them.
- (iii) In the north, marriage is to widen the kinship group while in the south it is to strengthen already existing bonds.
- (iv) Marriage does not symbolize woman's separation from her father's house in the south but in the north, a woman becomes a casual visitor to her parents' family.
- (v) In the south, an Ego has some kin who are his blood relatives only and others who are his blood relatives and affinal kin at the same time.
- (vi) In a southern family, there is no clear-cut distinction between the family of birth and family of marriage as found in the northern family. In the north, no member from Ego's family of orientation i.e., of father, mother, brother and sister can also become a member of his family of marriage; but this is possible in the south.
- (vii) In the south, kinship organization is dependent on the chronological age differences; while in the north, it is dependent on the principle of generational divisions.
- (viii) In the north, every kinship term clearly indicates whether the person referred to is a blood relation or an affinal kin; but this is not so in the south.

Eastern zone

There are more tribes than caste Hindus in eastern India (consisting of parts of Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa). The more important tribes are: Khasi, Birhor, Ho, Munda and Uraon. The kinship organization here has no one pattern. People speaking Mundan languages have patrilineal patrilocal families. However, joint families are rare in this zone. Cross-cousin marriages are rarely practised though bride-price is common. Woman is addressed as *dual* (you two). Kinship terminology is borrowed both from Sanskrit and Dravidian languages. Khasis and Garos have matrilineal joint family system. After marriage, a man rarely lives with his parents and establishes a separate house.

The kinship organization in India is influenced by caste and language. In this age of sharp competition for status and livelihood, a man and his family must have kin as allies. Caste and linguistic groups may help an individual from time to time but his most

staunch, trustworthy and loyal supporters could only be his nearest kin. It is, therefore, necessary that a person must not only strengthen his bonds with kin but should also try to enlarge his circle of kin. Cousin marriages, preferential mating, exchange rules and the marriage norms which circumvent the field of mate selection are now so changing that kinship relations through marriage are being extended and a person is able to get their help in seeking power and the status-lift that power can bring.

Kinship Usages

We now study the behaviour patterns of different kins. Every relationship involves a particular type of behaviour. The behaviour of a son towards his father is one of respect while the behaviour of husband towards wife is one of love. 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 almost all societies, the usage of avoidance is observed in one form or another. It means that the two kins should remain away from 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 should avoid daughter-in-law. The *purdah* system illustrates the usage of avoidance. Different explanations have been given for the usage of avoidance. According to Radcliff Brown and G. P. Murdock, 'avoidance serves to forestall further and more serious trouble between relatives'. According to the Freudian explanation, avoidances represent a sort of institutionalized neurotic symptom.
- (ii) **Joking 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 references to sex.
- (iii) **Teknonymy:** The word 'tekonymy' is a Greek word. 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 kins. 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 *Munni* or *Sonu*.
- (iv) **Avunculate:** This kinship usage is a peculiar feature of matriarchal system. It gives to 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. The maternal uncle 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 (*bua*), it is known as amitate. The father's sister gets more respect than the mother's.
- (vi) **Couvade:** This queer usage is found among many primitive tribes like the Khasi and the Toda. 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 the husband and wife.

3.6 RELIGION

Since the days of the primitive society, religion has always existed in one form or another. There are mysteries and perplexities of life for which there is no adequate explanation.

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Check Your Progress

8. Name the eight forms of Hindu marriage.
9. Name the four main categories of kinship.
10. What is a *muta* marriage?

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The elements of nature, sunshine, wind and rain affect man in a number of ways. **Religion** is the expression of the manner and type of adjustment that is effected by people in terms of their conception of the supernatural. In the words of James Frazer, the author of the book *The Golden Bough*, religion has been explained as 'a belief in powers superior to man, which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life.' According to Ogburn and Nimkoff, 'Religion is the attitude towards superhuman powers'. Such attitude gives rise to coherent systems of beliefs and practices that concern the supernatural order. Thus, religion is a more or less a coherent system of beliefs and practices that concerns a supernatural order of beings, forces, places, or other entities: a system that, for its adherents, has implications for their behaviour and welfare implications that the adherents in varying degrees and ways take seriously in their private and collective lives.

The origin and evolution of religion

The early sociological studies of religion had three distinctive methodological characteristics, these were *evolutionist*, *positivist* and *psychological*. These are shown in the works of Comte, Tylor and Spencer. According to Comte, sociology is one of the fundamental conceptions of the so called law of three stages, according to which human thought had passed through theological metaphysical and positive stages. Comte treats theological thinking as an intellectual error which is dispersed by the rise of modern science. He traces, within the theological stage, a development from animism to monotheism and he explains religious belief in psychological terms by reference to the perception and thought processes of early man. Later, Comte propounded his own religion of humanity and, thus, recognized in some sense a universal need for religion.

However, the works of Tylor and Spencer were rigorous as they were concerned with explaining the origin of religion. They believed that the idea of the soul was the principal feature in a religious belief. They set out to give an account, in rationalist terms, of how such an idea might have originated in the mind of primitive man. According to this, men obtained their idea of the soul from a misinterpretation of dream and death. Spencer refers to that original theory of things as from which the supposed reality of dreams, resulted a supposed reality of ghosts. E.B. Tylor believes animism was the oldest practice of religion. He argues that animism was a result of the efforts of mankind to answer two questions of the difference between a living body and a dead one and what are those human shapes which appear in dreams and visions. The soul is a spirit being which leaves the body temporarily during dreams and visions. Animals were invested with spirits as were human tribes, such as Australian aborigines. Tylor points out that religion, assumes the form of animism with the purpose of satisfying the intellectual capacity of mankind and meet his quest for knowledge about death, dreams and vision. Similarly, naturism endorses the concept that the forces of nature are supernatural powering nature. Max Muller believes this to be the earliest form of religion. He argues that naturism came to exist as a result of man's interaction with nature, typically as the outcome of the reaction of nature on man's emotions. According to him, animism tries to find the source of religion in man's intellectual requirements; naturism seeks it in his emotional needs. Naturism is how man responds to the effect of power and to the nature on his emotions.

However, there is a lot of criticism about the evolutionary approach. The origin of religion is lost in the past. However, theories about the origin of religion can only be based on speculation and intelligent guess work, according to some critics. Moreover,

the exact phases of the evolution of religion do not match with the facts. Andrew Lang has highlighted that the religion of a large number of simplest societies is monotheistic in nature, which according to Tylor was restricted to modern societies.

The sacred and the profane

Durkheim held that the essence of religion is to sustain divisions into the phenomena of sacred and profane ideologies. He does not believe that the essence of religion lies in the belief of a transcendent God. He proclaims that the true aim of religion is to establish the phenomena of the sacred and the profane in the society. The 'sacred' consists of a body of things, beliefs and rites. Supernatural entities are always sacred, that is, they are worthy of being treated with respect whether they are good or evil. Supernatural beings and forces are invisible and intangible, but certain sacred objects are quite tangible and visible, for instance, the alter in a Christian church. On the other hand, everything that is not holy is profane. Profanity is using names without proper respect.

Functions and dysfunctions of religion

Religion has various social functions. Religion is an agency of social control. It disciplines human behaviour in terms of sacred and profane. Performance of rituals and ceremonies gives a sense of collectivity to the society. The law of *karma*, the fear of retribution and such other prescriptions, always has a moderating and civilizing impact on human action. The norms of conduct, once established, regulate social relations. Religion has unified the principles of every society. Religion is an integrating and unifying force of the human society. Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore reason why religion is necessary and is apparently to be found in the fact that human society achieves its unity through the possession by its members of certain ultimate values in common. Although these values and ends are subjective, the influence of behaviour and its integration enables the society to operate as a system.

Though the direct impact of religion remains healthy, elevating and socializing, its indirect effect may be dysfunctional for the society. In Europe, religion hindered the growth of science and inquiry till decline of the organized church in the 19th century. The superstitious superstructure that developed successively, caused immense harm to the society at all levels. Religion inhibits protests and impedes social changes. Religion has resulted in wars, devastations and genocides. While fulfilling the identity function of religion, certain loyalties arise which may actually impede the development of new identities that are more appropriate to new situations.

3.7 SUMMARY

- The word caste has been defined from the Portuguese word *Casta*, which means race, breed or kind.
- The Indologists have viewed caste from the scriptural point of view and believe that the ancient Hindu scriptures have given birth to the concept of caste. They maintain that the varnas have originated from Brahma—the *Virat Purusha* (the Great Man)—and castes are units within the varna system, which have developed as a result of hypergamy and hypogamy.
- Though a number of theories explaining the origin of caste in India have been propounded, no one of them has managed to explain it properly.

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Check Your Progress

11. Define religion.
12. State the dysfunctions of religion.

NOTES

- Caste has never been static. The caste system has been changing continuously and has always undergone adaptive changes. Though the pace of change might have been slow earlier, in the post-independence period the changes have occurred rapidly.
- Modern liberal education introduced by the British has played a crucial role in undermining the importance of caste in Indian society. Modern education is accessible to all irrespective of one's caste or community.
- Class is one of the most important bases of social stratification. Classes are groups of people into which a society is divided. These groups are ranked on the basis of specific criteria.
- The caste system is based on the principle of inherited inequalities. On the other hand, the class system is based on the principle of equal opportunities. Both are important systems of social stratification but represent two opposite poles.
- The family is the most important primary group in society. It is often called the basic social institution because of its important functions of procreation and socialization. Robert Bierstedt is of the opinion that 'the family, almost without question, is the most important of any of the groups that human experience offers.
- The biological needs of an individual are satisfied in the family. Thus, it is a very important function of the family. Firstly, the family institutionalizes the need of sex satisfaction through marriage.
- Monogamy is a system of marriage in which one man marries one woman. In almost all the modern societies, marriages are monogamous and such families are known as monogamous families.
- In nuclear families, the members comprise the husband, wife and their children. This type of family has become more common with the advent of industrialization and urbanization, which has forced people to move out to new urban centers and seek employment.
- The joint family system can be seen across societies in various forms of extended families. However, it is more prevalent in India and has certain peculiar Indian characteristics.
- In the Hindu society in India, the joint family, the caste system and the village system are considered as the three pillars on which the social edifice is built. It is a very old system and is regarded by the Hindus as a sacred institution having been derived from religion.
- Members of a joint family identify themselves strongly with their family obligations. They discharge their duties towards the family diligently and the family, in turn, protects their interests.
- The institution of joint family has started undergoing change and is moving towards disintegration. This is primarily the result of the forces of modernization, which is transforming Indian society.
- The joint family system has faced serious challenges from progressive social legislations enacted during the British Rule and after independence. Legislations like The Civil Marriage Act, 1872; The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 and The Hindu Succession Act, 1956 have eroded the pre-dominant position of the joint family system in the Indian society.

- In order to ensure the purity and maintain the distinctive identity of different groups in society, Hindu law-makers have stipulated detailed rules and regulations governing the choice of a partner for the union of marriage.
- The institution of marriage is another issue on which tribal people throughout the world have been much maligned. Indian tribes, like their counterparts in other parts of the world, practice several forms of marriage as a matter of convenience and social acclimatization in their respective cultural and ecological settings.
- The tribes of India differ from each other in the manner in which mate selection is carried out. On one hand, society prohibits sexual liaisons or matrimonial alliances between particular kin or in the same clan or *gotra*, but on the other hand it encourages matrimonial alliances between certain other kins.
- Dower comprises of money or property which the wife gets from her husband when she marries him. As per Muslim law, dower is the obligation which is imposed on the husband as a mark of respect to his wife.
- The Christian society is stratified into Protestants and Catholics. The Catholics are further divided into Latin Catholics and Syrian Catholics. These groups are generally endogamous and do not marry intra-group. In Christianity, religion plays a predominant role in marital unions.
- Despite the changing rules of marriage, divorce and live-in relationships, the institution of marriage still occupies an important place in the hearts and minds of people in India.
- In every society, a male at some time in his life, plays the roles of a husband, a father and a son and a brother in some family; and a female plays the roles of a wife, a mother and a daughter and a sister.
- A kin group is group united by ties of blood or marriage. Most kin groups, other than the family, are consanguineal.
- There are mainly four kinship categories: primary kin, secondary kin, tertiary kin, and distant kin.
- Next to family, kinship group plays a very crucial role in the daily life, rituals and social ceremonies of Hindus. People turn to their kin not only for help in exigencies of life but even on regular occasions too. The kinship group may consist of 4 to 5 families or as many as 20 to 35 families. The important kinship groups after the family are *vansh* (lineage) and *gotra* (clan).
- A man's relations with his feminal kin, *i.e.*, kin related through his mother, his married sisters, his wife and his married daughters, are equally important in his life. The exchange of gifts, periodic visits, reciprocal support in personal emergencies, and regular communication strengthen their relations with each other.
- Though kinship behaviour in the northern zone changes slightly from region to region and within each region from caste to caste, yet comparative study shows that it is possible to talk of an *ideal* northern pattern referring to practices and attitudes generally found to be common among the majority of castes.
- Religion is the expression of the manner and type of adjustment that is effected by people in terms of their conception of the supernatural.
- The early sociological studies of religion had three distinctive methodological characteristics, these were *evolutionist*, *positivist* and *psychological*.

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- Religion has various social functions. Religion is an agency of social control. It disciplines human behaviour in terms of sacred and profane. Performance of rituals and ceremonies gives a sense of collectivity to the society.

NOTES

3.8 KEY TERMS

- **Hypergamy:** It is the action of marrying a person of a superior caste or class.
- **Varna:** It is the all-India model of castes derived from the ancient Hindu scriptures.
- **Sapinda:** It refers to a person who is related to an individual by virtue of lineal descent.
- **Polygamy:** It is a system of marriage that permits the marriage of one man with more than one woman.
- **Progeny:** It is a descendant or the descendants of a person, animal, or plant.

3.9 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The essential characteristics of the Indian caste system are as follows:
 - Segmental division of society
 - Hierarchy of castes
 - Restrictions on commensality and social intercourse
 - Differential civil and religious privileges and disabilities
 - Restrictions on occupational choice
 - Restrictions on marriage
2. Sociologists have viewed caste from the stratificational point of view. They study caste in terms of social stratification in a society. They study it as a phenomenon of social inequality. According to them, society has certain structural aspects and it distributes its members in social positions.
3. The four classes of the agrarian class structure in post-independent India are as follows:
 - i. Landowners
 - ii. Tenants
 - iii. Labourers
 - iv. Non-agriculturists
4. Two essential features of a social class are as follows:
 - i. Class-a status group
 - ii. Universal
5. The distinctive features of family are as follows:
 - Emotional basis
 - Formative influence
 - Responsibility of the members
 - Social regulations
6. When descent is traced through the mother, we have the system known as the matrilineal system. Families that trace their descent through this system are known as matrilineal families.

7. A joint family, though a type of extended family, is an important social unit of Indian society. The joint family system can be seen across societies in various forms of extended families. In a joint family, at least, three generations of a family are seen residing together under one roof. However, it is more prevalent in India and has certain peculiar Indian characteristics.
8. The eight forms of Hindu marriage are as follows:
 - i. Brahma vivah
 - ii. Daiva vivah
 - iii. Arsha vivah
 - iv. Parjapatya vivah
 - v. Asura vivah
 - vi. Gandharva vivah
 - vii. Rakshasa vivah
 - viii. Paisacha vivah
9. There are mainly four kinship categories: primary kin, secondary kin, tertiary kin, and distant kin.
10. Muslims also have a system of temporary marriage, called *muta* marriage. This is a marriage settled by a man and a woman by mutual consent and without the intervention of kin. A man is permitted to contract *muta* marriage with a Muslim, a Jew or a Christian girl but a woman cannot contract such a marriage with a non-Muslim. A wife secured through *muta* marriage is known as *sigha*.
11. Religion is the expression of the manner and type of adjustment that is effected by people in terms of their conception of the supernatural.
12. The indirect effect of religion may be dysfunctional for the society. In Europe, religion hindered the growth of science and inquiry till decline of the organized church in the nineteenth century. The superstitious superstructure that developed successively caused immense harm to the society at all levels. Religion inhibits protests and impedes social changes. Religion has resulted in wars, devastations and genocides.

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3.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the changing nature of the caste system.
2. Mention the classification of social classes.
3. List the characteristics of family.
4. What are the functions of family?
5. State the characteristics of the joint family system.
6. Prepare a short note on the rules of mate selection as per the Hindu law.
7. Mention the important ways of mate selection among the tribes in India.
8. What is the importance of kinship?

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the various theories of caste.
2. 'Class is one of the most important bases of social stratification.' Explain the statement.
3. Differentiate between caste and class.
4. Describe the various types of family.
5. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the joint family system in India.
6. Analyse the changing nature of the joint family system in India.
7. Assess the recent changes that have taken place in the institution of marriage.
8. Discuss the categories of kinship.
9. Describe the features of kinship in different zones of India.
10. Assess the significance of religion in our daily lives.

3.11 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 RURAL POWER STRUCTURE

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Bases and Emerging Pattern of Rural Leadership
 - 4.2.1 Panchayati Raj and Other Programmes in Rural Areas
 - 4.2.2 Abolition of Zamindari System in India: A Passage for Vital Change
 - 4.2.3 Rural Industrialization and Change in Rural Leadership
 - 4.2.4 New Emerging Patterns of Rural Leadership
 - 4.2.5 Role of Caste and Occupation in Rural Leadership
 - 4.2.6 Group Dynamics and Factors of Rural Leadership
- 4.3 Dominant Caste
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 Key Terms
- 4.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.7 Questions and Exercises
- 4.8 Further Reading

NOTES

4.0 INTRODUCTION

India is the largest democratic country in the world today with more than 1.22 billion population as per the Census data of 2011. In developing countries like India, where majority of its population lives in rural areas and is dependent upon agriculture for its livelihood and where problems like poverty, unemployment, social and economic inequality exists more noticeably in the countryside, the role of public development administration in rural transformation is vital. In India, rural transformation has been one of the most spectacular features during the post-independence period. The process generally implies the change for overall betterment of rural conditions.

One needs to examine critically the role of public administration in rural transformation. An attempt has been made to analyse the impact of state interventions particularly in rural setting. The issue which concern us are: to what extent has the implementation of rural development programmes transformed the rural agrarian structure, socio-economic conditions of rural masses for their overall betterment?

The process of rural transformation has been one of the most spectacular in India during the 'post-independence' period particularly in the last four decades. The process generally implies the changes for overall betterment of the rural condition—development and improvement of economic life in villagers as considered by the economists and other scholars belonging to different disciplines as well as of administrators of the country. Majority of rural population in India is still living under the poverty line. The rural folk are mainly engaged in agriculture and other allied and backward sectors due to lack of adequate infrastructure (i.e. water supply, management, fertilizers, pesticides and so forth) and socio-economic prerequisites. Physical and social constraints have also affected the agricultural development to a large extent. What should be the appropriate level of development and how the implementation of developmental measures can be initiated to obtain the desired goal of rural transformation? Several such questions do arise for the planner of the present day.

In this unit, you will study about the bases and emerging patterns of rural leadership and the concept of dominant caste.

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4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the role of state in rural development
- Explain issues related to rural leadership and its effects on rural society
- Describe status of rural leadership within rural framework in India
- Analyse the role of caste and occupation in rural leadership
- Interpret the role of group dynamics in rural leadership
- Define the concept of 'dominant caste'
- Assess the criticisms raised against the concept of 'dominant caste'

4.2 BASES AND EMERGING PATTERN OF RURAL LEADERSHIP

It is rightly said 'India lives in its villages'. More than 70 per cent population lives in rural area. There is more pressure on land, with reference to employment. At present, over fifty per cent of the people in rural areas live below the poverty line.

In developing countries like India, where majority of the population lives in rural areas and is dependent on agriculture for its livelihood and where problems like poverty, unemployment, social and economic inequality exist more pronouncedly in the countryside, the role of public development administration in rural transformation is vital. In India, rural transformation has been one of the most spectacular features during the post independence period. The process generally implies a change for the overall betterment of rural conditions.

Rural leadership creates a very strong link between the policy makers, government administration and the society, as well the rural masses. Many researches were aimed at identifying new and emerging leadership trends in the rural Indian society. Sociologists have examined the impact and influence of a few selected social, educational and cultural developments in area of rural leadership.

There are several projects and programmes being operated by the government, to evaluate the effect of a leadership training programmes in many Indian states, with the help of state governments, Department of Panchayati Raj, attitude of the village people towards female leadership, and effectiveness of female leadership in rural areas and decision-making. These programmes seek to design and evaluate additional negotiation training module to further empower female leadership and equip new leaders by strengthening their working efficiency for better leadership and improve the perception of women as good leaders.

The key objectives of these programmes are limited to the following aspects:

- Improvement process and quality of decision-making
- Efficiency in implementation of public programmes at the village level, including the quality and quantity of public goods provided and villagers' reported satisfaction with public programmes

- Creating a good image of women as leaders
- Better provision of goods preferred specifically by women
- Intervention at ground level

Development is an overall outcome of multiple factors promoting and encouraging change. It is, therefore, affected by the overall situation which exists wherever development is sought. In fact, if viewed with a broad (and perhaps more realistic) perspective, development administration does not include only those institutions which are working directly for it, rather Regulatory Administration, Management for Infrastructure Institution and Agriculture Administration are also integral parts of it. Relatively, the authoritative functioning of the *Patwari* and the police, have been relatively less successful in the field of electrification, transportation and communication, mutual trust and distrust relationship between the cooperative agriculture and administration functionaries and the people itself is a matter of concern in the field of development administration. During the 1950s and 1960s, development administration was influenced by the early theoretical approaches to development. Administrators believed that:

- Development was desirable
- Development could be planned, directed and controlled by public agencies
- Poverty could be eliminated by improving the quality of public goods and services
- Obstacles to development could be overcome

Development and administration were primarily viewed as economic, with little concern for equitable distribution of social benefits.

Today, development administration is less bound to Western approaches of development. The focus is an indigenous development that is sustainable and that meets the basic needs of the people. During the British rule in India, the system of administration was involved in keeping up with needs of the rules. However, it did not take the needs of development administration into consideration, with the results that it could not be established as an agent of socio-economic change. With the advent of independence, when the nature and size of bureaucracy underwent a noticeable turn, the massive onus of development which was so far convened merely with non-development duties like maintaining law and order or collecting revenues from the people. While viewing the problem from this angle, one wonders whether a colonial system of administration, which came into existence for the purpose of carrying out non-development work, was capable of shouldering the responsibility of organizing and executing various programmes connected with development of rural leadership and projects by imbibing the spirit of democratic values and mobilization.

Change in Castes, Ethnic Group and Major Occupation

One of the important elements of the Indian social structure is the caste system. This system has also put restrictions on inter caste marriages and performances of religious sacraments and deeds have been defined into terms of the castes system. One of the important features of the caste system in traditional India has been its close association with occupation. Occupations have been categorized as pure and impure and these have been hierarchically grouped.

The information on castes, ethnic groups and major occupations reveals that an overwhelming majority, if respondent and belonging to different castes, is associate with

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agricultural activities which occupy a predominant place in the agrarian economy of the region where the last study was carried out.

As a result of the green revolution in the area, the scheduled castes and other backward castes no more work for their landowner masters on payment in kind. This is due to the introduction of the green revolution as the traditional *Jajmani* system is on decline.

The striking feature of information on castes, ethnic groups and major occupations indicates that the majority of respondents are concerned with agricultural operations, one way or the other, while respondents concerned with service, carpentry, tailoring, and so forth are the lowest in number. The joint family system has been a very common feature in the rural society of India. In recent decades, the phenomena of modernization and urbanization have brought out many changes in the social scene. The rapid growth of population has put unbearable strain on the agricultural sector, the main source of sustenance for the rural masses. In turn, it has also caused disintegration of the joint family system.

State Intervention and Rural Transformation

Rural development has acquired special significance in countries of the Third World. The developing countries have been faced with the task of transforming a traditional society with low levels of literacy, political experience and production. These countries have experienced various developmental plans and strategies to restructure and transform the traditional social structure, in conformity with particular politico-economic goals. India, after independence, has launched vast programmes of planned changes encompassing social, economic and political processes. Among the programmes of rural research-construction, the Community development and Panchayati Raj Institutions have achieved special impetus.

The main focus of many researchers was to see the extent to which the state as an institution has been able to influence and alter the traditional social structure of the village community and has led to the emergence of a new pattern of economic and political relationship among different groups in the society. For socio-economic uplift of Indian villages, the Union and State governments have launched a number of programmes and projects since 1947. Since independence, the states in India have played a vital role in the process of rural transformation.

In this respect, various Community Development Programmes were launched in India in 1952. The blocks came to be established as units of development administration. The national extension service was established soon thereafter, with a view of reinforcing the administrative service to tackle the problems of development and growth. There started a research for alternative programmes of rural development. The ever growing need for more food from rapidly growing population introduced the adaptation of intensive Agricultural Development programmes, high yielding variety programmes and multiple cropping programmes for increasing the production of food grains.

A large number of programmes were introduced in the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1966-67), which includes adaptation of the target group programmes like Small Farmer Development Agency, Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labours Development Agency, Annyodaya and Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas. Besides, certain area development programmes like tribal area development programmes, whole village development programmes and so forth have also been launched.

Several such schemes have been introduced in the consecutively launched Five-Year Plans. A number of schemes for rural development have been launched in the Twelfth Five-Year Plan as well; namely, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), National Rural Livelihoods Mission (NRLM), Integrated Watershed Development Programme (IWDP), Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY), National Rural Drinking Water Programme (NRDWP) and others.

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4.2.1 Panchayati Raj and Other Programmes in Rural Areas

With the introduction of Panchayati Raj and other programmes of rural reconstruction, both, social and political structure in contemporary India, are passing through a period of transition. Simultaneously, other trends like representation of elected people in various organizations, rising pressure for the distribution of economic benefits and facilities, close interaction between processes of economic and political development and emergence of a new class of power elites in the society have led to a shift in the rural social structure. These have very much influenced the whole process of change. This is to identify the agricultural work and to understand the nature and extent of social change.

Developmental programmes have been assigned to Panchayati Raj institutions. Since these institutions consist of elected members, decisions regarding development scheme and allocation of funds are taken democratically. The amount of resources being channeled through these institutions in the recent years is enormous. There is intense competition among various groups and individuals to extract maximum resource allocation after having been elected. Elections of these bodies have also been contested quite intensely with a view to get control over them. Factionalism, personnel bickering and rivalries have been reported on the basis of castes class and class based loyalties.

The 73rd and 74th amendments to the Constitution have been welcomed as focussing on the political structure, rural leadership and process of rural India, their significance for the vulnerable and weaker sections of the rural society and their participation in the operation of this structure. Women being one of these vulnerable sections in the local government process have come under considerable scrutiny.

Facilities for all methods of family planning are available on a wider scale and at all levels of the health centres and hospitals of rural areas. Apart from sterilization, non-terminal methods like IUD, CC and oral pills are popularized, since a large number of young couples are giving preference to these methods. (Sixth Five Year plan, 1981-376).

Though, apparently, only developmental role has been assigned to the Panchayati Raj, but its social consequences have been such that one cannot afford to ignore their analysis. It is, thus, to examine as to what extent, process of development has been able to transform the traditional social structure, including the transfer of leadership. Since both the processes, namely, development and political awakening, are simultaneously operating, they are of crucial importance to analyse the social background of those groups and individuals that have been associated with these proceeds.

4.2.2 Abolition of Zamindari System in India: A Passage for Vital Change

Indian agriculture, at the time of independence, was predominantly feudal in character. Before independence, the system of land tenure in the district was based on zamindari, which had given zamindars the judicial right to landownership. Zamindars, who were mostly from the upper castes were alone owners of the properties of land. All others

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were their tenants, holding the right to cultivate and paying rent to them. After independence, the zamindari Abolition Act abolished the right of intermediate level of the village land and gave proprietary right to the actual tiller of the land. The abolition of zamindari, however, was not very successful in terms of abolishing the huge differences in the landownership amongst the land-owning and non land-owning castes. Zamindari abolition and the subsequent land reforms were no doubt radical steps to transform the traditional social structure, but they could not bring much change in the existing situation. The enforcement of land reforms legislation enacted by the state government after independence resulted in distribution of land among landless *Harijans* and weaker sections of the society. Thus, abolition of the zamindari system in India has taken power from the upper class of the rural area. It played a vital role for bringing in changes in rural leadership traditions. The nature of landownership and social relations contingent on it has undergone substantial changes during the last sixty years.

4.2.3 Rural Industrialization and Change in Rural Leadership

Industrialization has played a significant role in the development of rural areas in India. The concept of rural industrialization is a process of development of an area and also of participation by area factors and agents of growth of industries. The village and small sector industries consist of traditional village industries like Khadi, handlooms, handicrafts, modern small scale industries and power looms. While traditional industries are generally artisan-based, they are located mostly in the rural areas and mostly provide part-time employment.

Rural industrialization cannot be regarded as a strategic substitute for other critically missing elements of the development process. It cannot replace the need for various kinds of agrarian institutional reforms, in favour of the rural poor and it cannot offset the implication of an impact of unsatisfactory performance in main sectors of the economy.

In recent economic literature and economic thinking, industrialization has been considered as a key to rapid economic development. It offers the prospect of a growing availability of many factored goods, increased employment opportunities, improved balance of payments position and greater efficiency and modernization throughout the economy. Industrialization is characterized by technological innovation and improvement in technical skills that led to higher productivity. Rural industries provide additional employment opportunities, raise production and improve economic condition in rural areas. They are labour intensive. They provide additional employment to men and women. They ensure decentralization of economic power at the hands of few specific classes of the rural society and elimination of monopolistic exploitation of the weaker sections.

4.2.4 New Emerging Patterns of Rural Leadership

The study of leadership has acquired considerable theoretical and methodological sophistication, compared to days when it was believed that leaders were born with particular traits and attributes. Now, leadership is viewed in the social and cultural context, in which it appears. Rightly, leadership is regarded as a function of the group of situation. Many significant contributions towards emergence and strengthening of this trend have come from sociology and anthropology.

Leadership, which is built of multi variant factors, while aiming to accomplish the group or community goals, has become an important element within the social system in which it is operating. Changes within a system naturally demand a change in structural elements like leadership. Leadership is an important function of a community's social

structure in terms of controlling and influencing the behaviour of others in the community. In the changing social structure from the traditional to the modern order, leadership is also prone to change.

Rural leadership plays an important role in moulding the social, political and economic life of a village community. Change within the system will naturally necessitate a change in the structural elements of leadership. In the international concept, the role of leadership in community involvement in action programmes is also a responsible dynamic aspect of the community. As the social relationship depends upon the type of structure of a village, it is related to village social structure.

Social structure has been considered as an arrangement of the relation of parts to the whole, in an ordered way to represent the distributive pattern over the network of inter-personal relationship. Leadership, therefore, depends upon the type of social structure of the community. In a changing village structure, the leadership may constitute a traditional modern continuum.

For a better study of the problem, it will be appropriate to make an analysis of the existing knowledge available on leadership. Rose and Hennery, while revealing researches on leadership have drawn attention to three theories of leadership (i) Trait or the great men theory (ii) leadership as a function of the group (iii) leadership as a function of the situation, in which the group is placed. For proper understanding of the subject, it has been considered important to consider all three aspects of leadership. Since, a group consists of individual members; individual personality traits make different contributions by each member of the group.

It cannot be denied that to perform the function of leadership, an individual must exhibit, as part of the personality and character, some qualities which distinguish him from other members of the group. However, leadership is regarded as a desired activity and it has been also considered as a relation between an individual and a group, built around some common interests and behaviour as directed or determined by the leader.

A leader occupies a special status in the group. He is considered to be a central figure by all group members who find in him qualities which can help members of the group to achieve the desired goals. Leadership aims at maintaining integration and continuity of the group structure. The problem highlighted by this study:

- (a) Leadership is the property of the group and
- (b) As the group structure changes, leadership would also change

In the traditional village social structure, there are certain aspects which may be considered as important for leadership, viz., sex, age, inheritance and caste. Due to the patriarchal society, leadership in north-Indian villages has been the privilege of only males. In a joint family setting, the head of the family occupies an established position, by virtue of being senior in age and more experienced than other members of the family. In addition, the headmen of the village typified the hereditary character of power which carried forward from father to the son.

4.2.5 Role of Caste and Occupation in Rural Leadership

Caste and occupation in traditional Indian villages are close to each other. Thus, caste and occupation stratification in the village structure provided leadership position, which is occupied mostly by those who enjoy a higher rank in the caste and occupational hierarchies. However, in north Indian villages, leadership based on religion and clientele system, has also been considered traditional in nature. Leadership plays an important

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role in forming political classes and class. Voting in the rural area is simply filled into the prevailing system.

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Politics has got involved in traditional leadership. It is the caste system, which made available to the leadership structure, an ideological base for political mobilization, providing it both, a segmental organization and an identifiable system on which support could be crystallized. This leadership was forced to make concession to local opinion, articulate potential competition on traditional lines and in turn, organize castes for economic and political purposes. Three aspects of caste consist of caste councils, arbitration procedures and so on. There is the integration aspect in which the caste system not only determines the individuals' social status on the basis of the group into which he is born, but also differentiates and assigns occupational and economic rules. It, thus, gives a place to every individual from the highest to the lowest and makes for a high degree of identification and integration.

The power elites of different castes are dominant figures in the politics of village Panchayat and political parties. Political bosses are the mainstream of agrarian lobbies and other pressure groups, like the traditional village panchayat, castes association, peasant organization and so forth. If a social structure is based on caste, political parties cannot ignore this social reality. Leadership has become an unavoidable fact of human beings. Everyone is involved in some way in some kind of political system. Even in the rural society today, leadership plays a vital role in forming various pressure groups and peasant unions.

Caste in India has been employed as a factor for achieving political power. The contexts of leadership in India are determined by the caste structure. Political parties cannot ignore this social contempt. Since leadership protects caste intersects, caste factors in leadership have been solidified, irrespective if there are growing confrontations and competitive roles. Leadership has become a reflection of caste and religion loyalties. The role of caste is not confined to elections alone; it is extended to the actual operation of the state apparatus. The penetration of caste in leadership has made the state apparatus biased in favour of some castes and against others. The role of caste in Indian leadership has distorted the processes of secularization in the country and it has made the state apparatus biased in favour of the cases which dominate the social structure.

Caste is employed to play an ideological role in leadership to legitimate capitalistic exploitation. The democratic political process in India is linked with the building of capitalism and the conflicts, generated by the capitalistic path of development, are diverted towards caste confrontation. Caste is projected as a reality of Indian society by the ideologues of capitalism and the exploited peasants and workers are divided through caste conflicts. The tyranny of the rich peasants over their landless agricultural labours is explained away as a caste phenomenon. Landowners belonging to the upper and middle castes employ the state apparatus to extract surplus value by oppressing landless agricultural labourers and exploitative agrarian relations are defended with the help of state functionaries. The basic activity of social exploitation is undertaken by the rural rich, by means of caste factors in leadership.

4.2.6 Group Dynamics and Factors of Rural Leadership

Group dynamics is that division of social psychology which investigates the formation and change in structure and functions of psychological groups. In a practical sense, it is also conceived as a technique of fostering conciliation between individuals and groups regarding important issues and practices. In some villages it has been seen that there are

no village leaders, but leaders of small groups or functions based on caste, kinship and inter village connections. Mr. Oscar Lewis (1954; 3-6) while studying village leaders in an Indian village found that there were not village wise leaders but leaders of factions. He observed, 'leadership in village Rampur is limited to faction leadership and is primarily of a protective and defensive nature, in which each faction or combination of factions defend their family interests.

The factions were generally known by the names of their leaders. These were organized along caste lines and were distributed as follows. The Jat factions were by far the most powerful and dominant in the political life of villages. Due to a small number and economic dependence of most of the lower castes, they did not have the strength to act as independent factions. They were no political groupings, nor temporary alliances of individuals to fight court cases, although some of them taken on political faction became involved in power politics. Rather, they were primarily kinship groupings which carry on important social, economic and ceremonial functions in addition to their factional struggle against one another. The inter faction relations of both, Jats and non-Jats extended across village lines.

The community, in the sense of a cohesive and united community, hardly exists and caste and kinship still form the core of social organization. Village wise leadership does not exist and the idea of positive and constructive leadership in the public interest is now only gradually beginning. There was the advantage that the leadership was spread out rather than concentrated, so village level worker could reach the faction leader of constructive work in the village. To ignore these factions, or just as bad, to admit that they exist and then forget about them would help to perpetuate them rather eliminate them. Therefore, in such villages, for constructive programmes the officials should approach through faction leaders, instead through village headmen or Pradhan. The organization of leadership on a faction base provided for a much closer representation of people than is possible in the more sophisticated and monolithic type of political democracy of some western nations, based on delegated authorities. In view of this, it may be desirable to build upon the present faction organization, a sense of wider community localities. However, it has been pointed out that village panchayats are working successfully in some villages.

As a consequence of the two world wars, urbanization and industrialization, the traditional village social order has undergone many changes. The joint family social system is being replaced by nuclear units and as a result, younger generations are assuming more responsibilities. The spread of female education has given more opportunities to women to take up important positions in village social life. The caste system now tends to shift to the class system as a result of better and newer occupational opportunities.

Political freedom further hastened the process of change. Every individual now has certain fundamental rights, such as freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of association and opportunities to his economic position, irrespective of age, sex, caste and creed. In this respect, the pattern of rural leadership is changing.

The community development programmes launched in October 1952 further accelerated the process of change. These programmes which are a part of the process of modernization taking place in Indian villages, have had their influence of institutions like the cooperative society, the panchayat and the village school, besides helping to improve agricultural production. The programmes aimed at stimulating local efforts,

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initiative and leadership among the village community. This leadership is to be developed through democratic methods, based on group consensus in decision-making, without any limitation of age, caste, sex or class and open to achievement. A favourable attitude to the extent of participation in village development activities will also determine the modern orientation of a leader. The means that preferred the leader to induce in community participation for development activities are also a measure of the traditional modern dimensions of leadership.

Although as a result of development factors; economy, land reforms, irrigation facilities, electricity, improved communication and mass media, the traditional village social structure is undergoing a change, a modern social order is yet to emerge. To the extent the Indian village is traditional; leadership would continue to be on the traditional pattern. However, since change is moving towards modernism, leadership too would move in the direction of modernity. Traditional and modern leadership is not mutually exclusive of age, sex, caste or class, for traditional. Irrespective of whether a leader achieves his leadership position through heredity or achievement, the extent he desires to change the village social structure from traditional to modern order will be an important measure of modern leadership.

With reference to rural leadership and its emerging pattern, voluntary organizations have an important role. Voluntary organizations are autonomous and flexible. They are initiated by a group of like-minded people to change and transform the socio-economic life of people, especially the weaker sections. The essential feature of voluntary organization is initiated not only to solve problems but to prevent the occurrence of problems.

A voluntary organization includes a wide range of activities like construction and maintenance of educational institutions, hospitals, inns, roads and so forth providing jobs to the needy and various economic development programmes and community services. It has an administrative structure and a duly constituted managing committee. It is an organization initiated and governed by its own members on democratic principles without any external control.

There are various voluntary organizations whose main functions have been to provide relief as well as help when the local people get affected by flood, fires, epidemic, cyclones, earthquakes and other natural calamities. In this respect, it is the responsibility of the leader of such an organization to get resources from the state and central government. Navyuvak Mangal Dal and Ramleela Samiti, as voluntary organizations, are functioning to perform rural transformation.

Efforts are also on to introduce elements of integrated rural development of concerned communities at local levels. In the colonial Indian period, agrarian structure was headed by a class of intermediate level who oppressed and exploited the mass of peasantry. There was neither security of tenancy nor alternative livelihood. Therefore, peasants showed their powerful urges in the form of movements to transform the agrarian structure. Later on they were organized by political parties and people like Baba Ramchandra and Swami Sahajanand. They took interest in rural leadership and rural development. After the green revolution, when the Indian agrarian society entered a phase of rapid capitalistic transformation of agriculture, the peasant movement, led by rich peasants was mainly launched for either infrastructural facilities or monetary demands, or for support prices of agricultural products. The other major area of peasant organization leadership demanded lowering down of the cost of production. This required subsidized rates of canal irrigation, electricity, fertilizers and so forth.

Role of Information Technology in Rural Leadership

It is observed that rural leadership has great significance in the transformation of social, political and economic lives of rural people. It is an important function of community and social structure, in terms of controlling and influencing the growth behaviour of others in a community. While changing the social structure, leadership is also prone to change. Leadership depends on the types of social structures of the village community. The significance of social structure is an important factor to determine the acceptability of the village people to social change and development. In a traditional village social society, certain aspects such as sex, caste and inheritance have special significance. Social rank is conferred on the basis of age, physical strength, occupation or income. In Indian villages, leaders are found in various contexts such as caste, faction lineage and territorial groups. The institutions perpetuating the social life of the village community altered the pattern of social interaction to a great extent. This resulted in changing the role structure of members of the community. The relations got patterned on the basis of new roles. In the light of the above, a shift in the role structure of the leader, as a result of change in other elements of the community social system, would alter the pattern of leadership within that system.

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4.3 DOMINANT CASTE

The concept of 'dominant caste' was propounded by Prof. M. N. Srinivas. It first appeared in his essay on the social system of a Mysore village. This was so perhaps because Professor Srinivas was unconsciously influenced by African studies on the dominant clan and dominant lineage. Srinivas developed the concept in his study on Rampura village which is not far away from Mysore city in Karnataka state. Srinivas, in fact, wanted to do a comprehensive study on Rampura and he went to Stanford for writing a monograph on Rampura. But all the three copies of his field work notes, which were processed over a period of eighteen years, were destroyed in his Stanford office. Later on, he published *Remembered Village* in 1976 which talked about Rampura.

The definition of 'dominant caste' has undergone some change over a period of time. Srinivas worked in Rampura in 1948. His finding was first reported in 1955. He defined the concept as under:

'The concept of dominant caste which has emerged in recent sociological research is important in this connection. A caste is dominant when yields economic and political power and occupies a fairly high position in hierarchy (even in the traditional system of a caste which acquired economic and political power did succeed in improving its ritual status).'

Srinivas says that the existence of dominant caste is not in particular to Rampura only. It is found in other villages of the country also. For instance, in Mysore villages, Lingayat and Dakkalanga in Andhra Pradesh, Reddy and Kamma in Tamil Nadu, Gounder, Padayach and Mudaliar in Kerala, Nayan in Maharashtra, Maratha in Gujrat, North India, Rajput, Jat, Gujjar and Ahir are dominant castes. Traditionally, small castes owing land in rural areas, on yielding political power or inheriting a literary tradition, were able to dominate the villages. Srinivas has provided historical reasons for the power exercised by the traditional higher castes. He says that the traditional high castes had influence because of western education and benefits which they conferred.

Check Your Progress

1. How is the caste system associated with occupation in India?
2. When were the Community Development Programmes launched in India and what was their main objective?

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It was in 1962 that M.N. Srinivas specified the following three characteristics of a dominant caste:

- (i) A caste dominates when it yields economic and political power.
- (ii) It has a high rank in caste hierarchy.
- (iii) Numerical strength.

The earlier definition of dominant caste was reviewed by writers of studies on several villages. Srinivas also looked into the field and the comments made by the others. In 1966, he reviewed his earlier definition which runs as under:

‘For 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.’

Characteristics

On the basis of the definitions of dominant caste given by Srinivas and the comments offered by other sociologists a concept could be made which includes the ideal type of dominant caste.

1. Economic and Political Power

The power of a particular caste lies in owning land. The caste which has larger portion of land in a village wields greater power. The size of the land is also related to irrigation. In case of larger landowning and adequate irrigation facilities, the yields will increase. Second, the larger landowning caste also provides jobs to the landless farmers and marginal farmers. Such a situation renders the superordinate landless labourers as the ‘servants’ of the large landowning caste. These castes also apply modern techniques of agriculture such as chemical manure, improved implements and new patterns of cropping.

Yogendra Singh (1994) observes that the social anthropologists have found the presence of dominant castes in most of the south Indian villages. The basic determinant of a dominant caste is the superior economic status, especially in land. In the south Indian villages, for instance, Brahmin and Okkaliga are dominant castes. ‘The Havik Brahmins in village Toltagadde in Malau area of Mysore and Smarth Brahmins in the Kumbapettai village in Tartjore (Tamilnadu) have been observed to be dominant castes. Okkaliga are dominant in the village Rampura, Wangala and Delana in Mysore.’

Putting his analysis of dominant castes, Yogendra Singh further observes:

‘An interesting common factor which plays a very significant role in the dominance of these castes in the villages is their superior economic status, especially in land. Brahmins in Toltagadde have ownership of all cash crop lands; Kumbapettai Brahmins traditionally controlled all lands; Okkaligas in Wangala; and Delanas control more than 80 per cent of land; Rajputs in Senapur, eastern UP control 82 per cent of land in the village; and the Vaghela Rajputs in Cassandra village in Gujarat have control over all the lands in the village. In all these villages the degree of dominance of these castes is high.’

Higher education is also accepted by the big landowning castes. Administrative and income generated in urban areas have also given economic power to these caste groups. Besides economic power, namely, agriculture and jobs in administration, the big landowning castes have increased their prestige and power because of their status in Panchayati Raj. Srinivas says that ‘the introduction of adult franchise and Panchayati Raj has resulted in giving a new sense of self-respect to the villagers’. Srinivas argues

that the economic and political power which has come into the hands of big landowning castes has, thus, enhanced their power status.

2. High rank in caste hierarchy

Normally, the caste which is traditionally the highest in the caste hierarchy enjoys the status of dominance. The Brahmins and the Rajputs have traditionally been dominant in the villages. The Brahmins are at the top of the caste hierarchy and they officiate or preside at the religious festivals and rituals of the village. The Rajputs have been the feudals—*Thakurs* in the village. They hold traditionally larger portions of the village land. The economic and political power, thus, in the village has given the dominant status to both the Brahmins and Rajputs.

Recently, the criterion, namely, economic and political power, has undergone a change. The reservations made for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women have given a new attribute to the concept of dominant caste. As a result of this provision, power has passed into the hands of numerically large peasants who own land. Some of the scheduled castes, who are large in number and who are educated and avail other opportunities available to them, have also gained economic and political power. The high rank in the caste hierarchy is in favour of those castes which have benefited from their reserved status. Today, the traditional higher status in the hierarchy is no longer an attribute of a dominant caste.

3. Numerical strength

Before the advent of modernization and development, numerical strength had no power of the dominance in a caste. It is only recently that a numerical strength of a caste has assumed importance because of the vote bank created by adult suffrage. The castes which have large number of voters, naturally, determine the fate of a candidate contesting elections. What is called these days as ‘caste-war’ is actually the importance of a caste to determine the fate of a candidate.

Today, a caste is dominant not only in single village but extends to a cluster of villages. A caste group which has only a family or two in a particular village but which has decisive dominance in the wider region, will be dominant and important locally because of the ties which binds it to its dominant and main relatives. It is equally important that other people in the village are aware of the existence of this network. On the contrary, a caste which is dominant in a single village will find that it has to reckon with other caste that has regional dominance.

4. A sizeable amount of the arable land

Normally, in India’s villages, smaller number of big landowners occupy larger portion of land. In other words, the caste which has larger portion of village land wields power. The big landowners, thus, are patrons of the bulk of the poor villagers. In villages, those castes which have larger portion of land enjoy power and prestige. Srinivas says that landownership is a crucial factor in establishing dominance. He observes:

‘Landownership confers not only power but prestige, so much so that, individuals who have made good in any walk of life tend to invest in land. If landownership is not always an indispensable passport to high rank, it certainly facilitates upward mobility.’

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Criticism

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The decades of 1950s and 1960s in the field of rural sociology witnessed a keen competition between those who preferred Redfield's approach to village studies and those who preferred Radcliffe-Brown's analysis of functional analysis. Despite differences in their approach, both the camps focused on culture. Later on, Louis Dumont stressed the importance of culture and caste as determining variables in the study of Indian civilization as a whole.

The concept of 'dominant caste', it is argued, has emerged out of the African studies on dominant class. When Srinivas put forward the concept of dominant caste, it was seriously commented upon by sociologists and social anthropologists. As a matter of fact, during the 1950s and 1960s, the academic environment in the country, in rural sociology and social anthropology, was charged by studies on caste and village communities. Some of the criticisms of the concept have relevance even today in our understanding of rural society. These criticisms are discussed in the subsequent section.

• *Dominant caste today is found only in traditional villages*

Srinivas has argued that a dominant caste has most of the power in the village within its fold. In fact, it is the dominant caste which runs the village and maintains the village system.

The empirical reality today has undergone vast transformation. Surely, in the past, the powerful families in the village were the big landowning families. The Brahmins and the Rajputs, in the earlier periods of history, got immense favour from the feudal lords and the British rulers. In order to keep these higher castes in favour of the ruling group land was given as gift. Those who received such favours included Brahmins, Rajputs and the Marathas. Viewed from this perspective admittedly, the Brahmins and the Rajputs became big landowning castes.

But, with the land reforms including land ceiling and abolition of zamindari and zagirdari, big landowning has ceased to be a determinant factor of dominant caste. In place of big landholding, political power has become a decisive factor in the formation of a dominant caste. Andre Beteille very rightly observes:

'The powerful families in the past were the big landowning families. These included the principal Brahmin families among non-Brahmins, the Maratha family. Today, political power whether in the village or outside is not as closely tied to ownership of land as it was in the past. New bases of power have emerged which are, to some extent, independent of both caste and class. Perhaps most important among these is the strength of numerical support.'

D.N. Majumdar, anthropologist, who conducted a study on Monana village of Uttar Pradesh in 1958, observes that the Brahmin and the Thakur were the dominant castes in Mohana. But, at a later stage, he finds that the dominance of the Thakur group has begun to be shaken up, ever since the legal removal of its economic pillar—the zamindari system—which was the strong medium through which it held the various other castes in a position of economic subordination. But Majumdar also finds that with the abolition of zamindari, much of the economic power of the Thakur is retained. He says that 'with their wide money-lending business they still are a powerful group.'

If economic power is considered to be an important factor for the formation of a dominant caste, it is only limited to the traditional villages, such as, that of tribals which have not received the impact of modern political transformation.

• ***Dominant caste is not always numerically a preponderant caste***

Yet another criticism of dominant caste falls into two camps. One camp of scholars argues that in traditional villages it is not the numerical strength but secular power and ritual status that determine the status of a dominant caste. Among those who stand for this argument include D.N. Majumdar and others. However, the second group consisting of Andre Beteille, M.N. Srinivas and Yogendra Singh has advanced the idea of ritual and secular status of a caste as dominant. This group asserts on an empirical evidence that nowadays 'with the coming of adult suffrage, numerical strength has become very important and the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have assumed a greater importance'.

Majumdar does not consider numerical strength as a decisive factor in the formation of a dominant caste. Historically 'Indian villages probably never exercised majority rule or accepted majority verdict. The feudal India did not compromise with numerical strength. Besides, alone—Brahmin, a *sadhu*, a *zaamindar*, a social worker—each has exercised more influence than a numerically preponderant community in the village'. Majumdar denies the idea that scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, though having numerical strength may occupy a status of dominant caste. According to him, 'the backward classes, scheduled castes preponderate in many villages, even a particular caste like the *Lodha* or the *Pasi* may be numerically the largest caste in a village, but authority and importance may attach to the few upper castes families, or to the *zaamindar* family, i.e. the social matrix of Indian village'.

Thus, on one hand, it is argued that the numerical strength has ceased to be a factor in the making of a dominant caste while on the other hand, it is also held that the dominant caste is based on empirical strength. Modern forces of democracy and development including the improvement of the status of scheduled groups have gone a long way in making a group dominant in a village.

• ***Dominant caste is a part of structuralist approach***

Most of the criticism labelled against the dominant caste is that of theorists who oppose structuralist approach in the study of Indian society. Louis Dumont is the leader of this approach. M.N. Srinivas, while giving the concept of dominant caste, also follows the line of a structuralist. Srinivas stands for hierarchy, i.e., the opposition between pure and impure. He looks at the pure caste, namely, Brahmins and Rajputs as the higher castes in the caste hierarchy; he has taken upper caste view in the construction of dominant caste. This perspective of Srinivas has been criticized by Edmund Leach. In fact, Srinivas has overlooked the force of history when he writes:

'Historical data are neither as accurate nor as rich and detailed as the data collected by field anthropologists, and the study of certain existing processes in the past.'

The making of a dominant caste, thus, is highly empirical and does not take into consideration the forces of history. A cursory view of the contemporary rural India would immediately show that much of the relevance of dominant caste has fallen into erosion. As a matter of fact, there has been sea-change in the social reality of Indian villages that much cannot be comprehended with the help of this concept. The reservation given to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the intensification of democratization, and the introduction of Panchayati Raj through 73rd Amendment to the Indian Constitution have gone a long way in shrinking the influence of dominant caste. However, there are some politically dominant groups which have begun to exercise influence on the villagers.

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• **Village Unity**

Traditionally, it is argued that Indian villages all through its periods of history have maintained unity. There have been wars and attacks, ruling dynasties have come and gone, and neighbouring states have waged wars against one another, but there has not been any disturbance in the unity of the village, the collective consciousness among the villagers has been so strong that they have unbreakable ties among themselves which are manifested in the celebrations of village festivals, rituals and ceremonies. The *Panch Parmeshwar* has been the supreme body in the village life. A person is not shy of remaining imprisoned than to be punished by the village panchayat.

The traditional unity of village has been explored by social anthropologists. It is said that the fabric of village life consists of caste and kin groups. The ties of castes and kin have always divided the villages into numerous factions. Andre Beteille’s Sripuram is very clearly divided into the Brahmin households and the untouchables. Srinivas argues that caste and kin have created cracks in the village.

4.4 SUMMARY

- It is rightly said ‘India lives in its villages’. More than 70 per cent population lives in rural area. There is more pressure on land, with reference to employment. At present over fifty per cent of the people in rural areas live below the poverty line.
- Rural leadership creates a very strong link between the policy makers, government administration and the society, as well the rural masses.
- There are several projects and programmes being operated by the government, to evaluate the effect of a leadership training programmes in many Indian states, with the help of state governments, Department of Panchayati Raj, attitude of the village people towards female leadership, and effectiveness of female leadership in rural areas and decision-making.
- Development and administration were primarily viewed as economic, with little concern for equitable distribution of social benefits.
- One of the important elements of the Indian social structure is the caste system. This system has also put restrictions on inter caste marriages and performances of religious sacraments and deeds have been defined into terms of the castes system.
- Rural development has acquired special significance in countries of the Third World. The developing countries have been faced with the task of transforming a traditional society with low levels of literacy, political experience and production.
- With the introduction of Panchayati Raj and other programmes of rural reconstruction, both, social and political structure in contemporary India, are passing through a period of transition.
- Developmental programmes have been assigned to Panchayati Raj institutions. Since these institutions consist of elected members, decisions regarding development scheme and allocation of funds are taken democratically.
- Indian agriculture, at the time of independence, was predominantly feudal in character. Before independence, the system of land tenure in the district was based on zamindari, which had given zamindars the judicial right to landownership.

Check Your Progress

3. Who devised the concept of dominant caste?
4. List the three essential characteristics of a dominant caste as per Professor M. N. Srinivas.

- Industrialization has played a significant role in the development of rural areas in India. The concept of rural industrialization is a process of development of an area and also of participation by area factors and agents of growth of industries.
- The study of leadership has acquired considerable theoretical and methodological sophistication, compared to days when it was believed that leaders were born with particular traits and attributes.
- Social structure has been considered as an arrangement of the relation of parts to the whole, in an ordered way to represent the distributive pattern over the network of inter-personal relationship.
- Politics has got involved in traditional leadership. It is the caste system, which made available to the leadership structure, an ideological base for political mobilization, providing it both, a segmental organization and an identifiable system on which support could be crystallized.
- Caste in India has been employed as a factor for achieving political power. The contexts of leadership in India are determined by the caste structure. Political parties cannot ignore this social contempt.
- Group dynamics is that division of social psychology which investigates the formation and change in structure and functions of psychological groups.
- The community, in the sense of a cohesive and united community, hardly exists and caste and kinship still form the core of social organization. Village wise leadership does not exist and the idea of positive and constructive leadership in the public interest is now only gradually beginning.
- A voluntary organization includes a wide range of activities like construction and maintenance of educational institutions, hospitals, inns, roads and so forth are providing jobs to the needy and various economic development programmes and community services.
- There are various voluntary organizations whose main functions have been to provide relief as well as help when the local people get affected by flood, fires, epidemic, cyclones, earthquakes, other natural calamities.
- It is observed that rural leadership has great significance in the transformation of social, political and economic lives of rural people. It is an important function of community and social structure, in terms of controlling and influencing the growth behaviour of others in a community.
- The institutions perpetuating the social life of the village community altered the pattern of social interaction to a great extent. This resulted in changing the role structure of members of the community.
- The concept of 'dominant caste' was propounded by Professor M. N. Srinivas. It first appeared in his essay on the social system of a Mysore village. This was so perhaps because Professor Srinivas was unconsciously influenced by African studies on the dominant clan and dominant lineage.
- The definition of 'dominant caste' has undergone some change over a period of time. Srinivas worked in Rampura in 1948. His finding was first reported in 1955.

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- It was in 1962 that M.N. Srinivas specified the following three characteristics of a dominant caste:
 - i. A caste dominates when it yields economic and political power.
 - ii. It has a high rank in caste hierarchy.
 - iii. Numerical strength.
- Higher education is also accepted by the big landowning castes. Administrative and income generated in urban areas have also given economic power to these caste groups.
- Normally, in India's villages, smaller number of big landowners occupy larger portion of land. In other words, the caste which has larger portion of village land wields power. The big landowners, thus, are patrons of the bulk of the poor villagers.
- Most of the criticism labelled against the dominant caste is that of theorists who oppose structuralist approach in the study of Indian society. Louis Dumont is the leader of this approach.
- The traditional unity of village has been explored by social anthropologists. It is said that the fabric of village life consists of caste and kin groups. The ties of castes and kin have always divided the villages into numerous factions.

4.5 KEY TERMS

- **Factionalism:** It refers to arguments or disputes between two or more groups.
- **Feudalism:** It is the system of political organization which prevailed in Europe from the 9th to about the 15th centuries having as its basis the relation of lord to vassal.
- **Monograph:** It is a long, detailed scholarly piece of writing on a specific subject.

4.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. One of the important features of the caste system in traditional India has been its close association with occupation. Occupations have been categorized as pure and impure and these have been hierarchically grouped.
2. The Community Development Programmes were launched in India in 1952. The blocks came to be established as units of development administration.
3. The concept of 'dominant caste' was propounded by Prof. M. N. Srinivas. It first appeared in his essay on the social system of a Mysore village.
4. The three essential characteristics of a dominant caste as per Prof. M. N. Srinivas are as follows:
 - i. A caste dominates when it yields economic and political power.
 - ii. It has a high rank in caste hierarchy.
 - iii. Numerical strength.

4.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Name some of the rural development programmes launched during the Fourth Five-Year Plan.
2. How has the Panchayati Raj institutions contributed to the development of rural areas in India?
3. What are the new emerging patterns of rural leadership?
4. Write a short note on the role of caste and occupation in rural leadership.

Long-Answer Questions

1. 'Rural development has acquired special significance in countries of the Third World.' Explain the statement.
2. How has the abolition of the Zamindari system provided a passage for vital change?
3. 'Industrialization has played a significant role in the development of rural areas in India.' Discuss the statement.
4. Discuss the role of group dynamics in rural leadership.
5. Critically analyse the criticisms raised against the concept of 'dominant caste'.

4.8 FURTHER READING

- Atal, Y. 2006. *Changing Indian Society*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
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UNIT 5 PROBLEMS OF INDIAN SOCIETY

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Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Poverty
- 5.3 Gender Inequality
 - 5.3.1 Dowry
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5.0 INTRODUCTION

Even though India has made a place for itself as one of the fastest growing economies in the world yet it has not completely overcome the social maladies which plague its society. Poverty, gender inequality, human trafficking and communalism are some of the poignant issues confronting the Indian society. Being a part of the Indian society, it is impossible that you have not realized the disturbing inequality that exists between the rich and poor in India. The poor of our country are unfortunately trapped in the vicious circle of poverty. The existence of poverty may be attributed to a number of factors, but still it bears the semblance of a social problem that questions the very meaning of human life.

Although India has taken giant strides in the participation of women in the workforce, a lot more needs to be done. The bulk of working women in India either work in the agricultural sector or the unorganized sector. Both of these sectors do not provide adequate protection or benefits to women. The article published on September 24, 2013 in the new Women, Business and the Law 2014 report shows the number of legal barriers to women's economic participation dropped by half around the globe, but progress is uneven.

Human trafficking is another social problem in India. As per data released by the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), human trafficking numbers rose by almost 20 per cent in India in 2016 against the previous year. According to NCRB, there were 8,132 human trafficking cases last year against 6,877 in 2015, with the highest number of cases reported in West Bengal (44 per cent of cases), followed by Rajasthan (17 per cent).

Communalism is another social problem afflicting the Indian society. India was born in the aftermath of a communal massacre that claimed the lives of thousands of Hindus and Muslims. Even though secularism is one of the most cherished goals of our Constitution, the Indian history has been marked with several incidents of communal wars and violence.

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5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Interpret the concept of poverty
- Summarize the government policies and programmes undertaken to eradicate poverty in India
- List the problems of working women in India
- Analyse the concept of 'dowry'
- Discuss the legal framework established the world over for combating terrorism
- Define communalism
- State the factors affecting communalism

5.2 POVERTY

The Indian economy has been developing since 1950. The country has witnessed sustainable economic growth in the last six decades. The various sectors of the Indian economy have made modest to good progress. Out of these, there were also some noteworthy structural changes. A gradual shift was noticed and the Indian economy scaled from being an underdeveloped to a developing economy. It made a significant headway from poverty to prosperity. However, despite such remarkable economic developments, certain concerns continue to plague the Indian economy. One such feature happens to be the low per capita income. Per capita income in India is one of the lowest in the world. This indicates low economic welfare of the people and the prevalence of poverty in the country.

Humankind has been plagued by poverty for centuries. However, with the passage of time, numerous measures were implemented to alleviate poverty. One of the greatest achievements of the twentieth century has been the alleviation of poverty in many parts across the globe. Despite such economic success, some countries of Asia, Africa and South America are still poverty-stricken.

One third of the population of these developing countries still remains in abject poverty. It is a misfortune that India falls under this category. The problem of poverty is considered to be the biggest challenge to development planning in India.

Poverty can be defined as 'a state or condition in which a person or community lacks the financial resources and essentials to enjoy a minimum standard of life and well-being that's considered acceptable in society.'

Concept of Poverty

Mollie Orshansky, the developer of poverty measurements that are in use by the US government, says 'to be poor is to be deprived of those goods and services and pleasures which others around us take for granted.'

A socio-economic malady, poverty is one of the worst challenges facing India today. Poverty not only refers to an absence of necessities of material well-being, but also the denial of opportunities for living a tolerable life and enjoying a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-respect and respect for others. There are two types of

poverty. One is income poverty and the other is human poverty. Income poverty refers to the lack of necessities of material well-being. Human poverty refers to the denial of opportunity for living a tolerable life.

The definition of poverty is varied for most countries. Poverty in India has been referred to as that situation in which a person is unable to earn adequate income to buy the minimal means of subsistence. These include a satisfactory level of nutritional diet, minimum required clothing, housing and minimum level of health facilities such as clean water and so on. Poverty can be classified into two categories: absolute poverty and relative poverty.

- (i) **Absolute poverty:** Less prevalent in developed countries, absolute poverty is a state in which people do not have the minimum level of income deemed necessary for living in a civilized society. Absolute poverty refers to the percentage of populace living below the poverty line.
- (ii) **Relative poverty:** Relative poverty refers to the phenomenon when the income for consumption expenditure of a section of the society is distinctively below the average income level of the society. Relative poverty indicates that a group or class of people belonging to lower income group is poorer when compared to those belonging to higher income group. Since income is distributed unequally in almost all the countries—whether developed or undeveloped—relative poverty exists in every country.

The Meaning of Poverty Line

Poverty line is a level of personal income defining the state of poverty. This concept is very frequently used by economists to measure the extent of poverty in a country. In order to find out the extent of poverty and measure the number of poor people in the country, the economists use the concept of poverty line. Poverty line has been defined as a level of personal or family income below which one is classified as poor according to governmental standards. Poverty line can be identified through the following steps:

- Poverty line is identified in terms of a minimum nutritional level of food energy required for subsistence. This minimum nutritional level of food energy is expressed in terms of minimum daily intake of calories. The Planning Commission of India has defined the poverty line in terms of nutritional requirement of 2,400 calories per person per day for rural areas and 2,100 calories per person per day in the urban areas.
- Poverty line is also identified in terms of per capita consumption expenditure required to get minimum calorie intake. Thus, poverty line is set at the level of consumption expenditure per person required for the minimum calorie intake.

The percentages of populace which falls below poverty line are identified as the underprivileged. Head Count Ratio calculates the extent of poverty in India. This method measures the number of poor as the proportion of people living below poverty line.

Causes of Poverty

There are several factors responsible for poverty in India. Some of them are discussed as follows:

- **Growth of population:** One of the major problems of poverty in India is the high growth rate of population, especially among the poor. This is because of their strong belief in traditions, illiteracy and also their preference for the male child,

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which results in an increase in population. With limited income and numerous mouths to feed, people are unable to make ends meet.

- **Low rate of economic development:** The low rate of economic development is another major cause of poverty. The rate of economic development in India has been below the required levels. This means that we have low per capita income that results in a low standard of living. Population in India has recorded an increase of average rate of over 2 per cent during the plan period. The employment opportunities increase slowly because of low growth rate in the economy. This has kept the poor families in a state of constant poverty.
- **Unemployment:** The unemployment rate in India was 9.9 per cent in 2012. With a large number of people being unemployed, India is facing the twin challenges of unemployment and underemployment. There are less job opportunities compared to the number of job seekers. Though efforts have been made to promote small and cottage industries to generate employment, even these industries could not absorb sufficient workforce so as to reduce poverty. Thus, unemployment intensifies the problem of poverty to a massive degree.
- **Lack of education:** The growth of population has long been associated with the lack of education. Since the poor have limited access to education, they usually end up with low-paid jobs. This in turn, results in low income. Since most underprivileged people are illiterate, they think that the more the number of members in the family, the more it will help them in acquiring wealth.
- **Inflationary pressure:** The constant rise in price has only made things more difficult for the poor people. Inflation has reduced the real income of fixed and low-income earners. As a result, there is a marked decline in the purchasing power of the poor. Thus, the poor cannot avoid a decline in their living standards.
- **Socio-cultural factors:** The socio-cultural set-up of the country also contributes to poverty to a large extent. Usually, people belonging to lower castes and tribal groups comprise the poor. Illiteracy and limited chances of mobility perpetuate poverty. Factors such as the prevalence of casteism, existence of joint family system, communal hatred and inheritance laws have proven to be an obstacle for economic development.
- **Growth strategy:** The various strategies designed in the government plans have not been implemented properly. Some are yet to be developed. In fact, the growth strategy has kept the poor out of the development process. Prof. H. Meghnad Desai points out, 'India's poverty creating programme is larger than its poverty removal programme.'
- **Inequalities in income:** The inequality of income in rural and urban areas of the country is another cause of poverty. During the plan period, a large proportion of increased income has been cornered by the affluent ones. Due to inequalities in the distribution of income and assets, even a small rise in per capita income could not affect the poor. Hence, the problem of poverty has become acute.
- **Inadequate anti-poverty measures:** In view of the large magnitude of the problem of poverty in the country, the anti-poverty measures taken by the government are far from adequate. Some of them have been implemented half-heartedly and the ones, which have been implemented, have benefited only selected sections of the populace. Despite the implementation of measures, success in alleviating poverty has been limited.

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- **Capital deficiency:** Capital formation directly contributes to economic growth by reducing poverty. There is a dearth of capital in India which results in low productivity, low per capita income and the end result happens to be poverty. As in all developing countries, the credit market in India does not function well. Those who can offer collateral go to formal markets, while those who cannot have to resort to informal credit markets where the interest rate on loan is quite high.
- **Globalization:** Globalization has resulted in pushing many householders to reduced circumstances. In the wake of globalization, farmers began to utilize their lands for the production of export crops, thereby bringing down the production of important food crops. Liberalization has also forced small farmers to compete in a global market where the prices of agricultural goods are low.
- **Political factors:** The political structure of the country is also one of the factors accounting for the continuation of poverty. Political power is concentrated in the hands of the upper strata of the society, both in the urban and rural areas. Economic policies are formulated to promote the interest of the richer section of the society. Poor people, particularly peasants, landless labourers, tribal people and slum dwellers suffer in the process.
- **Discrimination:** The poor are often discriminated against in social institutions. They cannot avail of education, healthcare and other opportunities as freely as other social classes.
- **Prejudices:** The society is prejudiced against the poor. They are seen as unhygienic and lacking integrity.
- **Casteism:** Many poor people also belong to the historically oppressed castes. Thus, they are relegated to the fringes of the society, especially in areas and regions where casteism is prevalent.
- **Communalism:** Communal hatred and feelings can result in the oppression and victimization of the poor.
- **Parochialism:** Provincial attitudes hamper the growth, progress and development of the poor people.

Government Policies and Programmes to Eradicate Poverty

The problem of poverty—a multidimensional challenge for India—needs to be addressed seriously. Poverty alleviation and improvement in the standard of living of the masses has been one of the most important objectives of planning in India. However, the emphasis that is laid on the objective of poverty alleviation and strategy to achieve this objective has changed over the years. The measures which have been adopted by the government for the removal of poverty are as follows:

- **Economic growth:** Economic growth can be helpful in removing poverty because of the trickle-down effect. It was thought that the benefits of economic growth would trickle down to the underprivileged in the form of more employment and more income because of the expansion of agricultural and non-agricultural activities. The Twelfth Five-Year Plan appraisal document, prepared by NITI Aayog exuded confidence that growth in 2016-17, would be 7 per cent to 7.75 per cent.

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- **Population control:** High growth rate of population among the lower strata of the society is an important factor that is responsible for the perpetuating problem of poverty. Jansankhya Sthirata Kosh (JSK) has been registered as an autonomous society of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. The Government has provided a ₹100 crore corpus fund to signify its commitment to the activities of the Kosh. JSK has to use the interest on the corpus and also raise contributions from organizations and individuals that support population stabilization.
- **Agricultural development:** Along with a substantial increase in plan allocation and credit for agriculture proper, an ambitious Bharat Nirman for rural infrastructure, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) to dovetail employment security with land and water conservation, and the Backward Regions Grants Funds (BRGF) have enabled Panchayati Raj institutions in poorer regions to make their own plans. In addition to enhancing the scope of these initiatives, and making modifications as suggested by the various working groups, the Eleventh Plan introduced the Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana (RKVY). This put in effect the NDC resolution to 'introduce a new scheme for Additional Central Assistance to incentivize states to draw up plans for the agricultural sector more comprehensively, taking agro-climatic conditions, natural resource issues and technology into account, and integrating livestock, poultry and fisheries more fully.' The Twelfth Five-Year Plan continued with RKVY with an outlay of ₹ 63,246 crore.
- **Land reforms:** The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 was passed in 2013 by the central government and came into effect on 1 January 2014. Land acquisition was central to the government's thrust in infrastructure development. The Act seeks to balance the need for facilitating land acquisition for various public purposes, including infrastructure development, industrialization and urbanization, while at the same time, meaningfully addressing the concerns of farmers and those whose livelihoods are dependent on the land being acquired.
- **Development of cottage and small-scale industries:** The small-scale industries have been given a special place in the industrialization programme. Since these industries have played an important role in the generation of employment and in ensuring a more equitable distribution of income; the government has provided necessary incentives, support technical assistance and infrastructure facilities to promote these industries.
- **Public Distribution System:** The government has also launched a scheme of Public Distribution System (PDS). The objective of this scheme is to provide cheap and subsidized food grains to the poor. The PDS functions through a wide network of fair price shops. Since June 1997, a new scheme known as the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) has been adopted in order to provide subsidized food grains for the families falling below the officially estimated poverty line at the rate of 10 kgs per month per family.

As passed by the Parliament, the government notified the National Food Security Act, 2013 on 10th September 2013 with the objective to provide for food and nutritional security in human life cycle approach, by ensuring access to adequate quantity of quality food at affordable prices to people to live a life with dignity. The Act provides for coverage of upto 75 per cent of the rural population and upto 50 per cent of the urban population for receiving subsidized food grains

under Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS), thus covering about two-thirds of the population. The eligible persons are entitled to receive 5 Kgs of food grains per person per month at subsidized prices of Rs. 3/2/1 per Kg for rice/wheat/coarse grains. The existing Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) households, which constitute the poorest of the poor, will continue to receive 35 Kgs of foodgrains per household per month.

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5.3 GENDER INEQUALITY

Since time immemorial, women have been forced to depend upon men for sustenance and financial support. The social conditions and social disabilities (early marriages, more number of children, lack of education and skills), superstitious beliefs and rituals, religious sanctions, and the overriding patriarchal value system prevalent in most parts of the world have ensured that women have continued to have a subservient position even in the 21st century. Women in India had always participated in the unorganized and the agricultural labour sector. However, in recent times, there has been a huge influx of women into the organized labour market in India and as a result of which the contributions of women are being given increasing importance in society. There are some reasons for bringing about these changes. Industrialization and the consequent economic growth have created a large market for them. Increased educational and other infrastructural facilities for women have opened up a number of avenues for them, resulting in a sharp rise in the proportion of women's employment outside the home. Legislations have paved the way for equal opportunities for women, and rising expectation levels in standards of living necessitate incomes from both husbands and wives. The occupations which have seen an influx of women include finance, services (teaching, nursing), publishing, retailing, banking and consumer products—these are all occupations that permit flexibility, and involve gradual flexible ascendancy with a lot of breathing space to accommodate family life.

The positive repercussions of women gaining education and a foothold in the labour market are many. It has been seen that the more educated and financially independent the women of a society are, the fewer will be the hurdles to growth and socio-economic developments of that society. In fact, in most of the developed countries, the literacy and educational levels of the female population, and their participation in the labour market, are considerably higher than that in developing and underdeveloped countries. This establishes a direct correlation between female education and employment, and the level of development in any society.

Economic Status of Women

Economic empowerment of women is one of the most vital conditions for the upliftment of women's social status. Unless women become economically independent or make nearly equal economic contribution to the family for its sustenance, they cannot be equal to men in the decision-making process. The problem of gender-based discriminations or subordination of women is very much rooted in the economic dependence of men. The economic empowerment of women is a vital element of strong economic growth in any country. Empowering women enhances their ability to influence changes and to create a better society. They are equal to men in all aspects. Women are more perfect in the power to create, nurture and transform. Today, women are emerging as leaders in growing range of fields be it aeronautics, medicine, space, engineering, law, politics, education, business, all that is needed in today's world, is their empowerment.

Check Your Progress

1. Define relative poverty.
2. What is income poverty and human poverty?

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In India, the empowerment process has already begun. We are now witnessing a steady improvement in the enrolment of women in schools, colleges, and even in professional institutes. Due to the impact of increasing globalization and information-technology, women have broken new paths, i.e., of entrepreneurship. However, the progress is more visible among upper-class families in urban cities.

In Indian villages, the economic activities that are present include that of cultivators, artisans and people performing menial services. In each of these categories, women are involved in the process of earning a livelihood for the family, putting in an almost equal amount of labour both in production and marketing of products of agriculture and handicrafts. In most parts of India, women are still involved in the production and marketing of items such as vegetables, processed and semi-processed foodstuffs as well as handicrafts. In India, agriculture remains the major economic activity for women, since the majority of Indians are employed in the agricultural sector. In rural areas, around 80 per cent of the female labour force is engaged in agriculture and related activities. In the agricultural sector, there has been a huge decline in the number of women cultivators and an increase in the percentage of agricultural labourers over the past few decades. This has resulted in a decline in the proportion of women who were earlier cultivators. Apart from agriculture, women are also employed in a number of industries, trades and services in the unorganized and organized sectors.

Data from the 66th round of the survey conducted by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) indicate that female work participation rate has decreased between 2004–05 to 2009–10. The share of women in usual status workers declined from 28.7 per cent to 22.8 per cent. In rural areas this has declined from 32.7 per cent to 26.1 per cent and in urban areas from 16.6 per cent to 13.8 per cent. The gap between the wages in the urban areas is also quite marked as it results from the employment of women in different and lower-paying activities. They are exploited at various levels. They should be provided with proper wages and work at par with men so that their status can be elevated in society.

Women and Paid Work

As you learned, women's paid labour force participation has increased significantly in the last two decades. The increase in the labour force participation of married women with children has too increased dramatically. These trends are not only on account of an increase in part-time employment rather a majority of women work full-time round the year. However, most of this increase occurred in the informal sector. For women, who are characterized by limited skills, low education levels and low status, the informal sector is the only arena in which they can attempt to eke out a living. But less attention has been paid to gender differences within the informal sector.

Although it is commonly believed that paid employment benefits a woman's mental and physical health, it has been found that in contrast to such beliefs, employed women report more stress, depression, and psychological stress than their male counterparts. It does not, however, mean that men have a lesser degree of occupational stress. Quite often, men's jobs are challenging and demanding as well. However, studies have found that the strain associated with balancing the demands of work and family has disproportionately negative bearing on women. Moreover, the informal sector is characterized by poor bargaining power, lack of working capital or access to training and technology, and has little support from government. Formal sectors are also not spared by the gender disparity and inequalities, promotions, trainings are given to men

first and only then to women. Disparity in salary also prevails though both men and women possess the same qualification and positions.

Women Working in the Informal Sector in India

The informal sector in India plays a large role in its development. However, simultaneously, it is affected by a number of problems like absence of practically feasible service rules, absence of wage rules and hindrances to career development. Another fact worth noting is that as much as 94 per cent of the total women workforce is part of the informal sector in India such as garment factory, domestic work, working as sales girls and so on. However, they are forced to suffer gender discrimination, which is nearly absent in the formal sector. In addition to this, the amount of income generated by them is lower than that generated by their male counterparts, which means that nearly 50 per cent of the population contributes to less than 50 per cent of the national income. Informal employment consists of both, self-employment in informal organizations (i.e., small and/or unregistered) and wage employment in informal work profiles (i.e., without secure contracts, worker benefits, or social protection).

The concept of informal sector was first introduced by Hart, with the distinction between wage and self-employment as the essential difference between the formal and informal sectors. Later, the International Labour Organization broadened the scope of the informal sector. Informal activities are typically characterized by ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises, small scale of operations of labour-intensive and adaptive technology, skills acquired outside formal schooling system, and unregulated and competitive markets.

It is found that the majority of the women who are employed in the informal come from a section of society who require income to survive. Moreover, about 50 per cent of these women workers also happen to be the solitary income earners of their families. Another surprising fact is that only 7.5 per cent of all women workers are part of some sort of registered trade union. One has to note here that along with their employment outside of the home, most women also have to put in 5 to 7 hours of unpaid work within the household doing chores and bringing up children.

Most women workers have a small number of alternatives to choose from as far as lucrative jobs are concerned. A variety of studies conducted by Papola (1982, 1992), evidently and categorically reveal another shocking reality that women are discriminated against in the urban labour market rather than the rural labour market. This prejudice affects a drop in the contribution of women in economic activities.

Problems of Working Women

There are several problems faced by working women. Many problems have remained unsolved in their domestic as well as working place, from the time they stepped out of the four walls of their home for the first time. Their problems are different. Some of the problems faced by women workers are as follows:

- The age old belief of male superiority over women creates several hurdles for women at their place of work.
- Most of the women tend to be concentrated in the poor service jobs whereas men are in an immediate supervisory position, which gives the superior male boss an opportunity to exploit their subordinate women. Moreover, enacting laws is not sufficient.

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- Cyber-crimes that is cases of hacking, spamming, spoofing, cyber stalking and email fraud are rampant in India.

They have problems of adjusting to time schedules with other working adults in the family, wanting privacy and freedom. They also want a greater participation in the financial management and a desire for a balanced life (Kaur and Punia, 1981).

Some of the major problems that women face while working include the following:

- (i) Glass ceiling/competition:** Breaking the glass ceiling is the greatest problem faced by women in their promotion. Despite performing well year after year, they find it difficult to get promotion to the higher cadre. Despite achieving all the goals on time, very often it is found that a higher number of males get elevated to better posts and are the preferred candidates for promotion, resulting in humiliation for women candidates.
- (ii) Time crisis:** Another problem a woman has to face at work is of time constraints to meet deadlines. At a managerial level, there are a lot of responsibilities and the expectation of the superiors from women in such positions is also very high. Since they have a family to look after, it is even more difficult for them to attend to their work responsibilities effectively. Several times, it leads to an injustice on their part towards either the home responsibilities or work responsibilities. They are affected by their problems both positively and negatively. In a negative manner, it brings about a lot of work pressure as they find themselves facing shortage of time and this makes it even more difficult for them to spend appropriate time on the assignments given to them by their superiors.

Let us look at some suggestions to help women balance work and family:

At Work

- Setting realistic goals at workplace.
- Ensuring that the company offers options such as flexi-time, telecommuting or job-sharing arrangements.
- Planning workweek with great care, prioritizing work on the basis of their importance.
- Making a conscious effort not to take home any work.
- Learning to say 'no' to work commitments that one cannot do justice to.
- Establishing a routine to mark the end of the workday and the start of the family time.
- Women workers are given more work but paid less especially in the unorganized sector.
- Women are discriminated with regard to recruitment, promotion, increment, training, over – time allowance, facilities at work place and so on.

At Home

- Organizing for the next day's routine the previous night (setting out clothes for oneself and children, setting out work).
- Asking spouse/partner to share with the work and responsibilities, instead of considering oneself to be a superwoman.

- Establishing a routine that is followed by the children and spouse/partner.
- Encouraging children to do as many things as they can by themselves.

Domestic Problems of Working Women

Nature of other problems varies with the nature of category to which the working women belong, their personality dimensions, their capacity to work, their motivation ability to work and to adjust to the family conditions. Kalhan (1972) comments on problems of working women, that husband and wife both going for work is common today. This naturally gives rise to problems.

Essentially, it is a woman's problem because the working wife, when she returns from her work, has to ensure that her family does not face any deprivation. The family has to be fed and looked after. She observes, 'The Indian working woman's luck in this respect is much harder than that of her counterpart in many other countries, where entire industries are geared to take drudgery out of housework. There are hardly any crèche where she can place the children and expect them to be looked after until she can return from work and take care of them herself' (1972). For a happy home, it is essential that the job timings of women do not coincide with those of the husband and children. The husband and children feel neglected and irritated if the women's working hours are such as to keep them away from the home when their children and husband come from or go to school and office. These are the problems associated with work-family role conflict.

Unmarried working women also have several problems in this society. On taking up a job, they face the society more openly for the first time and this creates an adjustment problem. Their growing independence, both financial as well as in thought and action rebel against the method of choosing a life partner. The longer they work, the more difficult it becomes for them to settle for a match arranged by the parents. To find a suitable accommodation in a hostel, in a family, or with friends is another problem.

Women Entrepreneurs

Skill, knowledge and adaptability in business are the main reasons for women to plunge into business ventures. According to data, women account for about 1/3rd of all entrepreneurs worldwide. In Western nations, women are recognized and are more prominent in the business world. However, Indian women entrepreneurs face some major constraints. These are as follows:

- Ñ **Lack of confidence:** In general, women lack confidence in their strength and competence. The family members and the society are reluctant to stand beside their entrepreneurial growth.
- Ñ **Socio-cultural barriers:** Women's family and personal obligations are sometimes a great barrier for succeeding in business career.
- Ñ **Market-oriented risks:** Stiff competition in the market and lack of mobility of women make the dependence of women entrepreneurs on middleman indispensable.
- Ñ **Motivational factors:** Self-motivation can be realized through a mind set for a successful business, attitude to take up risk and behaviour towards the business society by shouldering the social responsibilities.

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¶ **Knowledge in business administration:** Women must be educated and trained constantly to acquire the skills and knowledge in all the functional areas of business management.

¶ **Lock of awareness about financial assistance:** Various institutions in the financial sector extend their maximum support in the form of incentives, loans, schemes. Even then, every woman entrepreneur may not be aware of all the assistance provided by the institutions.

¶ **Identifying the available resources:** Women are hesitant to find out the access to cater their needs in the financial and marketing areas. In spite of the mushrooming growth of associations, institutions, and the schemes from the government side, women are not enterprising and dynamic to optimize the resources in the form of reserves, assets, manpower, or business volunteers. Highly educated, technically sound and professionally qualified women should be encouraged for managing their own business, rather than being dependent on wage employment outlets. The unexplored talents of young women can be identified, trained, and used for various types of industries to increase the productivity in the industrial sector.

These days there are many examples of successful entrepreneurs, for example, Indra Nooyi, the CEO of Pepsi Coke, Naina Lal Kidwai, Sulajja Firodia Motwani, the Joint Managing Director of Kinetic Motors and Managing Director Kinetic Finance and so on.

5.3.1 Dowry

Dowry refers to 'the property, money, ornaments or any other form of wealth which a man or his family receives from his wife or her family at the time of marriage.' The wider definitions of dowry include what a woman's natal family spends on the marriage celebration, the feasting and the gift giving associated with it. The real curse of the dowry system appears to lie with what the leading Indian sociologist M.N. Srinivas has called the new dowry—property or cash demanded or in various forms expected by the groom's family. This often turns out to be a grave burden on those families who have agreed to be trapped into unequal exchanges along hypergamous lines.

The problem of dowry related violence is clearly a thoroughly modern phenomenon. Thus, there is no need to re-write Hindu scriptures, because one cannot undo the past. The Hindu cultural texts are arguing from within the sphere of the *dharma*, and do not endorse cruelty to women for the sake of material possessions, that is, *arth*. Most writings use dowry in at least three senses. The first is in the form of presents, jewellery, household goods and other properties taken by the bride to her new home or given to her during the marriage rituals. These are items to be used by her, or by the couple, as a sort of foundation for the new nuclear household unit.

A second form of dowry may be constituted by what families, particularly the bride's family, conspicuously spend on the occasion of the marriage celebration. In this respect, Srinivas stated ironically that Indian weddings are occasions for conspicuous spending, and this is related to the maintenance of what is believed to be the status of the family. Such expenditure on the marriage benefits the couple indirectly, probably in terms of status rather than in a financial sense directly.

The third type of dowry is property expected or even demanded by the husband, more often by his family, either as a condition for the marriage itself, or at a later stage.

There is much scope for these three forms of dowry to become intertwined and mixed up in the minds of writers as well as in social reality.

Under the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, a demand made for dowry is an offence. Section 498 of the Indian Penal Code specifically deals with a situation when coercion is a willful conduct of the husband or a woman's in-laws of such a nature as is likely to drive the woman to commit suicide or cause grave physical or mental injury to her. The harassment of a woman by her husband or by any relative of her husband with a view to coercing her or any relatives to meet any unlawful demand of property is also dealt with in this section.

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5.4 HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human trafficking may also be termed as the 'modern form of human slavery' the roots of which lie in most of the civilizations. It can be visualized in wall paintings, monuments and remains of old civilizations. Kautilya in his Arthashastra (Chapter 13, Book III, 'Rules regarding slaves and laborers') provides clues about slavery during the fourth century BC. Today the phenomenon of trafficking of persons has diversified the definitions, interpretations, and public understanding and it takes on different forms, and fulfills different economic and physical needs and purposes. The UN negotiations which later lead to the United Nations 2000 Protocol on Trafficking showed the differences between two different viewpoints on trafficking definition. According to the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW), "Trafficking" should include all forms of recruitment and transportation for prostitution, regardless of consent'.

According to the Human Rights Caucus (HRC), 'Prostitution is work and that force was the important factor in defining trafficking'. The anti-prostitution viewpoint for females includes groups like the Human Rights Caucus, the Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW), and Network of Sex Workers Project (NSWP). The campaign literature of CATW states that, 'Prostitution victimizes all women, justifies the sale of any woman and reduces all women to sex'.

According to them, recognition of the sex-industry economically will further widen inequality of gender internationally. Janice Raymond of CATW states that, 'If women in prostitution are counted as workers, pimps as businessmen, and buyers as customers, then governments can abdicate responsibility for making decent and sustainable employment available to women'.

CATW dismisses the reasoning that there may be limited options for women and thus, prostitution is a survival tactic. The social utility of prostitution is questioned by the CATW. However, according to some other people these viewpoints are challenged by the emerging research showing that it is sex-related workers, rather than coerced innocents, who form the majority of female trafficking worldwide. In the present era, the larger majority of migrated people no longer work in the developed countries alone, as is often assumed. One third of the above mentioned over 190 million migrated people emigrated from one developing country to the other and an equal number of people have migrated from developing countries to developed countries and vice versa. Similarly, these migrated masses are no longer engaged in similar type of the employment. Many of them are highly skilled workers (SAARC, 2006).

Traditionally, trafficking has been closely related to prostitution and more specifically to female and girl sex workers who are forced to sell themselves for prostitution purposes. It was revealed in the 19th century that business of prostitution came from England, the United States and other Western European countries.

Check Your Progress

3. What are the problems faced by women workers in India?
4. Mention the major constraints faced by women entrepreneurs in India.

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Human trafficking has been defined as, 'The commercial trade of human beings, who are subjected to involuntary acts such as begging, prostitution or forced labour'.

India appears on the tier-two list for watching the human trafficking of the US as India has not been able to cope up with the problem of effectively fighting against the human trafficking and other related issues. India is considered to be a main source, destination, and country for human trafficking and for the purposes of forced labour and sexual exploitation for commercial purposes. In India, the approximate turnover from human trafficking is more than 20 billion rupees per year. Out of the total number of people who are affected by human trafficking, the majority belongs to women and children.

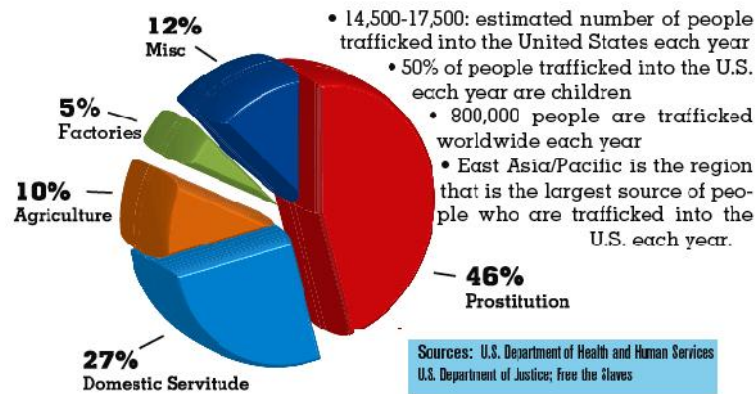


Fig. 5.1 Human Trafficking Ratio

The problem area is very large. It is found that the trafficked victim may sometimes get further victimised by the legislation formalities if the same are violated by them.

Very often, human trafficking is considered similar to prostitution. This may be due to the incorrect analysis of the violation of human rights in trafficking. Thus the actual 'criminals' manage to get away from the legal proceedings. Hence, it is required that the term is demystified and the trends and dimensions are understood from a human right background at a very low level so that the problem is addressed in a proper way to protect the female from further exploitation.

Operational Methods for Trafficking

The trafficking routes are very complicated and dangerous as these ranges from human trafficking within one country and runs between the neighbouring countries to inter-continental and globalized business scenario via the international borders. Thus, the trafficked people moved from undeveloped, rural background and poor localities to more developed, urban, politically stable and rich countries for employment.

Once women are transported into India through the borders of Nepal or Bangladesh, they are kept in certain parts of West Bengal and Odisha where they are 'sorted and graded' and then sold or sent for sale to the other parts of India. Further details can be gathered from the Asian Development Bank (2002) researches and Shamim (2001).

Recruitment for Trafficking

According to the studies the needy and unemployed people are recruited by the traffickers, during special periods and durations, from various places like shopping halls, railways or bus stations, airports, streets, their houses, cafes, hotels, bars, restaurants, beauty contests and beauty parlours, national highways, hotels, malls, quarry and construction work sites,

and areas where locals people are displaced without any proper rehabilitation. The best duration for recruiting people is before the harvesting season or during a drought, when many people are workless and need employment for their own survival and that of dependents.

The traffickers recruit people during or for festivals season. The traffickers use range of the tactics or strategies like, 'drugging, kidnapping and abduction to persuasion, material inducements, befriending and deception'.

Legal Framework for Trafficking

Article 23 of the Indian Constitution provides for the prohibition of human trafficking for any kind of 'exploitation, including commercial sexual exploitation, labour and servitude'. The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) has noted the issue of human trafficking in particular to that of women and children and has decided to give primary preference to the human trafficking. There is surplus allotment and various other steps have been taken to implement this decision.

According to the new human protocol for trafficking that was adopted during the UN General Assembly in November, 2000, 'Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.'

The forms of the exploitation included, 'At a minimum, forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. The consent of a victim to the intended exploitation is irrelevant where any of the exploitative means have been used.'

There should be strict and stringent laws against traffickers and the female exploiters globally. Today, the brothel owners or the people who are associated with female exploitation are being punished accordingly. However, there are not many instances of traffickers being identified and punished. There is a need for further investigation in this regard and then corrective measures should be taken at all levels. In Delhi Domestic Working Women's Forum vs Union of India [case number: 1995 (1) SCC 14], the Hon'ble Supreme Court has pointed out the 'need for legal representation for rape victims'. Therefore, this is also applicable to them. Thus, services for providing required legal help, aid and assistance could be utilized for this purpose by the victims and relatives of the victims.

The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), many NGOs and social welfare agencies like the United Nations Development Fund for Women, commonly known as (UNIFEM) also felt the need for providing solution to this complex multi-layered and multi-dimensional problem. The NHRC along with UNIFEM conducted a research process that was action packed with several activities of anti-trafficking agents and dealers. This also included prevention and protection of women and children and prosecution of the culprits. In the past, the Government of India has undertaken many measures to combat this human trafficking problem through several laws. The Ministry of Women and Child Development, has established a nodal agency with the help of the Indian government to deal with human trafficking at different levels. The Ministry of Home Affairs has established a nodal cell for combating human trafficking. The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has also prepared a plan to prevent and combat human trafficking. Yet, there is no proper definitions of the existing laws and there are many loopholes in the system itself.

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Future of Women Trafficking

Today commodities are being manufactured only for the profit which depends upon the power of labour. There can be an increase in the profits if the raw material and labour power cost is reduced. The labour rates are very low in the Asian subcontinent specifically in southern Asia. This is mainly because of over population and prevailing poverty conditions.

- At any given time in 2016, an estimated 40.3 million people are in modern slavery, including 24.9 in forced labour and 15.4 million in forced marriage.
- It means there are 5.4 victims of modern slavery for every 1,000 people in the world.
- 1 in 4 victims of modern slavery are children.
- Out of the 24.9 million people trapped in forced labour, 16 million people are exploited in the private sector such as domestic work, construction or agriculture; 4.8 million persons in forced sexual exploitation, and 4 million persons in forced labour imposed by state authorities.
- Women and girls are disproportionately affected by forced labour, accounting for 99 per cent of victims in the commercial sex industry, and 58 per cent in other sectors.

There are different opinions that are put forward by the researchers in this regard. These are as follows:

- There can be no prevention of trafficking until the problem of poverty is resolved and the social system is changed.
- This can be no prevention of crime till the traffickers/smugglers remain at large in the society.
- Trafficking will not stop as long as there are corrupt and loose officials who facilitate the criminals by taking commission and there are improper definitions of the legal framework and its poor implementation techniques.

Solutions

There are many solutions provided to this problem. Effective monitoring of the data on trafficking cases is needed. In order to stop human trafficking, there is a need for several short-term and long-term measures to be taken up at all the possible levels. There is an urgent requirement to spread among the public—awareness and class consciousness about the human trafficking. This can be easily done with the help of the NGOs, media, self-help groups and education. With the eradication of poverty and illiteracy, this issue can be combated. Indian borders need to be secured so that human traffickers can be kept away. There should be co-ordination between the law enforcement agencies and non governmental organizations (NGOs) in exposing human trafficking networks.

There should be proper guidelines for monitoring the trafficking cases. These should include collation of data of the review period (details of cases registered, charge sheets and so forth) separately under different sections of various laws like the ITPA, IPC and other local acts. Investigation in the human trafficking cases should be conducted to destroy this long trail and, thus, there is a need for coordination between various government departments like police, public welfare, health, women and child, NGOs, and so forth.

Check Your Progress

5. Define human trafficking.
6. What are the operational methods for trafficking?

5.5 COMMUNALISM

The Indian society has a long history of external aggression. But it is adequately adept in accommodating and assimilating the alien cultures in spite of resentment to the outside forces. In a plural society like India, such cooperative activities sometimes have been reasons for insecurity. The period of the Mughal dynasty that preceded colonial rule was a turbulent period witnessing numerous wars and upheavals. Moreover, the divide and rule policy of the British sowed the seeds of communalism in India.

Communalism can be conceptualized as an ideology which is based on blind loyalty towards one's own religion, and at the same time, antagonism against the other religions. Such an ideology divides the society into religious groups who have differing—and sometimes conflicting—interests. Communal people practice politics through religion.

The term 'communalism' came to be first used by the British in the context of colonies like India where substantial religious minorities existed alongside a religious majority. This specific connotation had a certain element of divisiveness and bigotry and the term—with its negative specifications—continued much after the Partition and Post-Independence era. The issue of communalism was debated during the Minto-Morley and Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. It was at this debate that the delegates referred to the existence of 'communal feelings' and 'communal principles' in India, and issues pertaining to the representation of the various religious groups were talked about.

Communalism has been a problem in India for quite some time. As the national liberation movement drew near its goal, communalism spawned the pernicious 'two-nation' theory. It ultimately led to the Partition of India. The upsurge of communalism based on the *mandir-masjid* issue distorted the feelings of nationalism among the Indian masses, thereby undermining the spirit of harmony.

Historical constructions were clearly part of a more general assertion of community and status by many different groups and classes. What such assertions and counter assertions did paradoxically was to transform the very sense of 'community', and redefine it at every level. In an earlier period, the discourse of community had perhaps been stronger, in the sense of being more universal and unchallenged by any other discourse. At the same time, however, the notion of the individual community was weaker since it was applicable at many different levels of sub-caste, sect, dialect and other regional and religious groupings, and was not much concerned with numbers or the precise boundaries that separated different communities from each other. Much of this survived into the late nineteenth and even the twentieth century. But the balance of forces was against its long survival in its old form. The new 'communities' were now territorially more different than earlier, less tied to a small locality and less parochial on account of the changes in communication, politics and society more generally. They were at the same time historically more self-conscious, and much more aware of the differences between themselves and others, the distinction between 'us' and 'them' (Pandey, 1990).

It can be said that such a construction of differences culminates in communal violence. Communalism has many connotations. Prof. Emeritus T.K. Oommen, while addressing a gathering at the India Islamic Cultural Centre, New Delhi, on intervention into such problems said that 'these are recurring events nowadays and one needs to look at the root cause'. Communalism and such terrorisms have different manifestations.

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He agreed that there are six dimensions of communalism, and three of them are variants of a political force which are a threat to the state. They are as follows:

- **Secessionist communalism:** This form of communalism is characterized by a religious community claiming to establish its own territory or state. It functions as an independent political community that wishes to withdraw its support from the existing government and form a national identity separate from it. Hence, these kinds of communal feelings may be designated as secessionist communalism. The Khalistan Movement is an example of secessionist communalism.
- **Separatist communalism:** Another form of communalism refers to the tendency of religious groups to form a separate territory based on their religious identity. It wishes to integrate culture and territory in the form of a separate province or district. Such communists believe that it is important for them to maintain cultural specificity, and so, there should be a separate politico-administrative arrangement, which could be a district or a province within the federal polity. When the Sikhs demanded a separate Punjabi Suba—even though it was couched in linguistic terms—it was chiefly seen as a demand for a separate Sikh province within India. When such demands are coloured by a need to maintain the cultural specificity of a religious group and a separate province is seen as an instrument that can make this possible, we can say that the group is practising separatist communalism.
- **Welfarist communalism:** Welfarist communism refers to the claims of a religious collectivity to be acknowledged as a community that has suffered at the hands of the society by being subject to financial and other hardships. They claim that they should be provided welfare schemes in matters of employment, land distribution industrial licenses and so on; they seek political representation. In this context, the mobilization of the religious collectivity is attempted as an interest group geared to the welfare of its members. Hence, this form of communalism is defined as welfarist communalism.
- **Assimilationist communalism:** This kind of communalism relates to claims that small religious groups are assimilated into big religious groups. The forced conversions are included in this category. The incidents of re-conversion can also be termed as assimilationist communalism.
- **Retreatist communalism:** In this kind of communalism, a small religious community avoids participating in or separates itself completely from political activities of the state. The example of this kind of communal practices is seen in the Bahati community.
- **Retaliatory communalism:** The practitioners of this kind of communalism adopt practices that are intended to harm those belonging to religious communities other than themselves; for example, killing of priests, maulvis and so forth.

Incidence of Communal Violence and Riots

Communalism culminates in communal violence, and these riots have become a distinctive feature of communalism. The clash of two religious groups and their internal tension results in communal riots. While communalism breeds communal politics, riots are a clear manifestation of communal tension. Communal riots mainly stem from communal ideology. We can classify an event as a communal riot:

- When violence is perpetrated.

- The main groups identified as the participants in the riot face each other or members of the other group at some point during the violence. (Varshney, 2002)

Violence operates through what Brass calls 'institutionalised riot systems' (Brass, 1997). This means that riots are deliberate, planned and calculated, and they take place because of certain objectives in mind. Brass argues that the Indian politics is steeped in communal discourse and is marked by hegemony. (Brass, 2003)

In this context, Brass argues that riots are produced through a series of dramatic events which can be analysed through the following three stages:

- (i) Preparation/rehearsal
- (ii) Activation/enactment
- (iii) Explanation/interpretation

The preparation or rehearsal is the initial stage of instigating a riot. Riots are enacted or activated in certain circumstances that can range from political agenda to electoral competition. They might be perpetuated to reinforce the strength of certain ethnic, religious, or other culturally marked groups by highlighting the need for solidarity in face of the opposing communal group. Then, the riots and communal violence are analysed in a broader struggle within, but also outside the local community to control the explanation or interpretation of the causes of violence (Brass, 1997). The third phase involves the wider elements of society like journalists, politicians, political commentators and social scientists. In fact, the need for explaining and analysing riots is as important as the first phase in which it was produced.

The chronology of communal riots reveals that such riots are not caused spontaneously or due to any religious differences. In fact, such riots are the results of political and economic interests. During the Partition, it was the conflicting political interests of the elites of two opposing religious groups that led to communal violence. In the 1960s and 1980s, the involvement of local economic and political factors played a crucial role in the production of riots. The Hyderabad riots in 1981; Meerut riots in 1982; Hazaribagh riots in 1983; Delhi and Bhiwandi riots in 1984; Ahmedabad riots in 1985; Meerut, Berhampur and Amritsar riots in 1986 and again Meerut riots in 1987 reveal that communalism and communal violence are being deeply embedded into the Indian political scenario. The 1990s marked the changing political equations within the country. The killing of the Australian missionary Sir Graham Staines and his two sons by Dara Singh (a Bajrang Dal activist) and his associates is also an example of rare cases where people are considered guilty for communally driven crimes. Godhra carnage in 2002 was the first Indian riot to get extensive media coverage. Riots also took place in Dhule, Maharashtra between the Hindus and Muslims in October, 2008. The Assam (Kokrajhar) violence of 2012 also impacted the entire nation with the exodus that resulted from the ethnic conflict. Similarly, there has been a spate of communal violence in the Moradabad district of Uttar Pradesh. Riots also occurred between the Hindus and Muslims in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh in April, 2013. However, these riots were controlled much before they could intensify.

In the present day context, the reality is quite complex as communalism involves a complex interplay of many factors taking in both communalizing of politics and the politicization of religion, the jostling by different communities and the tensions created by mass conversion.

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5.5.1 Theoretical Approaches to the Origin of Communal Violence

There has been no attempt to develop the theories of collective violence which specifies the general approaches to understand such violence. Some of the theories on the origin of collective violence are explained as follows:

i. Structural strain theory

In Neil J. Smelser's (1963) theory of collective behaviour, which can be considered to follow on from the tradition of 'theories of social disintegration or breakdown,' he not only develops a theoretical framework, but also makes his theory specific to the analysis of 'hostile outbursts'. He regards six factors as the determinants of collective behaviour. These are as follows:

- (a) Structural conduciveness
- (b) Structural strain
- (c) The growth and spread of generalized belief
- (d) Precipitating factors
- (e) Mobilization of participants
- (f) Deployment of social controls

Smelser formally defines a 'hostile outburst' as mobilization to action based on a hostile perception. The strain is further increased by the development of a hostile belief and generalized aggression when it comes to be directed against particular groups.

ii. Collective violence as a form of social control

An attempt to explain collective violence in terms of the theory of social control was made by Roberta Senechal de la Roche (1996), who considers certain forms of violence as the exercise of social control. A group moves to self-help by violence when it defines a form of conduct as deviant and reacts to it. Roberta distinguishes the following four types of collective violence depending on the degree of organization and whether the deviant behaviour is attributed to an individual or a group:

- (a) Lynching (relatively unorganized and directed against individuals)
- (b) Pogrom/riot (relatively unorganized and directed against a group)
- (c) Vigilantism (highly organized and directed against individuals)
- (d) Terrorism (highly organized and directed against a group)

iii. Power approach to inter-group hostility or competitive ethnicity

The conflict theory regards rioting as an extreme form of the expression of ethnic conflicts: 'we may say therefore, that race riots are extreme forms of racial conflict in which two racial groups struggle in a particular kind of political, social, economic and legal conflict setting, using riots as an alternative and ultimate technique to establish, maintain or change power relations in society' (Swan, 1980). Since pogroms are instituted by the dominant group, the aim of that group is generally not to bring about change, but to maintain or restore a particular social, economic or political power and/or to prevent the minority obtaining an advantage.

iv. Culturalist approach

Harvey E. Goldberg (1977) stresses the ritualized character of pogroms. He stresses the cultural and symbolic logic of collective action in pogroms, which displays parallels to ritual activity. According to this approach, the destructive activities involved in pogroms:

- (a) Should not be described negatively as 'unstructured' because there are existing cultural expectations among the actors regarding the course the action will take;
- (b) Should not simply be regarded as a random expression of aggression because it follows condensed symbolic forms which originate in existing cultural traditions that often emphasize the polarity of social categories;
- (c) The symbolic forms may simultaneously be aimed at the creation of a new order or the restoration of the old;
- (d) This symbolic aspect places pogroms in a historical context and hence gives them a significance extending beyond the individual motives of the participants.

Religious riots are often an extension of religious rituals, and in some cases their course too is ritualized.

Causes of Communal Violence

The intense and unprecedented barbarity witnessed during many of the communal riots in India cannot be assigned to any single factor. Various perspectives have emerged from scholars who have different ways of interpreting their causation. On the one hand, sociologists perceive the problem of communalism as a result of 'relative deprivation,' whereas the Marxist scholars analyse the class dimension involved in communalism. Some political scientists view the problem resulting from power struggle and establishing hegemony over a particular group. There are other groups of scholars who perceive the problem of communalism as resulting from religious fundamentalism. Communal group conflicts and religiously inspired violence are seen by these scholars as defensive reactions against experiences of alienation, anomie, relative deprivation and exclusion in the face of rapid socio-economic changes. Some perceptions on causative factors can be analysed in the subsequent sections.

I. Bipan Chandra: communalism and false consciousness

Bipan Chandra, a leading scholar in the field, uncovers the class analysis on communalism in his book *Communalism in Modern India*, 1984. He focusses on the middle class or the petty bourgeoisie base of communalism under the conditions of relative economic stagnation. The distorted pattern of colonial economy produced a large middle or service or tertiary class which neither integrated with the productive sectors nor was capable of being productively absorbed by the colonial economy or by underdeveloped capitalism today. Owing to economic stagnation, the middle classes were compelled to compete with each other for scarce opportunities and resources. The crisis of the colonial economy and society constantly generated two opposing sets of ideologies and political tendencies among the petty bourgeoisie. On the one hand, when social change and revolution appeared as immediate possibilities, the petty bourgeoisie enthusiastically joined the struggle for radical transformation of their existing social condition. On the other hand, when revolutionary change receded into the background, the petty bourgeoisie shifted to short-term considerations and advantages to the struggle for individual survival, to egoistic and selfish politics, that is, to the strategy of trying to recover or maintain the existing social

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position. Groupings around religion leading to communalism, and other similar groupings and ideologies, could and did play an important role in this struggle (Chandra, 1984).

II. Steven Wilkinson

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Wilkinson opines that ethnic riots should not be regarded as spontaneous eruptions of anger. More often than not, they are planned by vested interests such as the politicians. This means that these same politicians will also try to prevent riots if it suits their interests. Therefore, most communal outbursts are mechanized by political pundits who try to increase their political mileage by playing on existing communal tensions (Wilkinson, 2003).

Wilkinson offers three reasons for variations in state performances. Firstly, India has had a history of corruption, criminalization, politicization and general lack of state capacity which has reduced it to a mere spectator in the riots. Secondly, since the minorities are not represented adequately in the administration, they do not feel protected by the Indian state governments. Thirdly, the degree of party competition determines whether the government tries to attract 'Muslim swing voters', which in turn, decides whether the government will instruct the respective administrations to ensure the safety of the minorities.

III. Ashutosh Varshney

Societies that appear to be living in peace are characterized by the existence of institutionalized peace system that leads to the integration of various civic organizations. The local administration requires the help of these social organizations at various points. Therefore, if these organizations are inter-ethnic and associational, they can easily deal with ethnic conflicts that arise in their territory. However, with multi ethnic societies, one finds that relations between various communities are weak.

Varshney gives the example of Hyderabad where there is a lack of association between the Hindus and Muslims, that hinders the formation of mutual relations. This lack often leads to the perpetration of violence where even the lawful authorities become mere spectators.

However, the above arguments have explored the various means of interpreting the causes of communal violence in India. While analysing the causative factors for communalism, a close correlation between religion, communalism and communal riots are established. In this regard, there are four main categories which can be explored and underscored in terms of aspirations, attitudes and actions.

The first is the religious category. People in this category have the traits of tolerance, compassion and humility instilled in them. These traits spring from their religiosity. These people are rooted in the religious culture, rituals, customs and traditions. They seek solutions to personal problems with the mode of religious thinking.

The second category is that of the communalists who politicize religion. They belong to that religious stream or tendency which is highly self-conscious, and they promote strong and proud identification with their religion. They seek solutions to social and political questions on the basis of the principles enshrined in religious texts and scriptures. They are self-righteous and, therefore, lean towards moral and religious fundamentalism.

The third category is that of militant communalism that primarily emerges as a result of political mobilization of the communalists. The militant communalists glorify

their religion to the extent of decrying other religious communities. Keeping in view the political mobilization of the communalists in colonial and post-colonial periods, the emergence of militant communalism was almost inevitable.

The fourth category is that of the 'rioteers'. Though they are absolutely unrelated to the first, they are indirectly related to the second category and ideologically aligned with the third category. They succeed in isolating the religious category by making them ineffective. Lacking in socio-cultural and political assertiveness, the religious categories are marginalized and frequently surrender to the dreaded actions of the rioteers. The rioteers are sometimes part of the political machines manipulating electoral politics in conformity with the interests of specific, powerful, social and local groups in the society (Puri, 1991).

However, this analytical framework helps one to recognize the various underlying forces which are instrumental in causing communalism. So, communal tensions are the outcome of many inter-related factors in a country like India, which is marked by enormous religious, linguistic and regional diversity.

Factors that have affected Communalism

Communalism distinguishes people on the basis of religion and uses violence to harass and violate the 'other'. The following is a list of ten factors that have affected communalism:

- (i) **Social factors:** Those who have a communal mindset give precedence to their ethnic or cultural belongingness rather than to the society. Besides, the social conditions are an important determinant of communal harmony or hostility.
- (ii) **Religious factors:** Various religious organizations try to incite conflicts to serve their own ends. They propagate their own religion and belittle those belonging to other religions. Their aim is to create hatred among different religious groups.
- (iii) **Political factors:** Many political parties fan feelings of zealous bigotry for their political interests. They try to win votes by privileging one religion over other and this may give rise to communal hatred.
- (iv) **Economic factors:** Certain religious communities have been seen to enjoy better economic standing than others. This may give rise to feelings of marginalization among the less privileged, and they might see a revolt or rebellion as a valid means of getting what they want.
- (v) **Legal factors:** Sometimes, the legal system of a particular area, region, or state fails its inhabitants. It fails to protect their interests, and they decide to take law into their own hands and resort to violence.
- (vi) **Psychological factors:** Often, psychological repression on account of being discriminated against or being marginalized may seek an outlet in violence against the oppressors.
- (vii) **Administrative factors:** When public administrators and holders of government positions show preference for one religion, it is bound to result in feelings of antagonism between two religious groups.
- (viii) **Historical factors:** There are certain groups that share a history of communal violence such as the Hindus and Muslims, and Arabs and Jews. When one group refuses to look past their history, and focusses too much on the history of antagonism, it lays the foundation for ceaseless communal hatred.

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- (ix) **Local factors:** The relationship between two communities at the local level has much to do with communal violence. The differences in habits, culture, religious practices, beliefs and other factors may become too apparent and the clash of interests can lead to violence.
- (x) **International factors:** It has been seen that an international conflict can translate to local violence in another state.

Preventing Communalism

Communal frenzy and religious intolerance can pose a serious threat and danger not only to the integration and prosperity of the country, but also to our national unity. It is easier to argue that before Independence, the communal riots were the result of the British policy of divide and rule. Shifting the burden on someone else is, perhaps, the best strategy in such matters. But now the reality is different and known to be more complex, considering the communalizing of politics and the politicization of religion, the jostling by different communities for their own interests and the emergence of leaders who speak only for their own community. Several questions arise in this context. Why did the administration fail to combat such an important issue? What can be done to reverse the surging tide of communalism before it engulfs the entire country?

However, in this regard, a very pertinent question arises such as whether secularism is the most effective solution for communalism. Secularism may be described as a movement intentionally ethical, negatively religious, with a political and philosophical antecedent (Hastings, 1985).

All states confer upon its citizens the freedom to practise the religion of their choice. It regards individuals as autonomous entities regardless of the religion they belong to, and it cannot promote or interfere with religions.

D.E. Smith believes that the institution of a secular state concerns three different but inter-related sets of relationship concerning the following:

- (i) Religion and individual (freedom of religion)
- (ii) The state and the individual (citizenship)
- (iii) The state and religion (separating state and religion)

Freedom of religion implies that the state would not interfere as far as the process involving an individual's choice of religion is concerned. With the second set of relationship, the individual is seen as a citizen of the state, and not as belonging to a particular religious group. And in the last set of separation of state and religion, the chief assumption is that the state and religion are two different entities with entirely different objectives. The state should not try to promote, regulate, direct or otherwise interfere in religion (Smith, 1963).

This idea of secularism is boldly traceable in the basic framework of the Indian Constitution. However, in modern India, the meaning of secularism—as Ashish Nandy would claim—has two connotations.

The first meaning relates to the secularization of the state. The term is used to mean what it means in the English-speaking Western world. It implies that the public sphere is a place that is free from the specification of religion. In other words, one can be a follower of any religion, but when one enters the public space, one has to leave one's faith behind. In the Indian context, it manifests itself in such slogans as 'India first'. Contrastingly, the non-Western meaning of secularism centres around the notion

that all religions deserve equal respect. This means that irrespective of whether the public life is free of religion, it should become a space where the religious and secular forces can interact freely. This should take place in a way that in the ultimate analysis, all important faiths in the state should contain within themselves an in-house version of other faiths, both as a source of internal criticism and as a reminder of the diversity of the theories of transcendence (Nandy, 1990).

Many Indians regard secularism as a larger package that consists of a set of standardized ideological products and social processes—development, mega-science and national security being some of the most significant among them. This package often plays the same role in relation to the people of the society—sanctioning or justifying violence against the weak and the dissenting—that the Church, the ulema, the sangha and the Brahmins played in the earlier times (Nandy, 1990).

The above arguments emphasize on the complex character of the Indian secular state. Despite the different policies of India's immediate neighbours, India has achieved and sustained secularism, but not communal harmony. Secularism appears to be failing to eliminate sectarian conflicts fermenting the Indian society for decades.

Thus, secularism is not the only means of eliminating communalism. For dealing with communal violence, more effective measures are required. People who preach communal hatred from religious places and their sympathizers and those who glorify violence should be dealt with more strictly than the rioters themselves. A new consensus can be forged on the role of religion by adopting a democratic agenda which must include the following:

- Creating statutory mechanisms for resolving inter-community disputes
- Promoting unceasing democratic dialogue with communalists
- Mounting democratic pressures on communalists to understand the conditions instrumental for the formulation of ideology
- Making conscious efforts to posit religion as a critical and powerful ally of secularism and deepening the latter with egalitarian values

Moreover, respecting religious pluralism and recognizing democratic and cultural regionalism are important for strengthening the consensual political culture. Such a democratic agenda alone can halt the communalization of the state and enable it to curb communal riots decisively and firmly by creating a climate for intervention and for the assertion of the religions in combatting communal riots. The communal strains may not be eradicated, but the socio-cultural disturbances caused by communal riots may be stopped. This will also strengthen the resolve of the civil society to debate on communalism.

At the end, it can be said that a democratic, secular and socialist polity vigorously promoted can be an effective antidote to communal politics. This can be achieved only when the focus of politics is not merely winning elections, but the generation of strong pressures through political campaigns and mass mobilizations for solving people's socio-economic problems. In the Indian context, secularism cannot be completely divested of religious sensibilities. Our religio-cultural ethos does not yet permit any such approach. The question is of masses at large and their religious sensibilities. The secular leaders of various religious communities can come together and form solidarity committees to fight communalists in whichever community they might be. For this, it is important to do honest and rigorous criticism of what is bad in one's community and acknowledge with generosity what is good in the other community. Such an approach can build bridges of understanding and mutual confidence (Engineer, 1994).

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Check Your Progress

7. What is welfarist communalism?
8. Define assimilationist communalism.

5.6 SUMMARY

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- The Indian economy has been developing since 1950. The country has witnessed sustainable economic growth in the last six decades.
- One third of the population of these developing countries still remains in abject poverty. It is a misfortune that India falls under this category. The problem of poverty is considered to be the biggest challenge to development planning in India.
- Poverty not only refers to an absence of necessities of material well-being, but also the denial of opportunities for living a tolerable life and enjoying a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-respect and respect for others.
- Poverty can be classified into two categories: absolute poverty and relative poverty.
- Poverty line is a level of personal income defining the state of poverty. This concept is very frequently used by economists to measure the extent of poverty in a country.
- The problem of poverty—a multidimensional challenge for India—needs to be addressed seriously. Poverty alleviation and improvement in the standard of living of the masses has been one of the most important objectives of planning in India.
- Since time immemorial, women have been forced to depend upon men for sustenance and financial support.
- The positive repercussions of women gaining education and a foothold in the labour market are many. It has been seen that the more educated and financially independent the women of a society are, the fewer will be the hurdles to growth and socio-economic developments of that society.
- Economic empowerment of women is one of the most vital conditions for the upliftment of women's social status. Unless women become economically independent or make nearly equal economic contribution to the family for its sustenance, they cannot be equal to men in the decision-making process.
- There are several problems faced by working women. Many problems have remained unsolved in their domestic as well as working place, from the time they stepped out of the four walls of their home for the first time.
- Unmarried working women also have several problems in this society. On taking up a job, they face the society more openly for the first time and this creates an adjustment problem.
- Skill, knowledge, and adaptability in business are the main reasons for women to plunge into business ventures. According to data, women account for about 1/3rd of all entrepreneurs worldwide.
- Dowry refers to 'the property, money, ornaments or any other form of wealth which a man or his family receives from his wife or her family at the time of marriage.' The wider definitions of dowry include what a woman's natal family spends on the marriage celebration, the feasting and the gift giving associated with it.
- Under the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, a demand made for dowry is an offence. Section 498 of the Indian Penal Code specifically deals with a situation when coercion is a willful conduct of the husband or a woman's in-laws of such a

nature as is likely to drive the woman to commit suicide or cause grave physical or mental injury to her.

- Human trafficking may also be termed as the ‘modern form of human slavery’ the roots of which lie in most of the civilizations. It can be visualized in wall paintings, monuments and remains of old civilizations.
- Traditionally trafficking has been closely related to prostitution and more specifically to female and girl sex workers who are forced to sell themselves for prostitution purposes. It was revealed in the 19th century that business of prostitution came from England, the United States and other western European countries.
- Article 23 of the Indian Constitution provides for the prohibition of human trafficking for any kind of ‘exploitation, including commercial sexual exploitation, labour and servitude’.
- Communalism can be conceptualized as an ideology which is based on blind loyalty towards one’s own religion, and at the same time, antagonism against the other religions. Such an ideology divides the society into religious groups who have differing—and sometimes conflicting—interests. Communal people practice politics through religion.
- Separatist communalism is another form of communalism refers to the tendency of religious groups to form a separate territory based on their religious identity.
- Communalism culminates in communal violence, and these riots have become a distinctive feature of communalism. The clash of two religious groups and their internal tension results in communal riots.
- Riots are enacted or activated in certain circumstances that can range from political agenda to electoral competition.
- The chronology of communal riots reveals that such riots are not caused spontaneously or due to any religious differences. In fact, such riots are the results of political and economic interests.
- Bipan Chandra, a leading scholar in the field, uncovers the class analysis on communalism in his book *Communalism in Modern India*, 1984.
- Communal frenzy and religious intolerance can pose a serious threat and danger not only to the integration and prosperity of the country, but also to our national unity. It is easier to argue that before Independence, the communal riots were the result of the British policy of divide and rule.
- Many Indians regard secularism as a larger package that consists of a set of standardized ideological products and social processes—development, mega-science and national security being some of the most significant among them.

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5.7 KEY TERMS

- **Poverty:** It not only refers to an absence of necessities of material well-being, but also the denial of opportunities for living a tolerable life and enjoying a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-respect and respect for others.
- **Parochialism:** It refers to a limited or narrow outlook, especially focused on a local area.

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- **Hypergamous:** It is the practice of marrying into a higher caste or social group.
- **Pogrom:** The organized destruction of an ethnic group is called a pogrom.
- **Anomie:** It is a social condition in which there is a disintegration or disappearance of the norms and values that were previously common to the society.

5.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Relative poverty refers to the phenomenon when the income for consumption expenditure of a section of the society is distinctively below the average income level of the society.
2. Income poverty refers to the lack of necessities of material well-being. Human poverty refers to the denial of opportunity for living a tolerable life.
3. The problems faced by women workers in India are as follows:
 - The age old belief of male superiority over women creates several hurdles for women at their place of work.
 - Most of the women tend to be concentrated in the poor service jobs whereas men are in an immediate supervisory position, which gives the superior male boss an opportunity to exploit their subordinate women. Moreover enacting laws is not sufficient.
 - Cyber-crimes that is cases of hacking, spamming, spoofing, cyber stalking and email fraud are rampant in India.
4. The major constraints faced by women entrepreneurs in India are the following:
 - Lack of confidence
 - Socio-cultural barriers
 - Market-oriented risks
 - Motivational factors
 - Knowledge in business administration
 - Lack of awareness about financial assistance
5. Human trafficking is defined as the action or practice of illegally transporting people from one country or area to another, typically for the purposes of forced labour or sexual exploitation.
6. The trafficking routes are very complicated and dangerous as these range from human trafficking within one country and runs between the neighbouring countries to inter-continental and globalized business scenario via the international borders. Thus the trafficked people moved from undeveloped, rural background and poor localities to more developed, urban, politically stable and rich countries for employment.
7. Welfarist communism refers to the claims of a religious collectivity to be acknowledged as a community that has suffered at the hands of the society by being subject to financial and other hardships. They claim that they should be provided welfare schemes in matters of employment, land distribution industrial licenses and so on; they seek political representation.
8. Assimilationist communalism relates to claims that small religious groups are assimilated into big religious groups. The forced conversions are included in this category. The incidents of re-conversion can also be termed as assimilationist communalism.

5.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is the meaning of the term 'poverty line'?
2. Write a short note on the factors responsible for poverty in India.
3. Mention the legal framework which helps in combating human trafficking.
4. Prepare a short note on the origin of communalism in India.
5. What are the factors affecting communalism?

Long-Answer Questions

1. 'The problem of poverty is considered to be the biggest challenge to development planning in India.' Discuss this statement.
2. Summarize the government policies and programmes undertaken to eradicate poverty in India.
3. What are the domestic problems of working women?
4. Critically analyse the concept of 'dowry' with reference to the Indian society.
5. Suggest measures for curbing human trafficking.
6. Evaluate the incidence of communal violence and riots in India.
7. Explain the theoretical approaches to the origin of communal violence.

5.10 FURTHER READING

- Atal, Y. 2006. *Changing Indian Society*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
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UNIT 6 DEVELOPMENTAL CONCERNS

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Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Unit Objectives
- 6.2 Development Induced Displacement
- 6.3 Regional Disparities
- 6.4 Ecological Degradation and Climate Change
 - 6.4.1 Major Acts and Regulations Related to the Environment
 - 6.4.2 Climate Change and Global Warming
- 6.5 Sustainable Development
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Key Terms
- 6.8 Answers to ‘Check Your Progress’
- 6.9 Questions and Exercises
- 6.10 Further Reading

6.0 INTRODUCTION

India, the fastest growing economy of the world is undergoing the problem of sustainable development. India’s primary urgency is to provide livelihood and employment to its population, in addition, to creating sustainable economic opportunities at both micro and macro – levels. The Indian government needs to take sustained measures with the objective of achieving the target of double-digit GDP growth. Sustainable development is coupled with the issues of global warming, regional disparity—both of which are poignant issues in India. India has to provide affordable houses to millions, ensure food and nutritional security, and making health services accessible and affordable. For sustainable inclusive growth, jobs have to be created. In this unit, you will study about development induced displacement, regional disparities, ecological degradation, climate change and sustainable development.

6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- State the ways in which development induces displacement
- List the types of development projects
- Explain the concept of regional disparity with reference to India
- Define ecological degradation
- Explain the effects of air pollution, noise pollution and soil pollution and ways of controlling them
- Analyse the concept of climate change and global warming in the current scenario
- Describe the major Acts and regulations formulated with reference to the environment
- Define sustainable development

6.2 DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT

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Development and displacement are two sides of the same coin in the process of industrialization and development in India. These are facts that matter in national life, and appear even more amazing when you consider the mega dams and displacement in India. You will be surprised to know that the electric power you enjoy at your home, school and college, and the other luxurious materials that you use in your life are made possible only when millions of people belonging to the rural and tribal communities are displaced from their own habitat. In India itself, more than 50 million people have been uprooted from their homes and huts during the last sixty years. They have been displaced from their agricultural farms, forests and rivers and sacrificed in the name of 'national interest'. Thus, industrialization and development as matters of national interest have been mostly brought at the cost of many poor people's land, resources and identity.

It is said that too many people have been displaced due to the construction of dams and the undertaking of other developmental projects in India. Since the degree and nature of displacement varies, the exact figures of the displaced people are uncertain. It was estimated in 1998 that there were about 21.3 million Displaced Persons and Project Affected People in India in the period between 1951 and 1990. This figure was not satisfactory as it did not take many states into account. In the year 2007, it was re-estimated that the total number of development-displaced (DP) and others economically deprived of their livelihood without physical relocation (Project Affected People) for the period 1947–2000 was more than 60 million in the country.

In a report published by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in 2012, about 60-65 million people in India have been displaced within the country due to developmental projects. Globally over 60 per cent of people forced out of their homes are victims of internal displacement. Of the 43 million people forced to flee their homes, 26 million are displaced within their own country, 16 million are refugees and one million are asylum-seekers.

However, despite this alarming statistics of development-induced displacement of the millions of people, the last sixty years have seen the issue being ignored by policymakers, governments and political activists. This is clear from the fact that there is no accurate data available with them regarding the actual numbers displaced, in economic or physical terms, as a result of the development projects including industrial complexes, irrigation projects, hydroelectric projects and super-thermal and nuclear plants.

Dams are perceived as the harbingers of a new, modern India. Jawaharlal Nehru had once said that dams are the temples of modern India. He knew that development in India could not be carried out without building dams.

Ways in which Development Induces Displacement

Development projects usually involve the introduction of direct control by a developing agency over land once occupied or owned by some other group or community. Urban renewal schemes, hydroelectric projects, natural resource extraction projects, industrial parks as well as irrigation projects, all require land. In fact, it will not be possible to build dams, canals, bridges or highways without land. Therefore, a common outcome of such projects is the upheaval and displacement of communities already existing in the said areas.

It is not only physical development programmes that result in the expropriation of land and displacement of population. Conservation projects including programmes for re-introducing wildlife, and creating game parks and bio-diversity zones also result in people getting displaced.

The main causes of development-induced displacement over the past fifty years are noted to be as follows:

- (i) Water supply (dams, reservoirs, irrigation systems)
- (ii) Transportation (roads, highway, canals)
- (iii) Energy (oil exploration/extraction, mining, power plants, pipelines)
- (iv) Large mono-crop plantations such as oil palms, grains, sugarcane and soya
- (v) Forest reserves, national parks and forest reserves
- (vi) Population redistribution schemes
- (vii) Urban infrastructure

Urban renewal and beautification schemes that are aimed at developing cities so as to attract urban dwellers as well as tourists, result in entire neighbourhoods being displaced. It is, therefore, quite likely that in the coming years, development projects will impact a growing number of people. Estimates indicate that going by the urban growth rate that exceeds about 6 per cent each year, over two billion people will be residing in large cities with populations exceeding a million by the year 2025.

Definition of the Displaced Persons

People move from one place to another due to several reasons. However, not all people who migrate will be termed as displaced. In regard to the development projects and their consequences, the term 'displaced persons' is used for people who are forced to move out of their habitat, whether it is individually and formally owned, or is a customarily and collectively owned area. Some of them lose all access to most of their lands, but their houses may be left untouched. For instance, many groups that are forest dependants are denied access to their livelihood when their habitat is declared a park or sanctuary, but they do not move away physically. They are called project-affected persons since the prevalent laws recognize only individually titled land ownership.

The difference between project affected persons and displaced persons is that the former become economically alienated from their resources for livelihood, but are not always forced to relocate physically. The latter, however, are the people who are not only deprived from using their resources, but they are also uprooted from their habitat.

Such people who are forcibly uprooted by any development are typically displaced within the borders of their own countries. They are commonly termed as internally displaced, and this form of displacement is known as internal displacement. The UN guiding principles on internally displaced persons define them as follows: 'internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border' (UN, 2004).

These displaced people are distinguished from refugees. In legal terms, the latter are defined as those who have fled across an international border to escape danger or due to fear of being persecuted. This legal distinction is significant because unlike refugees,

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there are no international instruments of law to protect internally displaced people. No specific international body is obligated to protect the rights of internally displaced people or to respond to their requirements, needs or grievances. In fact, it can be quite a challenge for external help to reach internally displaced people. Therefore, most such internally displaced people are even more vulnerable than refugees.

Types of Development Projects and Displacement

Displacement can be of the following types:

- (i) Physical (individuals, families and communities are actually relocated from one place to another)
- (ii) Economic (individuals, families or communities cease to have access to natural resources that are vital for the sustenance of their livelihood, eg., forests and grasslands for their cattle to graze and fresh drinking water)
- (iii) Physical and economic

Development projects usually impact not just the people in the vicinity of the project area, but also people who inhabit the nearby areas. For example, if a dam or mine is constructed, in addition to the people residing on lands used for the project, people residing downstream from a dam may also lose out on fishing facilities required to sustain them. The pollution from these mines may adversely affect the health of the entire community. Such conditions force people to move.

There is a wide range of development projects. We will, however, focus on the following three categories:

- (i) Dams
- (ii) Urban renewal and development
- (iii) Natural resource extraction

Dams and Displacement

Of all the types of development projects that result in physical displacement, the projects that cause the most physical displacement are the construction of dams.

The infrastructure related to these dams, including irrigation canals and power stations, cause the maximum displacement in India. This is partly due to the enormity of the projects of mega dams and high dams. According to the World Bank Environment Department (WBED), it is estimated that approximately 40 per cent of the annual development-induced displaced—which is more than 4 million people—is an outcome of dam projects. An overall estimate of dam projects-related displacement over the second half of the twentieth century shows that about 30 to 80 million people were displaced in the world. These estimates, however, do not take into account the full extent of displacement outside or beyond the dam and reservoir sites.

Various reports that have assessed projects related to large dams and their impact on the economy, environment and society, indicate that the impact cannot be ignored. In regard to such impact, the 2000 report of the World Commission on Dam (WCD) provides a comprehensive overview of the impact of big dam projects, which includes not only direct displacement and resettlement, but also indirect displacement. The information to support such claims relate to the following:

- (a) Inundation of precious agricultural land and animal habitat
- (b) Capturing of sediment by dams, resulting in soil erosion and degradation downstream

- (c) Endangerment of freshwater habitats, resulting in the extinction of life forms in the rivers and wetlands
- (d) Seismicity induced by reservoirs
- (e) Spread of diseases by insects thriving in stagnant reservoir water
- (f) Environmental destruction and human death resulting from dam failure or collapse

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India ranks third in the world when it comes to building dams. At present, there are 4877 completed large dams and 313 large dams are under construction in India. Dams have been the biggest cause of the destruction of habitat and displacement of people in the last fifty years. Even though large dams comprise merely 26.6 per cent of the total displacement-causing projects funded by the World Bank, the displacement that results from building them makes up 62.8 per cent of the total number of people displaced. It is quite apparent that project authorities do not consider the issues of displacement and rehabilitation as important parts of the project. The main issues are related to engineering specifications and benefits from electricity and irrigation. In this event, concerned authorities rarely attempt to study the displaced population in detail, which makes it difficult to find out the actual number of displaced persons.

Official figures are usually underestimates. They indicated that only 1,000 people were displaced by the Hirakund dam project in Orissa. However, research leads us to believe that 1,80,000 people were displaced. According to official estimates, the Farakka Super Thermal Power plant project in West Bengal did not impact anyone. However, the World Bank reports that over 63,325 people were affected.

Urban Infrastructure and Transportation and Displacement

Most of the urban infrastructure and transportation projects that lead to displacement include clearing and upgrading of slums. However, every year many thousands of slum dwellers are displaced due to such projects. Slum dwellers are displaced across the world due to the following reasons:

- Setting up of industries and commercial estates
- Building and upgrading of sewerage systems, schools, hospitals, ports, etc.
- Constructing communication and transportation networks, including those connecting various urban centres

As per the report of the World Bank Environment Department (WBED), there occurs approximately 60 per cent development-induced displacement annually. Among these, the displacement of about 6 million people is a result of urban infrastructure and transportation projects. Till now, the project of Jabotabek in Indonesia, which resulted in the displacement of approximately 40,000–50,000 people and Hyderabad Water Supply Project in India, which ousted 50,000 people, are among the largest urban displacements on record.

Natural Resource Extraction and Displacement

It is to be mentioned that this category of projects includes those having to do with mineral and oil extraction. In the absence of any specific study dealing with these kinds of projects, no cumulative or annual statistics are available on the number of people displaced by such natural resource extraction projects worldwide. However, anecdotal evidence and figures from the World Bank projects mentioned that displacement due to such projects is much lower than due to many other dam and urban renewal and

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development projects. The issue of displacement due to such projects has often been neglected. This is likely due to the following two factors:

- (i) Firstly, such projects like mining and oil projects cause only limited number of displacement as compared to large infrastructure projects.
- (ii) Secondly, the displacement caused by such projects is often indirect. For instance, seepage from an oil pipeline might cause drinking water contamination and the destruction of farmland, leading families to abandon their homes and lands for safer conditions elsewhere.

In contrast to the direct displacement caused by many large infrastructure projects, such indirect forms of displacement are less apparent and seldom lead to formal resettlement operations. Also, since the activities of such projects are not occurring in the open field but in the underground, the actual physical displacement is lesser than in any other developmental project.

6.3 REGIONAL DISPARITIES

In India, development has been mostly in urban areas which have created inequalities between the various states. Many call this the gap between 'India' and 'Bharat'. Aside from the urban-rural divide, there is also the gap between the rich and the poor which is widening. There are 100 or so billionaires in India; at the same time, India is home to 800 million people who earn less than ₹ 20 a day. According to a committee headed by former Reserve Bank governor, C Rangarajan, there were 363 million people, or 29.5 per cent of India's 1.2 billion people, who lived in poverty in 2011-12. India has the ignoble distinction of having more poor people in the five BIMARU states than all the countries of sub Saharan Africa combined.

Moreover, there are a total of seven states in India which are lagging behind in the race of economic growth namely Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. These states are known as the BIMARU states. Along with development efforts in these BIMARU states, there are efforts being made to include conflict ridden states of the North-East region (backward economically) and Jammu and Kashmir (economically stable but socially vulnerable) into the mainstream.

Various factors are taken into consideration while determining national inequalities which are as follows:

- The level of literacy
- Female education
- Nutritional standards
- Infant mortality
- Morbidity
- Employment
- Income distribution
- Public distribution system
- Political commitments and their corresponding interactions
- Infrastructural facilities for all contribute to these striking variations among states in the livelihood of common people.

Annual growth rates of different states between 1999 and 2008 strongly reveals economic disparities in the country as per the data Gujarat (8.8 per cent), Haryana (8.7 per cent), or Delhi (7.4 per cent) were much ahead in the race as compared to Bihar (5.1 per cent), Uttar Pradesh (4.4 per cent), or Madhya Pradesh (3.5 per cent).

In 2013-14, Puducherry attained highest GSDP growth of 10.69 per cent among 33 Indian States and Union Territories. Only Puducherry had growth rate of above 10 per cent followed by Meghalaya (9.76 per cent), Chandigarh (9.64 per cent), Madhya Pradesh (9.48 per cent) and Delhi (9.35 per cent). With Gross State Domestic Product growth rate of 9.12 per cent Bihar is at number 7 and Gujarat is at number 10.

Six states/UTs had growth rate between 9 - 10 per cent and 5 states had between 8 - 9 per cent. The bottom five states, in reverse order, are Odisha (1.82 per cent), Telangana (4.76 per cent), Rajasthan (4.79 per cent), Uttar Pradesh (4.95 per cent) and Chhattisgarh (4.99 per cent).

Though the Indian Government is constantly trying to improve the economic status of different states by undertaking different policies and programmes, yet the issue is of major concern. The Five-Year Plans introduced by the Indian Government have proved to be useful in reducing regional disparities. In India, planned development through Five Year Plans have always emphasized on developing backward regions. Recently, there have been indications that certain states in India would be designated as backward so as to increase central assistance to these states. Another factor that may help in reducing regional disparities between states is the rise of coalition politics in India. In recent times, it has been seen that major regional political parties, especially in the BIMARU states, hold the key to government formation at the centre. To support the national parties to form the government at the Centre, many of these regional parties extract their pound of flesh. This often includes economic packages or debt relief to states where the regional party is in power. However, analysts point out that although the gap between different states may reduce, the income inequality that has widened between the rich and the poor can only reduce if alternative economic policies are followed at the Centre. This would entail a rethink of the neoclassical economic theories presently being followed in India.

6.4 ECOLOGICAL DEGRADATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE

Ecological degradation refers to erosion of the quality of natural environment caused, directly or indirectly, by human activities. In this section, we will study the various types of environmental pollution.

1. Air Pollution

The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1981 defines 'air pollutant' and with reference to them defines air pollution. 'Air pollutant' means any solid, liquid or gaseous substance (including noise) present in the atmosphere in such concentration as may be or tend to be injurious to human beings or other living creatures or plants or property or environment. Air pollution means the presence in the atmosphere of any air pollutant. In this connection, the definition of 'emission' is also relevant. 'Emission' means any solid, liquid or gaseous substance coming out of any chimney, duct or any other outlet. There are 'standards' and legislation that exist for emissions.

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Check Your Progress

1. What is the difference between project affected persons and displaced persons?
2. What are the types of displacement?
3. List the various factors considered while determining national inequalities.

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Approximately 95 per cent of earth's air occurs in the lower levels, the troposphere. In the natural state, air contains 78 per cent nitrogen, 21 per cent oxygen, 0.4 per cent carbon dioxide plus small amounts of other gases and water vapour. The remaining 0.5 per cent of the planet air occurs in the upper levels, the stratosphere together with gases like ozone.

Air pollutants can be primary or secondary. Primary pollutants are carbon dioxide, nitrogen oxides, sulphur dioxide, carbon monoxide (all formed from the combustion of fossil fuels), CFC and particulate matter. Secondary pollutants are acid rain and ozone. Sulphur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide combine with water in the atmosphere and react with sunlight forming acid droplets. These acid droplets constitute acid rain.

Sources of Air Pollution

The sources of air pollution are both natural and man-made (anthropogenic).

Natural sources: The natural sources of air pollution are volcanic eruptions, forest fires, sea salt sprays, biological decay, photochemical oxidation, extraterrestrial bodies, pollen grains of flowers and so forth. Radioactive minerals present in the earth crust are the sources of radioactivity in the atmosphere.

Man-made: Man-made sources include thermal power plants, industrial units, vehicular emissions, burning of fossil fuel, agricultural activities and so forth. Thermal power plants have become the major sources for generating electricity in India. The main pollutants emitted are fly ash and SO₂. Metallurgical plants also consume coal and produce similar pollutants. Fertilizer plants, smelters, textile mills, chemical industries, paper and pulp mills are other sources of air pollution.

Automobile exhaust is another major source of air pollution.

Indoor air pollution: The most important indoor air pollutant is radon gas. This is responsible for a large number of lung cancer deaths each year. These could be emitted from building materials like bricks, concrete and tiles. Many houses in the underdeveloped countries including India, use fuels like coal, dung-cakes, wood and kerosene in their kitchens. Complete combustion of fuel produces carbon dioxide which may be toxic; however, incomplete combustion produces the toxic gas, carbon monoxide.

Effects of Air pollution

1. **Effects on human health:** Years of exposure to air pollutants including cigarette smoke adversely affect the natural defenses of the body and can result in lung cancer, asthma, chronic bronchitis and other ailments. Many other pollutants may have toxic metals which can cause mutations, reproductive problems or even cancer.
2. **Effects on plants:** Air pollutants affect plants by entering the cells through stomata. The damage results in the death of the plant.
3. **Effects on aquatic life:** Air pollutants mixing up with rain can cause high acidity in fresh water lakes, which affects aquatic life especially fish. Some of the freshwater lakes have experienced total death of fish.
4. **Effects on materials:** Because of their corrosiveness, particulates can cause damage to exposed surfaces.

Control of Air Pollution

Air pollution can be minimized by the following methods:

1. Setting up of industries after proper environmental impact assessment studies.
2. Using low sulphur coal in industries.
3. Removing sulphur from coal (by washing or with the help of bacteria).
4. Removing NO_x during the combustion process.
5. Removing particulate from stack exhaust gases by employing electrostatic precipitators, bag-house filters, cyclone separators, scrubbers and so forth.
6. Vehicular pollution can be checked by regular tune-up of engines, converters, by engine modification to have fuel effective (lean) mixtures to reduce CO and hydrocarbon emissions and slow and cooler burning of fuels to reduce NO_x emission (Honda Technology).
7. Using mass transport system, bicycles and so forth.
8. Shifting to less polluting fuels (hydrogen gas).
9. Using non-conventional sources of energy.
10. Using biological filters and bio-scrubbers.
11. Planting more trees.
12. Through the Air Pollution Control Act, 1981.

2. Noise Pollution

We hear various types of sounds everyday. Sound is a form of mechanical energy emitted from a vibrating source. A type of sound may be pleasant to someone and at the same time unpleasant to others. The unpleasant and unwanted sound is called noise.

The CPCB (Central Pollution Control Board) has recommended permissible noise levels for different locations.

Effects of Noise

1. **Interferes with man's communication:** In a noisy area, communication is severely affected.
2. **Hearing damage:** Noise can cause temporary or permanent hearing loss. It depends on the intensity and duration of sound level. Auditory sensitivity is reduced with noise levels over 90 dB in the mid-high frequency, for more than a few minutes.
3. **Physiological and psychological changes:** Continuous exposure to noise affects the functioning of various systems of the body. It may result in hypertension, insomnia (sleeplessness), gastro-intestinal and digestive disorders and so forth.

Control of Noise Pollution

1. Reduction in the sources of noise.
2. Noise making machines should be kept in containers with sound absorbing media. The noise path will be interrupted and will not reach the workers.
3. Proper oiling will reduce the noise from machinery.

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4. Use of sound absorbing silencers. Silencers can reduce noise by absorbing sound. For this purpose, various types of fibrous material can be used.
5. Planting more trees that have broad leaves.
6. Through Law. Legislation can ensure that sound production is minimized at various social functions. Unnecessary blowing of horn should be restricted especially, in vehicle-congested areas.

3. Water Pollution

Water pollution can be defined as an alteration in the physical, chemical or biological characteristics of water, making it unsuitable for the designated use in its natural state.

Sources of Water Pollution

Water is an essential commodity for survival. We need water for drinking, cooking, bathing, washing, irrigation and for all industrial operations. Water has the property to dissolve many substances in it. Therefore, it can easily get polluted. Pollution of water can be caused by point sources or non-point sources. Major point sources of water pollution are industries, power plants, underground coal mines, offshore oil wells and so forth.

Groundwater Pollution and Surface Water Pollution

Groundwater pollution

Groundwater forms about 6.2 per cent of the total water available on planet earth, and is about thirty times more than surface water, i.e., streams, lakes and estuaries. Septic tanks, industry (textile, chemical, tanneries), deep-well injection, mining and others are mainly responsible for ground water pollution which is irreversible. Ground water pollution with arsenic, fluoride and nitrate pose serious health hazards.

Surface water pollution

The major sources of surface water pollution are as follows:

- Sewage
- Industrial effluents
- Synthetic detergents
- Agrochemicals
- Oil
- Waste heat

Effects of Water Pollution

The following are some of the important effects of various types of water pollutants:

- Oxygen-demanding wastes
- Nitrogen and phosphorus compounds (nutrients)
- Pathogens
- Toxic compounds
- Waterborne diseases
- Reduction in dissolved oxygen in water resources

Pesticides in drinking water ultimately reach humans and are known to cause various health problems. DDT, aldrin, dieldrin and so forth have therefore, been banned.

Control of Water Pollution

It is easy to reduce water pollution from point sources by legislation. However, due to the absence of any defined strategies it becomes difficult to prevent water pollution from non-point sources. The following points may help to reduce water pollution from non-point sources:

- Judicious use of agrochemicals like pesticides and fertilizers which will reduce their surface run-off and leaching. Avoid the use of these on sloped lands.
- Use of nitrogen-fixing plants to supplement the use of fertilizers.
- Adopting integrated pest management to reduce reliance on pesticides.
- Prevent run-off of manure. Divert such run-offs to basin for settlement. The nutrient rich water can be used as fertilizer in the fields.
- Separate drainage of sewage and rain water should be provided.
- Plantation of trees would reduce pollution and will also prevent soil erosion.
- Industrial effluents to be allowed only after treatment.

4. Thermal Pollution

Thermal pollution can be defined as the presence of excessive heat in the water which can cause undesirable changes in the natural environment.

Heat producing industries like thermal power plants, nuclear power plants, refineries and steel mills are the major sources of thermal pollution.

Effects of Thermal Pollution

- The dissolved oxygen content of water is decreased as the solubility of oxygen in water is decreased at high temperature.
- High temperature becomes a barrier for oxygen penetration into deep cold waters.
- Toxicity of pesticides, detergents and chemicals in the effluents increases with the increase in temperature.
- The composition of flora and fauna changes because the species which are sensitive to increased temperature due to thermal shock, will be replaced by temperature tolerant species.
- Metabolic activities of aquatic organisms increase at high temperatures and require more oxygen.
- Discharge of hot water near the shores can disturb spawning and can even kill young fish.
- Fish migrations are affected due to the formation of various thermal zones.

Control of Thermal Pollution

The following methods can be employed for the control of thermal pollution:

- Cooling ponds
- Spray ponds
- Cooling towers

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5. Marine Pollution

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The main sources of marine pollution are: 1) rivers, which bring pollutants from their drainage basins 2) catchment areas, and, coastlines where human settlements in the form of hotels, industry, agricultural practices have been established and 3) oil drilling and shipping.

Most of the rivers join the ocean. The pollutants which these rivers carry, from their drainage basins, are finally poured into the sea. These include sewage sludge, industrial effluents, synthetic detergents, agrochemicals, solid wastes, plastics, metals and waste heat released by industries.

In the sea, the pollutants get diluted and the organic matter is further broken down as in river water. Still, many pollutants, especially the recalcitrant ones, remain unchanged or are partially degraded causing marine pollution.

Tankers and other shipping means, industries like petroleum, refinery, lubrication oil using industry, metal industry and paint industry, automotive wastes refineries, ship-accidents and offshore production add to marine pollution.

Oil in sea water can spread over a large area of the sea and remain dispersed or get absorbed by sediments. It can cause adverse effects on marine life.

Control of Marine Pollution

- Toxic pollutants from industries and sewage treatment plants should not be discharged in coastal waters.
- Run-offs from non-point sources should be prevented from reaching coastal areas.
- Sewer overflows should be prevented by keeping separate sewer and rain water pipes.
- Dumping of toxic, hazardous wastes and sewage sludge should be banned.
- Developmental activities on coastal areas should be minimized.
- Oil and grease from service stations should be processed for reuse.
- Oil from ballasts should not be dumped into the sea.
- Ecologically sensitive coastal areas should be protected by not allowing any drilling.

6. Soil Pollution

Soil is the upper layer of the earth's crust which is formed by weathering of rocks. Organic matter in the soil makes it suitable for living organisms to thrive. Dumping of various types of materials, especially domestic and industrial wastes, causes soil pollution.

Domestic wastes include garbage, rubbish material like glass, plastics, metallic cans, paper, fibres, cloth rags, containers and paint varnishes. Leachates from dumping sites and sewage tanks are harmful and toxic which pollute the soil.

Thermal power plants generate a large quantity of 'fly ash'. Huge quantities of these wastes are dumped on soil, thus, contaminating them.

Industrial wastes also contain some organic and inorganic compounds that are refractory and non-biodegradable.

Soil also receives excreta from animals and humans. The sewage sludge contains many pathogenic organisms, bacteria, viruses and intestinal worms which cause pollution in the soil.

Effects of Soil Pollution

Sewage and industrial effluents which pollute the soil ultimately affect human health. Various types of chemicals like acids, alkalis, pesticides and insecticides found in the industrial discharges affect soil fertility by causing changes in its physical, chemical and biological properties.

Some of the persistent toxic chemicals accumulate in the food chain and ultimately affect human health. Sewage sludge has many types of bacteria, viruses and intestinal worms which may cause various types of diseases.

Control of Soil Pollution

- Effluents should be properly treated before discharging them into the soil.
- Solid wastes should be properly collected and disposed off by appropriate methods.
- From the wastes, useful products should be recovered.
- Biodegradable organic waste should be used for the generation of biogas.
- Cattle dung should be used for methane generation. Night soil can also be used in the biogas plant to produce methane gas.
- Microbial degradation of biodegradable substances is also one of the scientific approaches for reducing soil pollution.

7. Nuclear Hazards

Radioactive substances are present in nature. They undergo natural radioactive decay, in which unstable isotopes spontaneously give out fast moving particles, high energy radiations or both, at a fixed rate, until a new stable isotope is formed.

These particles and rays pass through paper and wood but can be stopped by concrete wall, lead slabs or water. Damage caused by the different types of radiations depends on the penetration power and the presence of the source inside or outside the body.

Control of Nuclear Pollution

1. Setting up of nuclear power plants should be carefully done after studying both long-term and short-term effects.
2. Proper disposal of wastes from laboratories using radioisotopes should be done.

8. Solid Waste Management

Higher standard of living of ever increasing population has resulted in an increase in the quantity and variety of waste generated. It is now realized that if waste generation continues indiscriminately, then very soon it would be beyond rectification.

Management of solid waste has, therefore, become very important in order to minimize the adverse effects of solid wastes. Solid waste (waste other than liquid or gaseous) can be classified as municipal, industrial, agricultural, medical, mining waste and sewage sludge.

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Sources of Urban and Industrial Wastes

These wastes consist of medical waste from hospitals, municipal solid waste from homes, offices, markets (commercial waste) small cottage units, and horticulture waste from parks, gardens and orchards.

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The urban solid waste materials that can be degraded by micro-organisms are called biodegradable wastes. For example, vegetable wastes, stale food, tea leaves, egg shells, peanut shells, dry leaves and so forth are solid wastes.

Wastes that cannot be degraded by micro-organisms are called non-biodegradable wastes, e.g., polyethylene bags, scrap metal, glass bottles and others.

Industrial waste consists of a large number of materials, including factory rubbish, packaging material, organic waste and acids. There are large quantities of hazardous and toxic materials which are also produced during industrial processing.

Effects of Solid Wastes

Municipal solid waste heap up on the roads due to improper disposal system. People clean their own houses and litter their immediate surroundings which affect the community including themselves. This type of dumping allows biodegradable materials to decompose under uncontrolled and unhygienic conditions. This produces foul smell and breeds various types of insects and infectious organisms, besides spoiling the aesthetics of the site.

Industrial solid wastes are sources of toxic metals and hazardous wastes, which may spread on land and can cause changes in the physicochemical and the biological characteristics, thereby affecting the productivity of soils. Toxic substances may leach or percolate and contaminate the ground water.

Management of Solid Waste

For waste management, we must focus on three 'Rs' - Reduce, Reuse and Recycle before destruction and safe storage of wastes.

- (i) Reduction in the use of raw materials
- (ii) Reuse of waste materials
- (iii) Recycling of materials

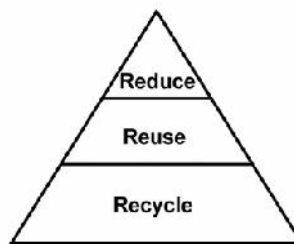


Fig. 6.1 The Three Rs of Solid Waste Management

For discarding wastes, the following methods could be used:

- Sanitary landfill
- Composting
- Incineration

Role of Individuals in Preventing Pollution

The role of every individual in preventing pollution is of paramount importance because if every individual contributes substantially, the effect will be visible not only at the community, city, state or national level, but also at the global level as environment has no boundaries.

It is the responsibility of the human race which has occupied a commanding position on this earth to protect the earth and provide conducive environment for itself, and innumerable other species which are on this earth. A small effort made by each individual at his own place will have pronounced effect at the global level. It is appropriately said 'Think globally, act locally.'

Each individual should change his or her lifestyle in such a way so as to reduce environmental pollution. It can be done through the following suggestions:

1. Help more in pollution prevention than pollution control.
2. Use eco-friendly products.
3. Cut down the use of Chloro Fluoro Carbons (CFCs) as they destroy the ozone layer. Do not use polystyrene cups that have CFC molecules in them, they destroy ozone layer.
4. Use the chemicals derived from peaches and plums to clean computer chips and circuit boards, instead of CFCs.
5. Use CFC free refrigerators.

The manufacture and operation of such devices should be encouraged that do not pollute the environment.

Air pollution can be prevented by using clean fuel, i.e., hydrogen fuel. Hydrogen for that matter, should not be produced by passing current in water, in that case the environment will be polluted. So, solar hydrogen fuel is the need of the hour.

The following are the practical hints for an individual to prevent pollution:

- Reduce your dependency on fossil fuel, especially coal or oil.
- Save electricity by not wasting it when not required because electricity saved is electricity generated without polluting the environment.
- Adopt and popularize renewable energy sources.
- Improve energy efficiency. This will reduce the amount of waste energy.
- Promote reuse and recycling whenever possible and reduce the production of wastes.
- Use mass transport system. For short visits, use bicycle or go on foot.
- Decrease the use of automobiles.
- Use pesticides only when absolutely necessary, that too in right amounts.
- Use rechargeable batteries, it will reduce metal pollution.
- Use less hazardous chemicals wherever possible.
- The solid waste generated during one manufacturing process can be used as a raw material for some other processes.

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- Do not put pesticides, paints, solvents, oils or other harmful chemicals into the drain or ground water.
- Use only the minimum and required quantity of water for various activities.
- Plant more trees, as trees can absorb many toxic gases and can purify the air.
- Check population growth so that demand of materials is under control.

6.4.1 Major Acts and Regulations Related to the Environment

In this section, we will have a look at major acts related to the environment, for example, air, water and soil.

Environmental Protection Act

The Act came into force on 19 November, 1986. The Act extends to the whole of India. Some terms related to environment have been described as follows in the Act:

1. Environment includes water, air and land and the interrelationship that exist among and between them and human beings, all other living organisms and property.
2. Environmental pollution means the presence of any solid, liquid or gaseous substance present in such concentration as may be or tend to be injurious to the environment.
3. Hazardous substance means any substance or preparation which by its physico-chemical properties or handling is liable to cause harm to human beings, other living organisms, property or environment.

The Act has given powers to the central government to take measures to protect and improve the environment, while the state government coordinate the actions. The most important function of central government under this Act includes:

Setting up of:

- (a) The standards of quality of air, water or soil for various areas and purposes.
- (b) The maximum permissible limits of concentration of various environmental pollutants for different areas.
- (c) The procedures and safeguards for the handling of hazardous substances.
- (d) The prohibition and restrictions on the handling of hazardous substances in different areas.
- (e) The prohibition and restriction on the location of the industries and to carry on processes and operations in different areas.
- (f) The procedures and safeguards for the prevention of accidents which may cause environmental pollution and providing for remedial measures for such accidents.

The power of entry and inspection, power to take samples, etc., under this Act, lies with the central government or any officer empowered by it.

For the purpose of protecting and improving the quality of the environment and preventing and abating pollution, standards have been specified under Schedule I-IV of Environment (Protection) Rules, 1986, for emission of gaseous pollutants and discharge of effluents/waste water from industries.

These standards vary from industry to industry and also vary with the medium into which the effluent is discharged or the area of emission.

Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1981

The salient features of the Act are as follows:

1. It provides for prevention, control and abatement of air pollution.
2. Air pollution has been defined as the presence of any solid, liquid or gaseous substance (including noise) in the atmosphere in such concentration as may be or tend to be harmful to human beings or any other living creatures or plants or property or environment.
3. Noise pollution has been inserted as pollution in the Act in 1987.
4. Pollution control boards at the central or state level have the regulatory authority to implement the Air Act. Just parallel to the functions related to the Water (Prevention and control of pollution) Act, the boards perform similar functions related to the improvement of air quality.

The boards have to check whether or not the industry strictly follows the norms or standards laid down by the board under Section 17 regarding the discharge of emission of any air pollutant. Based upon analysis report, consent is granted or refused to the industry.

5. Just like the Water Act, the Air Act has provisions for defining the constitution, power and function of pollution control boards, funds, accounts, audit, penalties and procedures.
6. Section 20 of the Act has provision for insuring emission standards for automobiles. Based upon it, the state government is empowered to issue instructions to the authorities in charge of registration of motor vehicles (under Motor Vehicle Act, 1939) that is bound to comply with such instructions.
7. As per Section 19, in consultation with the State Pollution Control Board, the state government may declare an area within the state as 'Air Pollution Control Area' and can prohibit the use of any fuel other than the approved fuel in the area causing air pollution. No person shall without prior consent of the State Board operate or establish any industrial unit in the 'Air Pollution Control Area'.

The Water and Air Acts have also made special provisions for appeals. Under Section 28 of the Water Act and Section 31 of the Air Act, a provision for appeals has been made. An appellate authority consisting of a single person or three persons appointed by the head of the state, the Governor is constituted to hear such appeals as filed by some aggrieved parties due to some order made by the state board within thirty days of passing the orders.

The appellate authority, after giving the appellant and the state board, an opportunity of being heard, disposes off the appeal as expeditiously as possible.

Penalties include a fine of up to ₹5000 a day and/or imprisonment for up to one and a half to six years for first offence and fine of ₹10000 a day and imprisonment of one and a half to six years.

Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1974

It provides for maintaining and restoring the wholesomeness of water by preventing and controlling its pollution. Water pollution is defined as such contamination of water, or such alteration of the physical, chemical or biological properties of water or such discharge as is likely to cause a nuisance or render the water harmful or injurious to public health

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and safety or harmful for any other use or to aquatic plants and other organisms or animal life.

The definition of water pollution has, thus, encompassed the entire probable agents in water that may cause any harm or have a potential to harm any kind of life in any way.

The salient features and provisions of the Act are summed up as follows:

1. It provides for maintenance and restoration of the quality of all types of surface and groundwater.
2. It provides for the establishment of Central and State Boards for pollution control.
3. It confers them with powers and functions to control pollution.

The Central and State Pollution Control Boards are widely represented and are given comprehensive powers to advise, coordinate and provide technical assistance for prevention and control of pollution of water.

4. The Act has provisions for funds, budgets, accounts and audit of the Central and State Pollution Control Boards.
5. The Act makes provisions for various penalties for the defaulters and procedure for the same.

The main regulatory bodies are the Pollution Control Boards, which have been conferred the following duties and powers:

Central Pollution Control Board (CPCB):

The board is supposed to:

1. Advise the central government in matters related to the prevention and control of water pollution.
2. Coordinate the activities of State Pollution Control Boards and provides them technical assistance and guidance.
3. Organize training programmes for prevention and control of pollution.
4. Organize comprehensive programmes on pollution-related issues through mass media.
5. Collect, compile and publish technical and statistical data related to pollution.
6. Prepare manuals for treatment and disposal of sewage and trade effluents.
7. Lay down standards for water quality parameters.
8. Plan nation-wide programmes for prevention, control or abatement of pollution.
9. Establish and recognize laboratories for analysis of water, sewage or trade effluent sample.

The State Pollution Control Boards also have similar functions to be executed at the state level and are governed by the directions of CPCB.

1. The board advises the state government with respect to the location of any industry that might pollute a stream or a well.
2. It lays down standards for effluents and is empowered to take samples from any stream, well or trade effluent or sewage passing through an industry.
3. The State Board is empowered to take legal samples of trade effluent in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Act. The sample taken in the presence of the

occupier or his agent is divided into two parts, sealed, signed by both the parties and sent for analysis to some recognized lab. If the samples do not conform to the prescribed water quality standards (crossing maximum permissible limits), then 'consent' is refused to the unit.

4. Every industry has to obtain consent from the Board (granted for a fixed duration) by applying on a prescribed proforma providing all technical details, along with a prescribed fee, following which analysis of the effluent is carried out.
5. The Board suggests efficient methods of utilization, treatment and disposal of trade effluents.

The Act has made detailed provisions regarding the power of the Boards to obtain information, take trade samples, restrict new outlets, restrict expansion, enter and inspect the units and sanction or refuse consent to the industry after effluent analysis.

While development is necessary, it is all the more important to prevent pollution which can jeopardize the lives of people. Installation and proper functioning of effluent treatment plants in all polluting industries is a must for checking the pollution of water and land. Despite certain weaknesses in the Act, the Water Act has ample provisions for preventing and controlling water pollution through legal measures.

Penalties include a fine of up to ₹5000 a day for first offence and/or imprisonment from one to six years. On repeated offence, the penalty goes up to ₹ 10000 a day and/or imprisonment from one to six years.

6.4.2 Climate Change and Global Warming

Let us discuss the concept of climate change and global warming in the following section.

Climate Change

Climate is the average weather of an area. It is the general weather conditions, seasonal variations and extremes of weather in a region. Such conditions which average over a long period, for at least thirty years is called climate.

The Intergovernmental Panel On Climate Change (IPCC) in 1990 and 1992 published the best available evidence about past climate changes, the greenhouse effect and recent changes in global temperature. It was observed that earth's temperature has changed considerably during the geological times. It has experienced several glacial and interglacial periods. However, during the past 10,000 years of the current interglacial period, the mean average temperature has fluctuated by 0.51°C over the 100 to 200 year period. We have relatively stable climate for thousands of years due to which we have practised agriculture and increased population. Even small changes in the climatic conditions may disturb agriculture that would lead to migration of animals including humans.

At its 43rd Session (Nairobi, Kenya, 11 - 13 April 2016), the IPCC had decided to prepare a special report on climate change, desertification, land degradation, sustainable land management, food security and greenhouse gas fluxes in terrestrial ecosystems.

Anthropogenic activities are upsetting the delicate balance that has been established between various components of the environment. Greenhouse gases have increased in the atmosphere resulting in the increase in the average global temperature.

This may upset the hydrological cycle, resulting in floods and droughts in different regions of the world, causing sea level to rise, changes in agricultural productivity, famines and death of humans as well as livestock.

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Global Warming

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Troposphere, the lower most layer of the atmosphere, traps heat by natural processes due to the presence of certain gases. This effect is called greenhouse effect, as it is similar to the warming effect observed in the horticultural greenhouse made of glass.

The amount of heat trapped in the atmosphere depends mostly upon the concentration of heat trapping or greenhouse gases and the length of time they stay in the atmosphere. The major greenhouse gases are carbon dioxide, ozone, methane, nitrous oxide and water vapour.

The average global temperature is 15°C. In the absence of greenhouse gases, this temperature would have been 18°C. Therefore, greenhouse effect contributes to a temperature rise to the tune of 33°C.

Heat trapped by greenhouse gases in the atmosphere keeps the planet warm enough to allow us and other species to exist. The two predominant greenhouse gases are water vapour which is controlled by the hydrological cycle and carbon dioxide which is controlled mostly by the global carbon cycle. While the levels of water vapour in the troposphere have relatively remained constant, the levels of carbon dioxide have increased.

Other gases whose levels have increased due to human activities are methane and nitrous oxide. Deforestation has further resulted in elevated levels of carbon dioxide due to the non-removal of carbon dioxide by plants through photosynthesis.

Warming or cooling by more than 2°C over the past few decades may prove to be disastrous for various ecosystems on the earth, including humans as it would alter the conditions faster than some species could adapt or migrate. Some areas will become inhabitable because of droughts or floods following the rise in the average sea level.

Greenhouse Gases

The phenomenon that worries the environmental scientists is that due to anthropogenic activities, there is an increase in the concentration of the greenhouse gases in the air that absorbs infra-red light containing heat and results in the re-radiation of much of the outgoing thermal infra-red energy, thereby increasing the average surface temperature beyond 15°C. The phenomenon is referred to as the enhanced greenhouse effect to distinguish its effect from the one that has been operating naturally for millennia.

The greenhouse gases include carbon dioxide, chlorofluorocarbons, methane and nitrous oxide. These are the greenhouse gases present in the troposphere which result in an increase in the temperature of air and earth.

Impact of Enhanced Greenhouse Effect

The enhanced greenhouse effect will not only cause global warming, but will also affect various other climatic and natural processes.

1. **Global temperature increase:** It is estimated that the earth's mean temperature will rise between 1.5 to 5.5 °C by 2050, if inputs of greenhouse gases continues to rise at the present rate. Even at the lower value, earth would be warmer than it has been for the past 10,000 years.
2. **Rise in sea level:** With the increase in global temperature, sea water will expand. Heating will melt the polar ice sheets and glaciers, resulting in further rise in the sea level. Current models indicate that an increase in the average atmospheric

temperature of 3°C would raise the average global sea level by 0.2-1.5 metres over the next 50-100 years.

One metre rise in sea level will inundate low-lying areas of cities like Shanghai, Cairo, Bangkok, Sydney, Hamburg and Venice, as well as agricultural lowlands and deltas in Egypt, Bangladesh, India China. This will affect rice productivity. This will also disturb many commercially important spawning grounds, and would probably increase the frequency of storm damage to lagoons, estuaries and coral reefs.

In India, the Lakshadweep Islands with a maximum height of 4 metres above the sea level is vulnerable. Some of the cities like Mumbai may be saved by heavy investment on embankments to prevent inundation.

Life of millions of people who have build homes in the deltas of Ganges, the Nile, the Mekong, the Yangtze and the Mississippi rivers will be affected, by the sea level rise.

3. **Effects on human health:** The global warming will lead to changes in the rainfall pattern in many areas, thereby affecting the distribution of vector-borne diseases like malaria, filariasis and elephantiasis.

Areas which are presently free from diseases like malaria may become the breeding ground for the vectors of such diseases. The areas likely to be affected in this manner are Ethiopia, Kenya and Indonesia. Warmer temperature and more water stagnation will favour breeding of mosquitoes, snails and some insects, which are the vectors of such diseases. Higher temperature and humidity will increase/aggravate respiratory and skin diseases.

4. **Effects on agriculture:** There are different views regarding the effect of global warming on agriculture. It may show positive or negative effects on various types of crops in different regions of the world. Tropical and subtropical regions will be more affected since the average temperature in these regions is already on the higher side. Even a rise of 2°C may be quite harmful to crops. Soil moisture will decrease and evapo-transpiration will increase, which may drastically affect wheat and maize production.

Increase in temperature and humidity will increase pest growth like the growth of vectors for various diseases. Pests will adapt to such changes better than the crops.

To cope up with the changing situation, drought resistant, heat resistant and pest resistant varieties of crops have to be developed.

Measures to Check Global Warming

To slow down enhanced global warming the following steps will be important:

- Cut down the current rate of use of CFCs and fossil fuel.
- Use energy more efficiently.
- Shift to renewable energy resources.
- Increase in nuclear power plants for electricity production.
- Shift from coal to natural gas.
- Trap and use methane as a fuel.
- Adopt sustainable agriculture.

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- Stabilize population growth.
- Efficiently remove carbon dioxide from smoke stacks.
- Plant more trees.
- Remove atmospheric carbon dioxide by utilizing photosynthetic algae.

6.5 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Sustainable development is such a concept that signifies that the rate of consumption or the use of natural resources should be approximate to the rate at which these resources can be substituted or replaced. It also requires that a nation or a society should be able to satisfy its requirements—social, economic and others, without undermining the interest of our future generations. Developed countries use too many natural resources and such practice cannot continue for long. Mother Nature has been making available its resources and services and it is also serving as a receptacle for absorbing wastes for too long a time. We have to realize now that nature today is very fragile. Nature is finite. Moreover, experts have warned that it has reached a critical threshold beyond which it would lead to ecological decline that would further lead to nothing but ‘disaster’. These experts are strong advocates of ‘limits to growth’ philosophy.

This concept of sustainable development can be further extended to the principle of justice and equity (equal distribution) between the developed and underdeveloped countries of north and south. Therefore, national as well as international leaders and institutions have a major responsibility for sound developmental, economic and environmental issues. They should keep in view the principle of equity and those principles that determine the intergenerational inequities.

Another aspect of sustainable development is related to system analysis, that is to say, how economic, social and environmental systems interact at various scales of operation, to lead sustainable development that will strike optimal balance among the three subsystems. It must ultimately lead to reduced poverty in developing countries by minimizing resources depletion, environmental damage and social instability.

Thus, sustainable development should lead to:

- Protecting the environment
- Avoiding depletion of non-renewable resources
- Seek reliance on alternative sources
- Equal access to resources
- Intergenerational distribution of resources
- Systems thinking

Sustainable Global Governance

In the 1970s, it was realized that there were ‘limits to growth’. If growth continued unbridled at the existing rates, it was asserted that it would exhaust the limited stock of natural resources of the earth. Although, technological innovations have contributed in pushing outwards the ‘limits to growth’, it is now being argued that the limits must be evaluated in terms of the ‘carrying capacity’ of the environment. There is a consensus over the fact that growth without commensurate efforts at environmental protection will pose a global threat.

Check Your Progress

4. List the methods for controlling air pollution.
5. Define water pollution.
6. What are the main sources of marine pollution?

The international community has responded to this perceived threat and environmental protection and sustainable development concerns are now on a high priority of the international agenda. The last century has seen a proliferation of international legal instruments—declarations and agreements—aimed at environmental protection. Whereas declarations are more general in nature, containing a general commitment to environmental protection without being legally binding, agreements contain binding obligations for the member states and deal with specific issues relating to particular environmental problems.

On various occasions, the highest representatives of states and governments have got together in international conferences on environmental protection and development. The basic principles for environmental protection, such as the precautionary principle, the polluter pays principle and the principle of sustainable development, etc., have also taken shape. Moreover, an international structure has been put in place, which is devoted to further the objective of environmental protection. There are also talks of setting up a centralized world body—a World Environment Organization (WEO)—to address the problems of environment. However, despite the intensified efforts at the international level, there are numerous challenges that must be met in order to allow these initiatives to be successful in their endeavour.

Various environmental problems have been identified, some related to the conservation of natural resources and ecosystems, such as forests, wildlife, biodiversity, wetlands, migratory species and so forth. These issues put a question mark on how much the earth can give. Other issues relate to ensuring that we stay within the limits of the ‘carrying capacity’ of the environment. These issues, mostly relating to ozone depletion, global warming, hazardous wastes, Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs), hazardous chemicals, genetically modified organisms (GMOs), atmospheric pollution and marine pollution relate to the basic question of how much the earth can take.

Because of the diversity of environmental problems, the legal regime at the international level is necessarily fragmented, with over 200 Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs) each dealing with different environmental problems.

The basic principles of environment management are increasingly being incorporated into political constitutions since the Stockholm Conference on Human Environment held in 1972. Therefore, the Stockholm Conference has taken issues such as proper use of natural reserves, environmental development as well as ecological pollution into consideration and they found expression in constitutional form. These are often articulated in terms of obligations which are stated clearly to its citizens. Moreover, a duty is often imposed on citizens to safeguard the national environment. Most of the developing countries exhibit this constitutional trend.

In the post-Stockholm years, increasing concern over continuing environmental degradation led the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) to convene the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1983. The report of the Commission (the Brundtland Report) was a catalyst for the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also known as the Earth Summit. Among other outcomes, the Summit adopted Agenda 21, a comprehensive plan of action for addressing both environment and development goals in the 21st century and the Rio Declaration.

To ensure effective follow-up of Agenda 21 and UNCED as a whole, the General Assembly established in 1992 the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) as a functional commission of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

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The Rio+20 Conference on Sustainable Development in 2012 was another landmark event for the development of global environmental governance.

Equitable Use of Resources for Sustainable Lifestyle

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There is a big division in the world in the use of resources, viz., north and south, more developed countries (MDCs) and less developed countries (LDCs), haves and have-nots.

It is observed that MDCs have only 22 per cent of world's population, but they use 88 per cent of natural resources, 73 per cent of energy and command 85 per cent of income; in turn, they contribute a big proportion to its pollution. On the other hand, LDCs have very low or moderate industrial growth and have 78 per cent of the world's population. They use only 12 per cent of natural resources, 27 per cent of energy and have only 15 per cent of global income. The rich have gone richer and the poor have become poorer. There is a huge gap between them. This is not sustainable growth.

The solution to this problem is to have better equitable distribution of resources and wealth. A global consensus has to be reached for balanced distribution. There are two major causes of unsustainability. These are as follows:

- (i) Overpopulation in poor countries
- (ii) Overconsumption of resources by rich countries

The rich countries will have to lower their consumption levels and the minimum needs of the poor must be satisfied by providing them resources. The need of the hour is fairer sharing of resources between the rich and poor, which will bring about sustainable development for all.

Within the concept of sustainable development, industrial ecology plays a significant role in order to create a balance between industrial development and preservation of natural resources. It refers to the adoption of such industrial processes, technology, equipment and raw material where the products can be recycled after their life cycle is complete or can be put to alternative use or a byproduct can be made out of it. This not only reduces the pressure on raw materials and compensates them for producing afresh; it also reduces the costing impact. Advanced technology also reduces wastage and is more energy efficient.

6.6 SUMMARY

- It is said that too many people have been displaced due to the construction of dams and the undertaking of other developmental projects in India.
- Dams are perceived as the harbingers of a new, modern India. Jawaharlal Nehru had once said that dams are the temples of modern India. He knew that development in India could not be carried out without building dams.
- It is not only physical development programmes that result into the expropriation of land and displacement of population. Conservation projects including programmes for re-introducing wildlife, and creating game parks and bio-diversity zones also result in people getting displaced.
- Of all the types of development projects that result in physical displacement, the projects that cause the most physical displacement are the construction of dams.

Check Your Progress

7. Define sustainable development.
8. What is the role of industrial ecology in sustainable development?

- It is to be mentioned that this category of projects includes those having to do with mineral and oil extraction. In the absence of any specific study dealing with these kinds of projects, no cumulative or annual statistics are available on the number of people displaced by such natural resource extraction projects worldwide.
- In India, development has been mostly in urban areas which have created inequalities between the various states. Many call this the gap between 'India' and 'Bharat'.
- The Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1981 defines 'air pollutant' and with reference to them defines air pollution. 'Air pollutant' means any solid, liquid or gaseous substance (including noise) present in the atmosphere in such concentration as may be or tend to be injurious to human beings or other living creatures or plants or property or environment.
- Water pollution can be defined as an alteration in the physical, chemical or biological characteristics of water, making it unsuitable for the designated use in its natural state.
- Thermal pollution can be defined as the presence of excessive heat in the water which can cause undesirable changes in the natural environment.
- The main sources of marine pollution are: 1) rivers, which bring pollutants from their drainage basins 2) catchment areas, and, coastlines where human settlements in the form of hotels, industry, agricultural practices have been established and 3) oil drilling and shipping.
- The role of every individual in preventing pollution is of paramount importance, because if every individual contributes substantially the effect will be visible not only at the community, city, state or national level, but also at the global level as environment has no boundaries.
- Climate is the average weather of an area. It is the general weather conditions, seasonal variations and extremes of weather in a region. Such conditions which average over a long period, for at least thirty years is called climate.
- The average global temperature is 15°C. In the absence of greenhouse gases, this temperature would have been 18°C. Therefore, greenhouse effect contributes to a temperature rise to the tune of 33°C.
- The enhanced greenhouse effect will not only cause global warming, but will also affect various other climatic and natural processes.
- Sustainable development is such a concept that signifies that the rate of consumption or the use of natural resources should be approximate to the rate at which these resources can be substituted or replaced.
- Another aspect of sustainable development is related to system analysis, that is to say, how economic, social and environmental systems interact at various scales of operation, to lead sustainable development that will strike optimal balance among the three subsystems.
- Within the concept of sustainable development, industrial ecology plays a significant role in order to create a balance between industrial development and preservation of natural resources.

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6.7 KEY TERMS

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- **Acid rain:** This is rain consisting of water droplets that are acidic due to the polluted atmosphere.
- **Anthropogenic:** This word refers to changes in nature made by people.
- **Sewage sludge:** A by-product of sewage treatment is usually a semi-solid waste or slurry is called sewage sludge.
- **Radioisotopes:** These are radioactive isotopes of an element.
- **Incineration:** A waste treatment technology, which includes the combustion of waste for recovering energy, is called incineration.
- **Systems thinking:** It is a management discipline that concerns an understanding of a system by examining the linkages and interactions between the components that comprise the entirety of that defined system.

6.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The difference between project affected persons and displaced persons is that the former become economically alienated from their resources for livelihood, but are not always forced to relocate physically. The latter, however, are the people who are not only deprived from using their resources, but they are also uprooted from their habitat.
2. Displacement can be of the following types:
 - (i) Physical (individuals, families and communities are actually relocated from one place to another)
 - (ii) Economic (individuals, families or communities cease to have access to natural resources that are vital for the sustenance of their livelihood, for example, forests and grasslands for their cattle to graze and fresh drinking water)
 - (iii) Physical and economic
3. The various factors considered while determining national inequalities are as follows:
 - The level of literacy
 - Female education
 - Nutritional standards
 - Infant mortality
 - Morbidity
 - Employment
4. The methods for controlling air pollution are as follows:
 - Setting up of industries after proper environmental impact assessment studies
 - Using low sulphur coal in industries
 - Removing sulphur from coal (by washing or with the help of bacteria)
 - Removing NO_x during the combustion process
 - Using mass transport system, bicycles
 - Shifting to less polluting fuels (hydrogen gas)
 - Using non-conventional sources of energy

- Using biological filters and bio-scrubbers.
 - Planting more trees.
5. Water pollution can be defined as an alteration in the physical, chemical or biological characteristics of water, making it unsuitable for the designated use in its natural state.
 6. The main sources of marine pollution are:
 - i. Rivers, which bring pollutants from their drainage basins
 - ii. Catchment areas, and, coastlines where human settlements in the form of hotels, industry, agricultural practices have been established and
 - iii. Oil drilling and shipping.
 7. Sustainable development is such a concept that signifies that the rate of consumption or the use of natural resources should be approximate to the rate at which these resources can be substituted or replaced.
 8. Industrial ecology plays a significant role within the concept of sustainable development. It refers to the adoption of such industrial processes, technology, equipment and raw material where the products can be recycled after their life cycle is complete or can be put to alternative use or a byproduct can be made out of it. This not only reduces the pressure on raw materials and compensates them for producing afresh; it also reduces the costing impact.

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6.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the ways in which development induces displacement?
2. Write a short note on the existence of regional disparities with special reference to India.
3. Define ecological degradation.
4. List the effects of water pollution.
5. Mention the methods of controlling soil pollution.
6. List the measures to check global warming.
6. Prepare a short note on sustainable global governance.

Long-Answer Questions

1. How has construction of dams contributed to displacement of mankind?
2. What are the effects of noise pollution and how can it be controlled?
3. Discuss the management of solid waste.
4. Explain the major acts and regulations formulated in India with reference to protection of the natural environment.
5. Critically analyse the concept of climate change and global warming.

6.10 FURTHER READING

NOTES

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UNIT 7 TRANSFORMATION OF INDIAN SOCIETY

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Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Unit Objectives
- 7.2 Process of Transformation
 - 7.2.1 Secularization
 - 7.2.2 Industrialization
 - 7.2.3 Globalization
- 7.3 Urbanization
- 7.4 Modernization
 - 7.4.1 Impact of Modernization on Indian Society
- 7.5 Summary
- 7.6 Key Terms
- 7.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 7.8 Questions and Exercises
- 7.9 Further Reading

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Constant change has always been the way of nature. As Heraclitus, the Greek philosopher once remarked, one cannot step into the same river twice, since by the second time one steps in, the river has changed its direction.

All human societies undergo change and it is imperative to understand that society is always in a constant state of flux. Indian society has undergone a plethora of changes right from its inception, beginning from the transformation of an agricultural society into an industrial society. With the growth and development of technology, the Indian society is now termed as information society, or knowledge society. This unit will explore the various changes in Indian society with a particular focus on the concepts like secularization, industrialization, globalization, urbanization, and modernization of Indian traditions. This unit will also help you to understand the important processes of social change such as globalization, urbanization and modernization.

7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the process of transformation
- Define the concept of urbanization and modernization
- Discuss the impact of modernization on Indian society

7.2 PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION

History reveals that man's life has been transformed from the caves and jungles to the palatial buildings. People, family, religion, value system, etc., will not remain same forever.

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Societies grow, decay and modify to changing conditions. Every society, from primitive to industrial and post-industrial, has witnessed continuous state of transformation. Change is permanent, although the intensity or degree of change is different in different societies.

According to Giddens (2001), in human societies, to decide how far and in what ways a particular system is in a process of change or transformation, we have to show to what degree there is any modification of basic institutions during a specific time period. There are social systems which change very fast, whereas there are others which have ties with the remote past. World religions like Christianity and Islam maintain their ties with ideas and value systems pioneered thousands of years ago.

Scholars like Aristotle, Plato, Hegel and others have written at length on various aspects of change during their times. In fact, sociology as a separate discipline emerged in the middle of the 19th century as an effort to explain the socio-cultural and economic changes that erupted in Europe following the industrialization and democratization processes. It will not be wrong to state that major classical sociologists were preoccupied with explaining change, more precisely articulating on the change that followed the rise of capitalism in the West. Considering change as an important aspect of study, the father of sociology, August Comte, even remarked that the role of this discipline is to analyse both the Social Statics (the laws governing social order) and Social Dynamics (laws governing social change (Slattery, 2003)). Similarly, Herbert Spencer also talked about change in his analysis of 'Structure' and 'Function'. 'Structure' indicated the internal build-up, shape or form of societal wholes, whereas 'function' signifies their operation or transformation (Sztompka, 1993). He has measured change or progress taking into consideration the degree of complexity in society. According to Spencer, society passes from simple, undifferentiated, homogeneity to complex, differentiated, heterogeneity. Another classical sociological thinker, and one of the founders of the discipline, Emile Durkheim talks about evolutionary change in his famous work '*The Division of Labour*' and observes that society passes from 'mechanical solidarity' to 'organic solidarity'. Karl Marx explains societal change with his economic deterministic model and describes change of society from primitive communism to socialism. Max Weber's analysis of religious codes and its impact on economic development in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* examines the major aspects of change.

Social change and Social Development

Following the meaning and definitional analysis of the concept, the features of social change can be discussed given as follows:

- (i) **Social change is universal:** Social change is inevitable. It is not only inevitable, it is also universal. It is found in every society. From primitive society to the post-industrial one, change is found everywhere. No society or culture remains static forever. Human beings changed themselves from nomads, food gatherers to agriculturists and later modern, industrial beings.
- (ii) **Social change is continuous:** Right from the time mother earth came into being to the present times, society/life has been in a continuously changing mode. No society or people can be stopped from the influences of change. It is a never-ending process.
- (iii) **Social change may produce chain reactions:** Change in one aspect of a system may lead to changes of varying degrees in other aspects of that system. According to Biesanz and Biesanz (1964), the change from hunting and food gathering to

agriculture was a revolution in technology that led eventually to the development of civilization by making large and diversified societies possible. Similarly, the Protestant emphasis on Bible reading as a road to salvation led to a great rise in literacy. Further, introduction of the system of reservation for backward communities in government institutions and offices in India has brought changes in their socio-economic status, interpersonal relationships and also in the social and economic structure of the country. Similarly, improvement in literacy in the country leads to economic independence of women which in turn brings changes in the whole notion of family, marriage and husband-wife ties.

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(iv) **Social change may be planned or unplanned:** Change may occur with or without proper planning. People, government or any other agent may initiate change through plans or programmes and may determine the degree and direction of change. The Government of India after Independence devised several socio-economic developmental programmes to bring the country out of poverty and unemployment through the broader provision of Five Year Plans. In the 70 years of Independence, the country has seen phenomenal improvement in literacy, health, infrastructure and industry, and considerably managed to overcome poverty, hunger and unemployment problems. Apart from the planned social change, there can be changes which are unplanned and happen accidentally. Changes due to natural calamities like earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, etc., belong to this category.

(v) **Social change is temporal and directional:** Change can be directional. It happens in a particular direction. In several instances, such direction is planned, predetermined and is fixed ideally. Such changes are called as progress. However, change in general may happen in any direction. Similarly, the rate or tempo of change varies from time to time and place to place.

Some changes may take months and years while some may occur rapidly. Social change is temporal in the sense that it involves the factor of time. It denotes time sequence. It can be temporary or permanent. Time is an important component in the process of change.

(vi) **Social change is value-neutral:** The concept of social change is not value-laden or judgemental. It doesn't advocate any good or desirable and bad or undesirable turn of events. It is an objective term which is neither moral nor immoral. It is ethically neutral.

7.2.1 Secularization

Secularism implies the absence of religion or religious beliefs from the process of rule-making and governance. An organized institution like a national or local government is said to be secular when it keeps religion out of its functioning. Religion is not allowed to be one of the considerations while framing policies and making rules for orderly running of a government and society.

Does secularism then mean that religion is banned from the public domain? No, certainly not. Religion is allowed to be followed and propagated and citizens are free to follow any religion. The State does not interfere in such religious beliefs. However, the State itself does not have a religion or religious belief. It exists in a religion vacuum. A secular State does not have a religion and is neutral towards all religious beliefs. Many a times, secularism is defined as a situation in which politics and religion are kept apart.

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Its origin can be sketched to the western world view. So, it is important to understand its philosophical base to fully understand its implication, its importance and its limitations. The word secular has been derived from the Latin word *sacularis*, which meant, among other things, 'that which belongs to this world, non-spiritual and temporal as opposed to spiritual or ecclesiastical thing'. It is a form that is applied in general to the separation of state politics or administration from religious matters. Secular education is a system of training from which religious teaching is absolutely eliminated. Philosophically, the term reveals the authority of positivism and utilitarianism.

The relation of secularism to religion was defined as 'mutually exclusive rather than hostile'. Neither theism nor skepticism enters into the secularist scheme as neither can be proved through experience. The term secularism was invented in 1850 by G.J. Molyoake, who saw it as a movement that provided an option to theism. Historically, secularism mixed together with and was at its best with atheism. Atheists like Charles Bradlaugh, Charles Watts, G.E. Forte, etc., were closely connected with the movement. Bradlaugh quarreled that secularism was bound to challenge theistic belief and that material growth was impossible, as long as superstitions born out of religious beliefs and practices remained a powerful force in society.

The basic principle of secularism was to look for human improvement by material means alone, these means were judged as sufficient to reach the desired end. Its beliefs could be maintained by intellect and were similarly applicable to all humanity. Morality was seen as being based on reason and trying to establish the common welfare.

Western liberal ideas like nationalism, secularism and democracy had a deep impact on the Indian intelligentsia. It increasingly integrated them in its debates, resolutions and strategies of struggle against British colonialism and it later on included them in the Constitution. Over the last seventy years or thereabouts, a lot of questions, both theoretical and procedural, have come up. One such question that was much debated and contested in the 1980s, 1990s and the first decade of this century, is the concept of secularism itself.

The penchant to privatize religion and classify life into the private and the public sphere was never very marked in India, as here religion continues to swing the lives of the people. The British Government supported the inclination to recognize and compute political interests in religious and communal terms. Despite of establishing the concept of the rule of law and a common judicial system, the British Government based personal (family) laws on grounds of religious laws and differences. In spite of all these factors, it cannot be denied that secularism as a value had a huge impact on the leaders of the national movement.

Secularism is a very important aspect of the Indian way of life and governance. It has helped in promoting communal harmony and in keeping national integration at the forefront. Prof. N.R. Madhava Menon in his paper *Constitutionalism and Management of Diversity in Multi-cultural Societies* deals with the significance of Indian Constitution to manage various problems in a multi-cultural society. He points out that secularism is a basic feature of the constitution that cannot be changed even by Parliament. There is no state religion and the state is prohibited against discrimination on the basis of religion. He believes that multi-culturalism can survive and communal harmony can prevail only when you ensure equality of status among people and equal opportunity for everyone as conceived in the Constitution of India.

Donald E. Smith, Professor of Political Science in Pennsylvania University, provided what he regarded as a working definition of a secular state. This was in his book *India*

as a *Secular State*. He says 'The secular State is a State which guarantees individuals 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 to promote or interfere with religion.' The definition given by Smith reflects three aspects of secularism in the form of inter-related relations, which are as follows:

- Religion and individual
- Individual and State
- State and religion

These relations are like the three sides of a triangle, touching each other at three points and creating their mutually related angles. These three sets of angular relationship contain the sum total of religious freedom available in a society.

The first of these three angles reflect the relationship between religion and individuals. This relation contains 'positive freedom of religion', which implies 'reasonable unrestrained liberty of believing and practicing one's religion.' In other words, every person should be free to follow any religion and to act upon its teachings and reject all others without any interference from the state. Religious freedom is the soul of the principle of liberty enshrined in the Preamble to the Constitution of India.

The second angular relation reflects the relationship between the state and individuals. It contains 'negative freedom of religion.' By 'negative freedom of religion', he means 'absence of restraints, discriminations, liabilities and disabilities, which a citizen might have been otherwise subjected to.'

The third angular relation emanates from the relationship between the state and its religion. It contains 'neutral freedom of religion.' It implies that the state has no religion of its own and has an attitude of indifference towards all the religions present and practiced in the State.

The term 'secular' denotes the three-fold relationship among man, state and religion. The word Secular has not been defined or explained under the Constitution in 1950 or in 1976 when it was made part of the preamble. A Secular State means a State that protects all religions equally and does not uphold any religion as the State religion. Unlike in England, where the Queen is the Head of the Protestant Church, in India there is no provision to make any religion the 'established Church' or the religion of the State. The State observes an attitude of neutrality and impartiality towards all religions. It is assumed that the secular state, howsoever constructed, will minimally have to contend with and respond to each of the demands of equality, liberty and neutrality. The liberal claim rests on the impossibility of different religious communities in the same democratic polity to live together in harmony, without some model of secularism that embodies the normative force of liberty, equality and neutrality.

Theories of Secularism

Secularization theory describes that as modern society moves ahead, it will become increasingly secular, and religion will become increasingly hollow. As the rise of science in the 17th century, sociological commentators have realized that religion may be in a permanent decline, and some have proposed that science and intelligence, both rooted in the Enlightenment, are abomination to religious faith. Karl Marx (1818–1883), Emile Durkheim (1857–1917) and Max Weber (1864–1920), the founders of sociology, and William James (lectures from 1901–1902) are four eminent men who all noted this decline of religion.

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Gandhiji's secular theories took on a particular meaning in the particular context of the Indian national movement. Indian society has been conventionally infected by the evils of caste and creed-based prejudice. The caste-oriented stratification of the Indian society has delayed all chances of national unification from the early days of the Indian society. The situation was made difficult by the presence of diverse religious groups in the country that were not ready to cooperate on any ground to reach a common platform of commonality. The traditional style of the religious and the self-styled spiritual preachers fuelled these divisions more often than not. Gandhi felt very sad that India's age old tradition of religious tolerance was not being upheld when it was needed the most. What disturbed him the most was the insight that it would be impossible to organize any nation-wide movement against a common enemy—the British oppressors—if society keeps on being divided on religious basis. For Gandhi, secularism was a total necessity for bringing about any form of constructive and all-encompassing political movement.

Gandhi preached his ideals of secularism and religious tolerance across the whole country. He showed his sympathy for the Muslim leaders by the support that the Congress extended to the Khilafat movement. He wrote at length on the need of secularism in India, and made many speeches to the same effect all over the nation. It was not an easy of tasks for Gandhi. The British were adamant on executing the policy of divide and rule. It took its worst form after the declaration of separate elections for the different communities in the Government of India Act in 1935. Indian national movement always had many communal tensions. Gandhi's monumental efforts at bringing together the different communities in India were not fully realized. The British policy of divide and rule had its effects, and the demand for a separate Muslim nation came up. Gandhi was hurt when he heard about it, but he realized his helplessness. Even at the time of strong riots on the eve of Indian independence, Gandhi was on roads trying to unite the warring communal groups. Even his death in many ways be related with his life-long commitment to secular principles.

Significance of Secularism

The importance of secularism to India, and in fact the world, can hardly be overemphasized. Religion is so personal and emotional that it has the power to destroy any society if used as a political weapon. States must keep religion out of the political system to ensure peaceful co-existence. Most modern and liberal democracies have imbibed secularism as the defining characteristic of their political system.

There are many religions in the world and the questions that arise at this juncture are as follows:

- Which religion should be followed by a person?
- Can a State compel its citizens to follow a particular religion?
- Can a State have its own religion?
- Can a State give preferential treatment to the followers of a particular religion?

The answer to all these questions is negative if the State has adopted the principle of secularism. A secular state is neither supposed to compel its citizens to adopt a particular religion nor it can give preferential treatment to the followers of a particular religion. Secularism eliminates God from the matters of the State. This is essential to keep religion in the private sphere.

Secularism ensures that religion does not determine State policy. It insulates public policy-making from the influence of religion and, thereby, eliminates any bias or discrimination that can creep into this process.

7.2.2 Industrialization

Industrialization refers to sustained economic growth following the application of innate sources of power to mechanized production. Industrialization is not only a mechanical process, but a social process as well. It affects the socio-cultural environment somewhat subtly and produces far-reaching consequences in various spheres of social life. Industrialization has rightly been described as the second wave of change in human civilization. Thus, industrialization brings about a wide range of changes covering the whole gamut of social life. The consequences in various spheres of social life have been discussed as follows:

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Economic Structure

- (i) Industrialization reduces the proportion of population directly engaged in agriculture. The invention of new agricultural technologies reduces the demand of direct physical labour.
- (ii) The productive sector of the economy moves from a subsistence level to a surplus marketing level.
- (iii) A high degree of labour mobility takes place.
- (iv) The occupational hierarchy becomes too complex with many divisions and subdivisions. The specializations and professionalization add further complexity to it.
- (v) There is seen a substantial growth in marketing and commercial centres for the sale of consumer goods for procurement of raw materials and unfinished products.

Demographic Structure

- (i) With the increment in medical technology and standard of living, the mortality rate is considerably reduced.
- (ii) The growth of industrial centres results in heavy migration from villages to industrial centres. W.E. Moore rightly remarks, 'The historical association between industrialization and urbanization is by no means complete, but is very pronounced.'
- (iii) Heavy migration to industrial centres results in growth of urban slums.

Social Structure

The social consequences of industrialization are many and varied. Some of these are as follows:

- (i) Social mobility has led to the disintegration of the joint family. There is weakening of family and kinship ties.
- (ii) With industrialization, two cultural processes go on simultaneously. There develops a common standardized culture best suited to the industrial way of life. This culture becomes more and more popular through rapid expansion of mass media. On the other hand, the regional culture gets more distinction and identity.
- (iii) Stratification system in pre-industrial societies was largely based on ascriptive factors. However, with the growth of industrialization, the traditional system of stratification started breaking down. Industrial society is based on values of 'achievement'. So, the closed system of stratification is replaced by an open system of stratification. Social mobility, both inter-generational and intra-generational, becomes the norm.
- (iv) Secular and rational attitude gradually replace the traditional religious faiths.

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Political Structure

Pre-conditions for the development of industrialization are the creation of a cohesive nation-state organized around a common language and culture.

- (i) Enfranchisement of the population and the institutionalization of politics around mass parties or in other words democratization.
- (ii) Rise of a welfare state and growth of numerous agencies of social control. This results due to the increasing role of state in maintaining integration, stability or equilibrium in society.
- (iii) Growth of a universal legal system.

Education and Religion

Industrialization itself is a product of certain changes in education. Traditional religious education is replaced by secular scientific and utilitarian education. Industrialization also brings about profound changes in religious institutions. Religion, which was the agency of social control, tends to lose all these functions. The cognitive functions of religion are taken over by science.

Thus, industrialization has a number of consequences on Indian social life. The old principles of collectivism, ritual purity, spiritualism sacredness, emotional bond are being replaced by individualism, secularism, materialism and contractualism. In spite of such changes, the traditional values and cultural ethos have not been replaced, nor have they disappeared completely from the Indian society.

Structural Changes Associated with Development

In the first instance, society begins to reorganize its people and other resources in the following ways:

- (i) With respect to *technology*, there is a change from simple and traditional techniques towards the application of scientific knowledge.
- (ii) In *agriculture*, the change is from subsistence farming towards commercial production of agricultural goods.
- (iii) In *industry*, the transition is from the use of human and animal power towards industrialization proper, or the use of power driven machines tended by wage earners and producing goods that are sold for a price in the market.
- (iv) In *ecological arrangements*, there is a movement from the farms and villages towards urban centres.

There has been a change of social structures during economic and social development, structural changes that nations experience as they attempt to push their economies forward. Firstly there is structural differentiation, or the establishment of more specialized and more autonomous structural units. The second is the emergence of new patterns of integration or the establishment of new coordinative structures, especially legal, political and associational as the old social order is made more complex and perhaps obsolete by the process of differentiation.

Structural Differences in Periods of Development

There has been a change from multifunctional role structure to several more specialized structures. In pre-industrial societies, production was based on kinship units. Exchange

and consumption were embedded deeply in family and the village. However, with economic growth, several kinds of economic activities were removed from this family community complex.

Emile Durkheim: Solidarity as an active force in economic life

Most of the insights of Durkheim concerning economic integration are found in his book, *The Division of Labour in Society*. To analyse how social life is integrated, Durkheim set up a dichotomy between two types of society—segmental and complex. To him, segmental society is a homogeneous society with the presence of mechanical solidarity. There is the presence of repressive law in such society. Here, on one hand there is the subordination of the individual to the undifferentiated collective conscience of the society and in differentiated or complex societies, powerful forms of integration operate. There are restitutive laws present in complex societies. He differed from Spencer in that he stressed the increased salience of integration in complex societies, rather than tending to regard it as a by-product of individual interactions.

Max Weber: The origins and sustaining conditions for capitalism

Max Weber made a comparative analysis of societies by using the method of the ideal type. Weber mentioned two kinds of ideal-type constructs. A historically unique configuration such as 'rational bourgeoisie capitalism' refers to the systematic and rational organization of production itself. While identifying the historical conditions that gave rise to industrial capitalism, Weber rejected the explanation that the rise of capitalism could be explained by the increase of population. On the positive side, he considered the rise of ascetic Protestantism, especially Calvinism, established social and psychological conditions conducive to this form of capitalism. To him, bureaucracy also forms the most rational form of social organization for perpetuating industrial capitalism. Weber found certain institutional structures permissive for industrial capitalism and found these structures in the political and legal complex. So, Weber specified certain institutional conditions under which maximum mobility is both permitted and regulated. Weber also stressed the political and legal regulation of money and exchange. Above all, rational capitalism cannot flourish unless the political authority guarantees a money supply with relatively stable values. As to the type of medium of exchange, Weber saw the advantage of a generalized money currency since it allows for expansion of market and creation of credit. However, unlike traditional economists, Weber was not interested in the regularities produced within the capitalist system of production, but in establishing the important background institutional conditions under which the capitalist system itself and its regularities could exist.

7.2.3 Globalization

Some people think that globalization is a dangerous virus that has infected many aspects of life, such as economy, politics, and social-cultural. It strongly attacks the strength of body, especially family life. Globalization, therefore, is refused, denied, or rejected by many people. Meanwhile, some people argue that globalization is the way that helps people to reach a great joy of life. Family, as a former institution of life, has many advantages from the so-called globalization. It is true to say that globalization actually has both the negative and positive effects. In the 20th century, both family and population have changed in India. India is experiencing several changes, such as demographic transition, industrialization and urbanization, skill development, social mobility, legal, etc. The effects of globalization are very significant and far reaching. The former concept

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refers to free flow of labour and capital across international borders, and the latter refers to spread of globalization through local cultures. Globalization is an emerging union of economies and societies around the globe and it is a complex process that affects many aspects of social life in the societies like quick growth, reduction in rate of poverty, introduction of Internet, etc. The spread of hepatitis swine flu, AIDS and other similar life threatening diseases are the other aspect of the globalization.

According to Shiela, 'Globalization is the term to describe the way countries are becoming more interconnected both economically and culturally. This process is a combination of economic, technological, sociocultural and political forces'.

Sometimes, the term globalization is used for economic globalization references, that is, integration of national economies into the international economies through trade and business with foreign countries, foreign direct investment, capital flow, migration of human beings, and the exchange and spread of technology. These processes of change have both functions and dysfunctions. Among the positive developments are: opening of demographic window (due to declining birth rate, lower life expectancy in old age, and progression of baby boom children); improvement in literacy rate; rapid expansion of education at all levels; greater flow of labour, capital and technology across international borders with emigrants sending a significant part of remittances; increased productivity of service and industrial sectors; infrastructure development; promotion of tourism; new opportunities abroad due to ageing of industrialized economies; empowerment of women; and new ideas of equality and justice. Among the dysfunctions are: environmental degradation; increasing marginalization among the agricultural labourers and artisans; rising disparities; religious and community bigotry promoted by leaders, media and market; trafficking of women and children; a large number of cases of female feticide; violence against female; and at the root of many other dysfunctions, an idea that all the emergent problems of the country are due to historic perspective.

Development in Indian Industry after Globalization

A few years back, air conditioner was considered as a luxury item. Nowadays, luxury items like air conditioners, four wheelers, laptops, washing machines, etc., are no longer considered as luxury products. These are treated as necessity today. Due to considerable and continuous enhancement and changes in the living standards and conditions of the Indian middle class family, there is a huge demand for the air conditioners from non-branded assembled air conditioners to branded products in the Indian market.

The opening of the Indian economy for foreign capital has not attracted a significant flow of capital or technology into the economy of India. This is true in case of production sector and basic infrastructure. The export rate has risen, but import rate continues to be as usual. This was partly due to the consistent and continuous devaluation of the rupee and partly because of general improvement in the world trade. Presently, there will be a huge trade deficit. There is an increase in foreign debt. The liberalization of the Indian economy and its association with the world economy has increased the GDP growth rates of the country, which picked up from 5.6 per cent in 1990–91 to a peak level of 77.8 per cent during the year 1996–97. The growth rates have slowed down. However India has still managed to achieve 5–6 per cent growth rate in three of the last six years. A global comparison shows that the Indian economy is growing fast and is just behind the China. (Source: Public Enterprise Survey, 2006–07 and earlier issues)

Automobile Industry

The important growth has seen in the automobile sector in India after the liberalization policy adopted by the Government of India. There was usually a long queue for purchasing a scooter in India before 1991. However, after globalization, in 2013, exactly after 22 years every brand of international automobile is available in Indian market and on Indian roads. Multinational companies are offering attractive prices with easy to pay options. Indian roads are flooded with these international automobile brands.

Many delegations of several developed and European government and business corporates have visited India for strengthening bilateral industrial cooperation. Similarly, Indian delegations also discuss about investments, promotions and industrial developments in India. The results of same are quite appreciable for the Indian market and economy. As per CSO's Index of Industrial Production (IIP) (Base 1993-94-100) during 2007-08 the industrial growth rate has been 8.3 per cent. The development of communication technology has given benefits to many aspects of life. Information is shared on Internet which is accessible by people anywhere and anytime. At the same time, with globalization, several social values such as human rights and democracy have come up. These norms are useful not only for social and political needs, but also for family life. Human rights awareness has encouraged people to give equality to both males and females. Earlier, females and children had no opportunity to make decisions in a household, but today they have a right to do so. Finally, with the development of communication, information, and transportation, an opportunity has been provided to the people to know each other in the same world. Relationship and marriage amongst couples from overseas has become common these days. One of main indicators of globalization is the spread of the IT sector and its variable like, access to telephones (including cellular phones, also called mobile phones) in the different parts of the country. The cell phones may be used as a proxy indicator of globalization, as it is used for not only communication and conducting business, but is also required for the Internet access. The growth impact of telephones including cellular phones has been recognized in a number of studies. (Waverman, Meschi, and Fuss, 2005).

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7.3 URBANIZATION

According to Thompson Warren, 'Urbanization is the movement of people from communities concerned chiefly or solely with agriculture to other communities, generally larger, whose activities are primarily centred in government, trade manufacture or allied interests.' He observes that urbanization not only involves a movement from villages to cities but also involves a change in the attitude, values, beliefs and behaviour of the migrants.

Urbanization is universal and brings about economic development and social change. It can also be defined as a process of concentration of population in a particular territory. According to Mitchell, 'Urbanization is a process of becoming urban, moving to cities, changing from agriculture to other pursuits common to cities.'

The eminent Indian sociologist, Dr G.S. Ghurye, has defined urbanization in a functional manner. According to him, 'urbanization means migration of people from village to city and the effect of this movement upon the migrants and their families and upon fellowmen in the villages.'

Check Your Progress

1. What did Herbert Spencer's analysis of 'structure' indicate?
2. Who wrote the book *The Division of Labour*?

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It is important to distinguish the concept of urbanization from the concepts of urbanity and urbanism. As we have seen, urbanization is a process which refers to change in values, attitudes and beliefs of people who migrate from villages to cities and the impact of this movement on people who are left behind in the villages. Urbanity, on the other hand, is the state of the people living in an urban area which is distinct from those living in the villages. It refers to a pattern of life in terms of work, food habits and the world view of people living in the urban areas. Urbanism is characterized by a system of values, norms and attitudes towards the inter-personal relations in terms of individualism and anonymity.

Evidence of urbanization in India is available from the Harappan period and throughout the history of India. The cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa (presently in Pakistan) were established in the Indus river valley way back in 2,500 BC. It has been pointed out by archaeologists that urbanization in Harappa could be ascertained from archaeological findings of brick technology, agriculture and irrigation facilities.

Other examples of urbanization in the ancient period of Indian history are the cities of Pataliputra (Patna) and Vaishali during the Magadh rule around 300 BC. In the medieval period of Indian history, cities like Kannauj, Delhi, Agra, Daulatabad, Hyderabad, etc., had acquired importance.

With the advent of the British colonialism from the 17th century onwards, there was a growth of urban centres like Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Except Delhi, all the other urban centres were port cities and facilitated trade and commerce undertaken by the British rulers.

Pattern of urbanization during the British rule

During the 19th century, when the British firmly established themselves politically in India, urbanization in India entered a different phase. Cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras evolved from mere trading centres to political centres. This period also saw rapid technological advancements, new modes of transport and communication, emergence of new economic institutions, etc. All this made the process of urbanization quicker and smoother.

While urban centres gained in prosperity, the rural areas of India became neglected. Cottage industries and rural artisans suffered a lot because of the exploitative economic policies of the British. This forced the rural artisans and other workers to migrate to cities in search of wage employment. Thus, it can be said that the process of urbanization strengthened the cities at the expense of the villages.

With the spread of education in these urban centres, the educated sections joined the bureaucracy or took up jobs as teachers, doctors, lawyers, journalists, etc. They became the intelligentsia and the elites of the Indian society and aligned their world view with the western world. They also brought about new political and economic ideas.

The new process of urbanization provided ample scope for occupational and social mobility and slowly broke the stranglehold of the caste system. This process, which got a boost during the 19th century, gathered greater momentum in the 20th century.

From the beginning of the 20th century and especially after independence, urbanization in India has taken place at a fast pace. The modern Indian cities have become centres of economic, political, administrative and cultural power. The pattern of urbanization in the 20th century can be understood in terms of its demographic, spatial, economic and socio-cultural aspects.

Demographic aspect

Population has always been an important aspect of urbanization in India. The Indian population growth exploded in the 20th century and, as a result, urban population also grew rapidly. The share of urban population in India has grown from 10.8 per cent in 1901 to 31 per cent in 2011. The steady growth in urban population over the last 110 years has been partly due to rapid economic development in the cities and towns and partly due to the slow agricultural growth in the rural areas.

Spatial aspect

The Indian urban scenario has witnessed a lot of spatial disparities. These disparities are the result of regional disparities, imbalanced concentration of population in certain areas and changes in the definition of urban areas in the census. These disparities can be observed from the following facts:

- Increase and decrease in the number of towns and cities due to changes in the definition of urban areas.
- Variation of urbanization amongst different states with urban domination in states like Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu.
- Concentration of urban population in the big cities with the population in such cities growing much faster than in other smaller towns.
- Growth of metropolitan cities with population of more than one million.

It is important to know about the following two concepts while talking about the spatial aspect of urbanization in India:

- **Over-urbanization:** Cities and towns do not have an unlimited capacity to accommodate the growing population and providing them with civic amenities, medical facilities, schools, etc. Thus, when the population of a city goes beyond a certain limit, the administration of that city fails to provide its citizens with the requisite facilities. It is at this juncture that a city is said to have become over-urbanized. Cities like Mumbai, Delhi and Kolkata are examples of such over-urbanization.
- **Sub-urbanization:** When cities and towns get over populated, they expand beyond their boundaries and take the adjoining rural areas within their fold. This phenomenon is known as sub-urbanization. Thus, sub-urbanization refers to the urbanization of rural areas around the towns and cities and it is characterized by the following features:
 - o A sharp increase in the urban uses of land.
 - o Inclusion of the surrounding areas within the municipal limits of the towns and cities.
 - o Intensive communication of all types between the town or city and its surrounding areas.

Economic aspect

Urbanization is both a cause and a consequence of economic development. It is more of a consequence because economic development entails a huge movement of labour and other inputs from the rural areas to the towns and cities. The National Commission on Urbanization of India recognizes the importance of the Indian cities and towns. It considers urbanization to be a catalyst for economic development.

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When we look at the various cities in India, we see that some have come up at places where there was no habitation at all. One of the earliest steel cities in India was Jamshedpur. It was the result of the setting up of the Tata Steel Plant, which has provided employment to members of the Santhal tribe that stayed nearby. Apart from Jamshedpur, three more steel cities also emerged after independence. They were Rourkela in Orissa, Bhilai in Chattisgarh and Durgapur in West Bengal. These steel cities and steel factories completely modified the whole socio-economic scenario of that area. They progressed from being backward areas to cosmopolitan and prosperous urban centres. Thus, you see the important and crucial role played by industries in urbanizing India.

Features of Urban Society

Urban society all over the world has a few common features. Let us discuss them briefly as follows:

- **Large population:** The urban society is characterized by a large population in any particular area. Since, urban society comprises cities and towns, and they have high population levels, large population becomes its inherent characteristic. Along with large population, there is the prevalence of high density of population.
- **Non-agricultural occupation:** In any urban society, the occupational pattern reveals that most of the people are engaged in non-agricultural economic activities like government jobs, entrepreneurship, jobs in factories or other service industries (banks, colleges, etc.), retail business, etc.
- **Heterogeneity:** This is an important feature of all urban societies. The existence of a large population with diverse backgrounds is bound to result in heterogeneity. Thus, urban societies have a great deal of variance in so far as customs, festivals, lifestyles, ideologies, etc., of its members are concerned.
- **Tolerance:** Urban areas comprise members from various castes, religions, regions, languages, etc. For all of them to live peacefully together, a high degree of mutual tolerance is absolutely essential. Since, urban areas have been largely peaceful and prosperous; it implies that tolerance is a significant feature of the urban society.

Features of urbanization in ancient and medieval India

The process of urbanization in ancient and medieval India had certain distinct features, which can be classified under the following three broad categories:

1. **Political, demographic and spatial factors:** The processes of urbanization in ancient and medieval India had a very close relationship with the rise and fall of political regimes. Cities emerged on the basis of political considerations and were built around the ruler and his kinsmen. An important physical feature of these early cities was the fortification that was undertaken to protect them. High walls, deceptive ditches and secret tunnels were part of the elaborate steps taken to defend the cities and its people.
2. **Economic factors:** Despite the fluctuating fortunes of the political dynasties of those times, the economic institutions have shown some degree of stability. Guild formation was an important feature of the cities of that time. These guilds performed important functions in the traditional towns in terms of banking, trading, manufacturing, etc.
3. **Religious and socio-cultural factors:** Religion was an important aspect of statecraft in the ancient and medieval times. The rulers patronized a particular

religion or sect and their capital cities acquired the culture of that particular religion or sect. For example, when Pataliputra was ruled by Chandragupta Maurya, it reflected a Brahmanical Hindu civilization. However, when the reins of the kingdom went to Ashoka, Buddhism flourished in the same city. The traditional towns were heterogeneous in terms of multiplicity of religious, sectarian and caste groups.

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Re-urbanization

The term re-urban was introduced by the sociologist C.J. Galpin. It referred to the composite urban settlements wherein the urban and rural population intermingled and stayed connected with and dependent upon each other. These composite settlements were characterized by a blending of rural and urban life. Thus, 'Re-urbanization' was the process that resulted in the development of a composite settlement.

The blending of urban and rural life is not a new phenomenon. The rural-urban fringe has always been a composite area where the rural and urban folks interacted and intermingled. In contrast to ancient times, the distinction between the city and the village has blurred. The city has expanded and passed into the countryside. Beyond the city there is a large area where farms and urban homes are completely mixed and it is not possible to demarcate between them. These composite regions are called re-urban.

In these regions, most of the facilities enjoyed by the urbanites are also enjoyed by the farmers. The farmers use the banking services available in the cities and send their children to the city schools. Similarly, the urbanites grow vegetables and raise poultry in their backyards. Thus, the re-urban region is a distinct ecological type, which is not entirely urban but is city-dominated or city-centred. This kind of an ecological setting, according to some sociologists, is the most desirable for human beings. They believe that the re-urban areas would replace the city and large scale 'Re-urbanization' would take place.

However, there are others like Professor Bergel who thinks that is not going to happen. Their reasoning is that the industries need large number of labourers who are required to stay on the factory premises. Such labourers cannot be allowed to stay far away from the factories. Thus, 'Re-urbanization' would not get the support of industrialisation.

Causes of Urbanization

The factors that are mainly responsible for urbanization are as follows:

- **Industrialization:** Industrialization is considered to be the single most important cause for urbanization to have taken place. The emergence of modern industries has proved to be a turning point for the global economic and social development and change. The great impetus to urbanization came with the industrial revolution in England followed by the one on the European continent and finally in the United States of America. With the setting up of industries, there was a demand for labour and people moved in from rural areas to fulfil this need and also to satiate their desire for new and more remunerative employment opportunities. Thus, began the process of urbanization.

New habitations developed in and around industries, which had modern amenities like good houses, schools, hospitals, parks, roads, electricity, piped water, public transport, etc. The people who had moved in from the villages found the urban areas better and more comfortable and settled there. They also brought their families in due course of

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time. Thus, industrialization gave the initial push towards the process of urbanization and reinforced it thereafter.

In the modern era, it is the pace of economic development that determines the growth and development of a country. Industries have fuelled this growth and taken many countries to great heights. Industries cannot operate without men and machines. Therefore, labour and capital are imperative for the growth and success of any industry. This demand for labour is a very significant pull factor for the people living in isolated rural areas to migrate to areas in and around the industries. Similarly, the poverty and lack of employment opportunities proved to be a push factor for the rural populace to move towards these industrial towns.

Thus, industrialization started the process of urbanization and it continued unabated due to its own momentum and the desire of people to lead a modern and comfortable life.

- **Social factors:** Another reason for urbanization is the social factor. The rural folks got attracted by the educational, health and other infrastructural facilities available in the cities. Besides, the cities provided them with more privacy and a great degree of anonymity, which helped them lead their lives without the constant interference of family members and neighbours as it used to happen in villages.

Urbanization fuels many aspirations of the rural population and results in rapid migration of people from the countryside to fulfil these aspirations. This further quickens the pace of urbanization.

- **Modernization:** Modernization is also an important cause of urbanization. Modern facilities in cities like better roads, excellent communication systems, schools and hospitals, etc., attract the rural people to come to the cities in search of a happy and comfortable life. Modernization is a process of adopting the new and better options that are available so as to make human life comfortable. Quite naturally, it brings forth urbanization because it is the city that gets modernized much before the villages.

Modernization and westernization are sometimes used interchangeably. Urbanization is an important feature of the western world and, therefore, it is natural for it to be influenced by modern developments.

- **Employment opportunities:** People from the rural areas migrate to urban areas in search of work opportunities and contribute to the process of urbanization. The villages are mostly agricultural and there is no requirement of a big labour force to work on the land. In fact, the agricultural sector in the rural areas gives rise to a phenomenon called 'disguised unemployment'. This means that though people appear to be employed in the agricultural sector, they actually contribute nothing because their labour is not at all required. They are unemployed from the productivity sense of the word, but such unemployment is disguised by the fact that they are engaged in the fields.

Modern manufacturing and service industries that come up in the cities are big attractions for the rural population. They believe that they can improve their lives by moving out towards the urban centres.

Theories of Urbanization and Models of the City

Urbanization results in the growth and development of existing cities and the emergence of new cities. Sociologists have studied cities intensively and have given three important

models that describe the internal structure of cities. These three models of the city are related with the following three theories:

- 1. The concentric zone theory:** Park and Burgess (1925), who gave us this theory after studying the city of Chicago in USA, have laid down that the city is a series of circles. Each circle differs in the manner the land is used. The centre of the circles is the 'Central Business District'. This district is used for government offices, banking, commerce, shopping and entertainment. Land prices in this district are extremely high.

The second circle is earmarked for 'wholesale light manufacturing' and the third for 'low-class residential area'. The low-class residences are occupied by the poor people. The next zone is the 'medium-class residential area' represented. This area is inhabited by the blue-collar workers. The fifth circle is the 'high-class residential area' wherein the rich people stay in luxurious apartments and villas.

The next circle is earmarked for the heavy manufacturing industries and the outlying business district is represented by the seventh circle. The next two circles show the residential and industrial sub-urban areas. These lie on the outskirts of the city. The last circle represents the commuters' zone, which is located the farthest away from the central business district. This area lies on the outermost periphery of the city. It must be kept in mind that this theory was developed after studying the city of Chicago and may not be applicable to Indian cities.

- 2. The sector theory:** This is the theory associated with the second type of model of the city and one of its chief proponents was the economist Homer Hoyt. It views the large city as a number of sectors and not as a series of concentric zones. The sectors are the products of the pattern in which the cities have grown. It gives details of the transportation path in urban areas by clearly laying down the road and rail lines, the highways and waterways.

The cities of San Francisco in USA and Chandigarh in India seem to have been designed on the basis of the Hoyt's model. His model emphasizes upon rental values and characteristics of residential areas. He says that the population of a city moves along the transportation path as the city grows. The higher income groups move faster than the rest.

- 3. The multiple nuclei theory:** The third model of the city is given under this theory. Here, the cities have different centres and the pattern of land use and rents are influenced by this ecological process. In the process of development of a city, the first nucleus of the city develops around a port or mine. The other nuclei develop thereafter due to the different types of activities in the city. The Mumbai city is of this type.

Harris and Ullman (1945) suggest that the land use patterns of some cities are developed around some district nuclei, but not in a single centre. The nuclei are districts having different functions.

Problems of Urban Society

You have seen that continuance urbanization has led to over-urbanization in many Indian cities due to concentration of population in these cities. This over-urbanization reduces the efficiency of the urban centres and creates a large number of problems. Thus, the challenge lies in making our cities optimum in size. But this is easier said than done because the pull factor of the big cities is very strong and people keep on migrating from

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rural areas in search of a better life. The other reasons for these problems are defective urban planning, apathetic civic administration, rampant corruption, lack of civic sense in our people, etc.

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The problems posed by urbanization and over-urbanization in India are as follows:

- **Housing:** The housing needs of our cities are enormous and both the government and the private entrepreneurs have failed to bridge the gap between demand and supply. According to estimates, about half the population in our big metropolitan cities have to do with temporary or no shelters. Many of them live in slums that are not fit for human occupation and many others live in the open (at railway stations, bus stations, on pavements and under bridges or flyovers). The living conditions of such people are much worse than what it was in the rural areas from where they migrated to the cities in search of a new and comfortable life.

This acute problem is caused due to a variety of reasons. Firstly, the severe pressure of population pushes up the demand for housing to very high levels. Secondly, the shortage of affordable houses keeps large sections of the urban population out of the market for readymade houses. With modest income-levels, it is not possible to buy the highly priced urban homes. Thirdly, the pressure on land and its scarcity pushes up the prices of houses. Even if any agency wants to construct affordable homes, the high input costs do not allow it to do so.

- **Water supply and drainage:** The problem of water scarcity has assumed gigantic proportions in our cities and it has been predicted that the future would be even worse. No city administration is able to provide water around the clock. The sad part is that there seems to be no common water policy, which can address this issue in the country. Providing clean drinking and cooking water has to be a priority of the government and the people cannot be made to suffer in respect of such a basic necessity of life.

Drainage facilities in our cities have also taken a hit with the rapid increase in population. The amount of solid waste generated by our cities has grown many times and the old network of sewage pipes is unable to handle the load. This results in clogging of drainage pipes and overflowing of man holes. A comprehensive solid waste management program has to be undertaken by our cities to ensure the beauty and efficacy of our urban areas.

- **Electricity:** The demand for electricity in our cities have gone up by hundreds of times due to the increase in population and the use of new and sophisticated electrical gadgets like computers, air conditioners, television, etc. A higher population needs more lights, fans and street lights. A richer population needs more electricity to run their fancied electrical gadgets.

The demand and supply gap in respect of electricity has risen considerably and despite the best efforts of the government, electricity generation, transmission and distribution has failed to keep pace with the ever-increasing demand.

- **Transportation:** Transportation in our cities is a big challenge for all concerned. The commuters have to cover long distances because most of the working class people live far away from their places of work. They are mostly dependent upon public transport systems like local trains, buses and, of course, the metro trains. These modes of transport are not adequate and, therefore, they always remain heavily crowded. Though the Delhi metro and the new buses in Delhi are pretty comfortable, generally, public transport does not provide a pleasant experience.

The service providers cannot enhance comfort levels as they are constrained by the fact that they cannot charge high fares because the poor people also use these facilities.

On the other hand, rising income-levels have enabled the rich and middle class to buy more cars and two-wheelers. This has created the problem of traffic jams and raises the issue of efficient traffic management. The number of private vehicles on roads, especially in Delhi, has gone up so high that traffic snarls have become a part of daily routine.

- **Pollution:** Pollution is a major problem faced by our cities. Due to the rapid growth of population, the vehicular traffic has increased manifold resulting in discharge of pollutants from the vehicles. For the same reason, the generation of solid waste has gone up many times and our sewage management system is unable to cope with it. This results in waste matter flowing on to the streets or flowing in to the rivers or lakes in and around our cities.

The air and water pollution in our cities give rise to various ailments, which result in suffering of our people. Besides, they add to the burden on our urban health infrastructure. Studies have shown that the air and water pollution caused by urbanization is coming back to hit us. The incidence of cancer in urban India has increased and the reason being given is the high level of pollutants in our food, water and air.

The level of air pollution in Delhi could be curtailed because of the intervention of the Supreme Court of India. The court directed the Delhi Government to make it mandatory for buses and trucks plying in Delhi to use Compressed Natural Gas (CNG) as their fuel. This has resulted in improving the air quality in Delhi.

- **Sanitation:** The level of sanitation in our cities is abysmal. Though, we have large municipal corporations, their functioning leaves a lot to be desired. Garbage is not disposed on time, drains are not cleaned regularly, roads are not swept daily and people are totally devoid of civic sense. In fact, our cleanliness level could be much higher if only our people did not throw waste all over the city. The corrupt and incompetent municipalities are primarily responsible for the mess in the sanitation situation of our cities. There is no accountability and they manage to go unpunished.
- **Health problems:** It is estimated that about 300 million people in India live in towns and cities. As in other parts of the world, a rapid growth of population has resulted in a significant part of urban population residing in slums in India. About 33 per cent of India's urban population lives in slums. Slums are characterized by overcrowding, poor hygiene and sanitation and the absence of proper civic services. Most of the cities in India face various health challenges of communicable diseases, non-communicable diseases, maternal and child health problems, natural calamities and threat of reemerging and emerging diseases. While the characteristics of each city may vary according to local circumstances, common urban health and social challenges include the following:
 - o Overcrowding
 - o Air pollution
 - o Rising levels of risk factors like tobacco use, unhealthy diet, physical inactivity and the harmful use of alcohol
 - o Road traffic injuries

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- o Inadequate infrastructure, transport facilities
 - o Poor solid waste management systems
 - o Insufficient access to health facilities in slum areas
- **Transport and traffic problems:** Cities have a high level of accumulation and concentration of economic activities. They are characterized by complex spatial structures that are supported by transport systems. The larger the city, the greater is its complexity. Majority of transport problems are often related to urban areas. Urban productivity depends heavily on the efficiency of its transport system to move labour, consumers and freight between multiple origins and destinations. Also, important transport terminals, such as ports and airports, are located within urban areas. The most notable urban transport problems include the following:
 - o Wasting time of motorists and passengers
 - o Delays, which may result in late arrival for employment, meetings and education, which, in turn, may result in lost business, disciplinary action or other personal losses
 - o Inability to forecast travel time exactly
 - o Wasted fuel leading to air pollution and carbon dioxide emissions due to increased idling, acceleration and braking
 - o Wear and tear on vehicles
 - o Stressed and frustrated motorists, leading to road rage and reduced health of motorists
 - o Obstacles in the passage of emergency vehicles traveling to their destinations.
 - o Spillover effect from congested main arteries to secondary roads and side streets as alternative routes are attempted, which may affect neighborhood amenity and real estate prices.
 - **Employment problems:** While the Indian economy continues to clock above 8 per cent growth, the latest National Sample Survey on employment and unemployment in India has revealed that the unemployment rate in urban India was as high as 45 while that in rural India was 17. According to the 61st round of employment and unemployment for July 2004 to June 2005 carried out by the National Sample Survey Organization, the unemployment rate — the number of person unemployed per 1,000 persons in the labour force — was 17 in the rural areas and 45 in the urban areas. Moreover, the survey also found that the unemployment rates for females was higher than that for males and was highest among urban females. The survey that covered over 7,999 villages and 4,602 urban blocks (covering 79,306 households in the rural areas and 45,374 households in the urban areas) showed that between 1999–2000 and 2004–05, the unemployment rate remained almost the same for rural males and decreased by 1 per cent point for urban males. However, this increased by about 1 per cent points for women in both rural and urban areas.
 - **Lack of civic facilities:** Cities in India lack many civic facilities, such as water supply and sanitation, roads and drains, street-lights, collection and disposal of solid waste, maintenance of public places, burial grounds and crematoria, cattle pounds, registration of births and deaths and maintenance of markets.
 - (i) **Water supply:** According to the 54th round of National Sample Survey (NSS), an estimated 70 per cent of urban households reported being served

by tap and 21 per cent by tubewell or handpump. Almost 66 per cent of urban households reported having their principal source of drinking water within their premises, while 32 per cent had it within 0.2 km. Almost 41 per cent had sole access to their principal source of drinking water, which means that 59 per cent were sharing a public source. About 15 per cent of households do not get sufficient drinking water from their principal source, between April and June, May being the worst month. In the aggregate, 91 per cent of urban households have found the quality of drinking water served by their principal sources to be satisfactory. About 18 per cent urban population is using some supplementary source of drinking water, while 96 per cent urban population is storing their drinking water.

The guiding principles for developing an efficient water supply and sanitation programme should be as follows:

- Protection of the environment and safeguarding of health through the integrated management of water resources and liquid and solid waste
 - Organizational reforms, promoting an integrated approach and including changes in procedures, attitudes, and behaviour, and the full participation of women at all levels
 - Community management of services, backed by measures to strengthen the capacity of local institutions in implementing and sustaining water and sanitation programmes
 - Sound financial practices, achieved through better management of existing assets and extensive use of appropriate technologies
- (ii) **Urban sanitation:** The 54th round of NSS reported that 26 per cent of households reported using no latrine, 35 per cent reported using septic tank, and 22 per cent reported using sewerage system. This indicates that as many as 43 per cent of households in urban areas either had no latrines or no connection to a septic tank or sewerage. As regards waste disposal, 71 per cent of urban households reported removal of household waste by household members, 14 per cent by local authorities, and 12 per cent by private agreement among residents. About 47 per cent of urban households reported removing of their waste to community dumping spot, and 30 per cent, to individual dumping spots. Almost 90 per cent of urban households reported concern regarding mosquitoes, 66 per cent regarding flies and 50 per cent regarding problems related to foul odour.
- (ii) **Treatment of urban waste water:** Three-fourths of surface water resources are polluted and 80 per cent of the pollution is due to by sewage alone. On the other hand, in addition to organic matter sewage contains nitrogen, phosphate and potassium in sufficient quantities, which are essential nutrients for plant growth. Sewage is also viewed as an economic source of methane fuel. Thus, it can be a valuable resource after with due treatment and processing. Water supply has direct linkage with sewage generation. A survey of 345 towns with population between 50,000 and 100,000, revealed that over 95 per cent of them do not have any waste water treatment facilities, and disposal on land, and direct and indirect use for irrigation is the predominant mode of disposal.

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Measures to Remedy Urban Problems

The Government of India, state governments and the municipalities have to take up large-scale remedial measures, if they wish to stem the rot in our cities. Some of these measures could be the following:

- **Systematic planning:** Steps have to be undertaken to plan for a systematic growth of cities. They cannot be allowed to grow haphazardly in an unplanned manner. The long-term goal must be to create more and more urban centres across the country in a dispersed manner so as to reduce the population pressure on a few big cities.
- **Revival of cities:** Most of the problems faced by Indian cities can be addressed by undertaking large scale repair and renovation of the existing urban facilities. This requires a lot of funds and the governments have to come to the aid of the municipalities. The municipalities too should find ways and means to augment their revenues and also involve the private sector in certain projects. The public-private partnership (PPP) model can be a possible way out.

In recent times, the Government of India has been funding a project by the name of Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), which is aimed at reviving the decaying cities of India. One of the areas in which this project has already contributed is the purchase and deployment of new buses in cities across the country to improve public transport.

- **Shifting industries:** Industries must be encouraged to move away from cities and also from its peripheries. They have to be shifted to backward areas. This would help in creating new industrial towns and also ease the pressure upon the existing cities.
- **Amendment of archaic laws:** You have to free the cities from the clutches of archaic laws like the Rent Control Act and Urban Land Ceiling Act. These laws have to be amended to reflect the reality of today. No landlord would like to invest money in a residential house and then give it out on rent at a very low rate. Such laws would never help in tackling the acute shortage in the housing sector.
- **Structural decentralization:** The administration of large cities through centralized municipalities is not working well in India. In this context, it has been suggested by many to decentralize some of the powers of the municipality to the Residents' Welfare Associations (RWAs) or Neighbourhood Action Groups (NAGs). The powers that can be devolved include cleaning of roads and drains, maintenance of parks and street lights, garbage disposal; etc. The municipalities can allow these RWAs or NAGs to collect and appropriate certain taxes like the house tax or the road tax. Such a system would let the local community decide the manner in which they would like to create and maintain the institutions and facilities that have an impact upon their daily lives.
- **Pollution control:** With the rapid industrialization of India, the problem of pollution has been aggravated in the country. Industrialization is characterized by growing number of cities, increasing traffic, rapid economic development and higher levels of energy consumption. Factors, such as the high influx of population to urban areas, increase in consumption patterns and unplanned urban and industrial development, have led to the problem of pollution in urban areas, especially vehicular pollution. Vehicular emissions are of special concern as these are ground

level sources and thus have the maximum impact on the general population. The other important fact to be noted is that vehicles contribute significantly to the total air pollution load in many urban areas.

There are various air pollution control technologies and urban planning strategies available to reduce air pollution. Efforts to reduce pollution from mobile sources include the following:

- o Enactment of primary regulations
- o Expansion of regulation to new sources, such as cruise and transport ships, farm equipment, and small gas-powered equipment (such as lawn trimmers, chainsaws and snowmobiles)
- o Increased fuel efficiency
- o Conversion to cleaner fuels, such as bioethanol and biodiesel
- o Conversion to electric vehicles

De-urbanization of Cities

It is interesting to note that in the midst of rapid urbanization in India, a simultaneous process of de-urbanization is also happening.

At the outset, you should be clear that this process has to be seen from the prism of activity of groups of people and not from the prism of the city being only a physical entity. As a physical entity, the city still attracts people and urbanization is said to be continuing. But when you focus on the activity of groups of people within a city, you see that many of the activities are actually slowing down or moving out from the city centres to the peripheries.

The hectic economic activity in the city centres or the central business districts of the cities have slowed down in many Indian cities. These areas have become inhabited by the low income groups and are faced with very many social problems. The new immigrants to the city also find their way to these places. Together they constitute a big group, which is willing to do some unskilled or semi-skilled work. In short, they have become a large, low-income, low priority group. The new service sector industries like information technology companies, software parks, business process outsourcing units (BPOs), etc., are all setting up their business on the outskirts of these cities. They are far removed from the central business districts. As a result, the educated and upwardly mobile technocrats and entrepreneurs are all moving out from the inner confines of our urban centres. The new growth centres are emerging on the boundaries of our cities.

This process of economic decline in the city centres and economic boom at the periphery of the cities is what is being called as de-urbanization of the cities. It is also being referred to as urbanization of villages. This is so because a number of villages on the fringes of the Indian cities are getting converted in urban areas by the movement of economic activity towards them. A fine example of this is Delhi and the National Capital Region. Places like Gurgaon, Noida, Ghaziabad, etc., have seen a massive boom and a large number of villages in these areas have become urbanized. This has happened due to the setting up of new service sector industries and the development of high quality residential complexes. Thus, while the business districts of Delhi got de-urbanized to some extent, the sub-urban and rural areas outside the city got urbanized.

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Check Your Progress

3. Define urbanization, according to Thompson Warren.
4. Differentiate between urbanization and urbanity.
5. What do you understand by the term 'de-urbanization'?

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7.4 MODERNIZATION

According to Daniel Lerner, modernization includes a 'disquieting positivist spirit' touching both public and private institutions. The terms modernization and urbanization are often quoted together, and lead to an increase in the spread of literacy and social mobility.

Modern education, western literature and philosophy have widened the mental horizons of visionary national leaders and reformers. Various provisions have been implemented for the protection of low-caste people. There are number of amendments in the Constitution and legislations have been passed to remove backward class disabilities. Untouchability has been declared a crime. Law has abolished bonded labour. There are many special laws to protect the weaker sections of society.

Caste-system has continuously changed with the changing times, and this can be seen in its origin and process of evaluation, and moving through the eras of modernization, sanskritization and westernization. In modern India, many discriminatory practices and deformities has already been brought to an end slowly but steadily. It has become more liberal and less restrictive in social life of the people. Old style of authority and power exercised by caste particularly by elders has already diminished except for a few rural areas. Traditional barriers on marriage, hereditary occupations, and commonality are of less significance today.

7.4.1 Impact of Modernization on Indian Society

The concept of tradition has always occupied an important place in Indian sociological thought. Indian sociologists have often ventured to acquire deeper knowledge of social phenomena prevailing in the country. According to D.P. Mukherji, there is no getting away from tradition for Indian sociologists. This is so, especially because their role is to study the principles that govern social life in India, common living, common sharing of social heritage and the continuity of social structure, in order to guide the future course of the country whose culture is 'eternal'. (Majumdar, 1961)

The concept of tradition has been defined by many sociologists, social anthropologists and indologists; however, none have defined it clearly. D.P. Mukherji however, pleads for a philosophical approach in order to improve the understanding of society. Yogendra Singh contends that tradition means value, i.e., themes encompassing the entire social system of Indian society, prior to the beginning of modernization, were organized on the principles of hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence. These four value-themes were deeply interlocked with other elements of Indian social structure. Hierarchy was evident in the caste system with caste and sub-caste stratifications and also in Hindu concepts of human nature, occupational life cycles (ashramas) and moral duties (*Dharma*). (Singh, 1986)

Holism meant a relationship between individuals and groups in which the former was encompassed by the latter in respect of duties and rights. The collective aspect always occupied an important place in the life of the individual. The collective life was reinforced in the traditional social structure of India in terms of family, caste, village community, etc. The traditional values were never challenged at the cost of rationality derived from non-sacred principles of evaluation. D.P. Mukherji's concept of Indian society is a derivative of what he calls 'the philosophy of Indian history' which remained unrecorded. But it has a history of ideas exemplified in the daily conduct of its people. Indian culture, essentially being social, has a history expressed in Indian society. The

history, economics and philosophy of India had always centred on social groups. (D.P. Mukherji, 1958)

The concept of tradition has different connotations for Indian sociologists. Ram Krishna Mukherji regards tradition as ‘the schematic point in organism’ (in the context of Indian society) which can be used as a comparative frame of reference for measuring social change in India. He further stated that Indian traditions provide four dimensions of integration in our people. Social change is almost a variation on this intra-India static four dimensional model: the place where an Indian is born, where he is brought up and dies, the kin group to which a person belongs, the caste to which he is affiliated, and finally the linguistic region with which he is integrated. (R.K. Mukherji, 1965)

Moreover, R.K. Mukherji quoted D.P. Mukherji to emphasize the economic aspect of structural change which can have a significant impact and bring about an alteration, ‘Traditions have great power of resistance and absorption’. Unless the influence is very powerful (which is possible only when modes of production are changed), traditions survive through adjustments. The capacity to adjust is a measure of the vitality of tradition. Indian sociologists should precede the socialist interpretations of changes in the Indian tradition in terms of economic forces. (R.K. Mukherji, 1965)

Yogendra Singh, has however, come out with a paradigmatic concept of tradition in his book, *Modernization of Indian tradition*. He refers to traditions as evolving from primordial tradition to modernization with a pattern of change in quality. His concept of Indian tradition, contrary to the meta-social views, is analytical as indicated in a unified worldview, ritual styles and belief systems. He does not delineate tradition as entity or substance, but as a variable identified under the components of little and great traditions, contributing extensively to the process of transformation and synthesis. Y. Singh refers to two kinds of changes — ‘orthogenetic changes’ (primary) and ‘heterogenetic changes’ (secondary). While orthogenetic changes refer to those changes within the cultural tradition of India itself, heterogenetic changes refer to changes brought about due to contact with other traditions.

The evolutionary process of modernization is a smooth one, and there is no serious breakdown in the system caused by institutionalization of modernizing changes. Caste, as an institution however, has the potential for negotiating with modernizing trends and adapting to modern institutions. Yogendra Singh is concerned about the constant coordination of modernization with conciliation as an assumed pre-requisite for democratic modernization in India.

Modernization, in its initial stages in India, according to Eisenstadt did not lead to any serious system breakdown because of the peculiar structural characteristics of the Indian society. Here, the cultural system was fairly independent of the political system. Modernity in India developed as a sub-structure and sub-culture without subsequent expansion in all sectors of life. However, Y. Singh’s main concern was with structural changes which would take place due to modernization. Inconsistencies have arisen due to structural changes that India has undergone during the post-colonial phase of modernization. Micro-structures like caste, family and village community have retained their traditional character. Caste per se has shown unexpected elasticity and latent potential for adaptation with modern institutions, such as democratic participation, political party organization and trade unionism. This is even though joint family and particularistic norms continue to prevail. These contradictions are magnified at the level of macro-structures such as the political system, bureaucracy, elite structure, industry and economy.

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In fact, the major potential sources of breakdown in the process of modernization in India can be attributed to structural inconsistencies such as democratisation without spread of civic culture (education), bureaucratization without commitment to universalistic norms, rise in media participation and aspiration without proportionate increase in resources and distributive justice, verbalization of a welfare ideology without diffusion into the social structure. (Eisenstadt, 1966)

At the outset, it must be said that there has been considerable modernization of Indian traditions and constant adaptation with the process of modernization. There has been no breakdown in the traditional value systems, rather it can be said that there has been a discontinuity between expectation and performance. Y. Singh would deny a policy of controlled suppression in favour of a 'series of conciliatory steps through a forceful strategy of mobilization'. This would lead him to accept that the chances of institutional breakdown are minimal on the Indian scene. (Y. Singh, 1986). There is in fact a rational coordination instead of complete reliance on modernization.

7.5 SUMMARY

- According to Giddens (2001), in human societies, to decide how far and in what ways a particular system is in a process of change or transformation, we have to show to what degree there is any modification of basic institutions during a specific time period.
- Considering change as an important aspect of study, the father of sociology, August Comte, even remarked that the role of this discipline is to analyse both the Social Statics (the laws governing social order) and Social Dynamics (laws governing social change (Slattery, 2003).
- Social change is inevitable. It is not only inevitable, it is also universal. It is found in every society.
- Change in one aspect of a system may lead to changes of varying degrees in other aspects of that system.
- Change may occur with or without proper planning. People, government or any other agent may initiate change through plans or programmes and may determine the degree and direction of change.
- Secularism implies the absence of religion or religious beliefs from the process of rule-making and governance. An organized institution like a national or local government is said to be secular when it keeps religion out of its functioning.
- The relation of secularism to religion was defined as 'mutually exclusive rather than hostile'. Neither theism nor skepticism enters into the secularist scheme as neither can be proved through experience.
- The basic principle of secularism was to look for human improvement by material means alone, these means were judged as sufficient to lock the desired end. Its beliefs could be maintained by intellect and were similarly applicable to all humanity.
- The term 'secular' denotes the three-fold relationship among man, State and religion. The word Secular has not been defined or explained under the Constitution in 1950 or in 1976 when it was made part of the preamble.

Check Your Progress

6. Which four dimensions do Indian traditions provide as a means to integrate the people?
7. Differentiate between orthogenetic changes and heterogenetic changes.

- Industrialization refers to sustained economic growth following the application of innate sources of power to mechanized production.
- Globalization is an emerging union of economies and societies around the globe and it is a complex process that affects many aspects of social life in the societies like quick growth, reduction in rate of poverty, introduction of Internet, etc.
- According to Thompson Warren, 'Urbanization is the movement of people from communities concerned chiefly or solely with agriculture to other communities, generally larger, whose activities are primarily centred in government, trade manufacture or allied interests.'
- The term re-urban was introduced by the sociologist C.J. Galpin. It referred to the composite urban settlements wherein the urban and rural population intermingled and stayed connected with and dependent upon each other.
- According to Daniel Lerner, modernization includes a 'disquieting positivist spirit' touching both public and private institutions.
- The terms modernization and urbanization are often quoted together, and lead to an increase in the spread of literacy and social mobility.
- The concept of tradition has always occupied an important place in Indian sociological thought.

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7.6 KEY TERMS

- **Development:** Development refers to improvement in the quality of life and advancement in one's state of condition.
- **Social change:** Social change refers to any significant alteration over time in behaviour patterns and cultural values and norms.
- **Secularism:** Secularization is the transformation of a society from close identification and affiliation with religious values and institutions toward nonreligious values and secular institutions.
- **Industrialization:** Industrialization refers to sustained economic growth following the application of innate sources of power to mechanized production.

7.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Spencer's analysis of structure indicates the internal build-up, shape or form of societal wholes.
2. *The Division of Labour* was written by Emile Durkheim.
3. According to Thompson Warren, 'Urbanization is the movement of people from communities concerned chiefly or solely with agriculture to other communities, generally larger, whose activities are primarily centred in government, trade manufacture or allied interests.'
4. Urbanization is a process which refers to change in values, attitudes and beliefs of people who migrate from villages to cities and the impact of this movement on people who are left behind in the villages. Urbanity, on the other hand, is the state

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of the people living in an urban area which is distinct from those living in the villages. It refers to a pattern of life in terms of work, food habits and the world view of people living in the urban areas.

5. 'De-urbanization' is a demographic and social process whereby people move from urban areas to rural areas. It is, like suburbanization, inversely related to urbanization.
6. The place in which a person is born, where he is brought up and dies, the caste he is affiliated with and the linguistic region with which he is integrated are the four dimensions to integrate people.
7. Orthogenetic changes refer to those changes within the cultural tradition of India itself, whereas, heterogenetic changes refer to changes brought about due to contact with other traditions.

7.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Define secularism and list its various aspects.
2. What are some of the social consequences of industrialization?
3. List the main causes of urbanization.
4. State the major problems that are faced by the urban society of India.
5. Write a short note on the concept of de-urbanization.

Long-Answer Questions

1. What is social change? Explain in detail.
2. Discuss the features of social change.
3. Do you believe that India is a secular country? Give reasons for your answer.
4. Discuss Max Weber's views on the origins and sustaining conditions for capitalism.
5. Discuss the theories of urbanization associated with the models of the city.

7.9 FURTHER READING

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SOCIAL RESEARCH

BA [Sociology]

Paper IV



RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

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About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

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Unit 2 Hypothesis Conceptualisation and Formulation of Hypothesis; Importance of Hypothesis in Social Research and Source of Hypothesis.	Unit 2: Hypothesis (Pages 23-51)
Unit 3 Scientific Study of Social Phenomena The Scientific Method, Objectivity and Subjectivity, Debate in Social Research; Positivism in Sociology.	Unit 3: Scientific Study of Social Phenomena (Pages 53-71)
Unit 4 Types of Research Basic, Applied; Historical, Empirical; Descriptive, Exploratory, and Experimental.	Unit 4: Types of Research (Pages 73-94)
Unit 5 Techniques of Data Collection Questionnaire, Schedule, Interview Case Study, Observation and Content Analysis.	Unit 5: Techniques of Data Collection (Pages 95-135)
Unit 6 Analysis and Use of Statistics Analysis of Data, Coding, Tables, Graphs and Diagram; Use of Statistics—Mean, Median, Mode and Standard Deviation.	Unit 6: Analysis and Use of Statistics (Pages 137-198)
Unit 7 Report Writing Importance of Report Writing; Components of Report—Preliminary Pages, Main Text and End Text.	Unit 7: Report Writing (Pages 199-222)

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INTRODUCTION

Research is the search for knowledge or a systematic investigation in order to establish facts. The basic aim of research is to discover, interpret and develop methods and systems to advance human knowledge on diverse scientific matters. Social research refers to the conduction of research on various groups of a society by social scientists. Research methodology refers to the way research can be conducted. It is also known as the process of collecting data for various research projects.

Social research pertains to research carried out by social scientists on various facets of society. Research plays a very significant role in the field of social science. In order to study the importance and relationship between social science and research, social research is conducted or undertaken. The research that attempts to measure, describe, explain and predict the social and economic phenomena or social behaviour of human beings is known as 'social research'.

The methodology of social research is the science of studying how research is conducted scientifically. It helps to understand both the products as well as the process of scientific enquiry. A research process involves selection and formulation of a research problem, research design, sample strategy or sample design, as well as the interpretation and preparation of research report. Research can be undertaken in the form of descriptive/survey research, applied or fundamental research, quantitative or qualitative research, conceptual or empirical research, and other types of research.

This book, *Social Research*, is written in a self-instructional format and is divided into seven units. Each unit begins with an *Introduction* to the topic followed by an outline of the *Unit Objectives*. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with *Check Your Progress* questions to test the reader's understanding of the topic. A list of *Questions and Exercises* is also provided at the end of each unit, and includes short-answer as well as long-answer questions. The *Summary* and *Key Terms* section are useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

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UNIT 1 UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL RESEARCH

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Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Unit Objectives
- 1.2 Meaning of Social Research
 - 1.2.1 Scope and Significance of Social Research
 - 1.2.2 Types of Social Research
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 - 1.4.2 Phenomenological Inquiry: Qualitative Research
- 1.5 Summary
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Simply defined, research is a search for knowledge. One can also define research as a scientific and systematic pursuit of information on a specific topic. Scientifically, research can also be termed as scientific investigation. Thus, research and scientific enquiry can be considered synonymous. The only difference between the two is that while it is possible to employ scientific method without research, it is not possible to conduct any research without employing scientific methods. Thus, research is a more specialized form of scientific enquiry which in turn is the result of gathering of data, information and facts for the specific purpose.

Social research pertains to research carried out by social scientists on various facets of society. Research plays a very significant role in the field of social science. In order to study the importance and relationship between social science and research, social research is conducted or undertaken. The research that attempts to measure, describe, explain and predict the social and economic phenomena or social behaviour of human beings is known as 'social research'. In this unit, you will get acquainted with the meaning, characteristics and objective of scientific research, aims and types of social research, steps in social research and the concept of qualitative and quantitative research.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning of the term social research
- Analyse the scope and significance of social research
- Assess the types of social research

- Describe the major steps involved in social research
- Assess the concept of qualitative and quantitative research

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1.2 MEANING OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

Society is an amalgamation of individuals with different needs, aspirations and goals in life. However, social individuals are also associated with each other through shared interests, familial bonds and common objectives. Social research is basically research conducted by social scientists in order to analyse a vast breadth of social phenomena. The methods used in social research find their roots in classical sociology and statistics. Social research methods may be divided into two broad divisions. These are: Qualitative and Quantitative methods. While the former approaches social phenomena through quantifiable evidence, the latter approaches social phenomena through observation, communication with partners and analysis of text. However, the choice of method depends largely on what the scientist wishes to investigate. Prof. Bent Flyvbjerg of Oxford University maintains that the divide between the quality and quantity oriented camps in social research is clearly unfortunate as good research methods require a combination of both.

Definitions

While C.A. Moser defines social research as: ‘A systematized investigation to gain new knowledge about social phenomenon and problems’, P.V. Young maintains: ‘Social research is a scientific undertaking which by means of logical methods, aim to discover new facts or old facts and to analyse their sequences, interrelationships, casual explanations and natural laws which govern them.’

Objectivity in Social Research

Social scientists are often influenced by their biases, passions, likes and dislikes and preconceived notions. These are seen to interfere with the scientific objectivity that they would need while researching on social sciences. Objectivity is the capacity to represent truthfully and without prejudice, the results of one’s research. A social researcher needs to be aware of his personal biases and prejudices and take adequate care that these do not affect the objectivity of the research. Max Weber, an exponent in social research argued, that actually, the thoughts and beliefs of the researchers *should* affect their topics of study. However, the social scientist needs to be value-neutral once the research question has been framed. Objectivity can be attained by sharing the results of research with experts who then may be asked to critically examine them. In his *Logic of Scientific Discovery* (1959), Karl Popper maintained that *confirmation* and *refutation* are the essence of scientific discovery. Social researchers publish their work so that their work can be scrutinized by others. Journals have dedicated teams to decide whether the research material lives up to the standard of the journal and should, therefore, be published. Once a research material is published, other scholars look at it critically, especially when they do not agree with the findings.

Some others may wish to replicate the study by changing the strategies and settings to check if the conclusion would remain the same.

Characteristics of Social Research

Social research possesses certain unique characteristics. These are as follows:

- Social research is directed towards finding solutions for social problems.
- It emphasizes the development of generalizations, theories and principles that help in predicting future occurrences.
- It is primarily based on empirical/observable experience.
- It requires meticulous observation.
- Though it may appear to be unsystematic, social research most often involves carefully designed procedure.
- It requires an expert researcher who is already acquainted with the previous nuances of the problem.
- It is characterized by patient and unhurried activity.

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1.2.1 Scope and Significance of Social Research

The subject matter of sociology is society. Sociologists study man's social behaviour in a variety of contexts. They use a number of methods in social research including 'comparative method', 'participant observer method', 'community studies', etc. Descriptive and explanatory research aims only at describing, in detail, a situation or set of circumstances. On the other hand, action research refers to 'that is done when some reform or change has been introduced. Its purpose is to monitor the effect of the change and to decide whether it has achieved what it was supposed to achieve.'

Most disciplines undertake research. Research is more of a way of thinking than a set of skills. Research entails critically examining aspects of the study; making guiding principles for testing particular procedure; developing testing theories, etc.

For any study undertaken to be called a 'research', it should adhere to the following three criteria:

- A set of philosophies guide the research
- Methods, techniques and procedures which have proven reliability and validity are used
- Research has to be objective as well as unbiased

The philosophical orientation of research may stem from one of the two paradigms in research—*positivism* and *interpretivism*. Validity ensures that in a research study correct procedures have been applied to find answers to a question. Reliability refers to quality of a measurement procedure. 'Unbiased and objective' means that researchers take each step and draws each conclusion to the best of their ability without introducing their own biases and prejudices. (Ranjit Kumar, 1999).

Research plays a very significant role in the field of social science. In order to study the importance and relationship between social science and research, social research is conducted or undertaken. Research that attempts to measure, describe, explain and predict the social and economic phenomena or social behaviour of human beings is known as 'social research'.

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One of the main objectives of conducting social research is to find information about the behaviour of an individual and solutions to the problems related to human relations. The outcome of social research provides the following benefits:

- It helps professionals in earning their livelihood.
- It helps students in knowing how to write a report for various findings.
- It helps philosophers to think on wider new perspectives.
- It helps in developing new styles for creative work.

In order to conduct social research and examine the social life of human beings, social scientists use different methods. Quantitative and qualitative research are the two methods of research that are generally used by social scientists to conduct a research. In quantitative method, numerical data is collected and then analysed in order to measure the social phenomena. Qualitative method is basically the study of data, such as words, pictures and objects. However, the data collected with the help of this method is not very effective and cannot be generalized very easily.

Social research is very helpful for a country as it helps the government to explore the following things:

- Social and economic structures
- Social attitudes
- Social values and behaviours
- Factors motivating individuals and groups of a society

Researchers share a close relationship with government analysts, such as economists, statisticians and operational researchers. The relationship between researchers and government analysts is essential in order to find out high quality research data. Social research also informs about development, implementation and evaluation of a wide range of government policies.

Social research also helps to examine the consequences of government policies and economic changes in an organization, and the effects of globalization and its impact on small-scale and cottage industries.

1.2.2 Types of Social Research

Sociologists employ a variety of methods to learn about the social world. These methods are not mutually exclusive. Since each research method has strengths and weaknesses, a good research strategy may use several of them. Appelbaum and Chambliss (1997:40) hold that the principal methods of social research include survey and fieldwork.

Survey

A survey entails administering a precisely worded questionnaire to a group of people in order to determine their characteristics, opinions and behaviours. First, the researcher has to define a *population universe* to which the study applies: this is the group of people about whom generalization is to be made. Once the population universe is identified, a *sample*—a subset of cases selected to represent the larger population—must be selected, since it is seldom economically feasible or desirable to interview everyone in a chosen population universe.

Two principal type of sampling are used: *probability* and *non-probability sampling*. In the most common type of probability sampling, termed *random sampling*,

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everyone in the population universe has an equal chance of being in the sample. In *non-probability sampling*, subjects are deliberately chosen because of their specific characteristics. Once the sample is constructed or drawn, the questionnaire is administered. Questionnaires may contain *open- or close-ended questions*. In *close-ended questions*, the respondents are required to choose only from predetermined alternative responses. In *open-ended questions*, there are no fixed responses to choose from. The respondents are provided with a wide range of opportunities to express a wide range of feelings and opinions.

One of the strengths of survey method is that it permits the researcher to draw conclusions about a large number of people on the basis of a much smaller number of interviews. This is a major advantage in terms of time and money. Surveys also have some weaknesses. Sometimes, surveys can be superficial since in order to be feasible economically, they usually call for brief responses to close-ended questions. Many-a-times, responses are self-serving, just intended to make the interviewee look good in the eyes of the researcher.

Fieldwork

Fieldwork consists of many methods. The most common fieldwork is that of *participant observation*. The researchers become a part of the community under study; immerse themselves completely in the daily life of the community and participate in the activities of the members of the community but with a sense of detachment. They then attempt to report all their findings on every aspect of their lives with a sense of impartiality and disinterestedness. Classic examples of fieldworks are William Whyte's (1915) *Street Corner Society* (1943), *A Study of Italian-American Working-Class Men* and B. Malinowski's *Study of the Tribes of Trobriand Island*.

Sometimes the research strategy requires that the researchers stay away from the people they are studying, and simply observe what is going on. A sociologist studying crowd behaviour at a rally or student participation in a seminar would be an example. The researcher in such a study tries to be a 'fly on the wall', invisible and unobtrusive, yet constantly records what is going on. This technique is called *detached observation*.

Interview is another method of fieldwork. It is a detailed conversation designed to obtain in-depth information about a person. In a *structured interview*, researchers have a detailed list of specific questions to ask. In the *semi-structured interview*, the researchers have a list of topics to cover depending on the interview situation, to determine the course of questioning and the details of the question.

Participatory research is another method under fieldwork. It is designed to involve the subjects of the research in the research process itself, with an eye to empowering them to overcome some difficulty or problem. This research is usually tied with community action. It is conducted when a group or community wants to engage in some form of social change but lacks the expertise to do so. The researcher is invited to become a fully engaged member of the social change process, helping the members of the group to conduct the necessary research and training them in the techniques for doing so.

Another method is *experiment*. In it, two groups are chosen—the *experimental group* and the *control group*. An experimental group is one which is exposed to the independent variable. The control group is kept constant—no experiment is carried out on it. In the end, both the groups are compared to find out the resultant effects of the experiment.

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Working with *available information* is another strategy. This involves working with data collected by other people. Often such data are the only information available. Examples include statistical data, documentary analysis or comparative-historical research (study of several different countries as well as examination of changing historical patterns in a single country).

APPROACH	WHEN APPROPRIATE
Survey	Basic information about a large population is required and sampling is a feasible strategy.
Interview	In-depth information is desired and direct access to informants is possible.
Detached observation	Information should be gathered but the data gathering should be as unobtrusive as possible.
Participant observation	First hand knowledge of the direct experience of subjects is required.
Participatory research	Primary goal is empowerment: training people to acquire the necessary skill to do research themselves.
Experiments	To determine specific causal relationships.
Using the available information	Direct acquisition of data is either not feasible or not desirable.

1.3 MAJOR STEPS IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

Research process includes steps or a series of actions and logical sequence of those steps to carry out research effectively. The various steps in a research process are not mutually separate, exclusive or discrete, but they at the same time need not always follow each other. The researcher, at each step, anticipates subsequent steps and requirements. The tentative order of the steps and the procedural guidelines of the research process are as given below:

- (i) **Formulating the research problem:** At the very beginning of research, the researcher must clearly define the research problem, i.e., the area of interest, the matter to be inquired into, etc. The problem, before being solved, is initially stated in a broader perspective and then the researcher arrives at the specific question by gradually reducing the ambiguities, if any. Then, immediately after formulating the problem, the feasibility of different solutions is studied before choosing the right solution.
- (ii) **Extensive literature survey:** After formulating the research problem, a brief summary of it should be prepared—this is an essential step. While writing a Ph.D. thesis a researcher has to prepare a synopsis of the topic and submit it to the appropriate committee or research board for approval. Synopsis preparation needs extensive survey of the literature connected with the problem.
- (iii) **Development of a working hypothesis:** After surveying the literature, the researcher should clearly state the working hypothesis, which is a tentative assumption made before testing it in logical or empirical sequences. Hypothesis must be as specific as possible and should be limited to the intended research. This helps to choose the right process.
- (iv) **Preparing the research design:** The next step, after clearly defining the research problem, is preparing the suitable research design. The research design includes the conceptual framework within which the research would be carried out. A

Check Your Progress

1. List the factors which affect objectivity in the field of social research.
2. How is social research helpful for the government?
3. What is a population universe?

good and planned research design helps to carry out the study in an efficient manner saving time and resources. It helps to gather the most useful information and assists in arriving at the accurate results. Simply put, a good research design facilitates the collection of relevant evidence with minimal expenditure of money, effort, time and other resources.

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- (v) **Determining sample design:** A universe or population includes all the items under inquiry. If all the items in the population are inquired then such an inquiry is called census inquiry. In a census survey, all the items are covered and so the highest accuracy is obtained. But this may not be practicable in surveys involving a big population. Census surveys need huge amounts of time, money and energy. Hence, quite often it is wise to select only a few items from the universe for the purpose of study. Technically, such a small and convenient number of items selected, is called a sample. Specified plan of the size and method of collecting the sample is technically known as sample design.
- (vi) **Collecting the data:** In most cases, the data in hand is insufficient and there is always a need of fresh data. There are different ways of collecting the appropriate data which differ considerably in terms of relevance, expenditure, time and other resources. Therefore, the researcher must select the most appropriate method of collecting the data after considering the objective of the research, the nature of investigation, time and financial resources available, scope of the inquiry, and the desired degree of accuracy.
- (vii) **Execution of the project:** This is an important step in the research process because if the execution proceeds on the correct lines, the collected data would be dependable, adequate and accurate. Therefore, systematic and timely execution of a project plays a crucial role in ensuring right results at the end.
- (viii) **Analysis of data:** After collecting the data, the next step is analysing the data. The data analysis includes a number of closely-related operations like specifying different categories of data, differentiating and tabulating the data into different categories, applying the statistical techniques and formulae to the data, doing the right calculations and then drawing statistical inferences. Various tests, such as chi-square test, *t*-test, *F*-test, etc., help in data analysis.
- (ix) **Hypothesis-testing:** After analysing the data, the researcher should test the working hypothesis against the statistical inferences obtained after analysing the data. The question that should be answered now is: Do the findings support the working hypothesis or do they contradict it?
- (x) **Generalizations and interpretation:** If a hypothesis is tested and upheld sufficient number of times, the researcher can arrive at a generalization. The degree of success of a research is calculated on the basis of how close the arrived generalizations are to the acceptability. If the researcher starts with no hypothesis, the researcher will interpret his findings on the basis of some existing theory and this is known as **interpretation**. The process of interpretation often triggers new questions which lead to further researches.
- (xi) **Preparation of the report or the thesis:** Finally, the researcher has to prepare the report of what has been studied. Report must be written with great care keeping the following layout in mind:
- **Preliminary pages:** These pages of the report should contain the title, the date, acknowledgments, foreword, table of contents, list of tables, list of graphs and charts (if any).

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- **Main text:** The main text of the report should have introduction, summary of findings, main report, conclusion and suggestions for future research.
- **Closure:** At the end of the report, appendices should be listed in respect of all technical data, followed by bibliography. Index terms should also be given specially in a published research report. All references should be cited as per the research writing formats.

Flow Chart: Research Process

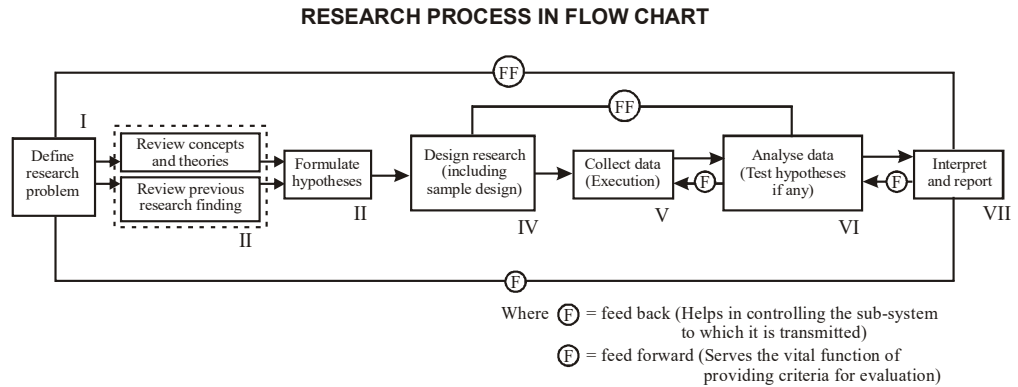


Fig. 1.1 Research Process

In Figure 1.1, the flow chart indicates the sequential steps to be followed in the research process, as studied in this section. We can recollect that the research process starts with defining the research problem along with reviewing the relevant literature in the field to become familiar with the concepts and theories relevant to the issue to be investigated. The next step is the formulation of the hypothesis, which is followed by the research design and sample selection. Then the collection of data and its analysis is to be attempted. After that the interpretation and the report writing stages complete the research report. These have to be written step by step and then edited and refined several times before preparing the final report.

Criteria of Good Research

Whatever be the type of research one undertakes, certain common criteria of good scientific methods have to be followed. A good research follows logical methods, is systematic, and structured in accordance with well-defined sets of rules and practices to enable the researcher in arriving at dependable conclusions. Both, deductive reasoning and inductive reasoning, should be followed for meaningful research.

Good research also implies obtaining reliable data which provides sound validity to the research findings.

The following principles underlie a good research criteria:

- The aim and objective of the research being conducted should be clearly specified.
- The research procedure should be replicable so that if the research needs to be continued or repeated, it can be done easily.
- The research design should be so chosen that the results are as objective as possible.

- Interpretation of any research should be done keeping in mind the flaws in the procedural design and the extent to which it has an effect on the results.
- Research should be carried out systematically. It should progress in pre-defined stages, and researchers should avoid using their intuition or guesswork to arrive at conclusions.
- Research should be logical so that it is meaningful, and help in decision-making.
- Research should be empirical as far as possible.
- The results of the research should only be used and generalized for the population for which the data provides an adequate basis.
- The validity and reliability of the data used in research should be double checked.

A good research produces results that are examinable by peers, methodologies that can be replicated, and knowledge that can be applied to real-world situations.

Problems Encountered by Researchers in India

There are some common problems faced by researchers in developing countries and India is no exception. Essentially, there is a dearth of tools required for good research. Many of the universities and research institutions are now providing computers with Internet connection to researchers but the facilities provided are not adequate. Luckily, the costs of both hardware and Internet bandwidth have reduced over a period of time. While Indian researchers now have easy access to these tools, there is still the problem of low visibility of papers published by them. Indian researchers often become demotivated to continue further research. Other factors like lack of scientific training in the methodology of research and a non-existent code of conduct also serve as challenges for the Indian researcher. There is also insufficient interaction between the researchers and the end-users. End-users of research are the ones who stand to benefit from the research and if they are not made aware of the benefit they can derive, getting sponsors to provide funds for research would be difficult.

There is also a lack of safeguards against any violation of confidentiality in data collection. Research studies that overlap lead to unnecessary repetition. There is an absence of research culture in our country.

Other problems that Indian researchers face that are common to developing countries are:

- Limited or no access to international research journals
- Lack of infrastructure except in a few metropolitan cities
- Low investment in research due to financial constraints
- Inadequate library facilities and where such facilities exist, they are not easily accessible
- Poor encouragement to do research

These problems need to be surmounted effectively in order to promote research as a professional activity.

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Check Your Progress

4. What does a researcher need to consider before selecting the appropriate method of collecting the data?
5. List the constituents of the preliminary pages of a report.

1.4 QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

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In this section, we will study qualitative and quantitative research.

1.4.1 Logical Positivism: Quantitative Research

Logical positivism uses quantitative approach in the verification of theoretical propositions. It is based on statements such as 'anything that exists in a certain quantity and can be measured.' Quantification is essentially to enhance precision in the description of variables and the discernment of the relationships among them. It is structuring an empirical event into a mathematical model which, when juxtaposed on a specific mathematical proposition already formulated, verifies the latter.

Quantitative approach uses 'measurement' as the most precise and universally accepted method for assigning quantitative values to the characteristics or properties of objects or events for the purpose of discovering relationships between variables under study.

Measurement is defined as the assignment of numbers to objects and events according to logically accepted rules. There are certain properties of numbers that must have parallels in the observed phenomena. These properties are described as under:

1. **The property of identity:** A number has identity. Every number is unique and no other number is exactly the same.
2. **The property of order:** In the number system, numbers have their order or rank, i.e., one number being greater than another.
3. **The property of additivity:** In the system of numbers, summing of a certain number with certain other number must yield a unique number. This property is the basis for almost all useful operations that can be performed with numbers, because if the numbers can be added, they can also be subtracted, multiplied and divided.

It is not necessary that the phenomena to which the numbers are applied must have all the three properties of identity, order, and additivity in order to measure those phenomena. However, the advantage of the numbers used in measurement depends upon how many of the three properties do apply. There are several levels of measurement, the use of which are dependent upon the number of those properties that do apply. A convenient way of classification of the measurement levels is made by Stevens (1951). According to this classification, there are four levels of measurement scales:

1. **Nominal scales:** Nominal scales of measurement are used when a set of objects among two or more categories are to be differentiated on the basis of qualitative differences. Usually, a number of symbols or numerals are chosen to represent all objects in a given category, thus taking the advantage of the property of identity. We may assign individuals to such categories as sex (male and females), nationality (Indians and Americans), educational level (school students and college students), professional rank (lecturers, readers and professors), etc.

Each individual can be a member of only one category and all the members of the category have the same defined characteristics. Nominal scales are non-orderable and the only arithmetical operation applicable to such scales is counting, the mere enumeration of individuals in each category, class or set. The nominal scale is

primitive form of measurement and the statistical techniques based on counting are permissible in this type of measurement.

- Ordinal scales:** The ordinal scales of measurement correspond to quantitative classification of a set of objects. The sets or classes of objects are ordered on some continuum in a series ranging from lowest to highest according to the characteristics we wish to measure. The ranking of students in class for height, weight or scholastic achievement are the examples of ordinal scale of measurement. It may be noted that the successive intervals between consecutive points on the ordinal scale may not be equal throughout the entire scale. Suppose we place three students Ram, Sham and Ali in the order of height with Ram being the tallest, and assign the numbers 3, 2 and 1 respectively. All we have is information about serial arrangement. We cannot say that Ram, is as much taller than Sham as Sham is taller than Ali, even though the three numbers assigned to them are equally spaced on the scale of measurement. The common arithmetical operations — addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division — cannot be legitimately used with ordinal scales, but statistical procedures based on ranks are appropriate.
- Interval scales:** Taking the previous example, we actually measure the height of the three students Ram, Sham and Ali by using a metre scale and find their heights to be 185 cm, 172 cm and 159 cm., respectively, then we have measurements on a scale of equal units. This scale of measurement is called an interval scale. By this type of measurement we can make certain exact and meaningful decisions. We can say that Ram is 13 cm taller than Sham and 26 cm taller than Ali. We can also infer that the difference in heights between Ram and Ali is twice than that between Ram and Sham.

In the interval scale, the differences between consecutive points on the scale are equal over the entire scale but there is no true zero point on it. The zero point of the scale is chosen conventionally or arbitrarily. Most psychological tests and inventories are based on interval scales. They have no real zero point. It is true that a student may occasionally get a score of zero on a test of mathematics or general science. However, this does not mean that the student has no knowledge of mathematics or general science.

We can perform the operations of addition and subtraction on interval scales. The statistical techniques based on these arithmetical operations are permissible. The operations of multiplication and division cannot be legitimately used with interval scales, since these operations presuppose the existence of an exact zero point.

- Ratio scales:** The fourth and highest level of measurement is the ratio scale. All the four operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division can be used with ratio scales. All statistical techniques are permissible with such scales. These scales have all the characteristics of interval scales, with the additional advantage of a true zero point. It is possible to indicate the complete absence of an attribute. For example, the zero point on a centimetre scale indicates the complete absence of length or height.

The numerals of the ratio scale can be expressed in ratio relationships. For example, the weight of 4 grams is one-half of 8 grams; the height of 10 cm is one-third of 30 cm, and so on.

Ratio scales are almost non-existent in psychological measurement, except in the area of psycho-physical judgement. For example, when we measure reaction time, we use the customary time units, seconds and fractions of a second.

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Ratio scales permit us to perform operations of (1) equality of magnitudes, (2) equality of differences, and (3) equality of ratios.

It may be noted that each higher scale can be transformed into a lower category scale but no lower category scale can be transformed into a higher category scale. The statistics permissible under higher category scale would also include the statistics that is permitted under the lower category scale. The higher we go in the hierarchy of the scales, the more relevant information is provided. If the nature of the variables permits, the scale that provides the most precise description should be used.

Quantitative research emphasizes: (i) concepts and their measurement in numbers (phenomenalism), (ii) establishment of casual relationships between independent and dependent variables, (iii) law-like generalizability of phenomena, (iv) replicability, (v) methodological individualism, and (vi) objectivity in the collection, analysis and interpretation of data, and reporting of results. It is dominated by the largely unquestioned, natural science paradigm of hypothetico-deductive methodology. Quantitative research actually goes beyond just analysing numbers. Using a deductive approach, it seeks to establish facts, make predictions, and test hypotheses that have already been stated.

Characteristics of Quantitative Research

The chief characteristics of quantitative research are mentioned as under:

1. Quantitative research uses deductive or 'top-down' approach. The researcher formulates and uses hypotheses and theory with data.
2. It is based on logical-positive paradigm which utilises experimental methods and quantitative measures to test specific hypothetical generalizations with narrow-angle lens.
3. Quantitative research uses scientific method with 'hard science' trappings. The researchers treat their subjects of study as having an existence independent of themselves and without any intrinsic meaning.
4. Behaviour of the subjects under study is assumed to be regular and predictable.
5. Most of the common research objectives in quantitative approach aim at description, explanation and prediction of social phenomenon. The emphasis is not on the deep understanding of the phenomenon or content.
6. Quantitative research attempts to study behaviour under controlled conditions. The nature of observation is objective, *i.e.*, different observers agree on what is observed.
7. Closed ended structured questionnaires, tests, attitudes scales, rating scales, etc. are used to collect quantitative data based on precise measurement.
8. The dominant sampling strategy in quantitative research is probability sampling, which depends on the selection of a random and representative sample from a larger population. The purpose of probability sampling is subsequent generalization of the research findings to the population from which the sample was selected. Generally, large samples are used in quantitative survey studies.
9. Quantitative research is deductive in that it tests theories which have already been proposed. It aims at analysis of representative and validated quantitative data, through the use of sophisticated statistical methods and software packages.

10. The findings are based on identified statistical relationships and generalizable findings. Using the principles of probability, quantitative research makes predictions representative of a large population.
11. The form of final report is statistical with details about the use of various types of statistics, e.g., correlations, comparison of means, percentages, etc. and their statistical significance.

In conclusion, quantitative research involves successive phases of hypothesis formulation, data collection, analysis and interpretation. Using deductive approach, it seeks to establish facts, make predictions, and test hypotheses that have already been stated.

Major Types of Quantitative Research

Keeping in view the distinguishing characteristics of quantitative research, following are the main types of approaches to quantitative research:

1. **Descriptive survey research:** This type of research attempts to answer questions about the current status of a phenomenon under study. Usually, it involves studying the preferences, attitudes, practices, concerns, or interests of some group of people.
2. **Correlation research:** These studies are conducted to determine whether, and to what degree, a relationship exists between two or more variables.
3. **Causal-comparative research:** This type of research seeks to discover a cause-effect relationship between two or more different programmes, methods, or groups. It is also called *ex-post-facto* research because in this type, the researcher usually does not have control over the causal factor or independent variable as it is studied after the occurrence of the fact.
4. **Experimental research:** The experimental research also looks for a cause-effect relationship between two or more variables. But this relationship is studied under the controlled condition which is not the case in causal-comparative research. Various types of experimental designs are used in conducting experimental research. The selection and use of a particular experimental design depends upon the nature of problem and its objectives.

Advantages of Quantitative Research

Quantitative research has played a significant role in conducting educational studies because of the following advantages:

1. The results are statistically reliable. Quantitative research mostly uses statistical methods in drawing comparison between concepts, ideas, products, packages, etc.
2. Quantitative research involves quantifications based on numbers. Thus, it is well-suited to addressing the 'who', 'what', 'when' and 'where' of individual (consumer) behaviour.
3. The results of quantitative research can be generalized. The findings can be projected to the whole population.
4. The use of multivariate methods and analysis is helpful in measuring and controlling the variable or variables which intervene between the independent and dependent variables.

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Limitations of Quantitative Research

Despite a number of advantages of the quantitative research, there are also many disadvantages. Some of those are mentioned as under:

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1. Quantitative research uses quantitative data. These data are closed-ended and hence do not provide depth and detail.
2. Advance formulation of specific hypotheses is an important requirement of quantitative research. In certain research contexts, especially in the field of education, it is not always possible to formulate specific hypothetical generalizations.
3. The occurrence of an event is both quantitative and qualitative. Hence, its measurement on the basis of selective observation and selective recording of information may involve researcher 'bias'.
4. The primary disadvantage of quantitative research is that issues are only measured if they are known prior to the beginning of the study especially in the survey research.
5. Quantitative research is neither appropriate nor cost effective for studying why people act or think as they do. In such cases it is difficult to quantify the action or thinking of people. The selection and use of large samples for drawing reliable statistics also involve lot of efforts in terms of money and manpower.

1.4.2 Phenomenological Inquiry: Qualitative Research

Phenomenological inquiry uses qualitative approach to the verification of proposition, which takes into consideration the totality of a phenomenon and does not attempt at analysing it into quantifiable (measurable) components. It employs a naturalistic approach based on phenomenological paradigm, which uses a variety of interpretive research methodologies, that seeks to understand phenomenon in context-specific settings. Qualitative research, in contrast to quantitative approach, is by some regarded as less 'scientific' and 'softer'. It describes social phenomena as they occur naturally. No attempt is made to manipulate the situation under study. Qualitative research emphasises: (i) an 'emic' perspective viewing events, actions, values, beliefs, etc. from the point of view of people who are being studied (phenomenological), (ii) detailed perspectives of the participants in the 'naturalistic' setting, (iii) contextualising behaviour, events, etc. within a holistic frame, (iv) an inductive, open and flexible approach, and (v) a definite preference for 'theory generation' rather than theory testing during the research process.

Characteristics of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research has some characteristics which distinguish it from quantitative research. Best and Kahn (2002, pp. 184-185) has quoted ten themes proposed by Patton (1990, pp. 40-41) which highlight the following main characteristics of qualitative research:

1. Qualitative research makes use of naturalistic inquiry. It aims at studying real world situations as they unfold naturally without any manipulation and pre-determined constraints on outcomes.
2. It employs inductive or 'bottom-up' approach. The researcher generates new hypotheses and grounded theory from data collected during field work. It aims to discover important categories, dimensions, and interrelationships. In the process of induction the researcher begins by exploring genuinely open questions rather

than testing theoretically derived (deductive) hypotheses. The data are used to develop concepts and theories that help the researcher to understand the phenomenon.

3. Most of the common research objectives in qualitative research aim at description, exploration, and discovery using ‘wide-angle’ and ‘deep-angle’ lens approach so as to examine the breadth and depth of phenomenon and to learn more about it. The whole phenomenon under study is ‘understood as a complex system that is more than the sum of its parts; focus on complex interdependencies not meaningfully reduced to a few discrete variables and linear, cause-effect relationships’.
4. The behaviour of the subjects under study is assumed to be fluid, dynamic, situational, social, contextual and personal. The behaviour is studied in the natural environments not under the controlled conditions.
5. Qualitative research makes use of qualitative data which are gathered from natural settings. These include ‘detailed, thick description; inquiry in depth; direct quotations capturing people’s personal perspectives and experiences’. The researcher attempts to observe and describe the settings as they are, maintaining what Patton calls ‘emphatic neutrality’. The total emphasis is on understanding of the situation in all its complexities by not proving something, not advocating, not advancing personal opinions and views, but researcher includes his personal experiences and emphatic insight as part of the relevant data while taking a ‘neutral nonjudgemental stance toward whatever content may emerge’.
6. Purposive sampling is the dominant strategy in qualitative research. The researcher uses small samples. He has direct contact with and gets close to the people, situation, and phenomenon under study. He collects qualitative data using in-depth interviews, participant observation, field notes, and open-ended questions. The researcher is the primary data collection instrument, ‘researcher’s personal experiences and insights are an important part of inquiry and critical to understanding the phenomenon’. The data are in the form of words, images, and categories.
7. Qualitative research emphasises ‘unique case orientation’. It assumes each case is special and unique. Cross-case analysis follows from and depends on the quality of individual case studies.
8. The analysis of qualitative data requires organizing raw data into logical, meaningful categories, and examining them in holistic fashion for interpretation to others. The reports are narrative with contextual description and direct quotations from research participants.

The characteristics described above indicate that qualitative research is not one single method or strategy for research but a wide range of discrete strategies and methods. These strategies normally have one thing in common that they analyse complex and unique data through exploration. Qualitative research is concerned with the opinions, experiences and feelings of individuals producing subjective data. It is a ‘kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification’ (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 17). Whereas quantitative research seeks causal determination, prediction, and generalization of findings, qualitative research seeks understanding, extrapolation and explanation to similar situations.

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Major Types of Qualitative Research

The variety in types of qualitative research is directly based on the varieties in the methods as well as varieties in the sources of data. For example, a researcher may focus on different sources of data like:

1. One's own immediate experience;
2. Others' experiences, which one might seek to understand through:
 - (i) their speaking or writing,
 - (ii) their other behaviours,
 - (iii) their other products: technology, artwork, etc.
3. Collecting data which concern past, present or future:
 - (i) collecting things that are the results of past, like artifacts or literature,
 - (ii) observing or introspecting what is happening now,
 - (iii) eliciting data, making things to happen, as in interview or a project.

The questions and problems which most often come from real-world observations, contents or situations also provide a number of different ways to view the theoretical perspectives of various types of qualitative research. Patton (1990, p. 88) has suggested a list of ten theoretical perspectives of qualitative research alongwith their disciplinary roots and the questions they pose. These include: (1) Ethnography; (2) Phenomenology; (3) Heuristics; (4) Ethnomethodology; (5) Symbolic interactionism; (6) Ecological psychology; (7) Systems theory; (8) Chaos theory: nonlinear dynamics; (9) Hermeneutics; and (10) Orientational, qualitative.

Advantages of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research based upon the phenomenological paradigm has the following advantages:

1. Qualitative research is not a unitary approach. In reality, it is a variety of alternative approaches to the traditional, positivistic research. Thus, this approach has the advantage of studying a phenomenon in a holistic perspective.
2. It utilises qualitative data which are detailed and descriptive. These data indicate what people have said in their own words about their experiences and interactions in natural setting, and after careful analysis, the data provide useful and depth answers to the research questions of decision makers and information users.
3. Qualitative research is most suitable in the study of human behaviour which is fluid, dynamic, situational, social, contextual and personal.
4. It does not start with the advance formulation of specific deductive hypotheses as is the case with quantitative research. The researcher uses inductive analysis for generating new hypotheses from the details and specifics of the data during field work. He/she begins by exploring genuinely open questions rather than testing theoretically derived deductive hypotheses.
5. Qualitative research utilises flexible design and 'avoids getting locked into rigid designs.' Design flexibility permits the researcher to adjust the direction of the research process to the selection and use of tools as well as samples.
6. The researcher has direct and close contact to the people, situation, and phenomenon under study which are helpful in understanding a phenomenon in depth and detail.

7. Qualitative research is cost effective. It uses case study, small and purposive sampling strategies in collecting detailed information about the phenomenon.
8. The final reports of qualitative research studies are detailed and interesting narrations about the phenomenon.

Limitations of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research has some limitations also which are mentioned as under:

1. Subjective bias is a constant threat to objective data gathering tools and analysis techniques. For example, an individual may intentionally attempt to exhibit an artificial behaviour when he/she knows that he is being observed during observation. Similarly during an interview, the interviewees may not respond freely, frankly and accurately. There is a constant danger of subjectivity on the part of an observer/interviewer during observation/interview.
2. The findings of qualitative research lack generalizations because of the nature and size of samples used for data collection. The samples are small in size and mostly purposive. Pure subjectivity in the selection of such samples undermines their credibility.
3. Qualitative research utilizes a variety of methodologies in studying a phenomenon in holistic perspective. In certain cases, it is difficult to focus on complex interdependencies of its parts and understand the meaning of the phenomenon as a whole.

In view of the above discussion on the nature, advantages and limitations of the quantitative (logical positivism) and qualitative (phenomenological inquiry) research paradigms, no particular paradigm can claim to be the sole and appropriate approach which may be used for conducting educational research. Education as a discipline has a wide base with diverse concerns, thus many of its problems can certainly be meaningfully investigated by means of different approaches. Moreover, with increased diversification in the context of education, there is a need for adopting multi-method approach, involving both qualitative and quantitative paradigms, to the methodology of educational studies.

1.5 SUMMARY

- Research that attempts to measure, describe, explain and predict the social and economic phenomena or social behaviour of human beings is known as 'social research'.
- The outcomes of social research provide the following benefits: helps professionals in earning their livelihood, helps students in knowing how to write a report for various findings, helps philosophers to think on wider new perspectives and helps in developing new styles for creative work.
- Social research helps the government to explore the following things: social and economic structures, social attitudes, social values and behaviours and factors motivating individuals and groups of a society.
- The subject matter of sociology is society. Sociologists study man's social behaviour in a variety of contexts. They use a number of methods in social research including comparative method, participant observer method, community studies, etc.

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Check Your Progress

6. Which arithmetical operation is applicable to nominal scales?
7. Why can't we legitimately use the operations of multiplication and division with interval scales?
8. Why is a causal-comparative research called ex-post-facto research?

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- For any study undertaken to be called a 'research', it should adhere to the following three criteria: a set of philosophies guide the research, methods, techniques and procedures which proven reliability and validity are used, research has to be objective as well as unbiased.
- The application of scientific methods practised in natural sciences like physics and chemistry in researching various areas in social sciences is known as the positivist approach.
- The approach in which in order to explain human behaviour, social researchers need to be conversant with people's interpretations of social phenomena is known as interpretivism.
- Objectivity is the capacity to represent truthfully and without prejudice, the result of one's research. A social research needs to be aware of his/her personal biases and prejudices and take adequate care that these do not affect the objectivity of the research.
- The following are the different types of social research: survey and fieldwork. Fieldwork further has different classifications including interview, participatory research, experiment and working with available information.
- Major steps in social research include: formulating the research problem, extensive literature survey, development of a working hypothesis, preparing the research design, determining sample design, collecting data, execution, analysis, hypothesis testing, generalization and interpretation and preparation of the report or the thesis.
- A good research follows logical methods, is systematic, and structured in accordance with well-defined sets of rules and practices to enable the researcher in arriving at dependable conclusions.
- Problems encountered by researchers in India include dearth of tools, infrastructural problems, lack of scientific training, insufficient interaction and difficulty in getting sponsors, etc.
- Logical positivism uses quantitative approach in the verification of theoretical propositions. Quantitative approach uses 'measurement' as the most precise and universally accepted method for assigning quantitative values to the characteristics or properties of objects or events for the purpose of discovering relationships between variables under study.
- Major types of quantitative research include: descriptive survey research, correlation research, causal-comparative research and experimental research.
- Phenomenological inquiry uses qualitative approach to the verification of proposition which takes into consideration the totality of a phenomenon and does not attempt at analysing it into quantifiable components.

1.6 KEY TERMS

- **Social research:** It refers to that research which attempts to measure, describe, explain and predict the social and economic phenomena or social behaviour of human beings.
- **Quantitative approach:** It is an approach in social research where measurement is used the most precise and universally accepted method for assigning quantitative

values to the characteristics or properties of objects or events for the purpose of discovering relationships between variables under study.

- **Ex-post facto:** It is a term used to define an action taken to change the effect given to a set of circumstances.
- **Positivist approach:** The application of scientific methods practiced in natural sciences like physics and chemistry in researching various areas in social sciences is known as the positivist approach.
- **Interpretivism:** In order to explain human behaviour, social researchers need to be conversant with people's interpretations of social phenomena. This approach is known as interpretivism.

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1.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Social scientists are often influenced by their biases, passions, likes and dislikes and preconceived notions. These are seen to interfere with the scientific objectivity that they would need while researching on social sciences.
2. Social research is very helpful for a country as it helps the government to explore the following things:
 - Social and economic structures
 - Social attitudes
 - Social values and behaviours
 - Factors motivating individuals and groups of a society
3. A population universe is the group of people about whom generalization is to be made in a survey.
4. A researcher considers the objective of the research, the nature of the investigation, time and financial resources available, scope of the inquiry, and the desired degree of accuracy for selecting the most appropriate method of collecting the data.
5. The preliminary pages of the report contain the title, the date, acknowledgements, foreword, table of contents, list of tables, list of graphs and charts (if any).
6. The only arithmetical operation applicable to nominal scales is counting, the mere enumeration of individuals in each category, class or set.
7. We cannot use the operations of multiplication and division with interval scales legitimately since these operations presuppose the existence of an exact zero point.
8. A causal-comparative research is also called ex-post-facto research because in this type of research, the researcher usually does not have control over the casual factor or independent variable as it is studied after the occurrence of the fact.

1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is social research?
2. What are the qualities of good research?

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3. How can the qualitative approach to research be classified?
4. What is the similarity between experimental research and ex-post facto research?
5. List the nature and scope of a good and effective research.
6. Describe the positivist and interpretivist approach to research.
7. What is a fieldwork? Describe the various methods of fieldwork.
8. State the problems faced by researchers in India.
9. Briefly list the characteristics of qualitative research.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Evaluate the characteristics of good research.
2. Critically analyse the aims of social research.
3. 'Appelbaum and Chambliss (1997:40) hold that the principal methods of social research include survey and fieldwork.' With regard to this statement, assess the two types of social research.
4. Describe the major steps involved in social research.
5. Discuss the characteristics of quantitative research with its major types.
6. What are the advantages and limitations of quantitative research?
7. Explain the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative research.

1.9 FURTHER READING

- Chawla, D. and N. Sondhi. 2011. *Research Methodology*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
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UNIT 2 HYPOTHESIS

Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Conceptualisation and Formulation of Hypothesis
 - 2.2.1 Formulating a Hypothesis
- 2.3 Importance and Source of Hypothesis in Social Research
 - 2.3.1 Importance of Hypothesis in Social Research
 - 2.3.2 Sources of Hypothesis
- 2.4 Testing of Hypotheses
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 Key Terms
- 2.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.8 Questions and Exercises
- 2.9 Further Reading

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2.0 INTRODUCTION

A hypothesis is an assumption or a statement that may or may not be true. The hypothesis is tested on the basis of information obtained from a sample. A well formulated or good hypothesis helps the researchers to focus/concentrate on the key points of investigation. A hypothesis is significant because it guides the research. The researchers or investigators refer to the hypothesis in order to direct their thought processes toward the result of the research problem or sub-problems. There are several reasons why hypothesis is significant and these will be dealt in the unit.

It is important that the hypothesis formulated guides the researcher in the right direction. For this, it is important that one knows the characteristics of valid research. It is only after this that the steps in the formulation of a hypothesis can be understood well. Further, knowing the source of hypothesis is also crucial for the researcher. You will also learn about the hypothesis testing. First step is to establish the hypothesis to be tested. The next step in the testing of hypotheses exercise is to choose a suitable level of significance. The level of significance denoted by α is chosen before drawing any sample.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning of hypothesis
- Discuss the characteristics of valid hypothesis
- Describe the steps in the formulation of a hypothesis
- Identify the importance of hypothesis in social research
- Discuss the sources of hypothesis
- Explain the steps in the hypothesis testing exercise

2.2 CONCEPTUALISATION AND FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESIS

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A hypothesis is an approximate assumption that a researcher wants to test for its logical or empirical consequences. It can contain either a suggested explanation for a phenomenon or a proposal having deductive reasoning to suggest a possible interrelation between multiple phenomena. A deductive reasoning can be defined as a type of reasoning that can be derived from previously known facts.

Some definitions of hypothesis are:

- According to Townsend, ‘Hypothesis is defined as suggested answer to a problem.’
- According to McGuigan, ‘A hypothesis is a testable statement of a potential relationship between two or more variables.’
- According to Uma Sekaran, ‘A hypothesis is defined as a logically conjectured relationship between two or more variables in the form of testable statement. These relationships are based on theoretical framework formulated for the research problem. The hypotheses are often statements about population parameters like expected value and variance, for example a hypothesis might be that the expected value of the height of 10-year-old boys in the Scottish population is not different from that of 10-year-old girls.’
- According to Kerlinger, ‘A good hypothesis is one which satisfies the following criteria:
 - (i) Hypothesis should state the relationship between variables.
 - (ii) They must carry clear implications for testing the stated relations.’

This means that: (a) statements contain two or more variables which can be measured, (b) they must state clearly how the two or more variables are related, and (c) it is important to note that facts and variables are not tested but relations between variables exist.

Characteristics of Valid Hypothesis

There are several characteristics of hypothesis, which are as follows:

- **Conceptually clear and accurate:** The hypothesis must be conceptually clear. The concepts and variables should be clearly defined operationally. The definition should use terms which are commonly accepted and it should ensure that communication is not hindered. Hypothesis should be clear and accurate so as to draw a consistent conclusion.
- **Statement of relationship between variables:** If a hypothesis is relational, it should state the relationship between the different variables.
- **Testability:** A hypothesis should have empirical referents which means that it should be testable through the empirical data. Hypothesis involving mystical or supernatural arenas are impossible to test. For example, the hypothesis ‘education brings all-round development’ is difficult to test because it is not easy to operationally isolate the other factors that might contribute towards all-round development. Since a hypothesis predicts the outcome of a study and it must relate variables

that are capable of being measured. The hypothesis such as ‘there is a positive relationship between the learning style and academic achievement of 8th grade students’ can be tested since the variables in the hypothesis are operationally defined, and therefore can be measured.

- **Specific with limited scope:** A hypothesis, which is specific with limited scope, is easily testable than a hypothesis with limitless scope. Therefore, a researcher should give more time to conduct research on such a kind of hypothesis.
- **Simplicity:** A hypothesis should be stated in simple and clear terms to make it understandable.
- **Consistency:** A hypothesis should be reliable and consistent with established and known facts.
- **Time limit:** A hypothesis should be capable of being tested within a reasonable amount of time. In other words, the excellence of a hypothesis is judged by the time taken to collect the data needed for the test.
- **Empirical reference:** A hypothesis should explain or support all the sufficient facts needed to understand what the problem is all about.

A few more characteristics of a good hypothesis are as follows:

- It ensures that the sample is readily approachable.
- It maintains a very apparent distinction with what is called theory, law, facts, assumptions and postulates.
- It ideally has logical simplicity, large number of consequences and is expressed in quantified form.
- It displays equal chances of confirmation and rejection.
- It permits the application of deduction reasoning.
- Its tools and data are easily available and effectively used.
- It is based on the study of previous literature and an existing theory, and verifiable.

As soon as a research question is formulated, it makes the hypothesis formulation imperative since a *hypothesis* is a tentative solution or an intelligent guess about a research question under study. It is an assumption or proposition whose tenability is to be tested on the basis of its implications with empirical evidence and previous knowledge. Modern investigators agree that, whenever possible, research should proceed from a hypothesis. In the words of Van Dalen (1973), ‘a hypothesis serves as a powerful beacon that lights the way for the research worker’.

2.2.1 Formulating a Hypothesis

As per the Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) hypothesis is ‘A proposition made as a basis for reasoning, without the assumption of its truth, a supposition made as a starting point for further investigation from known facts’.

Leedy and Ormrod (2001) have defined the term hypothesis as ‘A hypothesis is a logical supposition, a reasonable guess, an educated conjecture. It provides a tentative explanation for a phenomenon under investigation’.

There is no certainty that the hypothesis formulated for a problem is true or correct. Formulated hypothesis is the initial point, a statement that the researcher has to

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prove true after further research and investigations. It is also possible that after further research the researcher might find that this hypothesis is not valid for the problem and that it needs modifications.

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Why is a Hypothesis Required?

A well formulated or good hypothesis helps the researchers to focus/concentrate on the key points of investigation. Also a hypothesis is significant because it guides the research. The researchers or investigators refer to the hypothesis in order to direct their thought processes toward the result of the research problem or sub-problems. The hypothesis also helps the researcher or investigator to collect the right, precise and accurate data required for the research or investigation. As per Leedy and Ormrod (2001), 'Hypotheses are exceptionally essential and significant because they help an investigator or researcher to locate information needed to resolve the research problem or sub-problems'.

Accepting or Rejecting Hypothesis

'A hypothesis is never proved or disproved. In fact, an investigator or researcher who sets out to prove a hypothesis would lose the impartiality of the research investigation' (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

In research, an investigator or researcher is proficient to either accept (support) or reject a hypothesis. If a hypothesis is rejected, it will lead an investigator or researcher to develop new hypothesis to explain the phenomenon in question. If a hypothesis is continually supported or accepted, then it may evolve into a '**Theory**' (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

Therefore, when a hypothesis is continually accepted or supported over time by a growing body of data, then it becomes a **theory**. As per Leedy and Ormrod (2001), 'A theory is an organized body of concepts and principles intended to explain a particular phenomenon'. A theory is similar to a hypothesis in that it presents a tentative explanation for a phenomenon that new data will either support or not support. Both are supported or rejected based on the testing performed by various investigators or researchers under different conditions. An example of a well known theory is 'Einstein's Theory of Relativity' (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

Further, a theory that is continually validated over time by a growing body of data becomes a '**Law**'. An example of a well known law is the 'Law of Gravity' (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

Steps in Hypothesis Generation

Often times, an investigator will formulate a hypothesis based on the problem or sub-problems of the research. Typically, the hypothesis is driven by the research question (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). The following steps helps in generating or writing an effective hypothesis:

- **Step One: Preliminary Research:** The researcher or investigator must review the information collected up to now and then decide which information is significant for the research and how it will help to develop the hypothesis.
- **Step Two: Write Your Hypothesis:** The hypothesis is a statement that the researcher or investigator intend to prove through the research. It should state or

affirm the focus of research. When the final hypothesis is written, verify it to be certain that it has the following criteria:

1. It is written in the form of a concise statement.
2. It reflects a situation specified by the researcher or investigator.
3. It is arguable and a contrary situation can be taken.
4. It requires research to determine whether or not it is true.
5. It is a significant theme to social scientists.
6. It is a complex notion, dealing with a number of variables.
7. It is not written in the first person.
8. It can be tested.

- **Step Three: Test It Against the Criteria in Step Two:** Take the hypothesis and verify to perceive if it has the criteria listed in Step Two. If it is not so, then the researcher or investigator has to again check the formulated hypothesis for the research problem. It should be reworked such that it fits well with the research assumptions. Also the researcher or investigator has to be certain that they are diverting from the focus of research.

Formulating the Hypothesis and Research Question

Formulating a hypothesis helps by defining an initial explanation to be tested in the research process. The following are the essential key points that must be defined at the time of hypothesis formulation:

- Hypotheses are testable explanations of a problem, phenomenon or observation.
- Both quantitative and qualitative research involves formulating a hypothesis to address the research problem.
- Hypotheses that suggest a causal relationship involve at least one independent variable and at least one dependent variable; in other words, one variable which is presumed to affect the other.
- An independent variable is one whose value is manipulated by the researcher or investigator.
- A dependent variable is a variable whose values are presumed to change as a result of changes in the independent variable.

In an equation, a dependent variable is the variable whose value depends on one or more variables in the equation. An independent variable in an equation is any variable whose value is not dependent on any other variable in the equation. Hypothesis is a tentative assumption explaining an observation, phenomenon or scientific problem that can be tested by further observation, investigation or experimentation. Characteristically, the research is a process of investigation of a particular/specific topic of study with the aim of studying a problem or question. The research topic for study is established by the researcher or investigator according to the specific assignment that needs to be explored.

After the final section of topic, the researcher or investigator has to develop a question for research and hypothesis that relates to the research being conducted. The formulation of a research question must be made before the researcher initiates conducting research on specified topic. This will be a question developed from the purpose statement and will be the specification that the researcher intends to find out by conducting the research. The question selected will guide the researcher or investigator through their

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research process and will also concentrate on the objective of the research. As already discussed, the hypothesis is a prediction regarding the outcome of the research being conducted. The key objective for the researcher or investigator in developing a hypothesis statement is to test and ultimately accept or reject it when the assessment of the research is performed.

A well researched and planned research question will help and ensure the researcher or investigator that they are collecting the appropriate data. This is a critical and most significant step in the research process. The research question determines *what, where, when* and *how* the data are collected as it is an important association between the abstract, theoretical, conceptual and logistic aspects of the research plan.

2.3 IMPORTANCE AND SOURCE OF HYPOTHESIS IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

In this section, we will have a look at the significance of hypothesis in social research along with the sources of hypothesis.

2.3.1 Importance of Hypothesis in Social Research

The reasons for formulating a hypothesis are as follows:

- A hypothesis directs, monitors and controls the research efforts. It provides tentative explanations of facts and phenomena and can be tested and validated. Such explanations, if held valid, lead to generalizations, which help significantly in understanding a problem. They, thereby, extend the existing knowledge in the area to which they pertain and thus help in theory building and facilitate the extension of knowledge in an area.
- The hypothesis not only indicates what to look for in an investigation but also how to select a sample, choose the design of research, how to collect data and how to interpret the results to draw valid conclusions.
- The hypothesis orients the researcher to be more sensitive to certain relevant aspects of the problem so as to focus on specific issues and pertinent facts. It helps researchers to delimit their study in scope so that it does not become broad and unwieldy.
- The hypothesis provides rational statements to the researcher, consisting of elements expressed in a logical order of relationships, which seek to describe or explain conditions or events that have not been confirmed by facts. Some relationships between elements or variables in a hypotheses are known facts, and others transcend the known facts to give reasonable explanations for known conditions. Hypothesis help researchers to relate logically known facts to intelligent guesses about unknown conditions (Ary, *et al.*, 1972, pp. 73–74).
- Hypothesis formulation and its testing add a scientific rigour to all types of researches. A well thought set of hypothesis places a clear and specific goal before the researcher and equips him/her with understanding. It provides the basis for reporting the conclusions of the study on the basis of these conclusions. Researchers can make their research report interesting and meaningful to the reader. The importance of a hypothesis is generally recognized more in the studies which aim to make predictions about some outcome. In an experimental study, the researcher is interested in making

Check Your Progress

1. List two characteristics of hypothesis.
2. Why does hypothesis formulation become imperative as soon as a research question is formulated?
3. State the key objective for the researcher or investigator in developing a hypothesis statement.

predictions about the expected outcomes and hence the hypothesis takes on a critical role. In the case of historical or descriptive studies, however, the researcher investigates the history of an event, or the life of a man, or seeks facts in order to determine the *status quo* of a situation and hence may not have a basis for making a prediction of the results. In studies of this nature, where finding facts is the objective of the study, a hypothesis may not be required.

Most historical or descriptive studies involve fact finding as well as the interpretation of facts in order to draw generalizations. For all such major studies, including social research a hypothesis is recommended so as to explain observed facts, conditions or behaviour and to serve as a guide in the research process. If a hypothesis is not formulated, researchers may waste time and energy in gathering extensive empirical data, and then find that they cannot state facts clearly and detect relevant relationships between variables as there is no hypothesis to guide them.

2.3.2 Sources of Hypothesis

Since the mind is fed by innumerable streams and sources, it is difficult to pinpoint how a particular good idea comes to a researcher. The following are some of the popularly known sources of research hypothesis:

- **Scientific theories:** A systematic review and analysis of theories developed in the field of psychology, sociology, economics, political science and biological science may provide the researcher with potential clues for constructing a good and testable hypothesis.
- **Expert opinions:** Discussion with the experts in the field of research may further help the researcher obtain necessary insight and skill into the problem and in the formulation of a hypothesis.
- **Method of related difference:** When we find that two phenomena differ constantly and the other circumstances remain the same, we suspect a causal connection. For example, when we find uncontrolled traffic in a locality, resulting in a greater number of road accidents, we suspect a causal connection between uncontrolled traffic and road accidents. This method also suggests hypothesis.
- **Intellectual equipment of researcher:** Intellectual abilities of a researcher like creative thinking and problem solving techniques are very helpful in the formulation of a good hypothesis.
- **Related literature:** Related literature is the most important source of hypothesis formulation. A review of this literature may reveal to the researcher the variables that have been considered important in relation to his/her problem, which aspects have already been studied and which are left to be studied, which theories have supported the relationships and which theories present a contradictory relationship. Familiarity with related literature may give the researcher a tremendous advantage in the construction of hypothesis.
- **Experience:** One's own experience may be a rich source of hypothesis generation. Personal experiences of an individual which has been gained through reading biographies, autobiographies, newspaper readings or through informal talks among friends, etc., can be a potential source of generation of a hypothesis. For example, a researcher who is working on the effectiveness of guidance in teaching, can think of factors such as the teacher's polite behaviour, techniques of counselling, mastery over the subject, effective use of teaching skills, decision-

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making capability, perception of his/her competence, perception of student's capacity for better interaction, use of communication skills, etc.

- **Analogies:** Several hypotheses in a branch of knowledge may be made by using analogies from other sciences. Models and theories developed in a discipline may help, through extrapolation, in the formulation of hypothesis in another discipline. By comparing the two situations, analysing their similarities and differences, some rationale may emerge in the mind of the researcher which may take the form of a hypothesis for testing. For example, in a research problem like studying the factors of unrest among college level students, the researcher insightfully thinks: 'Why was unrest found among school students?' and 'What has changed them: quality of teaching or quality of leadership?'

Arguing analogically in this way may lead the investigator to some conclusions which may be used for identifying variables and relationships, which form the basis of hypothesis construction. If a researcher knows from previous experience that the old situation is related to other factors Y and Z as well as to X, he/she may reason out that the new situation may also be related to Y and Z.

- **Methods of residues:** When the greater part of a complex phenomenon is explained by some causes already known, we try to explain the residual part of phenomenon according to the known law of operation. It also provides possible hypothesis.
- **Induction by simple enumeration:** Sometimes scientists take common experience as a starting point of their investigation. For example, after observing a large number of scarlet flowers that are devoid of fragrance, we frame a hypothesis that all scarlet flowers are devoid of fragrance. Thus, induction by simple enumeration is a source of discovery.
- **Formulation of hypothesis:** It may also originate from the need and practice of present times.
- **Existing empirical uniformities:** In terms of common sense proposition, the existing empirical uniformities may form the basis for scientific examination.
- **A study of general culture:** It is also a good source of hypothesis.
- **Suggestions:** When given by other researchers in their reports, suggestions are quite helpful in the establishment of hypothesis for future studies.

2.4 TESTING OF HYPOTHESES

Till now, we have learnt about the formulation and sources of hypothesis, let us now move towards the testing of hypothesis. The testing of hypothesis requires an understanding of some important concepts.

Below are discussed some concepts on testing of hypotheses:

- **Null hypothesis:** The hypotheses that are proposed with the intent of receiving a rejection for them are called null hypotheses. This requires that we hypothesize the opposite of what is desired to be proved. For example, if we want to show that sales and advertisement expenditure are related, we formulate the null hypothesis that they are not related. If we want to prove that the average wages of skilled workers in town 1 is greater than that of town 2, we formulate the null hypotheses that there is no difference in the average wages of the skilled workers in both the towns. A null hypothesis is denoted by H_0 .

Check Your Progress

4. What does a hypothesis indicate?
5. In which type of studies is a hypothesis generally not required?
6. How does a review of related literature help in hypothesis formulation?

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- **Alternative hypotheses:** Rejection of null hypotheses leads to the acceptance of alternative hypotheses. The rejection of null hypothesis indicates that the relationship between variables (e.g., sales and advertisement expenditure) or the difference between means (e.g., wages of skilled workers in town 1 and town 2) or the difference between proportions have statistical significance and the acceptance of the null hypotheses indicates that these differences are due to chance. The alternative hypotheses are denoted by H_1 .
- **One-tailed and two-tailed tests:** A test is called one-sided (or one-tailed) only if the null hypothesis gets rejected when a value of the test statistic falls in one specified tail of the distribution. Further, the test is called two-sided (or two-tailed) if null hypothesis gets rejected when a value of the test statistic falls in either one or the other of the two tails of its sampling distribution. For example, consider a soft drink bottling plant which dispenses soft drinks in bottles of 300 ml capacity. The bottling is done through an automatic plant. An overfilling of bottle (liquid content more than 300 ml) means a huge loss to the company given the large volume of sales. An underfilling means the customers are getting less than 300 ml of the drink when they are paying for 300 ml. This could bring bad reputation to the company. The company wants to avoid both overfilling and underfilling. Therefore, it would prefer to test the hypothesis whether the mean content of the bottles is different from 300 ml. This hypothesis could be written as:

$$H_0 : \mu = 300 \text{ ml.}$$

$$H_1 : \mu \neq 300 \text{ ml}$$

The hypotheses stated above are called two-tailed or two-sided hypotheses.

However, if the concern is the overfilling of bottles, it could be stated as:

$$H_0 : \mu = 300 \text{ ml.}$$

$$H_1 : \mu > 300 \text{ ml.}$$

Such hypotheses are called one-tailed or one-sided hypotheses and the researcher would be interested in the upper tail (right hand tail) of the distribution. If however, the concern is loss of reputation of the company (underfilling of the bottles), the hypothesis may be stated as:

$$H_0 : \mu = 300 \text{ ml.}$$

$$H_1 : \mu < 300 \text{ ml.}$$

The hypothesis stated above is also called one-tailed test and the researcher would be interested in the lower tail (left hand tail) of the distribution.

Type I and type II error: The acceptance or rejection of a hypothesis is based upon sample results and there is always a possibility of sample not being representative of the population. This could result in errors, as a consequence of which inferences drawn could be wrong. The situation could be depicted as given in Figure 2.1.

	Accept H_0	Reject H_0
H_0 True	Correct decision	Type I Error
H_0 False	Type II Error	Correct decision

Fig. 2.1 Type I and Type II Errors

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If null hypothesis H_0 is true and is accepted or H_0 when false is rejected, the decision is correct in either case. However, if the hypothesis H_0 is rejected when it is actually true, the researcher is committing what is called a Type I error. The probability of committing a Type I error is denoted by alpha (α). This is termed as the level of significance. Similarly, if the null hypothesis H_0 when false is accepted, the researcher is committing an error called Type II error. The probability of committing a Type II error is denoted by beta (β). The expression $1 - \beta$ is called power of test. To decrease the risk of committing both types of errors, you may increase the sample size.

Steps in Testing of Hypothesis Exercise

The following steps are followed in the testing of a hypothesis:

Setting up of a hypothesis: The first step is to establish the hypothesis to be tested. As it is known, these statistical hypotheses are generally assumptions about the value of the population parameter; the hypothesis specifies a single value or a range of values for two different hypotheses rather than constructing a single hypothesis. These two hypotheses are generally referred to as (1) the null hypotheses denoted by H_0 and (2) alternative hypothesis denoted by H_1 .

The null hypothesis is the hypothesis of the population parameter taking a specified value. In case of two populations, the null hypothesis is of no difference or the difference taking a specified value. The hypothesis that is different from the null hypothesis is the alternative hypothesis. If the null hypothesis H_0 is rejected based upon the sample information, the alternative hypothesis H_1 is accepted. Therefore, the two hypotheses are constructed in such a way that if one is true, the other one is false and vice versa.

Setting up of a suitable significance level: The next step is to choose a suitable level of significance. The level of significance denoted by α is chosen before drawing any sample. The level of significance denotes the probability of rejecting the null hypothesis when it is true. The value of α varies from problem to problem, but usually it is taken as either 5 per cent or 1 per cent. A 5 per cent level of significance means that there are 5 chances out of hundred that a null hypothesis will get rejected when it should be accepted. When the null hypothesis is rejected at any level of significance, the test result is said to be significant. Further, if a hypothesis is rejected at 1 per cent level, it must also be rejected at 5 per cent significance level.

Determination of a test statistic: The next step is to determine a suitable test statistic and its distribution. As would be seen later, the test statistic could be t , Z , χ^2 or F , depending upon various assumptions to be discussed later in the book.

Determination of critical region: Before a sample is drawn from the population, it is very important to specify the values of test statistic that will lead to rejection or acceptance of the null hypothesis. The one that leads to the rejection of null hypothesis is called the critical region. Given a level of significance, α , the optimal critical region for a two-tailed test consists of that $\alpha/2$ per cent area in the right hand tail of the distribution plus that $\alpha/2$ per cent in the left hand tail of the distribution where that null hypothesis is rejected.

Computing the value of test-statistic: The next step is to compute the value of the test statistic based upon a random sample of size n . Once the value of test statistic is computed, one needs to examine whether the sample results fall in the critical region or in the acceptance region.

Making decision: The hypothesis may be rejected or accepted depending upon whether the value of the test statistic falls in the rejection or the acceptance region. Management decisions are based upon the statistical decision of either rejecting or accepting the null hypothesis.

In case a hypothesis is rejected, the difference between the sample statistic and the hypothesized population parameter is considered to be significant. On the other hand, if the hypothesis is accepted, the difference between the sample statistic and the hypothesized population parameter is not regarded as significant and can be attributed to chance.

Test Statistic for Testing Hypothesis about Population Mean

In this section, we will take up the test of hypothesis about population mean in a case of single population.

One of the important things that have to be kept in mind is the use of an appropriate test statistic. In case the sample size is large ($n > 30$), Z statistic would be used. For a small sample size ($n \leq 30$), a further question regarding the knowledge of population standard deviation (σ) is asked. If the population standard deviation σ is known, a Z statistic can be used. However, if σ is unknown and is estimated using sample data, a t test with appropriate degrees of freedom is used under the assumption that the sample is drawn from a normal population. It is assumed that you have the knowledge of Z and t distribution from the course on statistics. However, these would be briefly reviewed at the appropriate place. Table 2.1 summarizes the appropriateness of the test statistic for conducting a test of hypothesis regarding the population mean.

Table 2.1 Appropriateness of Test Statistic in Testing Hypotheses about Means

Sample Size	Knowledge of Population Standard Deviation (σ)	
	Known	Not Known
Large ($n > 30$)	Z	Z
Small ($n \leq 30$)	Z	t

Tests Concerning Means-the Case of Single Population

In this section, a number of illustrations will be taken up to explain the test of hypothesis concerning mean. Two cases of large sample and small samples will be taken up.

Case of large sample

As mentioned earlier, in case the sample size n is large or small but the value of the population standard deviation is known, a Z test is appropriate. There can be alternate cases of two-tailed and one-tailed tests of hypotheses.

Corresponding to the null hypothesis $H_0 : \mu = \mu_0$, the following criteria could be used as shown in Table 2.2.

The test statistic is given by,

$$Z = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_{H_0}}{\frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{n}}}$$

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Where,

 \bar{X} = Sample mean σ = Population standard deviation μ_{H_0} = The value of μ under the assumption that the null hypothesis is true. n = Size of sample.**Table 2.2** Criteria for Accepting or Rejecting Null Hypothesis under Different Cases of Alternative Hypotheses

S. No.	Alternative Hypothesis	Reject the Null Hypothesis if	Accept the Null Hypothesis if
1.	$\mu < \mu_0$	$Z < -Z_\alpha$	$Z \geq -Z_\alpha$
2.	$\mu > \mu_0$	$Z > Z_\alpha$	$Z \leq Z_\alpha$
3.	$\mu \neq \mu_0$	$Z < -Z_{\alpha/2}$ or $Z > Z_{\alpha/2}$	$-Z_{\alpha/2} \leq Z \leq Z_{\alpha/2}$

If the population standard deviation σ is unknown, the sample standard

$$\text{deviation } s = \sqrt{\frac{1}{n-1} \sum (X - \bar{X})^2}$$

is used as an estimate of σ . It may be noted that Z_α and $Z_{\alpha/2}$ are Z values such that the area to the right under the standard normal distribution is α and $\alpha/2$ respectively. Below are solved examples using the above concepts.

Example 2.1: A sample of 200 bulbs made by a company give a lifetime mean of 1540 hours with a standard deviation of 42 hours. Is it likely that the sample has been drawn from a population with a mean lifetime of 1500 hours? You may use 5 per cent level of significance.

Solution:

In the above example, the sample size is large ($n = 200$), sample mean (\bar{X}) equals 1540 hours and the sample standard deviation (s) is equal to 42 hours. The null and alternative hypotheses can be written as:

$$H_0 : \mu = 1500 \text{ hrs}$$

$$H_1 : \mu \neq 1500 \text{ hrs}$$

It is a two-tailed test with level of significance (α) to be equal to 0.05. Since n is large ($n > 30$), though population standard deviation σ is unknown, one can use Z test. The test statistics are given by:

$$Z = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_{H_0}}{\frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{n}}}$$

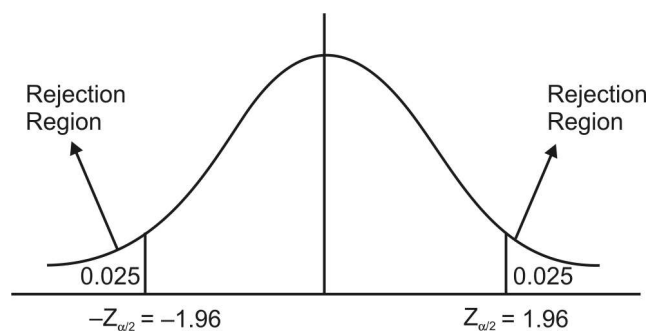
Where, μ_{H_0} = Value of μ under the assumption that the null hypothesis is true $\frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{n}}$
= Estimated standard error of mean

$$\text{Here } \mu_{H_0} = 1,500, \frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{n}} = \frac{\hat{\sigma}}{\sqrt{n}} = \frac{s}{\sqrt{n}} = \frac{42}{\sqrt{200}} = 2.97$$

(Note that $\hat{\sigma}$ is estimated value of σ .)

$$Z = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_{H_0}}{\frac{s}{\sqrt{n}}} = \frac{1,540 - 1,500}{2.97} = \frac{40}{2.97} = 13.47$$

The value of $\alpha = 0.05$ and since it is a two-tailed test, the critical value Z is given by $-Z_{\alpha/2}$ and $Z_{\alpha/2}$ which could be obtained from the standard normal table given in Appendix 1 at the end of the book.



NOTES

Rejection regions for Example 2.1

Since the computed value of $Z = 13.47$ lies in the rejection region, the null hypothesis is rejected. Therefore, it can be concluded that the average life of the bulb is significantly different from 1,500 hours.

Example 2.2: On a typing test, a random sample of 36 graduates of a secretarial school averaged 73.6 words with a standard deviation of 8.10 words per minute. Test an employer's claim that the school's graduates average less than 75.0 words per minute using the 5 per cent level of significance.

Solution:

$$H_0 : \mu = 75$$

$$H_1 : \mu < 75$$

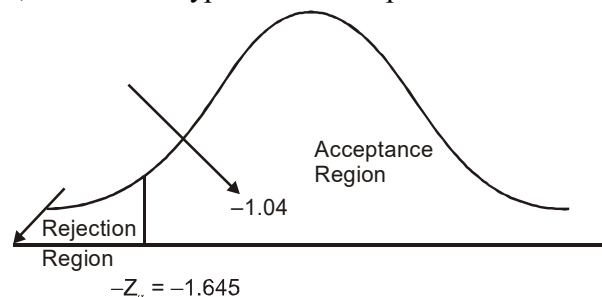
$\bar{X} = 73.6$, $s = 8.10$, $n = 36$ and $\alpha = 0.05$. As the sample size is large ($n > 30$), though population standard deviation σ is unknown, Z test is appropriate.

The test statistic is given by:

$$Z = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_{H_0}}{\frac{\hat{\sigma}}{x}} = \frac{73.6 - 75}{1.35} = \frac{-1.4}{1.35} = -1.04$$

$$\left(\frac{\hat{\sigma}}{x} = \frac{s}{\sqrt{n}} = \frac{8.10}{\sqrt{36}} = \frac{8.10}{6} = 1.35 \right)$$

Since it is a one-tailed test and the interest is in the left hand tail of the distribution, the critical value of Z is given by $-Z_{\alpha} = -1.645$. Now, the computed value of Z lies in the acceptance region, and the null hypothesis is accepted as shown below:



Rejection region for Example 2.2

Case of small sample

NOTES

In case the sample size is small ($n \leq 30$) and is drawn from a population having a normal population with unknown standard deviation σ , a t test is used to conduct the hypothesis for the test of mean. The t distribution is a symmetrical distribution just like the normal one. However, t distribution is higher at the tail and lower at the peak. The t distribution is flatter than the normal distribution. With an increase in the sample size (and hence degrees of freedom), t distribution loses its flatness and approaches the normal distribution whenever $n > 30$. A comparative shape of t and normal distribution is given in Figure 2.2.

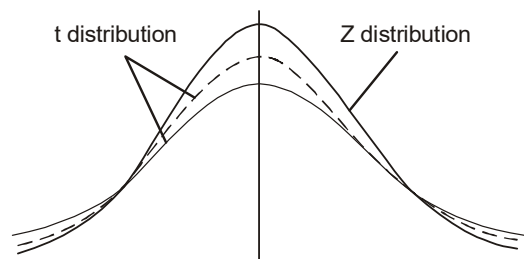


Fig. 2.2 Shape of t and Normal Distribution

The procedure for testing the hypothesis of a mean is similar to what is explained in the case of large sample. The test statistic used in this case is:

$$t_{n-1} = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_{H_0}}{\frac{\hat{\sigma}}{x}}$$

Where, $\frac{\hat{\sigma}}{x} = \frac{s}{\sqrt{n}}$ (where s = Sample standard deviation)

$$n - 1 = \text{degrees of freedom}$$

A few examples pertaining to ' t ' test are worked out for testing the hypothesis of mean in case of a small sample.

Example 2.3: Prices of share (in ₹) of a company on the different days in a month were found to be 66, 65, 69, 70, 69, 71, 70, 63, 64 and 68. Examine whether the mean price of shares in the month is different from 65. You may use 10 per cent level of significance.

Solution:

$$H_0 : \mu = 65$$

$$H_1 : \mu \neq 65$$

Since the sample size is $n = 10$, which is small, and the sample standard deviation is unknown, the appropriate test in this case would be t . First of all, we need to estimate the value of sample mean (\bar{X}) and the sample standard deviation (s). It is known that the sample mean and the standard deviation are given by the following formula.

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum X}{n} \quad s = \sqrt{\frac{1}{n-1} \sum (X - \bar{X})^2}$$

The computation of \bar{X} and s is shown in Table 10.3.

$$\sum X = 675, \quad \bar{X} = \frac{\sum X}{n} = \frac{675}{10} = 67.5$$

$$\sum (X - \bar{X})^2 = 70.5$$

$$s^2 = \frac{1}{n-1} \sum (X - \bar{X})^2 = \frac{70.5}{9} = 7.83$$

$$s = \sqrt{7.83} = 2.80$$

Table 2.3 Computation of Sample Mean and Standard Deviation

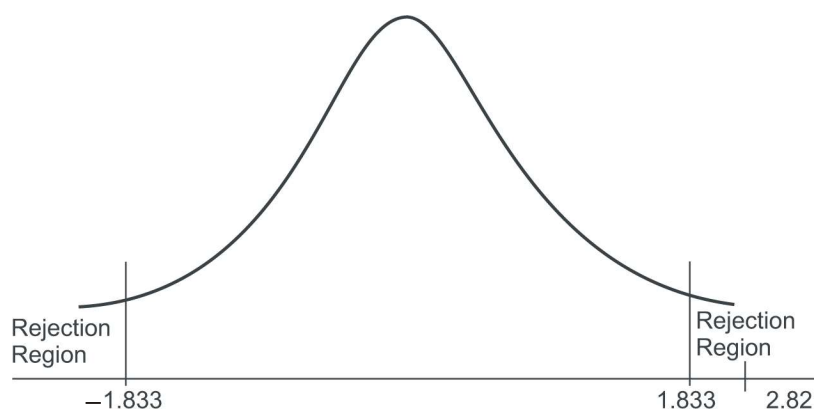
S. No.	X	$X - \bar{X}$	$(X - \bar{X})^2$
1	66	-1.5	2.25
2	65	-2.5	6.25
3	69	1.5	2.25
4	70	2.5	6.25
5	69	1.5	2.25
6	71	3.5	12.25
7	70	2.5	6.25
8	63	-4.5	20.25
9	64	-3.5	12.25
10	68	0.5	0.25
Total	675	0	70.5

The test statistic is given by:

$$t_{n-1} = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_{H_0}}{\frac{\hat{\sigma}}{x}} = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_{H_0}}{\frac{s}{\sqrt{n}}} = \frac{67.5 - 65}{\frac{2.8}{\sqrt{10}}} = \frac{2.5 \times \sqrt{10}}{2.8}$$

$$= 2.5 \times 3.16 / 2.8 = 7.91 / 2.8 = 2.82$$

The critical values of t with 9 degrees of freedom for a two-tailed test are given by -1.833 and 1.833 . Since the computed value of t lies in the rejection region (see figure below), the null hypotheses is rejected.



NOTES

Rejection regions for Example 2.3

Therefore, the average price of the share of the company is different from 65.

NOTES

Example 2.4: Past records indicate that a golfer has averaged 82 on a certain course. With a new set of clubs, he averages 79 over five rounds with a standard deviation of 2.65. Can we conclude that at 0.025 level of significance, the new club has an adverse effect on the performance?

Solution:

$$H_0 : \mu = 82$$

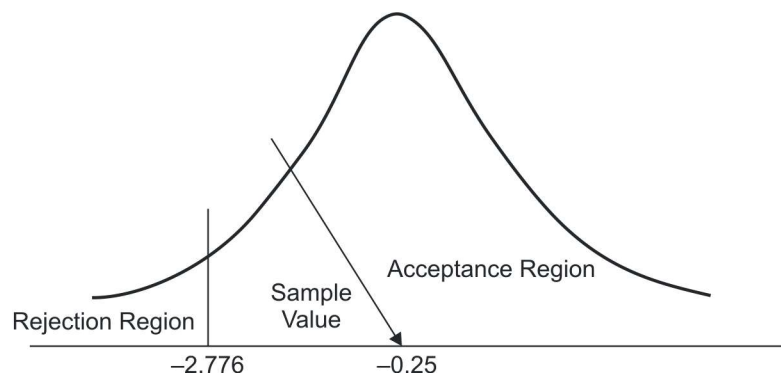
$$H_1 : \mu < 82$$

$\bar{X} = 79$, $n = 5$, $s = 2.65$, $\alpha = 0.025$. As the population standard deviation is unknown and the sample size is small ($n < 30$), a t test would be appropriate. The test statistic is given by:

$$t_{n-1} = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_{H_0}}{\frac{\hat{\sigma}_{\bar{x}}}{s/\sqrt{n}}} = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_{H_0}}{s/\sqrt{n}} = \frac{79 - 82}{1.185} = \frac{-0.3}{1.185} = -0.25$$

$$\left(\hat{\sigma}_{\bar{x}} = \frac{s}{\sqrt{n}} = \frac{2.65}{\sqrt{5}} = 1.185 \right)$$

The critical value of t at 0.025 level of significance with four degrees of freedom is given by $-t_{\alpha} = -2.776$ (see Appendix 2). As the sample t value of -0.25 lies in the acceptance region, the null hypothesis is accepted (see figure below).



Rejection region for Example 2.4

Therefore, there is no adverse effect on the performance due to a change in the club and the performance can be attributed to chance.

Tests for Difference between two Population Means

So far, we have been concerned with the testing of means of a single population. We took up the cases of both large and small samples. It would be interesting to examine the difference between the two population means. Again, various cases would be examined as discussed below:

Case of large sample

In case both the sample sizes are greater than 30, a Z test is used. The hypothesis to be tested may be written as:

$$H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$$

$$H_1 : \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$$

Where,

μ_1 = mean of population 1

μ_2 = mean of population 2

The above is a case of two-tailed test. The test statistic used is:

$$Z = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2)}{\sqrt{\frac{\sigma_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{\sigma_2^2}{n_2}}}$$

\bar{X}_1 = Mean of sample drawn from population 1

\bar{X}_2 = Mean of sample drawn from population 2

n_1 = size of sample drawn from population 1

n_2 = size of sample drawn from population 2

If σ_1 and σ_2 are unknown, their estimates given by $\hat{\sigma}_1$ and $\hat{\sigma}_2$ are used.

$$\hat{\sigma}_1 = s_1 = \sqrt{\frac{1}{n_1 - 1} \sum_{i=1}^{n_1} (X_{1i} - \bar{X}_1)^2}$$

$$\hat{\sigma}_2 = s_2 = \sqrt{\frac{1}{n_2 - 1} \sum_{i=1}^{n_2} (X_{2i} - \bar{X}_2)^2}$$

The Z value for the problem can be computed using the above formula and compared with the table value to either accept or reject the hypothesis. Let us consider the following problem:

Example 2.5: A study is carried out to examine whether the mean hourly wages of the unskilled workers in the two cities—Ambala Cantt and Lucknow are the same. The random sample of hourly earnings in both the cities is taken and the results are presented in the Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 Survey Data on Hourly Earnings in Two Cities

City	Sample Mean Hourly Earnings	Standard Deviation of Sample	Sample Size
Ambala Cantt	₹ 8.95 (\bar{X}_1)	0.40 (s_1)	200 (n_1)
Lucknow	₹ 9.10 (\bar{X}_2)	0.60 (s_2)	175 (n_2)

NOTES

Using a 5 per cent level of significance, test the hypothesis of no difference in the average wages of unskilled workers in the two cities.

Solution: We use subscripts 1 and 2 for Ambala Cantt and Lucknow respectively.

$$H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2 \rightarrow \mu_1 - \mu_2 = 0$$

$$H_1 : \mu_1 \neq \mu_2 \rightarrow \mu_1 - \mu_2 \neq 0$$

The following survey data is given:

$$\bar{X}_1 = 8.95, \bar{X}_2 = 9.10, s_1 = 0.40, s_2 = 0.60, n_1 = 200, n_2 = 175, \alpha = 0.05$$

Since both n_1, n_2 are greater than 30 and the sample standard deviations are given, a Z test would be appropriate.

The test statistic is given by:

$$Z = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2)H_0}{\sqrt{\frac{\sigma_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{\sigma_2^2}{n_2}}}$$

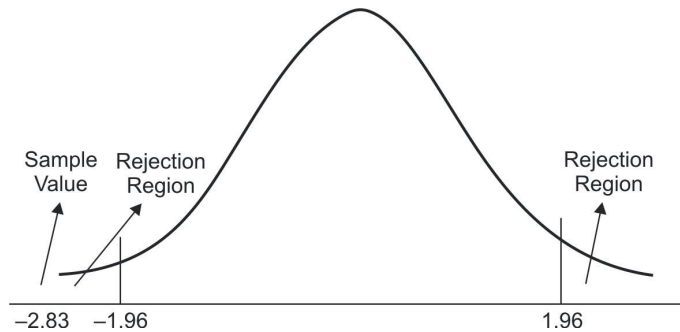
As σ_1, σ_2 are unknown, their estimates would be used.

$$s_1 = \hat{\sigma}_1, \quad s_2 = \hat{\sigma}_2$$

$$\sqrt{\frac{\hat{\sigma}_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{\hat{\sigma}_2^2}{n_2}} = \sqrt{\frac{(0.4)^2}{200} + \frac{(0.6)^2}{175}} = \sqrt{0.0028} = 0.053$$

$$Z = \frac{(8.95 - 9.10) - 0}{0.053} = -2.83$$

As the problem is of a two-tailed test, the critical values of Z at 5 per cent level of significance are given by $-Z_{\alpha/2} = -1.96$ and $Z_{\alpha/2} = 1.96$. The sample value of $Z = -2.83$ lies in the rejection region as shown in the figure below:



Rejection regions for Example 2.5

Case of small sample

If the size of both the samples is less than 30 and the population standard deviation is unknown, the procedure described above to discuss the equality of two population means is not applicable in the sense that a t test would be applicable under the assumptions:

- Two population variances are equal.
- Two population variances are not equal.

NOTES

Population variances are equal

If the two population variances are equal, it implies that their respective unbiased estimates are also equal. In such a case, the expression becomes:

$$\sqrt{\frac{\hat{\sigma}_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{\hat{\sigma}_2^2}{n_2}} = \sqrt{\frac{\hat{\sigma}^2}{n_1} + \frac{\hat{\sigma}^2}{n_2}} = \hat{\sigma} \sqrt{\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2}}$$

(Assuming $\hat{\sigma}_1^2 = \hat{\sigma}_2^2 = \hat{\sigma}^2$)

To get an estimate of $\hat{\sigma}^2$, a weighted average of s_1^2 and s_2^2 is used, where the weights are the number of degrees of freedom of each sample. The weighted average is called a 'pooled estimate' of $\hat{\sigma}^2$. This pooled estimate is given by the expression:

$$\hat{\sigma}^2 = \frac{(n_1 - 1)s_1^2 + (n_2 - 1)s_2^2}{n_1 + n_2 - 2}$$

The testing procedure could be explained as under:

$$H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2 \rightarrow \mu_1 - \mu_2 = 0$$

$$H_1 : \mu_1 \neq \mu_2 \rightarrow \mu_1 - \mu_2 \neq 0$$

In this case, the test statistic t is given by the expression:

$$t_{n_1+n_2-2} = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2)H_0}{\hat{\sigma} \sqrt{\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2}}}$$

Where,

$$\hat{\sigma} = \sqrt{\frac{(n_1 - 1)s_1^2 + (n_2 - 1)s_2^2}{n_1 + n_2 - 2}}$$

Once the value of t statistic is computed from the sample data, it is compared with the tabulated value at a level of significance α to arrive at a decision regarding the acceptance or rejection of hypothesis. Let us work out a problem illustrating the concepts defined above.

Example 2.6: Two drugs meant to provide relief to arthritis sufferers were produced in two different laboratories. The first drug was administered to a group of 12 patients and produced an average of 8.5 hours of relief with a standard deviation of 1.8 hours. The second drug was tested on a sample of 8 patients and produced an average of 7.9 hours of relief with a standard deviation of 2.1 hours. Test the hypothesis that the first drug provides a significantly higher period of relief. You may use 5 per cent level of significance.

Solution: Let the subscripts 1 and 2 refer to drug 1 and drug 2 respectively.

$$H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2 \rightarrow \mu_1 - \mu_2 = 0$$

$$H_1 : \mu_1 \neq \mu_2 \rightarrow \mu_1 - \mu_2 \neq 0$$

The following survey data is given:

$$\bar{X}_1 = 8.5, \bar{X}_2 = 7.9, s_1 = 1.8, s_2 = 2.1, n_1 = 12, n_2 = 8$$

NOTES

As both n_1, n_2 are small and the sample standard deviations are unknown, one may use a t test with the degrees of freedom $= n_1 + n_2 - 2 = 12 + 8 - 2 = 18$ d.f.

The test statistics is given by:

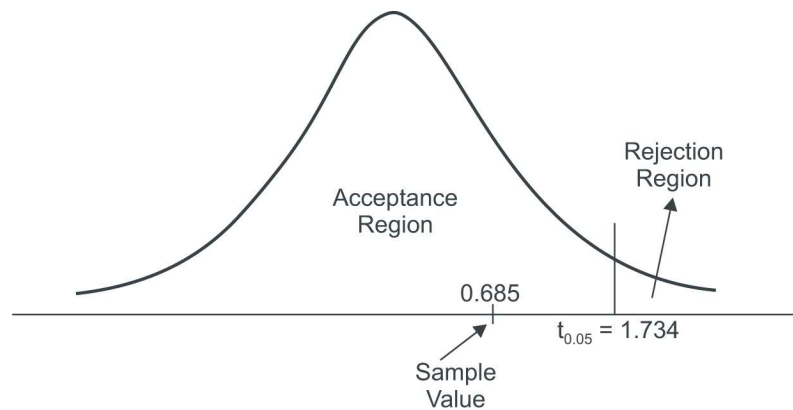
NOTES

$$t_{n_1+n_2-2} = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2)H_0}{\hat{\sigma} \sqrt{\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2}}}$$

Where,

$$\begin{aligned} \hat{\sigma} &= \sqrt{\frac{(n_1 - 1)s_1^2 + (n_2 - 1)s_2^2}{n_1 + n_2 - 2}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{(12 - 1)(1.8)^2 + (8 - 1)(2.1)^2}{12 + 8 - 2}} = \sqrt{\frac{11 \times 3.24 + 7 \times (4.41)}{18}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{35.64 + 30.87}{18}} = \sqrt{\frac{66.61}{18}} = \sqrt{3.698} = 1.92 \\ t_{18} &= \frac{(8.5 - 7.9) - (0)}{1.92 \sqrt{\frac{1}{12} + \frac{1}{8}}} = \frac{0.6}{1.92 \sqrt{0.2083}} \\ &= \frac{0.6}{1.92 \times 0.456} = \frac{0.6}{0.8755} = 0.685 \end{aligned}$$

The critical value of t with 18 degrees of freedom at 5 per cent level of significance is given by 1.734. The sample value of $t = 0.685$ lies in the acceptance region as shown in figure below:



Rejection region for Example 2.6

Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted as there is not enough evidence to reject it. Therefore, one may conclude that the first drug is not significantly more effective than the second drug.

When population variances are not equal

In case population variances are not equal, the test statistic for testing the equality of two population means when the size of samples are small is given by:

$$t = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2)H_0}{\sqrt{\frac{\hat{\sigma}_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{\hat{\sigma}_2^2}{n_2}}}$$

The degrees of freedom in such a case is given by the expression:

$$d.f = \frac{\left(\frac{s_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{s_2^2}{n_2}\right)^2}{\frac{1}{n_1 - 1} \left(\frac{s_1^2}{n_1}\right)^2 + \frac{1}{n_2 - 1} \left(\frac{s_2^2}{n_2}\right)^2}$$

The procedure for testing of hypothesis remains the same as was discussed when the variances of two populations were assumed to be same. Let us consider an example to illustrate the same.

Example 2.7: There were two types of drugs (1 and 2) that were tried on some patients for reducing weight. There were 8 adults who were subjected to drug 1 and seven adults who were administered drug 2. The decrease in weight (in pounds) is given below:

Drug 1	10	8	12	14	7	15	13	11
Drug 2	12	10	7	6	12	11	12	

Do the drugs differ significantly in their effect on decreasing weight? You may use 5 per cent level of significance. Assume that the variances of two populations are not same.

Solution:

$$H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$$

$$H_1 : \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$$

Let us compute the sample means and standard deviations of the two samples as shown in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5 Intermediate computations for sample means and standard deviations

S.No.	X_1	X_2	$(X_1 - \bar{X}_1)$	$(X_2 - \bar{X}_2)$	$(X_1 - \bar{X}_1)^2$	$(X_2 - \bar{X}_2)^2$
1	10	12	-1.25	2	1.5625	4
2	8	10	-3.25	0	10.5625	0
3	12	7	0.75	-3	0.5625	9
4	14	6	2.75	-4	7.5625	16
5	7	12	-4.25	2	18.0625	4
6	15	11	3.75	1	14.0625	1
7	13	12	1.75	2	3.0625	4
8	11		-0.25		0.0625	
Total	90	70	0	0	55.5	38
Mean	11.25	10				

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$$n_1 = 8,$$

$$\bar{X}_1 = \frac{\sum X_1}{n_1} = \frac{90}{8} = 11.25$$

$$s_1^2 = \frac{\sum (X_1 - \bar{X}_1)^2}{n_1 - 1} = \frac{55.5}{7} = 7.93$$

$$s_2^2 = \frac{\sum (X_2 - \bar{X}_2)^2}{n_2 - 1} = \frac{38}{6} = 6.33$$

$$\hat{\sigma}_{\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2} = \sqrt{\frac{s_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{s_2^2}{n_2}} = \sqrt{\frac{7.93}{8} + \frac{6.33}{7}} = \sqrt{0.99 + 0.90} = \sqrt{1.89} = 1.37$$

$$d.f. = \frac{\left(\frac{s_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{s_2^2}{n_2}\right)^2}{\frac{1}{n_1 - 1} \left(\frac{s_1^2}{n_1}\right) + \frac{1}{n_2 - 1} \left(\frac{s_2^2}{n_2}\right)} = \frac{\left(\frac{7.33}{8} + \frac{6.33}{7}\right)^2}{\frac{1}{7} \left(\frac{7.33}{8}\right)^2 + \frac{1}{6} \left(\frac{6.33}{7}\right)^2}$$

$$= \frac{3.314}{0.12 + 0.136} = \frac{3.314}{0.12 + 0.136} = 12.996 = 13 \text{ (approx.)}$$

$$t = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2)H_0}{\sqrt{\frac{\hat{\sigma}_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{\hat{\sigma}_2^2}{n_2}}}$$

$$t = \frac{11.25 - 10}{1.37} = \frac{1.25}{1.37} = 0.912$$

The table value (critical value) of t with 13 degrees of freedom at 5 per cent level of significance is given by 2.16. As computed t is less than tabulated t , there is not enough evidence to reject H_0 .

Tests Concerning Population Proportion-the Case of Single Population

We have already discussed the tests concerning population means. In the tests about proportion, one is interested in examining whether the respondents possess a particular attribute or not.

The random variable in such a case is a binary one in the sense it takes only two values—yes or no. As we know that either a student is a smoker or not, a consumer either uses a particular brand of product or not and lastly, a skilled worker may be either satisfied or not with the present job. At this stage it may be recalled that the binomial distribution is a theoretically correct distribution to use while dealing with proportions. Further, as the sample size increases, the binomial distribution approaches the normal distribution in characteristic. To be specific, whenever both np and nq (where n = number of trials, p = probability of success and q = probability of failure) are at least 5, one can use the normal distribution as a substitute for the binomial distribution.

The case of single population proportion

Suppose we want to test the hypotheses,

$$H_0 : p = p_0$$

$$H_1 : p \neq p_0$$

For large sample, the appropriate test statistic would be:

$$Z = \frac{\bar{p} - p_{H_0}}{\frac{\sigma}{\bar{p}}}$$

Where,

$$\bar{p} = \text{sample proportion}$$

$$p_{H_0} = \text{the value of } p \text{ under the assumption that null hypothesis is true}$$

$$\frac{\sigma}{\bar{p}} = \text{Standard error of sample proportion}$$

The value of $\frac{\sigma}{\bar{p}}$ is computed by using the following formula:

$$\frac{\sigma}{\bar{p}} = \frac{\sqrt{p_{H_0} q_{H_0}}}{n}$$

$$\text{Where, } q_{H_0} = 1 - p_{H_0}$$

$$n = \text{Sample size}$$

For a given level of significance α , the computed value of Z is compared with the corresponding critical values, i.e. $Z_{\alpha/2}$ or $-Z_{\alpha/2}$ to accept or reject the null hypothesis. We will consider a few examples to explain the testing procedure for a single population proportion.

Example 2.8: An officer of the health department claims that 60 per cent of the male population of a village comprises smokers. A random sample of 50 males showed that 35 of them were smokers. Are these sample results consistent with the claim of the health officer? Use a level of significance of 0.05.

Solution:

$$\text{Sample size (n)} = 50$$

$$\text{Sample proportion} = \bar{p} = \frac{x}{n} = \frac{35}{50} = 0.70$$

$$H_0 : p = 0.60$$

$$H_1 : p > 0.60$$

The test statistic is given by:

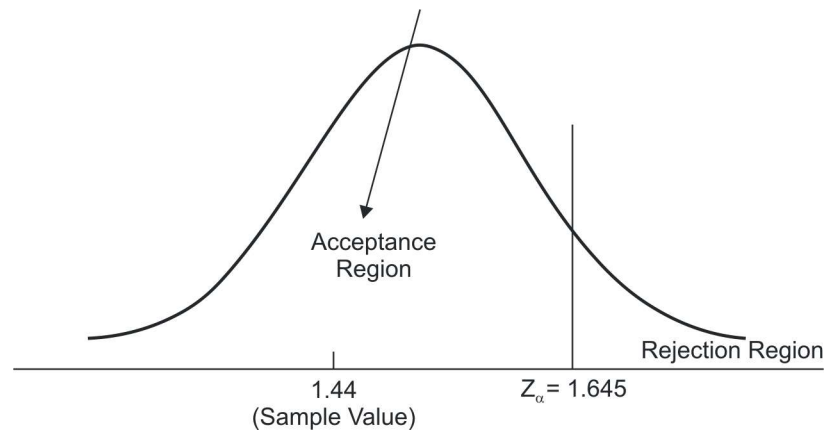
$$Z = \frac{\bar{p} - p_{H_0}}{\frac{\sigma}{\bar{p}}} = \frac{0.70 - 0.60}{0.069} = \frac{0.10}{0.069} = 1.44$$

$$\left(\frac{\sigma}{\bar{p}} = \sqrt{\frac{P_{H_0} q_{H_0}}{n}} = \sqrt{\frac{0.6 \times 0.4}{50}} = \sqrt{\frac{0.24}{50}} = 0.069 \right)$$

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It is a one-tailed test. For a given level of significance $\alpha = 0.05$, the critical value of Z is given by $Z_\alpha = Z_{0.05} = 1.645$. It is seen that the sample value of $Z = 1.44$ lies in the acceptance region as shown below (see figure).

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Rejection region for Example 2.8

Therefore, there is not enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis. So it can be concluded that the proportion of male smokers is not statistically different from 0.60.

Tests for Difference between two Population Proportions

Here, the interest is to test whether the two population proportions are equal or not. The hypothesis under investigation is:

$$H_0 : p_1 = p_2 \rightarrow p_1 - p_2 = 0$$

$$H_1 : p_1 \neq p_2 \rightarrow p_1 - p_2 \neq 0$$

The alternative hypothesis assumed is two sided. It could as well have been one sided. The test statistic is given by:

$$Z = \frac{\bar{p}_1 - \bar{p}_2 - (p_1 - p_2)_{H_0}}{\sigma_{\bar{p}_1 - \bar{p}_2}}$$

Where,

\bar{p}_1 = Sample proportion possessing a particular attribute from population 1

\bar{p}_2 = Sample proportion possessing a particular attribute from population 2

$\sigma_{\bar{p}_1 - \bar{p}_2}$ = Standard error of difference between proportions.

$(p_1 - p_2)_{H_0}$ = Value of difference between population proportion under the assumption that the null hypothesis is true.

The formula for $\sigma_{\bar{p}_1 - \bar{p}_2}$ is given by:

$$\sigma_{\bar{p}_1 - \bar{p}_2} = \sqrt{\frac{p_1 q_1}{n_1} + \frac{p_2 q_2}{n_2}}$$

We do not know the value of p_1, p_2 , etc., but under the null hypothesis $p_1 = p_2 = p$.

$$\sigma_{\bar{P}_1 - \bar{P}_2} = \sqrt{\frac{pq}{n_1} + \frac{pq}{n_2}} = \sqrt{pq \left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2} \right)}$$

The best estimate of p is given by:

$$\hat{p} = \frac{x_1 + x_2}{n_1 + n_2}$$

Where,

x_1 = Number of successes in sample 1

x_2 = Number of successes in sample 2

n_1 = Size of sample taken from population 1

n_2 = Size of sample taken from population 2

It is known that $\bar{p}_1 = \frac{x_1}{n_1}$ and $\bar{p}_2 = \frac{x_2}{n_2}$.

Therefore, $x_1 = n_1 \bar{p}_1$ and $x_2 = n_2 \bar{p}_2$

Therefore, $\hat{p} = \frac{n_1 \bar{p}_1 + n_2 \bar{p}_2}{n_1 + n_2}$

Therefore, the estimate of standard error of difference between the two proportions is given by:

$$\hat{\sigma}_{\bar{P}_1 - \bar{P}_2} = \sqrt{\hat{p}\hat{q} \left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2} \right)}$$

Where \hat{p} is as defined above and $\hat{q} = 1 - \hat{p}$. Now, the test statistic may be rewritten as:

$$Z = \frac{\bar{p}_1 - \bar{p}_2 - (p_1 - p_2)H_0}{\sqrt{\hat{p}\hat{q} \left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2} \right)}}$$

Now, for a given level of significance α , the sample Z value is compared with the critical Z value to accept or reject the null hypothesis. We consider below a few examples to illustrate the testing procedure described above.

Example 2.9: A company is interested in considering two different television advertisements for the promotion of a new product. The management believes that advertisement A is more effective than advertisement B. Two test market areas with virtually identical consumer characteristics are selected. Advertisement A is used in one area and advertisement B in the other area. In a random sample of 60 consumers who saw advertisement A, 18 tried the product. In a random sample of 100 customers who saw advertisement B, 22 tried the product. Does this indicate that advertisement A is more effective than advertisement B, if a 5 per cent level of significance is used?

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Solution:

$$H_0 : p_a = p_b$$

$$H_1 : p_a > p_b$$

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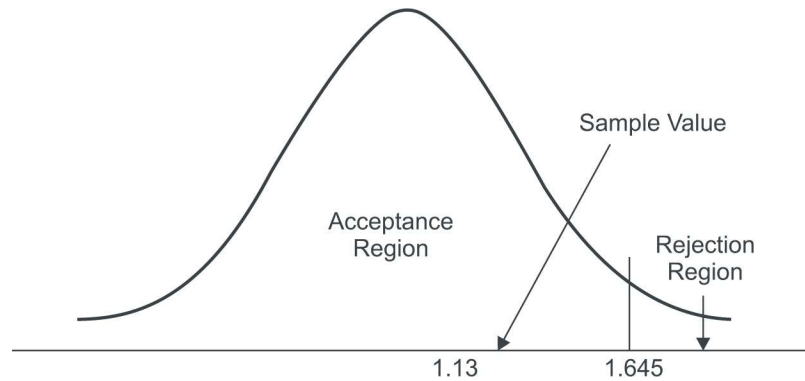
$$n_A = 60, \quad x_A = 18, \quad n_B = 100, \quad x_B = 22$$

$$\left(\bar{p}_A = \frac{x_A}{n_A} = \frac{18}{60} = 0.3 \right) \quad \left(\bar{p}_B = \frac{x_B}{n_B} = \frac{22}{100} = 0.22 \right)$$

$$Z = \frac{\bar{P}_A - \bar{P}_B - (p_A - p_B)H_0}{\frac{\sigma_{\bar{P}_A - \bar{P}_B}}{\sqrt{\hat{p}\hat{q}\left(\frac{1}{n_A} + \frac{1}{n_B}\right)}}} = \frac{0.3 - 0.22 - 0}{\frac{0.08}{\sqrt{0.25 \times 0.75 \left(\frac{1}{60} + \frac{1}{100}\right)}}} = \frac{0.08}{\sqrt{0.25 \times 0.75 (0.0267)}} = \frac{0.08}{0.071} = 1.3$$

$$\left(\hat{p} = \frac{x_A + x_B}{n_A + n_B} = \frac{18 + 22}{60 + 100} = \frac{40}{160} = 0.25 \right)$$

The critical value of Z at 5 per cent level of significance is 1.645. The sample value of $Z = 1.13$ lies in the acceptance region as shown in the figure below:

**Rejection region for Example 2.9****Case Study****ML Steel Works Ltd**

Mr. Mohan Lal is the proprietor of M L Steel Works Ltd., a company that manufactures and sells stainless steel utensils. Mr. Mohan Lal had set up the business in 2001. It was growing at an annual growth rate of 7 per cent and in 2008 its sales turnover was ₹75 lakh. Mr. Mohan Lal was happy with the growth of the company. However, after 2008 its sales got stagnant at ₹75 lakh. This was a matter of concern to Mr. Lal since the cost of production was going up resulting in reduced profitability.

Mr. Kapoor, the friend of Mr. Lal who was working for a consulting organization advised him to send his sales people for training. Mr. Lal had chosen 36 salesmen and sent them for a one-week training programme. After the training programme, it was noticed that the average sales for their salesmen has increased to ₹80 lakh with a standard deviation of ₹3 lakh. Mr. Lal was wondering whether it was due to chance or was it due to the effectiveness of the training programmes.

Discussion Question

Formulate a suitable hypothesis to test that training programme is effective. Test it using 5% level of significance.

(Hint: You need to test the following hypothesis.)

$$H_0 : \mu = 75$$

$$H_1 : \mu > 75$$

NOTES**2.5 SUMMARY**

- A hypothesis is an approximate assumption that a researcher wants to test for its logical or empirical consequences. It can contain either a suggested explanation for a phenomenon or a proposal having deductive reasoning to suggest a possible interrelation between multiple phenomena.
- The following are the characteristics of a valid hypothesis: conceptually clear and accurate, statement of relationship between variables, testability, specific with limited scope, simple, consistent, has a time limit or frame, provides empirical evidence, etc.
- There is no certainty that the hypothesis formulated for a problem is true or correct. Formulated hypothesis is the initial point, a statement that the researcher has to prove true after further research and investigations. It is also possible that after further research the researcher might find that this hypothesis is not valid for the problem and that it needs modifications.
- A well formulated or good hypothesis helps the researchers to focus/concentrate on the key points of investigation. Also a hypothesis is significant because it guides the research. The researchers or investigators refer to the hypothesis in order to direct their thought processes toward the result of the research problem or sub-problems.
- In research, an investigator or researcher is proficient to either accept (support) or reject a hypothesis. If a hypothesis is rejected, it will lead an investigator or researcher to develop new hypothesis to explain the phenomenon in question. If a hypothesis is continually supported or accepted, then it may evolve into a theory.
- Steps in hypothesis generation are: preliminary research, writing your hypothesis, and testing it against the criteria in set while writing the hypothesis.
- Hypothesis is a tentative assumption explaining an observation, phenomenon or scientific problem that can be tested by further observation, investigation or experimentation. Characteristically, the research is a process of investigation of a particular/specific topic of study with the aim of studying a problem or question.
- The key objective for the researcher or investigator in developing a hypothesis statement is to test and ultimately accept or reject it when the assessment of the research is performed.
- The importance of hypothesis in social research is that: it directs, monitors and controls research efforts; it indicates the sample selection procedure, design of research, data collection, etc.; it orients the researcher towards relevant aspects of the problem; provides rational statements to the researcher, adds a scientific rigour to the research.

Check Your Progress

7. State the condition under which a test is called one-sided.
8. Define Type-II error.
9. What is the meaning of level of significance?

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- The sources of hypothesis include: scientific theories, expert opinions, method of related difference, intellectual equipment of researcher, experience, analogies, formulation of hypothesis, induction by simple enumeration, a study of general culture, etc.
- The important concepts in the testing of hypothesis includes an understanding of the topics: null hypothesis, alternate hypothesis, one-tailed and two-tailed tests, type I and type II errors.
- The following are the steps in testing of hypothesis exercise: setting up of a hypothesis, setting up of a suitable significance level, determination of a test statistic, determination of critical region, computing the value of test-statistic and making the decision.

2.6 KEY TERMS

- **Hypothesis:** It is an approximate assumption that a researcher wants to test for its logical or empirical consequences.
- **Null hypothesis:** It refers to the hypotheses that is proposed with the intent of receiving a rejection for them.
- **Critical region:** It refers to the region that leads to rejection of null hypothesis.
- **Level of significance:** It is the probability of committing a Type 1 error.

2.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The characteristics of hypothesis are:
 - **Simplicity:** A hypothesis should be stated in the most simple and clear terms to make it understandable.
 - **Consistency:** A hypothesis should be reliable and consistent with established and known facts.
2. As soon as a research question is formulated, it makes the hypothesis formulation imperative since a hypothesis is a tentative solution or an intelligent guess about a research question under study.
3. The key objective for the researcher or investigator in developing a hypothesis statement is to test and ultimately accept or reject it when the assessment of the research is performed.
4. The hypothesis not only indicates what to look for in an investigation but also how to select a sample, choose the design of research, how to collect data and how to interpret the results to draw valid conclusions.
5. A hypothesis may not be required in historical or descriptive studies where finding facts is the objective.
6. A review of related literature helps in the formulation of hypothesis by revealing to the researcher the variables that have been considered important in relation to his/her problem, which aspects have already been studied and which are left to be studied, which theories have supported the relationships and which theories present a contradictory relationship.

7. A test is called one-sided (or one-tailed) only if the null hypothesis gets rejected when a value of the test statistic falls in one specified tail of the distribution.
8. If the null hypothesis H_0 when false is accepted, the researcher is committing an error which is called Type II error.
9. The level of significance is a step in the testing of hypothesis exercise which denotes the probability of rejecting the null hypothesis when it is true. It is denoted by Q .

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2.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. List the essential key points that must be defined at the time of hypothesis formulation.
2. How does a hypothesis add scientific rigour to the research process?
3. Write the difference between null hypothesis and alternative hypothesis.
4. Explain the difference between one-tailed and two-tailed tests.
5. What are Type I and Type II errors?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the characteristics of valid hypothesis.
2. Describe the steps in the formulation of hypothesis with the help of example.
3. Examine the importance of hypothesis.
4. Discuss the sources of hypothesis.
5. Explain the steps in testing of hypothesis.
6. Discuss what happens if the two population variances are equal.

2.9 FURTHER READING

- Chawla D and Sondhi, N. 2011. *Research Methodology: Concepts and Cases*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
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UNIT 3 SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF SOCIAL PHENOMENA

NOTES

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 The Scientific Method
 - 3.2.1 The Nature of Science
 - 3.2.2 Steps, Process and Objectives of Scientific Method
- 3.3 Objectivity-Subjectivity Debate
- 3.4 Debate in Social Research
- 3.5 Positivism in Sociology
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 Key Terms
- 3.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 3.9 Questions and Exercises
- 3.10 Further Reading

3.0 INTRODUCTION

A very important part of understanding the nuances of social research is the scientific study of the social phenomenon. How is science related to society and its element? Can science and its method be used for analysing the society? Social research, too involves scientific methods of study. The basic elements that define scientific methods are known as concepts, yet all concepts are by and large only abstractions. Facts are logical constructions of concepts. A close relationship exists between a theory and fact where a theory is only a speculation and it has to be proved before it can be called a theory definitively. When a theory is proved, it becomes a fact.

There are various methods of scientific enquiry. The two most important ones are—deductive and inductive reasoning. Deductive reasoning is one where the researcher moves from the general to the specific part of the research. Inductive reasoning is also called the bottom-up approach. It tends to move from particular observations to wide generalizations.

There is an ongoing debate on the subject of objectivity or subjectivity of research carried out by researchers where the researchers are supposed to be unbiased and objective rather than subjective. Herein, value neutrality is the duty of sociologists to strive to be impartial and overcome their biases as they conduct their research. There is also a very common debate in sociology pertaining to the approach that is used in the social research: quantitative or qualitative.

But understanding the method of scientific study will be incomplete without a discussion on its background. Positivism is a very dominant philosophy to sociology. As a philosophical ideology and movement, positivism first assumed its distinctive features in the work of the French philosopher Auguste Comte, who named the systematized science of sociology. It then developed through several stages known by various names, such as Empiriocriticism, Logical Positivism and Logical Empiricism and finally in the mid-20th century flowed into the movement known as Analytic and Linguistic philosophy.

In its basic ideological posture, positivism is worldly, secular, anti-theological and anti-metaphysical. In this unit, you will learn about the scientific method, objectivity and subjectivity, debate in social research and positivism in sociology.

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3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the nature of science
- Describe the scientific method
- Explain the concept of objectivity and subjectivity
- Examine the debate in social research
- Explain the theory of positivism in sociology

3.2 THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Science refers to organized knowledge, but this knowledge and these facts are seldom conclusive. New experiences and additional information constantly alter the previous findings and replace them with generalizations that confirm the latest findings.

The same is the case with social sciences. The scientific method can also be applied to subjects in social sciences.

3.2.1 The Nature of Science

The method which integrates the most important aspects of the deductive and inductive methods of research is recognized as *scientific method*. It is generally attributed to Charles Darwin.

The scientific method is a back-and-forth movement of thought in which man first operates inductively from partially known or sometimes confused information learned from experience, previous knowledge, reflective thinking, observation and so on, towards a meaningful whole or hypothesis, and then deductively from suggested whole or hypothesis to the particular parts in order to connect these with one another in a meaningful pattern to find valid relationships. In the words of (Dewey 1933, p. 87):

While induction moves from fragmentary details (or particulars) to a connected view of situation (universal), deduction begins with the latter and works back again to particulars, connecting them and binding them together.

Although, in practice, scientific method involves a double movement of reasoning from induction to deduction, in its simplest form, it consists of working inductively from observations to hypotheses and then deductively from the hypotheses to the logical implications of the hypotheses in relation to what is already known.

Scientific method differs from other methods of acquiring knowledge on the basis of generalizations from authority, tradition, experience, and syllogism. It also differs from the methods of chance, of trial-and-error, and of intuition. When using the scientific method, one engages himself in a thinking process called *reflective thinking*. The five stages of reflective thinking furnished by Dewey (1911) may be summarised as under (Van Dalen 1973, p. 13; Whitney 1964, p. 3):

1. **The occurrence of a felt difficulty.** Man comes across some obstacle, experience, or problem that puzzles him.
 - (a) He lacks the means to achieve the end desired.
 - (b) He feels difficulty in identifying the character of an object.
 - (c) He is unable to explain an unexpected event.
2. **Identification and definition of the difficulty in terms of a problem statement.** Man makes observations and gathers facts so that he is able to define his difficulty more precisely.
3. **Suggested solutions of the problem—hypotheses.** Man makes intelligent guesses about possible solutions of the problem from the preliminary study of the facts. Such guesses that he makes to explain the facts about the cause of difficulty are called *hypotheses*.
4. **Deriving consequences of the suggested solutions with the help of deductive reasoning.** With the help of deductive arguments, man reasons that if each hypothesis is true, certain consequences should follow.
5. **Experimental verification of the hypotheses.** Man verifies each hypothesis by searching for observable evidence that will confirm whether or not the consequences that follow actually occur. This process enables him to test which hypothesis is in conformity with observable facts.

The stages involved in reflective thinking presented above suggest a pattern that is employed in the scientific method. It will be seen that the pattern describing this method runs parallel to the stages involved in reflective thinking.

From the earlier times, man has been curious about anything he could not understand. Slowly and gradually he developed the scientific method of thinking and of investigating his problems which, today is producing astonishing results. It is an orderly system of searching for truth which, by basing conclusions upon factual evidence, and by using reasoning as a means of showing relationship between ideas, has given him better and more accurate answers to his many problems, not only in physical and biological sciences, but also in behavioural and social sciences. By attempting to apply this method of inquiry to behavioural and social sciences, the fields of psychology, economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, and education have become recognized as sciences. The term *science*, therefore, is now thought of as a method or attitude rather than a field of subject matter. It is described as a method of inquiry that permits man to examine the phenomena of interest to him.

Science is based on certain beliefs and assumptions which are briefly described as under:

1. All events in nature are, at least to a degree, lawful or ordered, predictable and regular. This order, predictability and regularity of nature can be discovered through the activities of the scientific method.
2. Truth can ultimately be derived only from observation. Scientist does not depend upon authority as a source of truth, but relies upon empirical observation. Thus, the phenomena that can actually be observed to exist are within the domain of scientific method.
3. The scientist maintains a doubtful attitude towards data. He regards findings as tentative unless they are verified. Verification of the findings requires that

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other scientists must be able to repeat the observations and get the same results.

4. The scientist is objective, impartial and logical in collecting and interpreting data or making observations. His personal bias does not in any way influence the truth and facts even when they are not in conformity with his own opinions.
5. Scientist does not bother about the moral implications of his findings. He always deals with facts and does not consider what finding is good or what is bad for us.
6. The ultimate goal of science is to integrate and systematise findings into a meaningful pattern or *theory*. The theory, however, is regarded as tentative and not the ultimate truth. It is subject to revision or modification as new evidence is found.

Theories are statements that explain a particular segment of phenomena by specifying certain relationships among variables. According to Kerlinger (1978, p. 9):

A theory is a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena.

This definition emphasises three things:

- First, a theory is a set of statements comprising of interrelated constructs, definitions and propositions.
- Secondly, a theory sets out the relations among the set of constructs, definitions or propositions in order to present a systematic view of the phenomena.
- Thirdly, a theory explains a phenomenon by specifying what variables are related to what variables and how they are related, thus, enabling the scientist to predict from certain variables to certain other variables.

A teacher, for example, has a theory of low academic achievement. His variables might be home environment, intelligence, verbal and numerical aptitudes, anxiety, economic factors and achievement motivation. The phenomenon to be explained is low academic achievement. It is explained by specified relations between each of the seven variables and low academic achievement, or by combinations of the seven variables and low academic achievement. The teacher seeks to understand low academic achievement with the help of this set of relations or constructs. He is then able to 'explain' and to some extent at least 'predict' it. Moreover, he can also to some extent 'control' the low academic achievement by making changes in the environment or manipulating some of the variables.

Scientific theories serve as means and ends in the development of science. As means, they provide a framework which guides scientist in making observation and discovery. Theories summarize knowledge and put in order the knowledge within a given field. They also clarify and provide meaning to this summarized knowledge comprising of isolated empirical findings. As ends, theories provide scientists explanations for observed events and relationships for specific phenomena with maximum objectivity. They do so by showing what variables are related and how they are related. On the basis of such relationships, scientists make deductions and predict about what will happen in certain situations under specified conditions. In this way, theories help in the development of new knowledge.

A sound theory must meet the following criteria if it is to serve its purpose in the development of science.

1. A theory must be stated in simple and precise terms. A theory that explains the most in a simple form is preferred to one that has more complexities and assumptions. This is the *Law of Parsimony*.
2. A theory must be in conformity both with the observed and with the previously established body of knowledge or validated theories.
3. A theory must provide means for its own interpretation and verification. In other words, it must provide deductions which can be tested empirically.
4. A theory must guide new discoveries and identify areas which are in need of investigation. It can do so if it is based on empirical facts and relationships.

Theories often offer a crude and general explanation of phenomena. They are refined and modified as knowledge in the form of facts accumulates. The discovery of pertinent facts is essential in order to determine whether a theory can be confirmed or should be rejected or reformulated. For example, if the facts found do not substantiate the theory, a scientist must reject or reformulate the theory to fit the new facts.

3.2.2 Steps, Process and Objectives of Scientific Method

In this section, we will study, in detail, the steps, process, objectives and characteristics of the scientific method.

Steps in Scientific Method

The steps involved in the scientific method are as follows:

- Collection of data as per the problem in hand, according to some adequate plan and their systematic observation.
- Observations are made with a well-defined purpose and they are recorded in definite terms.
- Classification and organization of data on the basis of similarities, variations, activities, causes and results.
- Generalization of data for the purpose of formulating principles and theories. The principles and theories must be specifically defined so that it can solve the problems in the related field.
- Verification of generalizations through controlled experiments by tested prediction of results and by repetition of experiments. Correlation coefficient of original as well as verification of results is also calculated and probable errors are estimated. It is also determined whether the error lies in procedure or apparatus.
- Assumptions and limitations are noted down on the basis of verification of results.
- Reporting the research in detail.
- Announcement of the results before the general public for practical use.

Steps in Scientific Process

The steps involved in a scientific process are as follows:

- (i) **Purposeful observation:** Observation should be accurate and extensive, and it must be done under various controlled conditions.

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(ii) Analysis-synthesis: This includes the following:

- The essential elements in a problematic situation must be selected by analysis.
- Similarities as well as dissimilarities must be isolated.
- Exceptions are to be given special attention.

(iii) Selective recall: A wide range of experiences is essential.

(iv) Hypothesis: It is a tentative solution to the problem. There may be more than one solution depending on the nature of the problem.

(v) Verification by inference and experiment: Here, only one variable is manipulated and judgment is made on the adequacy and accuracy of data.

Objectives of Scientific Research

The terms research and scientific method are sometimes used interchangeably.

Research is a systematic process for developing a theory by applying scientific methods. It is an impartial, objective, empirical and logical analysis and recording of controlled observation that finally leads to the development of a theory, principles, laws, etc., and helps us to predict about the phenomenon in future.

A research is said to begin with a question or a problem. The purpose of a research is to find out solutions through the application of systematic and scientific methods. Thus, research is a systematic approach to a purposeful investigation.

The main aim of research is to uncover answers to questions by applying scientific procedures. Research aims to discover hidden truths. While each research initiative has a particular purpose, the objectives of research can be broadly characterized as follows:

- **Exploratory/formulative research:** It attempts to get familiar with a concept or to develop new insights into it.
- **Descriptive research:** It seeks to accurately portray the key characteristics of an individual, a situation or a group.
- **Diagnostic research:** It establishes the frequency with which an event occurs, or the frequency with which it is associated with something else.
- **Hypothesis-testing research:** This type of research tests the hypotheses of a causal relationship between variables.

Characteristics of Good Research

The process of research helps to increase the creative ability of a decision-maker. The various characteristics of research are as follows:

- **Interdisciplinary team approach:** This approach is based on the principle of using expertise and experience of different personnel working in different disciplines within an organization. An individual cannot be an expert in all the areas of operation. So, researchers take help from other experts, who are specialists in their respective fields. Under interdisciplinary team approach, an expert may use old solutions, which were used in the past as research material for finding the most appropriate solution to a problem.
- **Methodological process:** The researcher uses scientific methods and techniques to provide optimum solution to problems. The scientific methods include observing and defining a problem and formulating hypothesis related to the results of the

scientific methods and techniques. If the hypothesis is accepted, its results should be executed in an organization; but if the hypothesis is not accepted, another hypothesis is formulated.

- **Objectivistic approach:** The aim of an organization is to have optimal solutions to various problems. It is essential to measure the desirability of a solution for achieving the organizational objective. This measured desirability helps in comparing the alternative courses of action with respect to their outcomes.
- **Economical in nature:** In an uncertain and complex situation, research helps in reducing the costs of inventory, thereby improving profits. For example, in inventory control, research can provide scientific rules for reducing acquisition costs and inventory-carrying costs.

The qualities of good research are as follows:

- **Good research is systematic:** This means that the research lays out clear steps in a specified sequence in compliance with well-defined rules. Being systematic does not mean that the research cannot be based on creative thinking. On the other hand, it dramatically reduces guesswork-based and intuitive conclusions.
- **Good research is logical:** This implies that the use of sound logic provides a foundation for reasoning, induction and deduction, which are of great significance for carrying out high quality research. Induction entails reasoning from a part to the whole, while deduction is the process of reasoning, wherein a premise is driven to a conclusion which is based on that very premise. In fact, logical reasoning leads to more meaningful research and better eventual decision-making.
- **Good research is empirical:** This means that research is related to one or several aspects of a real situation and uses concrete data which provides a basis for external validity to the research results.
- **Good research is replicable:** Good research allows for research results to be verified by replicating the study, thereby building a sound basis for decisions.

Further, Best and Kahn (1992) have summarized the main characteristics of research as follows:

- Research seeks to find a solution to a problem. In this objective, it could answer a question or even determine the relationship between several variables.
- Research creates generalizations, principles and theories that enable the prediction or anticipation of future occurrences. Research studies specific objects, groups or situations and then applies these characteristics observed to a larger population than the sample observed. Research goes beyond just simply retrieving or gathering information. There are many schools where the research teams gather and tabulate statistical information. This information can be used for decision-making, but it is not necessary to do so.
- Research is based on observations or empirical evidence. There are many questions which are interesting or relevant but, since they cannot be observed, they do not become research procedures. Research does not accept revelation or dogma as a basis for establishing knowledge. Research only accepts that which can be verified by observation.
- Research requires accuracy of observation and description. Researchers rely on quantitative or numerical measuring devices which are accepted as precise means

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of description. They identify or create appropriate data gathering instruments or procedures and employ effective mechanical, electronic, or psychometric techniques to improve human observation, recording, computation and analysis of data.

- Research entails obtaining new data from first-hand sources, or uses existing data towards a new purpose. Teachers often guide their students to undertake a project which requires them to write a paper detailing the life of a prominent person. The students consult encyclopaedias, books, or periodicals and summarize the information in writing. This is not research, the information is not new. Simply rewriting or representing what is already known may be a valuable learning experience, but it is not research. It does not provide any new information.
- Research may sometimes appear to be random or unsystematic. However, it is actually always based on carefully designed procedures and rigorous analysis. Although researchers may sometimes employ trial and error methodologies, research is not a blind, random investigation, where the researcher is just experimenting to see what happens.
- A good researcher requires significant expertise. He/She is already aware of what is known about the problem including the investigations carried out by others. The researcher familiar with the related literature and also understands the terminology, concepts and technical skills necessary to thoroughly assess the data that he/she has gathered.
- Researchers must apply objectivity and logic and must also remove all their personal biases. They must employ all possible tests in order to comprehensively validate the procedure followed, the data sourced, and the results or conclusions that have been arrived at. Researchers should not make any effort to be additionally persuasive in order to prove an emotionally held conviction by them. Their focus must be on testing, and not on proving the hypothesis. Total objectivity is just as rare as absolute righteousness, and therefore, researchers must not allow bias or emotion to affect their analysis.
- Research involves the quest for answers to unsolved problems. Pushing back the frontiers of ignorance is its goal, and originality is frequently the quality of a good research project. However, previous important studies are deliberately repeated, using identical or similar procedures, with different subjects, different settings, and at different times. This process is a replication, a fusion of the words, repetition and duplication. Replication is always desirable to confirm or to raise questions about the conclusions of a previous study.
- Research must be carried out patiently and not in a rushed manner. It's outcome and result are mundane rather than spectacular, and the research team must be prepared to face disappointment in the pursuit of answers to their unanswered questions.
- The process and outcomes of research are meticulously recorded. Every key term is defined, restrictive factors are acknowledged, procedures are carefully described, all references are recorded, results are objectively documented, and the final outcomes are presented with caution and restraint. The final research reports and supporting data are made available for associates and other scholars to study, analyse, evaluate and even replicate.

Check Your Progress

1. Why is the knowledge obtained from science seldom conclusive?
2. In what way does the scientific method differ from other methods of acquiring knowledge?
3. List the steps involved in the analysis-synthesis scientific process.

3.3 OBJECTIVITY-SUBJECTIVITY DEBATE

It is important for a study to be objective in nature, no matter which discipline it represents. Whether it is natural or social science research, a study which is subjective in nature does not produce results which can be depended upon. That is because being objective in social science means being able to check and examine the evidences which the study has produced. An objective study is free from personal biases and beliefs of the researcher. Objective studies are not speculative in nature but are dominated by actual observations.

When compared with natural sciences, it is much more difficult to obtain objectivity in social sciences. This is largely because social sciences deals with humans who live in a society and pursue their own interests. Both of these are highly dynamic and their attitudes and approaches to life can change at any given time and also evolve with time. Therefore, while objectivity is important, it is difficult to obtain the same in social sciences as personal views and biases often enter the researcher's work. There are hindrances like emotional values, complex subjects, uniformity problems, self-interest, lack of time for research, and bias and prejudices. Among all these, the most severe in terms of research are prejudices and biases which can greatly affect the nature of the study. These biases can enter different stages of research, like during the collection of the sample, in the choice of the participants, during data collection, analysis and finally in the findings.

Value Neutrality

Value neutrality is the duty of sociologists to strive to be impartial and overcome their biases as they conduct their research. A researcher can easily mix his past experiences and present them as part of the present study. This leads to inclusion of subjectivity in the study. Biases can also enter during the supply of information because many times information is collected by those who may carry their own prejudices. They may present information which is suited to their needs, thus keeping the wholesome information out of reach of the researcher. All these can increasingly influence the findings of the study and mar the objectives with which it was undertaken in the first place. There are several ways by which subjectivity can be removed from research. These are, first, depending less on the investigation. This means that while data is critical to social science research, the researcher can avoid hiring other investigators and have first-hand information of the field to avoid subjectivity. Second, use of statistical measurements and methods can be made wherein data can be correlated and checked to remove subjectivity. Third, concepts and terms could be standardized to avoid multiple usage and inculcate clear and precise use to suit the views of the researcher. Fourth, the introduction of a questionnaire through which information is collected can lead to clarification and also provision of matter which can be cross-checked any time. Fifth, at various stages, the researcher can employ counter-checks and compare findings at several stages to avoid biases and prejudices from entering the study. Another method is that of random sampling with which the researcher can select participants from different shades to avoid his own prejudice that might enter the study during the collection of the sample.

Problems of Subjectivity and Objectivity

Qualitative methodology is familiar with the fact that the subjectivity of the researcher is a deep ingredient of his scientific research. Everything is guided by subjectivity, beginning

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from the choice of topic that one studies, to devising hypotheses, to selection of methodology and interpretation of data. Qualitative methodology motivates researchers to mirror the values and objectives brought by them into their research and the manner in which they influence the research project. It also motivates other researchers to replicate the values used by a particular investigator.

The most important issue that comes up when subjectivity is recognized, is its impact on objectivity. Two types of arrangements have been expressed. Many qualitative researchers make subjectivity and objectivity counterbalance each other. It is believed that objectivity negates subjectivity. The reason for this is because it makes the observer an inert recipient of external information, without an agency. The subjectivity of the researcher is said to negate the possibility of objectivity, knowing a social psychological world. The investigator's values are said to define the world that is studied. It never happens that one really sees or talks about the world, per se. However, one only sees and talks about what one's values dictate.

Subjectivity is usually considered as the most essential and initiating part of qualitative methodology. Nevertheless, this is not true. Qualitative methodology also has traces of objectivity. Objectivity indicates that the subjectivity of a researcher can empower him to precisely understand the world in its true state. Beyond doubt, subjectivity can cause prejudice to affect the researcher and rule out objective understanding of a subject's psychological reality. However, this is not unavoidable. In the true sense, one of the benefits of getting to recognize subjectivity is to reflect on whether it makes objective comprehension easy or obstructs it. Distorting values can then be replaced by values that improve objectivity.

Objectivism puts subjectivity and objectivity together since it reasons that objective knowledge needs active, sophisticated and subjective processes like: perception, analytical reasoning, synthetic reasoning, logical deduction and the ability to differentiate essences from appearances. On the other hand, subjective processes can augment objective conception of the world.

Objectivism is the highest form of the subjects being studied as part of research methodology. It considers psychological reality as something meaningful and important which must be accurately comprehended. Subjectivism either denies a psychological reality to subjects, or else makes it unknowable. The psychology of other people is clouded by the subjectivity of the observer and is not recognized for what it (truly) is.

Check Your Progress

4. Why does objectivity in social science research take an upper hand over subjectivity?
5. How do biases enter during the supply of information while conducting a research?
6. What is the highest form of the subjects being studied as part of research methodology?

3.4 DEBATE IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

We have learnt about the two paradigms of research in Unit 1: quantitative and qualitative research. Both of them have different advantages and disadvantages. Their uses too are not similar.

Use of Quantitative Research

There are four chief categories of research questions that quantitative research can answer:

- The first type of research question that demands a quantitative answer is: For instance, How many students from below poverty line have opted for studying education? Quantitative research can be used for answering this type of question.

- Only quantitative methods can be used to study numerical changes accurately: Is the number of girls in our university falling or rising? Is there any improvement in performance or is it dipping? A quantitative study is needed to answer these questions.
- Generally, for explaining phenomena: What factors relate to change in the livelihood of socially backward classes over time?
- The ultimate activity which requires quantitative research is the testing of hypotheses: For example: Whether there is a relationship between students' achievements and their self-esteem and social background can be explained with the help of quantitative research. One could come up with the hypothesis that lower social class background leads to low self-esteem, which would in turn, be related to low achievement. Using quantitative research, we can try to test this model.

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Use of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is extensively employed where small sections of the population (or groups of people who have common traits) particularly interest the researcher. Some of the main reasons for carrying out qualitative researches are as follows:

- For assessing a market, product or consumer, in the absence of any other information.
- For identification and investigation of concepts.
- Apprise the researchers about a group of consumers, if they are not aware of them.
- For identification of behavioural patterns, values, approaches, views and purpose.
- For setting up precedence among types of behaviour, beliefs, opinions and attitudes.
- For detailed identification of problems and to build models for further research.
- To append to the points emerging from a pilot or major survey.
- For providing verbatim remarks and anecdotes from participants, so that the outcome of the research can be made available to the client.
- For testing the functioning of a questionnaire, by going through questions related to routing, signposting, understanding and ambiguity.

Table 3.1 Comparison of Qualitative and Quantitative Researches

Criteria	Qualitative Research	Quantitative Research
Purpose	Describes individuals and events in their natural setting	Explores, describes, tests or assesses phenomena
Group studied	Smaller and not randomly selected	Larger and randomly selected
Variables	Study of the whole, not variables	Specific variables studied
Types of data collected	Words, images, or objects	Numbers and statistics
Forms of data collected	Qualitative data such as open-ended responses, interviews, participant observations, field notes, and reflections	Quantitative data based on precise measurements using structured and validated data-collection instruments

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Type of data analysis	Identify patterns, features, themes	Identify statistical relationships
Objectivity and subjectivity	Subjectivity is expected	Objectivity is critical
Role of the researcher	Active (immersion)	Passive(immersion optional)
Results	Particular or specialized findings that are less generic	Generic findings that can be applied to other populations
Scientific method	Exploratory or bottom-up: the researcher generates a new hypothesis and theory from the data collected	Confirmatory or top-down: the researcher tests the hypothesis and theory with the data
View of human behaviour	Dynamic, situational, social and personal	Regular and predictable
Most common research objectives	Explore, discover and construct	Describe, explain and predict
Focus	Wide-angle lens: examines the breadth and depth of phenomena	Narrow-angle lens: tests a specific hypotheses
Nature of observation	Study behaviour in a natural environment	Study behaviour under controlled conditions; isolated causal effects
Nature of reality	Multiple realities; subjective	Single reality; objective
Final report	Narrative report with contextual description and direct quotations from research participants	Statistical report with correlations, comparisons of means and statistical significance of findings

Quantitative and qualitative methods primarily differ in terms of their flexibility. In general, quantitative methods are quite rigid. When the researcher makes use of quantitative methods like surveys and questionnaires, for instance, all participants are presented with the same questions, in the same order. The types of responses given by the participants may either be closed-ended or fixed. The benefit of this rigidity is that it allows significant comparison of responses between participants and study sites. Nevertheless, it is important that the questioner knows which important questions to put across, the best way to frame them and the range of possible responses.

Qualitative methods are characteristically more elastic; i.e., they stir more spontaneous responses and adapt to the interface between the researcher and the study participant. For instance, qualitative methods comprise mostly open-ended questions that are not necessarily worded in exactly the same way for each participant. With open-ended questions, participants are free to write what they think and their responses are comprehensive.

The primary debate in social research pertains to these approaches to social research: quantitative and qualitative methods. Both the approaches not only have different uses and benefits, but also have different underlying assumptions. The question as to which ideology trumps the other is a complex one and not just a simple dichotomous choice. In fact, it will not be too far-fetched to say that a significant number of researchers now apply a consciously selected combination of the two approaches. There are varied schools which also believe that these two approaches are not polar opposites and can be substituted for each other while finding answers. It, ultimately depends on the researcher, the purpose of research and the research design as to which approach should be selected.

3.5 POSITIVISM IN SOCIOLOGY

The approach of positivism was formulated by Auguste Comte. Auguste Comte was born in France in 1798 during the height of the French Revolution, a period of chaos and unrest. His parents were devout Catholics and ardent royalists. Comte was a brilliant student excelling in physics and math with an unusual memory. His early career was poorly organized and a rather self-destructive affair in which he proceeded to ‘shoot himself in the foot’ several times. Along with 14 others he was expelled from school after a student uprising over a geometry instructor, thus dashing hopes of an otherwise promising academic career.

He did, nonetheless, manage to become secretary to Henri St. Simon, another prominent thinker with whom Comte shared many ideas. He met, and later married, a nineteen-year-old prostitute but had an unhappy married life. He had a falling out with St. Simon and organized on his own a subscription series of lectures on the ‘Positive Philosophy’. Comte attempted suicide by throwing himself into the Seine and was rescued by a passer-by. Comte interpreted this Samaritan act as a sign that his mission in life was to complete and disseminate his positive philosophy.

In 1829, Comte completed the series of lectures, and between 1830 and 1842, published his *Cours de Philosophie Positive* in six volumes. In 1832, he managed to achieve a minor appointment at the Ecole Poly-technique, but, in 1844, he wrote a scathing article on St. Simon and the Ecole and was dismissed. During the same year, two other important events also occurred. Comte obtained a small stipend from the English philosopher, John Stuart Mill, who had been impressed by his *Positive Philosophy*, and he also began an affair with Madame Clotilde de Vaux. In 1846, she died in his arms and Comte was later to credit her with teaching him about the affective tendencies of human nature, a consideration which was to inform his suggestion for a ‘religion of humanity’.

In fact, Comte was to see this religion of humanity as part of the practical application of his philosophy as recommended in his works—*The System of Positive Polity or Treatise of Sociology: Instituting the Religion of Humanity*. *Positive Philosophy* was the work in which he outlined his preferred way of knowing the world, and the *Positive Polity* contained his ideas about how to improve society, and how to establish what was, in his view, the best society possible by applying this knowledge.

According to Comte, a stable social order rested on a consistent form of thought. He saw his own thought as leading to the establishment of a more stable, industrial order. He saw this relationship between thought and practice as a natural, rather than a causal one and saw thought as evolving naturally towards the kind of philosophy which he was formulating and recommending. Ways of thinking, of philosophizing, of knowing the world, were, in his view, primary, both in the history of humankind and in his own practice. In other words, Comte believed that people acted in such a way as to correspond with the way they thought. In different societies or periods of history, furthermore, a person’s way of thinking, of knowing their world, was responsible for producing the kind of society in which they lived.

Science of Sociology

According to Comte, sociology is a social, organic science. Sociology is a relatively new, evolving science dependent upon all the foregoing theories in science. However, it is quite clear that sociology is gradually moving towards the goal of a *definite* science.

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Comte had a very wide conception of sociology. According to him, all other social sciences are subsumed under it. He believed in a unified integral study of all social sciences taken together. He posited that the subject matter of sociology is society. It studies the structure of the society and the set of rules governing its functions.

Since sociology tries to explore the principles which help society to stay integrated and in order, it is essential that the law of sociology should be scientific. In order to make the societal laws scientific, they should pass through the full circle of making of scientific laws, namely *observation*, *experimentation*, *comparison* and *classification*. What needs to be emphasized here is the fact that in making these societal laws, use of full scientific technique is necessary.

Comte maintained that the positive science of society called sociology must pursue the method which was followed by definite sciences like astronomy, physics, chemistry, and biology. He insisted that the new science must be *positive*. Positive means pursuing scientific methods of analysis and prognosis. The method of sociology includes observation as well as experimentation. Observation must be guided by a theory of social phenomena. Experimentation is controlled observation. In sociology, experimentation involves the study of pathological cases. According to him, central to sociology is the comparison of different co-existing states of human society on the various parts of the earth's surface. By this method, he argued, the different stages of evolution may be allowed once. These conventional methods of science, like observation, experimentation and comparison, must be used in combination with the historical method.

Law of Human Progress

The law of human progress is one of Comte's the most important central ideas. He proposed that the evolution of the human mind is parallel to the evolution of any individual mind. The development of the individual human organism is termed as ontogeny. This forms the basis for the development of phylogeny or the development of the human race. In our childhood, we all believed in imaginary worlds; when we become adults, we start accepting the world with its vices and virtues. Mankind has also undertaken quite a similar journey; from believing in the make-belief to the maturity of adulthood.

According to Comte:

Each of our leading conceptions—each branch of our knowledge passes successively through three different theoretical conditions: the Theological or fictitious; Metaphysical or abstract; and the Scientific or positive. In theological state, human mind, seeking the essential nature of beings, the first and final causes (the origin of purpose) of all effects supposes all phenomena to be produced by the immediate action of supernatural beings. In Metaphysical state the mind supposes abstract forces, veritable entities (that is personified abstractions) capable of producing all phenomena. In the final, the positive state, the mind has given over the vain search after Absolute notions, the origin of destination of the universe, and the causes of phenomena, and applies itself to the study of their laws, that is, their invariable relations of succession and resemblance

Theological or Fictitious State: Law of Three Stages

According to Comteian proposition, all theoretical conceptions, whether general or special, bear a supernatural influence. This kind of thinking is found among the primitive people and sometimes the thinking of children. At this state, there is substantial lack of logical and orderly thinking. However, Comte argues that the primitive man as well as children do have scientific outlook also. Owing to theological state of their minds, their understanding is characterized by an unscientific outlook. The main subject matter of

the theological state is natural events. The unusual and unintelligible events of nature tend man towards theological or fictitious interpretation of events. Unable to discover the natural causes of various happenings, the primitive man attributed them to imaginary or divine force. The explanation of natural events in non-natural, divine or imaginary conditions is known as theological or fictitious state. The theological state implies belief in the other world wherein reside divine forces which control the events in this world. It is clear that theological state implies a belief in divine and extraterrestrial forces. Comte has classified the theological state further in three stages:

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- **Fetishism:** The first and primary stage in the theological state is that of *fetishism*. Fetishism is a belief that there is some living spirit in non-living objects. This is also known as *animism*. The concept of animism signifies that the inanimate objects are not dead but are possessed by living spirits. One can argue that in India, particularly rural and tribal areas, there is a widespread belief that some deities reside in tree, stones and mountains. Therefore, it has been seen that people engage in the worship of a particular tree, stone mountain.
- **Polytheism:** With the gradual development in human thinking, there occurred a change in the form of thinking. *Polytheism* is the next stage to fetishism. In this stage, man had classified god and every natural force had a presiding deity. Each god had some definite function and his scope and area of action was determined.
- **Monotheism:** The last and most developed form of theological state is seen manifested in *monotheism*. As the very term monotheism implies, at this level of human thinking a belief in one god had replaced the earlier belief in many gods. The monotheistic thinking symbolizes the victory of human intellect and reason over non-intellectual and irrational thinking. In monotheism, it is believed that one God is supreme and that he is responsible for the maintenance of order and system in the world.

Metaphysical or abstract state

The metaphysical or abstract thinking marks the second stage in the evolution of human mind. According to Comte, each successive stage is an improvement upon the earlier stage. With the gradual improvement in human mind, human problems also become more intricate. The theological state was not adequate to tackle these improvements efficiently. The appearance of conflicting and opposite forces in the world presented problems which could not be successfully tackled by monotheism. It was difficult to believe that the same god was responsible for prehistoric creation as well as destruction. A single god could not account for simultaneous creation and destruction. In order to resolve this intellectual query, metaphysical thinking was developed. Under metaphysical thinking, people believe that an abstract power or force guides and determines the events in the world. Metaphysical mind disregards belief in the presence of several gods.

Scientific or positive state

This state is the most advance and developed form of the human mind. All metaphysical knowledge is based upon speculation and is at best inferential knowledge. There are no direct means to confirm the findings of metaphysical knowledge; it is purely a matter of belief or temperament. The modern temperament of man is such that it cannot remain satisfied with mere guesswork; it craves for positive knowledge which can be scientifically confirmed. The positive and scientific knowledge is based upon facts, and these facts are gathered by observation and experience. The observation and classification of facts

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are the beginning of scientific knowledge. From these facts we generalize and draw conclusions. These conclusions, in turn, are subjected to verification. Once verified, these become established laws, which can be relied upon in gathering and classifying the facts. Scientific thinking is thoroughly rational and in it there is no place for any belief or superstition. According to Comte, the human mind before reaching the state of positivism, must have passed through the two earlier stages of theological and metaphysical states.

The three stages suggested by Comte have a strong idealistic basis. Yet he correlated every stage of evolution of the human mind with social organizations present in that period. The theological stage that corresponds roughly with the ancient age is dominated by the rule of the army and priests. In the metaphysical state, society was dominated by clergy and lawyers. This state roughly falls during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The modern era marks the beginning of the positive state and is generally ruled by industrialists and scientific moral guides. In the first state, the family takes centre stage, while in the second, the State rises to prominence. In the third state, however, the entire civilization has become an operative social unit.

3.6 SUMMARY

- Science refers to organized knowledge, but this knowledge and these facts are seldom conclusive. New experiences and additional information constantly alter the previous findings and replace them with generalizations that confirm the latest findings.
- The method which integrates the most important aspects of the deductive and inductive methods of research is recognized as *scientific method*. It is generally attributed to Charles Darwin.
- Although, in practice, scientific method involves a double movement of reasoning from induction to deduction, in its simplest form, it consists of working inductively from observations to hypotheses and then deductively from the hypotheses to the logical implications of the hypotheses in relation to what is already known.
- Scientific method differs from other methods of acquiring knowledge on the basis of generalizations from authority, tradition, experience, and syllogism. It also differs from the methods of chance, of trial-and-error, and of intuition. When using the scientific method, one engages himself in a thinking process called *reflective thinking*.
- Scientific theories serve as means and ends in the development of science. As means, they provide a framework which guides scientist in making observation and discovery. Theories summarize knowledge and put in order the knowledge within a given field. They also clarify and provide meaning to this summarized knowledge comprising of isolated empirical findings.
- The steps involved in a scientific process are as follows: purposeful observation, analysis-synthesis, selective recall, hypothesis, and verification by inference and experiment.
- Characteristics of a good research: interdisciplinary team approach, methodological process, objectivistic approach, economical approach and economic in nature.
- It is important for a study to be objective in nature, no matter which discipline it represents. Whether it is natural or social science's research, a study which is

Check Your Progress

7. Which of the two approaches to research is more elastic?
8. What is the main subject matter of a theological state?
9. What is the second stage of the evolution of human mind?
10. What is the other name for Comteian fetishism?

subjective in nature does not produce results which can be dependent upon. That is because being objective in social science means being able to check and examine the evidences which the study has produced.

- Value neutrality is the duty of sociologists to strive to be impartial and overcome their biases as they conduct their research.
- Qualitative methodology is familiar with the fact that the subjectivity of the researcher is a deep ingredient of his scientific research. Everything is guided by subjectivity, beginning from the choice of topic that one studies, to devising hypotheses, to selection of methodology and interpretation of data.
- Many qualitative researchers make subjectivity and objectivity counterbalance each other. It is believed that objectivity negates subjectivity. The reason for this is because it makes the observer an inert recipient of external information, with an agency.
- Objectivism puts subjectivity and objectivity together since it reasons that objective knowledge needs active, sophisticated and subjective processes like: perception, analytical reasoning, synthetic reasoning, logical deduction and the ability to differentiate essences from appearances. On the other hand, subjective processes can augment objective conception of the world.
- Quantitative and qualitative methods primarily differ in terms of their flexibility. In general, quantitative methods are quite rigid. Qualitative methods are characteristically more elastic; i.e., they stir more spontaneous responses and adapt to the interface between the researcher and the study participant.
- The primary debate in social research pertains to these approaches to social research: quantitative and qualitative methods. Both the approaches not only have different uses and benefits, but also have different underlying assumptions. The question as to which ideology trumps the other is a complex one and not just a simple dichotomous choice. It, ultimately depends on the researcher, the purpose of research and the research design as to which approach should be selected.
- According to Comte, sociology is a social, organic science. Sociology is a relatively new, evolving science dependent upon all the foregoing theories in science. However, it is quite clear that sociology is gradually moving towards the goal of a *definite* science.
- The positive and scientific knowledge is based upon facts, and these facts are gathered by observation and experience. The observation and classification of facts are the beginning of scientific knowledge. From these facts we generalize and draw conclusions. These conclusions, in turn, are subjected to verification. Once verified, these become established laws, which can be relied upon in gathering and classifying the facts.

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3.7 KEY TERMS

- **Scientific method:** It refers to the process of working inductively from observations to hypotheses and then deductively from the hypotheses to the logical implications of the hypotheses in relation to what is already known.
- **Deductive reasoning:** It is one where the researcher moves from the general to the specific part of the research.

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- **Objective study:** It refers to a study which is free from personal biases and beliefs of the researcher.
- **Value neutrality:** It is the duty of sociologists to strive to be impartial and overcome their biases as they conduct their research.
- **Positivism:** It is a sociological philosophy as per which positive means pursuing scientific methods of analysis and prognosis. The method of sociology includes observation as well as experimentation. Observation must be guided by a theory of social phenomena. Experimentation is controlled observation.

3.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The knowledge obtained from science is seldom conclusive because the new experiences and additional information constantly alter the previous findings and replace them with generalizations that confirm the latest findings.
2. Scientific method differs from other methods of acquiring knowledge on the basis of generalizations from authority, tradition, experience, and syllogism. It also differs from the methods of chance, of trial-and-error, and of intuition. When using the scientific method, one engages himself in a thinking process called *reflective thinking*.
3. The analysis-synthesis step in the scientific process includes the following points: the essential elements in a problematic situation must be selected by analysis, similarities as well as dissimilarities must be isolated and exceptions are to be given special attention.
4. Being objective in social science means being able to check and examine the evidences which the study has produced. An objective study is free from personal biases and beliefs of the researcher. Objective studies are not speculative in nature but are dominated by actual observations.
5. Biases can enter during the supply of information because many times information is collected by those who may carry their own prejudices. They may present information which is suited to their needs, thus keeping the wholesome information out of reach of the researcher.
6. Objectivism is the highest form of the subjects being studied as part of research methodology.
7. Qualitative methods are characteristically more elastic; i.e., they stir more spontaneous responses and adapt to the interface between the researcher and the study participant.
8. The main subject matter of the theological state is natural events. The unusual and unintelligible events of nature tend man towards theological or fictitious interpretation of events. Unable to discover the natural causes of various happenings, the primitive man attributed them to imaginary or divine force.
9. The metaphysical or abstract thinking marks the second stage in the evolution of human mind. According to Comte, each successive stage is an improvement upon the earlier stage. With the gradual improvement in human mind, human problems also become more intricate.

10. The first and primary stage in the theological state is that of fetishism. Fetishism is a belief that there is some living spirit in non-living objects. This is also known as animism.

3.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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Short-Answer Questions

1. What is scientific method? List and describe its various steps.
2. List the qualities of good research.
3. State the various ways by which subjectivity can be removed from research.
4. What is value neutrality?
5. How is sociology moving towards definite science?

Long-Answer Questions

1. What is science? Discuss the role of scientific theories in the development of science.
2. Critically analyse the debate on objectivity and subjectivity in the field of research.
3. Compare the quantitative and qualitative approach in research.
4. Explain Comte's theory of positivism in sociology.
5. Assess the law of three stages.

3.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 TYPES OF RESEARCH

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Basic, Applied and Empirical Research
 - 4.2.1 Empirical Research
- 4.3 Historical Research
- 4.4 Exploratory Research
- 4.5 Descriptive Research
- 4.6 Experimental Research
- 4.7 Summary
- 4.8 Key Terms
- 4.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.10 Questions and Exercises
- 4.11 Further Reading

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4.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall discuss the different types of research in detail. Research design is a detailed plan used by the researcher to understand the methods by which he can achieve the objectives set forth in the study. It involves:

- Selection of the type of research design
- Selecting appropriate data sources
- Selecting the sampling plan
- Determining the sample size
- Understanding the issues related to measurement and scale selection

There are varied types of research design available for the researcher to choose. Each one has different purpose and sample size apart from the techniques. Additionally, each type of research also has certain advantages and limitations. It depends on the researcher, the topic of research and the tools available which play a crucial role in determining the selection of type of research. The unit will provide you a basic understanding of basic, applied, conceptual and empirical research along with descriptive, exploratory and experimental type of research.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Identify the concept of basic and applied research
- Describe conceptual and empirical research
- Discuss the purpose, advantages and disadvantages of historical research
- Assess exploratory research
- Analyse descriptive and experimental research

4.2 BASIC, APPLIED AND EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

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Research can be either fundamental (basic or pure) or action-oriented (applied) research. Fundamental research focuses on finding generalizations and formulating theories. It is the research done for knowledge enhancement; the research which does not have immediate commercial potential; and the research which is done for human welfare, animal welfare and plant kingdom welfare. For example, research on the institution of marriage came into being is an example of basic or fundamental research. Here the main motivation is to expand man's knowledge and not to create or invent something. Basic research lays down the foundation for the applied research.

Applied research is designed to solve practical problem of the modern world, rather than to acquire knowledge for the sake of knowledge. Its goal is to improve the human condition. It focuses on analysis and solving social and real life problems. This research is usually conducted on large scale basis and is expensive. Thus, it is often conducted with the support of some financing agency like government, public corporation, World Bank, UNICEF, UGC, etc. Examples of applied research topics include persuasion, eyewitness memory, clinical treatments of psychological disorders, behavioral interventions for children with autism, decision making, etc.

4.2.1 Empirical Research

Conceptual research is that which is related to some abstract idea(s) or theory. It is generally used by philosophers and thinkers to develop new concepts or to reinterpret existing ones. In a conceptual research, a concept is chosen for examination, and the research involves quantifying and tallying its presence. 'Scoping of Vulnerability Definitions of Polio' —the research done by the United Nations University Institute for Environment and Human Security (UNU-EHS) is an example of conceptual research. As part of the Global Pulse initiative's design and development phase, the UNU-EHS conducted a series of research to help the project gain a better understanding of how different communities of practice use the term 'vulnerability'. As part of the research, UNU-EHS analysed 76 definitions of vulnerability used by UN agencies, NGOs, scientific organizations and academia. In addition, the Institute's researchers scanned through 68 reports to draw out key lessons for the development of vulnerability indicator sets.

The development of psychoanalysis as a science and clinical practice is another example of conceptual research. Research has clarified, formulated and reformulated psychoanalytic concepts permitting to better shape the findings emerging in the clinical setting. By enhancing clarity and explicitness in concept usage it has facilitated the integration of existing psychoanalytic thinking as well as the development of new ways of looking at clinical and extra-clinical data.

Empirical research, on the other hand, relies only on real experiences and observations. It is data-based research and its conclusions can be verified by observations or experiments. It is also called experimental type of research. In empirical research, all facts are obtained at first hand, at their source, and at times by stimulating the production of desired information. To prove a given hypothesis, the evidence gathered through empirical studies and experiments is considered to be the most powerful and accurate. Research design varies by field and by the question being investigated. Many researchers combine qualitative and quantitative forms of analysis to better answer questions which cannot be studied in laboratory settings, particularly in the social sciences and in education.

In some fields, empirical research may begin with a research question. For example: ‘Does listening to vocal music during the learning of a word list have an effect on later memory for these words?’ This question is tested through experimentation in a lab. Usually, a researcher has a certain theory regarding the topic under investigation. Based on this theory, some statements or hypotheses are proposed, for example, ‘listening to vocal music has a negative effect on learning a word list’. From these hypotheses, predictions about specific events are derived, for example, ‘people who study a word list while listening to vocal music will remember fewer words on a later memory test than people who study a word list in silence’. These predictions are then tested with a suitable experiment. Depending on the outcomes of the experiment, the theory on which the hypotheses and predictions were based will be supported or not.

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4.3 HISTORICAL RESEARCH

History is a meaningful record of past events. It is a valid integrated account of social, cultural, economic and political forces that had operated simultaneously to produce historical events. It is not simply a chronological listing of events but an integrated assessment of the relationship between people, events, times and places. It is used to understand the present on the basis of what we know about past events and developments.

Historical research attempts to establish facts so as to arrive at a conclusion concerning past events. It is a process by which a researcher is able to come to a conclusion as to the likely truth of an event in the past by studying objects available for observation in the present. Historical research is a dynamic account of the past, which seeks to interpret past events in order to identify the nuances, personalities and ideas that have had an influence on these events.

According to Kerlinger: ‘Historical research is the critical investigation of events, developments, and experience of the past, the careful weighing of the evidence of the validity of sources of information of the past, and the interpretation of the weighed evidence.’

According to Gay (1981): ‘Historical research is the systematic collection and objective evaluation of data related to past occurrences in order to test hypotheses concerning causes, effects, or trends of those events which may help to explain present events and anticipate future events.’

Therefore, it can be concluded that true historical research is a process of reconstructing the past through systematically and objectively collecting, evaluating, verifying and synthesizing evidence relating to the past events to establish facts and defensible conclusions, often in relation to particular hypotheses (if appropriate), to arrive at a scholarly account of what happened in the past.

Nature and Value of Historical Research

The main aim of historical research is to obtain an exact account of the past to gain a clearer view of the present. Historical research tries to create facts to arrive at conclusions concerning past events. It is usually accompanied by an interpretation of these events at the end of their relevance to present circumstances and what might happen in the future. This knowledge enables us, at least partially, to predict and control our future existence.

- Historical research as many other types of research, includes the delimitation of a problem, formulating hypothesis or tentative generalization, gathering and

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analysing data, and arriving at conclusions or generalizations, based upon deductive-inductive reasoning. However, the historian faces greater difficulties than researchers in any field.

- The job of the historian becomes more complicated when he derives truth from historical evidence. The major difficulty lies in the fact that the data on which historical facts are based cannot be substantiated and is relatively inadequate.
- It may be difficult to determine the date of occurrence of a certain historical event partly because of changes brought in the system of calendar and partly due to incomplete information. The historian lacks control over both treatment and measurement of data.

The historical method has taken two principal forms. In the first form, the method concentrates upon the issues of origin, development and transformation of social institutions, societies and civilizations. In the other form, the historical changes of social structure and types of society are investigated and compared i.e., both causal explanation and historical interpretation takes place. In sociological research, the comparative (or cross-cultural) method is based on the assumption that a society (or a social system) cannot be fully understood without comparing it with other societies or systems.

Types of Historical Research

The various types of historical research are:

- **Legal research:** It is of immense value and interest to educational administrators. It seeks to study the legal basis of social institutions run by different religions and castes, central and state schools, school finance, etc. But this type of research need special training in the field of law. Anybody without this training is not competent to do this type of research.
- **Biographic research:** It aims at determining and presenting truthfully the important facts about the life, character and achievements of famous and important figures in history.
- **Studying the history of ideas:** This involves the tracing of major philosophical or scientific thoughts from their origins through their different stages of development. It aims at tracing changes in popular thought and attitudes over a given period of time.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Historical Research

The advantages of historical research are:

- The researcher is not physically involved in the situation under study.
- No danger of experimenter-subject interaction.
- Documents are located by the researcher, data is gathered, and conclusions are drawn out of sight.
- Historical method is much more synthetic and eclectic in its approach than other research methods, using concepts and conclusions from many other disciplines to explore the historical record and to test the conclusions arrived at by other methodologies.
- Perhaps more than any other research method, historical research provides librarians with a context. It helps to establish the context in which librarians carry

out their work. Understanding the context can enable them to fulfil their functions in society.

- It provides evidence of ongoing trends and problems.
- It provides a comprehensive picture of historical trends.
- It uses existing information.

Historical research suffers from several limitations, some are natural due to the very nature of the subject and others extraneous to it and concerning the capabilities of the researcher.

- Good historical research is a slow, painstaking and exacting process. An average researcher finds it difficult to cope with these requirements.
- Historical research requires high level of knowledge, language skills and art of writing on the part of the researcher.
- Historical research requires a great commitment to methodological scholarly activity.
- Sources of data in historical researches are not available for the direct use of the researcher and historical evidence is, by and large, incomplete.
- Interpretation of data is very complex.
- It is difficult to predict the future, through historical research.
- Scientific method cannot be applied to historical evidence.
- Modern electronic aids (like computers) have not contributed much towards historical research.
- It is not possible to construct 'historical laws' and 'historical theories'.
- Man is more concerned with the present and future and there is a tendency to ignore the past and the importance of historical research.
- It is time-consuming.
- Resources in historical research are scarce.
- Data in historical research can be contradictory.
- The historical research may not be conclusive.
- Gaps in data cannot be filled as there are no additional sources of information available in historical research.

A historian can generalize but not predict or anticipate, can take precautions but not control; can talk of possibilities but not probabilities.

Process of Historical Research

Historical research includes the delimitation of a problem, formulating hypothesis or tentative generalizations, gathering and analysing data, and arriving at conclusions or generalizations based upon deductive-inductive reasoning. However, according to Ary, *et al.*, (1972) the historian lacks control over both treatment and measurement of data. The historian has relatively little control over sampling and he has no opportunity for replication. As historical data is the closed class of data located along a fixed temporal locus, the historian has no choice of sampling his data. He is supposed to include every type of data that comes his way. Historical research is not based upon experimentation, but upon reports of observation, which cannot be authenticated. The historian handles

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data which are mainly traces of past events in the form of various types of documents, relics, records and artefacts, which have a direct or indirect impact on the event under study.

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In deriving the truth from historical evidence, the major difficulty lies in the fact that the data on which historical research is based are relatively inadequate. It may be difficult to determine the data of occurrence of a certain historical event partly because of changes brought out in the system of calendar and partly due to incomplete information. Historical research attempts to establish facts to arrive at a conclusion concerning the past events.

Steps in Historical Research

The steps involved in undertaking a historical research are not different from other forms of research. But the nature of the subject matter presents a researcher with some peculiar standards and techniques. In general, historical research involves the following steps:

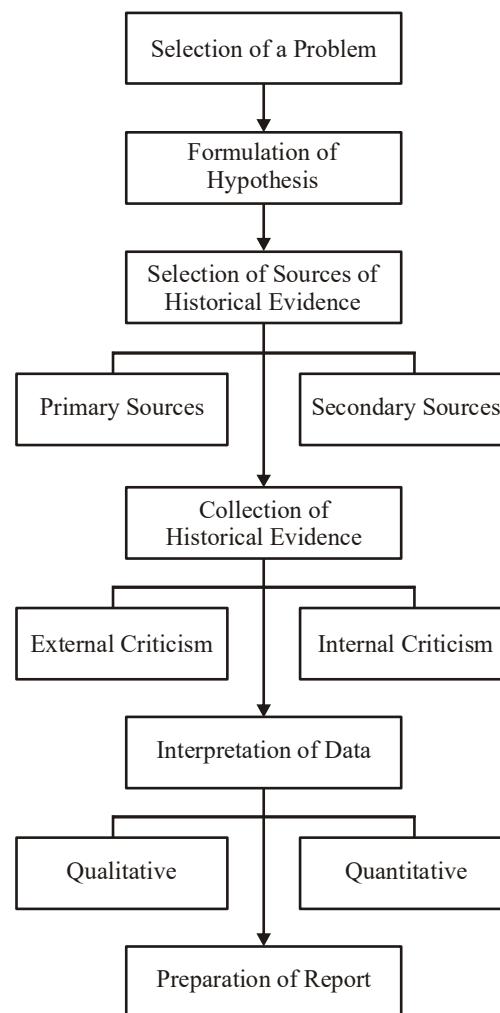


Fig. 4.1 Steps in Historical Research

Step1: The first step is to make sure the subject falls in the area of the history of society. One topic could be the study of the various social systems and how they have changed with the passing of time. The researcher may be interested in a historical investigation of

those aspects of society that have not been touched upon by any studies yet. Moreover, the researcher may be interested in re-examining the validity of current interpretations of certain historical problems which have already been studied.

Step 2: This necessitates that a thought is given to the various aspects of the problem and various dimensions of the problem are identified. Hypothesis also needs to be formulated. The hypothesis in historical research may not be able to be tested, they are written as explicit statements that tentatively explain the occurrence of events and conditions. While formulating a hypothesis, a researcher may formulate questions that are most appropriate for the past events he is investigating. Research is then directed towards seeking answers to these questions with the help of the evidence.

Step 3: Collection of historical evidence involves following two sub-steps:

- (i) Selection of sources of historical evidence
- (ii) Cutting out the historical evidence from them

Historical evidence is hidden broadly in two types of historical sources and is useful to the researcher in many respects. The primary sources, however, are closest to the researcher's heart and kept at the highest pedestal.

Step 4: Historical evidence collected must be truthful; hence for establishing the validity of these sources, the dual processes of external and internal criticism are used. External criticism is undertaken to establish the authenticity of the documents of source, correctness of author or builder, data or period to which it belongs, etc. Internal criticism is done to judge the correctness of the contents of sources.

Step 5: Though statistical testing of hypothesis is not possible, the relationship among various facts still needs to be established, and synthesis and integration of the facts in terms of generalization needs to be done.

Three strategies are used:

- (i) **Generic Analysis:** Identifies the essential meanings of a concept and isolates those elements that distinguished the concept from other words.
- (ii) **Differential Analysis:** Is used when a concept means to have more than one standard meaning and the basis for differentiating between meanings is unclear.
- (iii) **Conditions Analysis:** Involves identification of the context condition in which it can be safely said that the concept was present. Such conditions are rejected, revised and new conditions added.

In this type of investigation, the researcher must be very cautious while dealing with the 'cause and effect' relationship.

Step 6: The final stage of the study is the preparation of a systematic and comprehensive report. It is not just the data which is of significance in such a study. Of prime relevance are the ideas and insights of the researcher, particularly his assessment of the interaction between the data and the ideas that are used to explain the data.

Sources of Data in Historical Research

In this section, we discuss the three sources of data in historical research: (i) Primary sources, (ii) Secondary sources, and (iii) Tertiary sources.

- (i) **Primary Sources:** Primary sources are eye witness accounts and are the only firm basis of historical enquiry. Good, Barr and Scates (1941) have called them the 'first witness to a fact'.

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Direct observation, and reporting or recording of the same, comprise primary sources of data. These provide first-hand information about events that have occurred in the past. Some of the main types of primary sources are:

- Verbal narratives written by the participants or observers. These may take various forms, such as official minutes or records, biographies, letters, contracts, deeds, wills, certificates, magazines or newspaper accounts, maps, pictures, books, etc.
- Personal primary sources which are typically a person's observation of events in which he has participated.
- Physical artefacts like museum collections, artefacts in historical spots such as remains or relics, as well as various other types of institutions.
- Mechanical artefacts represent information that is observed through the medium of non-natural items like photographs, films, and audio cassettes.

(ii) Secondary Sources: Secondary sources of data basically refer to information that is obtained second-hand. For instance, the person from whom information is obtained neither participated nor witnessed the events. Some types of secondary sources are magazine and newspaper articles, interviews referred to in the articles, research papers, research reports, documentaries, etc.

While carrying out historical studies, primary sources of data have highest credibility when they are used to authenticate presented facts. However, second-hand information that is available, should also be considered in order to develop a more holistic view.

Advantages of Secondary Sources

- (a) They may acquaint a researcher with major theoretical issues in his field and to the work that has been done in the area of study.
- (b) They may suggest possible solutions of the problem and working hypotheses and may introduce the researcher to important primary sources.

Some type of data may be primary sources for some purposes and secondary sources for another. For example, a high school textbook in Indian history will be ordinarily classified as secondary source, but the book would be a primary source of data if one were making a study of the changing emphasis on national integration in high school history textbooks.

(iii) Tertiary Sources: These sources include bibliographies, catalogues and indexes that guide a researcher to primary and secondary sources.

Evaluation of Data

The main feature of historical research is the evaluation of historical data. The backbone of historiography is the authenticity of data collected through different sources. Even when the data are collected through different sources, doubts can be raised about their validity, reliability and relevance. The process of judging validity, reliability and relevance of data is carried out through two devices viz., (a) External criticism and (b) Internal criticism.

(a) External Criticism

External criticism is also known as lower criticism. It involves testing the sources of data for integrity, i.e., every researcher must test the information received to ensure that any source of data is in fact what it seems to be. External criticism helps to determine whether it is what appears or claims to be and whether it reads true to the original so as to save the researcher from being the victim of fraud. On the whole, the general criteria followed for such criticism depends on:

- A good chronological sense, a versatile intellect, common sense, an intelligent understanding of human behaviour, and plenty of patience and persistence on the part of the researcher.
- Recent validation of the quality of the source.
- A good track record of the source.

This information may be found in relevant literature. Thereafter, these literary sources can be verified for genuineness of content by verifying signatures, handwriting, writing styles, language, etc. Further, material sources of information can be verified through physical and chemical tests on the ink, paint, paper, cloth, metal, wood, etc.

(b) Internal Criticism

After the integrity of the data sources are established, the actual data content is subject to verification—this process is known as the internal criticism of the data. It is also called higher criticism which is concerned with the validity, truthfulness, or worth of the content of document.

At the outset, the information obtained through a particular source is examined for internal consistency. The higher the internal consistency, the greater the accuracy. The researcher should establish the literal as well as the real meaning of the content within its historical context.

This is followed by an evaluation of the external consistency of the data. This is important because, although the authorship of a report is established, the report may comprise distorted pictures of the past. For verifying that the content is accurate, the researcher should firstly compare the information received through two independent sources, and secondly match new information obtained with the information already on hand which has been tested for reliability. Fox (1969) suggested three major principles that need to be followed in order to establish external consistency of the data: (i) Data from two independent sources to be matched for consistency, (ii) Data must have been obtained from at least one independent primary source, and (iii) Data should not be gathered from a source that has a track record of providing contradictory information. It is recommended that the researcher apply his professional knowledge and judgment to make a final evaluation in case it is not possible to find matching information from two comparable sources.

The following series of questions have been listed by Good, Barr and Scates (1941) to guide a researcher in the process of external and internal criticism of historical data:

- Who was the author, not merely what his name was but what his personality, character and position were like, etc.?
- What were his general qualifications as a reporter—alertness, character and bias?

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- What were his special qualifications as a reporter of the matters here treated?
- How was he interested in the events related?
- Under what circumstances was he observing the events?
- Had he the necessary general and technical knowledge for learning and reporting the events?
- How soon after the events was the document written?
- How was the document written, from memory, after consultation with others, after checking the facts, or by combining earlier trial drafts?
- How is the document related to other documents?
- Is the document an original source—wholly or in part? If the latter, what parts are original, what borrowed? How credible are the borrowed materials? How accurately is the borrowing done? How is the borrowed material changed and used?

Perpetually, the researcher needs answers for all these questions and, therefore, he has to depend, somewhat, upon evidence he can no longer verify. At times, he will have to rely on the inferences based upon logical deductions in order to bridge the gaps in the information.

Purpose of Historical Research

Historical research is carried out to serve the following purposes:

- **To discover the context of an organizational situation:** In order to explore and explain the past, a historian aims to seek the context of an organization/a movement/ the situation being studied.
- **To answer questions about the past:** There are many questions about the past to which we would like to find answers. Knowing the answers can enable us to develop an understanding of past events.
- **To study the relationship of cause and effect:** There is a cause and effect relationship between two events. A historian would like to determine such a relationship.
- **To study the relationship between the past and the present:** The past can often help us get a better perspective about current events. Thus, a researcher aims to identify the relationship between the past and the present, whereby we can get a clear perspective of the present.
- **To reorganize the past:** A historian reconstructs the past systematically and objectively, reaching conclusions that can be defended.
- **To discover unknown events:** There are some historical events that could have occurred in the past that are not known. A historian seeks to discover these unknown events.
- **To understand significance of events:** There may be significant events that could have been responsible for shaping the organization/movement/situation/ individual being studied by a historian.
- **To record and evaluate the accomplishments of individuals, institutions and other kinds of organizations:** Historians are greatly interested in recording and evaluating the accomplishments of leading individuals and different kinds of organizations including institutions and agencies as these influence historical events.

- **To provide understanding of the immediate phenomenon of concern:** A researcher may be investigating a phenomenon. Historical perspective can enable him to get a good understanding of the immediate phenomenon of concern.

Problems in Historical Research

The problems encountered in historical research are:

- **Amount of data:** Often, it is difficult to decide as to how much data is sufficient to reach meaningful conclusions.
- **Selection of data:** A historian must avoid improper or faulty selection of data which may be the result of relying too heavily on some data, ignoring other data, etc. This can result in a bias in the study.
- **Evaluation of historical data and their sources:** Inadequate evaluation of data and their sources can lead to misleading results.
- **Synthesis of data into a narrative account:** Due to the very nature of historical research, it becomes most fruitful, if a researcher is able to successfully synthesize or integrate the facts into meaningful generalizations. Thus, a failure on the part of a researcher to interpret data adequately is considered a serious setback.

There are four problems at the stage of synthesis and in report preparation as given below:

- (i) The ability to establish causation from interrelated events is the first problem. It is incorrect to infer that one event caused the other just because they occurred simultaneously.
- (ii) The second problem is to accurately define the keywords and terms such that ambiguity is avoided and the correct connotation is established.
- (iii) Distinguishing between evidence indicating how people should behave vs. how they did behave is the third problem.
- (iv) The fourth problem involves distinguishing between the intent and the outcome. This means that educational historians ensure that the consequences of some activity or policy were actually the intended consequences.

Historical synthesis and interpretation are considered an art, which is subjective in nature. This raises a serious problem of subjectivity. 'Historical synthesis is necessarily a highly subjective art. It involves the intuitive perception of patterns and relationships in the complex web of events, as well as the art of narrative writing. Explanations and judgments may be called for, that will involve the historian's own personality, experience, assumptions, and moral values. Inevitably there are personal differences among historians in this respect, and prolonged academic disputes among historians of different schools or nationalities have arisen over practically every event. The initial reduction of complex events of the recent past to comprehensible pattern is particularly difficult and subjective...'. Since the very process of writing a narrative is a human one, therefore, total objectivity is almost impossible. As a consequence, bias and distorting of facts to fit preconceived notions or ideas are not unusual. It may also be kept in mind that historical conclusions are conditioned by place, time and the author. In order to overcome some of these inherent weaknesses, the writer must clearly indicate the underlying assumptions in his approach. In case he belongs to a particular school of thought, the same must be stated clearly.

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Check Your Progress

1. What is another name for empirical research?
2. State the aim of historical research.
3. What is conditions analysis?
4. Give some examples of tertiary sources of data in historical research.

4.4 EXPLORATORY RESEARCH

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Exploratory research is essentially a method of collecting data either by using available secondary sources, or by using primary data that has been collected by unstructured method. Exploratory research is generally carried out to know more about the problem, particularly if the available information is insufficient to proceed further. It is primarily qualitative in nature, and the purpose of the entire research design is to get more elaborate information. Therefore, methods such as focus groups, depth interviews, experience interviews, and projective techniques are used to gather data. These methods typically entail obtaining detailed information about relevant aspects of the problem in hand from a small number of respondents. Since the number of respondents is less, and the data is loosely structured, its reliability cannot be tested. However, rich information is obtained by probing.

The primary disadvantage of the exploratory design is that the sample size is small. Therefore, the results of the research cannot be generalized for the entire population. A further research (usually of a descriptive nature) will have to be undertaken to reach conclusive results.

Usually, exploratory design is used when additional information is needed to define the problem more clearly. It is also used when the researcher wants to gather attitudinal or perceptual data regarding the respondents.

As stated earlier, exploratory research involves the use of qualitative-research methods. While quantitative research methods involve the use of structured research procedures by selecting an appropriate sample, size that is representative to the population under study, qualitative research primarily uses a loosely structured research technique. The basic purpose of the qualitative research is to enhance the existing knowledge of the marketer regarding the problem at hand. When secondary data is not adequate to clearly formulate the problem, or state the objectives of the research, an exploratory research becomes necessary before proceeding further.

Data is obtained by probing the respondent. Depth interviews and focus groups are typical methods of obtaining information in qualitative research. The information obtained through these methods is difficult to assimilate. This is because the information is obtained by probing, or by asking open-ended questions. Therefore, codification of the responses is difficult. The interpretation of data obtained from this form of research requires experts.

Advantages

- Qualitative researches use smaller samples. Therefore, they can be completed at a lesser cost and on time.
- The information obtained from this type of research method is rich and extremely useful in understanding the problem better. In-depth information can be collected from respondents.
- Most of the information obtained through qualitative research gives insights about consumers to the researcher. Additionally, since the researcher does not go with any preset structured format of presenting questions to the respondent, he comes across information that he might not have anticipated, but is useful for the problem in hand. This is absent in case of a highly structured, quantitative research study.

- Methods like observation allow the researcher to see and understand the actual behaviour of consumers. Researchers can, for instance, observe consumers in situations such as in a retail store.

Disadvantages

- Qualitative research suffers from some drawbacks such as the inability of the researcher to draw conclusions based on the data obtained. This is because of the limitation of the sample size, and the nature of the research, as it is unstructured. Unstructured research makes it extremely difficult to classify the data obtained from respondents, as the information does not have a common structured format, which can be used for classification.
- It is also more expensive to conduct qualitative research on a larger scale as compared to quantitative research.
- Since statistical tools cannot be used in interpreting data, it becomes difficult to understand the extent of differences among respondents. In quantitative research, the magnitude of differences can be gauged.
- It is also difficult to find researchers who are experts in conducting qualitative research studies, and have the ability to accurately interpret the information obtained.

Experience Surveys

An experience survey involves the use of experts to obtain information about a problem at hand. The researcher based on his judgement identifies the experts. The expert is selected based on his ability to guide the researcher in the right direction by providing appropriate information pertaining to an industry, product, market or customer segment.

Projective Techniques

As the name indicates, the respondent is asked to project his thought process about a particular object in a certain manner indicated by the researcher. The technique finds its underpinnings in psychology. These techniques are, for instance, particularly useful in the area of motivational research. Some of the projective techniques are:

- **Word association test:** This test involves the use of words to elicit appropriate responses from the respondents. The respondent reads a word, and writes the first word that comes to his mind. That word is presumed to be most strongly associated with the given word stimulus for the respondent. Thus, the researcher can use the word association test for designing advertising.
- **Sentence completion test:** Respondents are asked to complete incomplete sentences about the desired object. The test is often used to understand customers' choice criteria, and brand image.
- **Picture tests:** Respondents are given pictures and asked to write a story based on the given picture. These stories are used to understand customer perceptions, attitudes or preferences.

Depth Interview

A depth interview involves the researcher to conduct a detailed interview with a selected respondent. The method extensively employs the use of probing to elicit responses. The information is obtained by using a unstructured questionnaire, that has a detailed outline

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of all the information that is required by the researcher from the respondent. However, the questionnaire allows for probing for seeking clarifications from the respondent. The basic purpose of the depth interview is to collect detailed information. The objective of using this method is to make the respondent talk as much about the object as possible, so that his implicit feelings, attitudes, perceptions or motivations are revealed. These are not possible with a structured questionnaire. The interviewer constantly asks the respondent questions such as 'why,' 'how,' 'why not the other option,' etc.

The interviewer will be able to achieve the desired results only if he is skilled in interviewing. He must put the respondent at ease, and establish a connection with him in the beginning. This helps the respondent to open up, thus, lending more information to the interviewer. The interviewer should also be very clear about the required information. Therefore, if the respondent moves away from the main object of discussion, the interviewer has to bring him back to the track. Therefore, the interviewer should be a very good listener.

The main advantage of the depth interview is that the information obtained is unparalleled in terms of its detail. In addition, the method is extremely flexible.

The biggest disadvantage of the method is the cost involved. In addition, the method is heavily dependent on the skill level of the interviewer. Thirdly, the information obtained cannot be generalized.

Focus Group

A focus group is formal gathering of respondents in groups of about eight to twelve members each. Each group discusses certain issues posed to them by a group moderator. The moderator has an unstructured questionnaire that details the information to be elicited from the participants. Each group discussion can last for an hour to about three hours depending on the amount of information solicited and the extent of participation of the respondents.

The advantages of the focus group are:

- The focus group solicits in-depth information. It resembles the depth interview in this sense. This is also the main advantage of the focus group. In addition, there can be opinions and counter-opinions that form the outcome of the discussion. Interesting and fruitful revelations can come up during the course of the focus groups.
- The focus group can be used to gain clearer understanding about the problems that require decision-making.
- It also enables the marketer to generate new ideas for advertising, new products, or for improving existing products.
- The marketer uses this method to elicit comparisons between his product and those of his competitors', and understand customer perceptions about his offerings.
- Hidden motivations, perceptions, or attitudes can be brought forth using this method. This, however, requires the use of a skilled focus group moderator.
- He can also understand emerging consumer trends among the target customers, or understand how consumer preferences are changing.

Participants for the focus group should be selected very carefully. They should be representative of the population. For every sub-group (age, gender, income), separate focus groups should be conducted. The participants should be encouraged to voice their

opinions. The role of the moderator is most important in the discussion, as no individual should be allowed to dominate the proceedings, and if any individual is very silent, he should be encouraged to talk. The focus group can be conducted in a central hotel, or a convention centre. The participants can be rewarded for their participation at the end of the session.

The data thus, gathered suffers from the same limitations as the other qualitative data. It cannot be generalized, and is difficult to interpret. However, focus groups can be recorded and observed. This should be done with the consent of the participants. It allows the researcher to not only record the information, but also allows him to observe the nonverbal communication of the participants. The transcripts of the focus groups are thereafter, documented verbatim first, and then results are drawn from it. As in the case of other qualitative researches, an expert must do the data interpretation.

4.5 DESCRIPTIVE RESEARCH

A descriptive research design involves the use of quantitative studies and use of statistical tools to understand the target customers of a company. Usually, this type of research design involves a survey based framework. The purpose of this research design is to reach conclusions about the existing preferences of the target customer, or understand their reactions to changes such as introduction of new products, changes in product features, pricing or communication. Since the sample size of respondents is large the results thus, obtained can be generalized for the population. Managers can draw inferences from the study, and can use the results to formulate marketing strategies. However, descriptive does not establish a cause-effect relationship between variables. It only informs the manager the extent to which one variable can influence the other, as the effect of other variables in the environment has not been controlled. For instance, the manager can find out the extent to which price influence sales, however, he cannot determine if price change is the cause of changes in sales. Generally, descriptive research are used to understand consumer attitudes, perceptions, buying intentions, comparisons among competing brands, choice criteria, and evaluations of any other element of the marketing mix.

One of the most important aspects of any research is time. Some studies are done at a particular point in time. Such a research is referred to as a cross-sectional study. It is called so because the researcher is only attempting to study a slice, or cross-section of a particular phenomenon. Longitudinal study is when a researcher studies a problem over a period of time.

One of the biggest disadvantages of cross-sectional study is that since it involves the completion of the research by the respondents only once at a particular time, it is prone to systematic error (that arises from the data from a single source). This can be eliminated by using longitudinal research design. Cross-sectional designs are also limited in their ability to result in causal inferences. In general, when the theoretical constructs are well developed, when the scales used are heterogeneous, relationship between constructs are strong, the likelihood of intervening events are high, and likelihood of alternative explanations are low, the cross-sectional design should be the preferred method.

Causal Research Design/Experimental Research Design

The main purpose of the causal research is to establish a cause-effect relationship among variables. This type of research design is extremely useful for marketers when they want to establish the exact cause outcomes. For instance, if the marketer wants to

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Check Your Progress

5. Mention some of the methods used to gather data in exploratory research.
6. When is exploratory design used?
7. What does an experience survey involve?

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understand the exact impact of the increase in prices by 10 per cent on sales of a particular product, he can use experimental research. However, the causal research is extremely difficult and expensive to conduct. There are several variables in the environment that cannot be controlled. In order to conduct an accurate causal research, it is extremely important that all variables other than the ones under study be kept constant, so that the marketer can understand exactly how much one variable influences the other. In real market circumstances, this is not possible. Even if it were made possible under artificial laboratory conditions, the results would not be accurate. Therefore, causal designs are used rarely in marketing research.

A descriptive research design uses the survey based research technique to arrive at conclusions that can enable marketers to take appropriate decisions. This type of research design is best suited for evaluating marketing decisions, particularly in ascertaining customer perceptions and acceptance. The results of the research can be generalized for the population as a large sample size is chosen for doing the research. The sample chosen is representative of the population.

The qualitative (exploratory) and quantitative (descriptive) research designs are not mutually exclusive. In fact, many a times, the exploratory research precedes the descriptive research. The descriptive research is used after the nature of the problem has been well understood, or more information has been collected, so that the research objectives can be clearly formulated. Thereafter, the descriptive research begins, as for a descriptive research design, clear problem or objective formulation is absolutely necessary.

Advantages

One of the biggest advantages of the survey design is the use of the large sample, and the ability of the manager to draw results from the study. A quantitative research can also be generalized for the population, unlike the qualitative research, out of which conclusions cannot be drawn. Another important advantage is the low cost of conducting the research as compared to qualitative research.

It is also easy to carry out the survey, as the survey instrument (usually a questionnaire) is structured. Therefore, the data obtained is standardized, and there is no need for an expert to interpret even the raw data. Respondents also find it easier to answer questions that are well formed and structured.

Rich analysis of the data is extremely important for the marketer. He can analyse data across various socio- economic variables, and use sophisticated statistical package to draw conclusions.

Disadvantages

A very important problem with survey research is the sampling and non-sampling errors that arise in the survey process. Unless the sampling plan is accurate, and the sample is sufficiently representative, the results drawn from the research would be completely erroneous and misleading. The survey instrument should be reliable and validated to ensure accuracy of data collected.

Survey researches also involves highly structured questionnaires, thus, eliminating the possibility of probing the respondent. Therefore, deep insights into the customer's behaviour cannot be obtained. Most of the times, even the questions are close-ended to facilitate codification and analysis of data. This, however, restricts the responses of the respondent.

All survey methods rely on the veracity of the respondent. In case the respondent is not telling the truth, there is not much that the surveyor can do about it. Also, most surveys rely on the memory of the respondent. Therefore, surveys should not solicit information that happened long back.

Mall-Intercept Survey

Due to the amount of money and time that needs to be spent for a survey method, a mall intercept survey is becoming more acceptable method. In this, an interviewer stands in a shopping mall, and conducts face- to- face interviews with suitable respondents who visit the mall.

The method is definitely less expensive than the self- administered survey, as the respondents are captive at a single physical location. It is thus, convenient for the interviewer as well. It also enables the administration of the questionnaire at the point of purchase, and may elicit better responses from the respondents.

However, the biggest disadvantage is that the customers who visit the mall may not be the best or the only respondents representative of the population. Also, they may be very inclined to answer questions while they are in the mall.

Telephone Survey

The telephone is a cost-effective method of conducting surveys. This is the primary advantage of the phone-based survey. It is also faster, and a large number of respondents can be reached using the phone in a relatively shorter time at low cost. It is also possible to monitor the calls made by the interviewers. The researcher can call back in case of unavailability of the respondent. This process is also cheaper and faster than a face- to- face survey. In case respondents are scattered in far flung areas with access to phone facilities, this may be the best survey method available. Also, the phone surveys are most suitable for those questions where respondents may not want to disclose their identity.

However, the primary disadvantage of the phone survey is that a lengthy survey is not possible over the phone. The respondent may disconnect the phone. Also, it is not possible to use show cards, or pictures while conducting the survey. Even if there are many options in a question, the respondent may be forced to recollect all of them. Therefore, only short questions and instruments can be suitably used in a phone-based survey. Telemarketing may also be considered to be a source of intense displeasure by many respondents.

If the phone-based survey is used, first the respondents need to be selected by using a telephone directory. The selection of the respondents should be random. Usually a random selection of the telephone numbers of respondents can be done by using an appropriate software.

Self-Administered Survey

In a self-administered survey, the respondent reads the questions himself, and answers the survey instrument. The advantage for the interviewer is that he has to spend less time with the respondents. Also, the interviewer's bias gets reduced if the respondent fills up the instrument himself. However, the disadvantage of this aspect is that the interviewer does not have the opportunity to clarify any doubts that the respondent might have while filling up the survey instrument.

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Direct-Mail Survey

One of the methods of a self-administered survey is the direct-mail survey. In this, the questionnaires are mailed to the respondent. The respondent upon receiving the survey instrument fills it up and sends it back to the researcher. Direct mail is the best method of research in case a strong database of relevant respondents and their addresses are available.

The main problem with the direct-mail survey is that the response rate is very low. A response rate of around 2 per cent is considered to very good in case of a direct-mail survey. The main reason for the low response rate is the respondent's inertia to fill in the questionnaire. However, researchers have tried to overcome this drawback by offering an incentive to the respondent, for instance, in the form of a discount coupon. Also, they can be sent a self-addressed envelope in which the respondent can send back the completed questionnaire. This measure can increase the response rate to some extent.

Survey Methods

Online Survey: An online survey is the latest method of conducting research. The online survey uses the Internet as the medium for receiving responses to the survey instrument. The Internet based survey can be done at low cost and is less time consuming to undertake the survey. The basic problem with the online survey is that it is not possible to find out whether the person taking the survey is a correct respondent. But this problem can be overcome by sending the questionnaires to identified respondents.

While selecting the appropriate survey-research method, the researcher must consider several factors such as the availability of time and money. The difficulty of the questionnaire is an important consideration to find out if a self-administered survey or a telephonic survey would work, or a person administered survey will have to be undertaken. The length of the questionnaire is also an important determinant of the same decision.

Person-Administered Surveys: In the person-administered survey, the survey instrument or the questionnaire is administered by field interviewers who received training about the procedure. The interviewers are trained to identify the right respondent, elicit his interest in answering the questionnaire, filling up the data properly and to avoid any interviewer biases.

4.6 EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH

Experimentation is the method wherein the cause-effect relationship is examined between variables. Descriptive research does not involve the establishment of cause and effect. It involves the understanding of the impact of the independent variable on the dependent variable. Experimental designs also use independent and dependent variables. However, the independent variable is used to directly measure the impact of its variation on the outcome of the dependent variable. The difference between the experimental research design and the descriptive research design is that in experimental research design, only the independent variable is varied, while all other variables that can cause variations are kept constant. Thus, the marketer can exactly judge the cause-effect relationship. Whereas in descriptive research, the independent variable only impacts the dependent variable, though the researcher knows that other variables in the environment can also cause variations in the dependent variable.

The researcher has to keep other variables constant in order to understand the causal relationship. The variables that are kept constant are called control variables. The researcher tries his best to keep the other variables constant in the environment. Some variables cannot be controlled by the researcher. These include any variations in external, uncontrollable factors. These factors are called extraneous variables.

Test marketing is a typical example of an experimental design. Test marketing involves the launch of the new product in one or few geographical areas chosen to be representative of its intended market. A new product is sold into distribution outlets so that performance can be gauged face-to-face with rival products. The product is promoted as it would be in a national launch and consumers are asked to choose it against competitors' products as they would if the new product went national. By projecting test marketing results to the full market, an assessment of the new product's likely success can be gauged. Test marketing does have problems. Test towns and areas may not be representative of the national market and thus, sales projections may be inaccurate. Competitors may invalidate the test market by giving distribution incentives to stock their product, thereby denying the new product shelf space. Test markets need to be long enough to measure the repeat purchase rate for the product. This can mean a delay in national launch stretching to many months and years. In the meantime, competitors that are more aggressive can launch a rival product nationally and therefore, gain pioneer advantage. Getting the cooperation of the distributors is important. Sometimes, they refuse to take part in test marketing activities or charge heavy fees.

The advantage of test marketing is that the information provided by test marketing facilitates the go / no go national launch decision. Sometimes, a number of test areas are used with different marketing mix combinations to predict the most successful launch strategy. Its purpose is to prevent a costly and embarrassing national launch mistake. Test marketing is commonly used with FMCG goods. For very expensive equipments it is impractical. On global scale, companies roll out products from one country to another. They gain some of the benefits of test marketing in that the lessons learnt from an early launch in a country market can be applied to later launches.

4.7 SUMMARY

- Research can be either fundamental (basic or pure) or action-oriented (applied) research. Fundamental research focuses on finding generalizations and formulating theories. It is the research done for knowledge enhancement; the research which does not have immediate commercial potential; and the research which is done for human welfare, animal welfare and plant kingdom welfare.
- Applied research is designed to solve practical problem of the modern world, rather than to acquire knowledge for the sake of knowledge. Its goal is to improve the human condition. It focuses on analysis and solving social and real life problems.
- Conceptual research is that which is related to some abstract idea(s) or theory. It is generally used by philosophers and thinkers to develop new concepts or to reinterpret existing ones.
- Empirical research relies only on real experiences and observations. It is data-based research and its conclusions can be verified by observations or experiments. It is also called experimental type of research.

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Check Your Progress

8. What does descriptive research design involve?
9. State the main purpose of a causal research.
10. Mention one advantage of the survey design.
11. What is experimentation?
12. Give a typical example of an experimental design.

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- Historical research attempts to establish facts so as to arrive at a conclusion concerning past events. The true historical research is a process of reconstructing the past through systematically and objectively collecting, evaluating, verifying and synthesizing evidence relating to the past events to establish facts and defensible conclusions, often in relation to particular hypotheses, to arrive at a scholarly account of what happened in the past.
- Historical research includes the delimitation of a problem, formulating hypothesis or tentative generalizations, gathering and analysing data, and arriving at conclusions or generalizations based upon deductive-inductive reasoning.
- Steps in historical research include: making sure that the subject falls in the area of the history of society, giving thought to the various aspects of the problems and the various dimensions of the problems, collecting historical evidence, checking the authenticity of the historical evidence selected, establishing relationship between various facts and preparing a systematic and comprehensive report.
- There are three sources of data in historical research: primary, secondary and tertiary.
- The process of judging validity, reliability and relevance of data in historical research is carried out through two devices: external criticism and internal criticism.
- The major problems in historical research are: amount of data, selection of data, evaluation of historical data and their sources and synthesis of data into a narrative account.
- Exploratory research is a method of collecting data either by using available secondary sources, or by using primary data that has been collected by unstructured method.
- The methods such as focus groups, depth interviews, experience interviews, and projective techniques are used to gather data.
- An experience survey involves the use of experts to obtain information about a problem at hand. The researcher based on his judgement identifies the experts.
- In projective techniques, the respondent is asked to project his thought process about a particular object in a certain number indicated by the researcher.
- A depth interview involves the researcher to conduct a detailed interview with a selected respondent. The method extensively employs the use of probing to elicit responses.
- A focus group is formal gathering of respondents in groups of about eight to twelve members each. Each group discusses certain issues posed to them by a group moderator.
- The descriptive research design involves the use of quantitative studies and use of statistical tools to understand the target customers of a company.
- The main purpose of causal research is to establish a cause-effect relationship among variables. This type of research design is extremely useful for marketers when they want to establish the exact cause outcomes.
- In a mall-intercept survey, an interviewer stands in a shopping mall, and conducts face-to-face interviews with suitable respondents who visit the mall.

- Experimentation is the method wherein the cause-effect relationship is examined between variables. Descriptive research does not involve the establishment of cause and effect. It involves the understanding of the impact of the independent variable on the dependent variable.

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4.8 KEY TERMS

- **Fundamental research:** It refers to the research that focuses on finding generalizations and formulating theories.
- **Applied research:** It refers to the research which is designed to solve practical problems of the modern world rather than to acquire knowledge for the sake of knowledge.
- **Historical research:** It is a process by which a researcher is able to come to a conclusion as to the likely truth of an event in the past by studying objects available for observation in the present.
- **Exploratory research:** It is essentially a method of collecting data either by using available secondary sources, or by using primary data that has been collected by unstructured method.
- **Experimental research:** It refers to research activity wherein the manipulation of variables takes place, and the resultant effect on other variables is studied.
- **Descriptive research:** involves the understanding of the impact of the independent variable on the dependent variable.

4.9 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Empirical research is also called experimental type of research.
2. The main aim of historical research is to obtain an exact account of the past to gain a clearer view of the present.
3. Conditional analysis is a strategy of hypothesis testing which involves identification of the context condition in which it can be safely said that the concept was present. Such conditions are rejected, revised and new conditions added.
4. Some examples of tertiary sources of data in historical research are bibliographies, catalogues and indexes.
5. Some of the methods used to gather data in exploratory research are: focus groups, depth interviews, experience interviews, and projective techniques.
6. An exploratory design is used when additional information is needed to define the problem more clearly. It is also used when the researcher wants to gather attitudinal or perceptual data regarding the respondents.
7. An experience survey involves the use of experts to obtain information about a problem at hand.
8. The descriptive research design involves the use of quantitative studies and use of statistical tools to understand the target customers of a company.

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9. The main purpose of the causal research is to establish a cause-effect relationship among variables. This type of research design is extremely useful for marketers when they want to establish the exact cause's outcomes.
10. One of the biggest advantages of the survey design is the use of the large sample, and the ability of the manager to draw results from the study.
11. Experimentation is the method wherein the cause-effect relationship is examined between variables.
12. Test marketing is a typical example of an experimental design.

4.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. List the limitations of historical research.
2. What are the two types of historical research?
3. Give two advantages of historical research.
4. Write a short note on exploratory design.
5. What are experience surveys?
6. Write a short note on projective techniques.
7. Define descriptive research design.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the concept of conceptual research and empirical research.
2. Discuss the steps involved in historical research.
3. Compare and contrast exploratory, descriptive and causal research designs.
4. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the exploratory research design.
5. Discuss the characteristics of focus groups. List at least four characteristics and explain why it is important to consider each of them.

4.11 FURTHER READING

- Wrenn, Bruce, David L. Loudon and Robert E. Stevens. 2001. *Marketing Research: Text and Cases*. New York: Routledge.
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UNIT 5 TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION

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Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Observation
 - 5.2.1 Types of Observation
 - 5.2.2 Recording Techniques of Observation
 - 5.2.3 Advantages and Disadvantages of Observation
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- 5.3 Questionnaire Tools
 - 5.3.1 Types of Questionnaire
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 - 5.3.4 Types of Questions
 - 5.3.5 Steps for Preparing and Administering the Questionnaire
 - 5.3.6 Importance and Limitations of Questionnaire Method
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 - 5.5.4 Advantages and Disadvantages of Interview Method
- 5.6 Projective Techniques
 - 5.6.1 Evaluating Projective Techniques
- 5.7 Case Study and Content Analysis
 - 5.7.1 Content Analysis
- 5.8 Summary
- 5.9 Key Terms
- 5.10 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 5.11 Questions and Exercises
- 5.12 Further Reading

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit discusses the techniques of data collection. To understand the multitude of choices available to a researcher for collecting the project/ study-specific information, one needs to be fully cognizant of the resources available for the study and the level of accuracy required. To appreciate the truth of this statement, one needs to examine the gamut of methods available to the researcher. The data sources could be either contextual and primary or historical and secondary in nature.

Primary data as the name suggests is original, problem- or project-specific, collected for the specific objectives and needs to be spelt out by the researcher. The authenticity and relevance is reasonably high. The monetary and resource implications of this are quite high and sometimes a researcher might not have the resources or the time or both to go ahead with this method. In this case, the researcher can look at

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alternative sources of data which are economical and authentic enough to take the study forward. These include the second category of data sources—namely the secondary data.

Secondary data, as the name implies, is that information which is not topical or research specific and has been collected and compiled by some other researcher or investigative body. The said information is recorded and published in a structured format, and thus, is quicker to access and manage. Secondly, in most instances, unless it is a data product, it is not too expensive to collect. As suggested in the opening vignette, the data to track consumer preferences is readily available and the information required is readily available as a data product or as the audit information which the researcher or the organization can procure and use for arriving at quick decisions. In comparison to the original research-centric data, secondary data can be economically and quickly collected by the decision maker in a short span of time. Also the information collected is contextual; what is primary and original for one researcher would essentially become secondary and historical for someone else.

Qualitative research, thus, is presumed to go beyond the obvious of constructs and variables that are not visible or measurable; rather they have to be deduced by various methods like observation, schedule, questionnaire, interview, projective, case study, focus groups and content analysis. There are a variety of such methods which will be discussed in detail in this unit. However, common premise of all these are that they are relatively loosely structured and require a closer dialogue or interaction between the investigator and the respondent. The information collected is more in-depth and intensive and results in rich insights and perspectives than those delivered through a more formal and structured method. However, since the element of subjectivity is high, they require a lot of objectivity on the part of the investigator while collecting and interpreting the data. Conducting a qualitative research is an extremely skillful task and requires both aptitude and adequate training in order to result in valuable and applicable data.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain observation schedule as a tool of data collection
- Discuss the concept of questionnaire as a method of data collection
- Assess schedule as a method of data collection
- Describe how conducting interviews are an important source of data collection
- Explain projective method as a tool of data collection
- Discuss how case studies and content analysis are important sources of data collection

5.2 OBSERVATION

Observations have led to some of the most important scientific discoveries in human history. Charles Darwin used his observations of animal and marine life at the Galapagos Islands to formulate his theory of evolution which he described in *On the Origin of Species*. Today, social scientists, natural scientists, engineers, computer scientists, educational researchers and many others use observation as a primary research method.

The kind of observations one makes depends on the subject being researched. Traffic or parking patterns on a campus can be observed to ascertain what kind of improvements can be made. Clouds, plants or other natural phenomena can be observed as can people, though in the case of the latter, one may often have to ask for permission so as to not violate any privacy issue.

Observation may be defined as ‘*a process in which one or more persons monitor some real-life situation and record pertinent occurrences*’. It is used to evaluate the overt behaviour of the individual in controlled and uncontrolled situations.

According to Marie Jahoda: ‘Observation method is a scientific technique to the extent that it (a) serves a formulated research purpose, (b) is planned systematically rather than occurring haphazardly, (c) is systematically recorded and related to more general propositions than presented as a set of interesting curious, and (d) is subjected to checks and controls with respect to validity, reliability, and precision much as is all other scientific evidence.’

According to Good and Hatt: ‘Observation may take many forms and is at once the most primitive and the most modern of research techniques. It includes the most casual, uncontrolled experiences as well as the most exact film records of laboratory experimentation.’

5.2.1 Types of Observation

Observation can be of the following types:

1. **Participant observation:** In the process of ‘participant observation’, the observer becomes more or less one of the group members and may actually participate in some activity or the other of the group. The observer may play any one of the several roles in observation, with varying degrees of participation, as a visitor, an attentive listener, an eager learner or as a participant observer.
2. **Non-participant observation:** In the process of ‘non-participant observation’, the observer takes a position where his/her presence is not felt by the group. He/She may follow the behaviour of an individual or characteristics of one or more groups closely. In this type of observation, a one-way ‘vision screen’ permits the observer to see the subject but prevents the subject from seeing the observer.

Observation may also be classified into the following categories:

- **Natural observation:** Natural observation involves observing the behaviour in a normal setting and in this type of observation, no efforts are made to bring any type of change in the behaviour of the observed. Improvement in the collection of information can be done with the help of natural observation.
- **Subjective and objective observation:** All observations consist of two main components, the subject and the object. The subject refers to the observer, whereas the object refers to the activity or any type of operation that is being observed. Subjective observation involves the observation of one’s own immediate experience, whereas the observation involving an observer as an entity apart from the thing being observed is referred to as ‘objective observation’. Objective observation is also known as ‘retrospection’.
- **Direct and indirect observation:** With the help of the direct method of observation, one comes to know how the observer is physically present, in which type of situation is he/she present and then this type of observation

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monitors what takes place. Indirect method of observation involves studies of mechanical recording or recording by some other means like photographic or electronic. Direct observation is relatively straightforward as compared to indirect observation.

- **Structured and unstructured observation:** Structured observation works according to a plan and involves specific information of the units that are to be observed and also about the information that is to be recorded. The operations that are to be observed and the various features that are to be noted or recorded are decided well in advance. Such observations involve the use of special instruments for the purpose of data collection that are also structured in nature. But in the case of unstructured observation, its basics are diametrically against the structured observation. In such observations, the observer has the freedom to note down what he/she feels is correct and unlike point of study. This approach of observation is very suitable for exploratory research.
- **Controlled and non-controlled observation:** Controlled observations are the observations made under the influence of some external forces. Such observations rarely lead to improvement in the precision of the research results. However, these observations can be very effective if these are made to work in coordination with mechanical synchronizing devices, film recordings, etc. Non-controlled observations are made in the natural environment, and unlike to the controlled observation, these observations involve no influence or guidance of any type of external force.

5.2.2 Recording Techniques of Observation

Many different techniques may be employed to study and document a subject's behaviour. The data collection techniques are all accurate but may be suitable for different purposes. While certain methods help gather detailed descriptions of behaviour, certain others facilitate documenting behaviour promptly with bare minimum description.

- **Anecdotal records:** Anecdotal records refer to a few sentences jotted down in a notebook. These sentences pertain to what the subject is engaged in at a particular moment. Only those behaviours that can be seen or heard and that can be counted are documented while creating an anecdotal record.
- **Narrative description:** Narrative description is also known as running behaviour record and specimen record, and is a formal method of observation. When following this technique, one is supposed to record continuously and in as much detail as possible, like what the subject is doing and saying when alone or when interacting with other people. In its methodology, it is similar to anecdotal record but is definitely more detailed. The researcher studies the context setting, the behaviour patterns, and the order in which they take place. The main aim of this technique is to gain an objective description of a subject's behaviour without conjecture, analysis, or assessment.
- **Checklists:** Checklists are usually standardized forms which list specific skills and behaviours based on standard levels or are specifically compiled by the researcher for a particular research study.
- **Interviewing:** In this observation technique, the researching team tries to identify the feelings and beliefs of the subjects, that are not visible through simple

observation. During the process of interviewing, everything that the subject says must be recorded exactly as it is. The interviewer should avoid any kind of editing of the interview transcript.

- **Time sampling:** This method is distinct from others in two ways—it monitors and keeps an account of a few chosen samples of subject's behaviour, and is carried out only during prearranged periods of time. When a behaviour pattern is seen during the specified time interval, it is recorded. This technique therefore helps to gather representative examples of behaviour.
- **Frequency counts:** In some cases, a researcher may be more interested in studying the frequency of an occurrence or behaviour or another pattern, such as how often a consumer buys a particular product or how often an individual started a conversation with a colleague. To get this data, the researcher will have to keep a count of the frequency of the particular behaviour and study how long the behaviour lasts. This is usually done by simply marking an occurrence on a chart each time the behaviour is repeated.
- **Event sampling:** This technique is focused on observing specific behaviours or events in a subject's behaviour pattern. However, it does not take into account the frequency or the length of the recording interval.

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5.2.3 Advantages and Disadvantages of Observation

The advantages of observation are as follows:

- The observer through participant observation is able to participate in the group, he has access to a vast body of information.
- The observer is able to give a context to the behaviour displayed by the members of the group, which is far better than the information received through a questionnaire and interview.
- The observer through the method of observation gains information as to what the members of a group actually do rather than what they say, which is considered a more credible information about the behaviour.
- The observation method like participant observation used by ethnographers takes a long period of time. This allows the researcher to dig deeper and uncover varied deep rooted aspects related to the research question.
- Observation is far more flexible than other methods of data collection as it is not rigid and based strictly on a set and pre-defined questions. The researcher has the freedom to be more open minded.

The disadvantages of observation are as follows:

- It is very difficult to establish the validity of observations.
- Many items of observation cannot be defined.
- The problem of subjectivity is involved.
- Observation may give undue stress to aspects of limited significance simply because they can be recorded easily, accurately and objectively.
- Various observers observing the same event may concentrate on different aspects of a situation.

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- The observers have little control over the physical situation.
- There are certain situations which observers are not allowed to observe, and are expected to produce an accurate account.
- It may not be feasible to classify all the events to be observed.
- Observation is a slow and laborious process.
- There may be lack of agreement among the observers.
- The data to be observed may be unmanageable.
- Observation needs competent observers and it may be difficult to find them.
- Observation is a costly affair. It involves lot of expenses on travelling, staying at the places where the events are taking place and purchasing sophisticated equipment to help in observation.

5.2.4 Characteristics of Observation for Research

The characteristics of observation for research are as follows:

- Observation schedule should be specific.
- The steps should be systematic.
- It should be quantitative.
- It should be recorded immediately.
- It should be made by experts.
- Schedule should be scientific. We should be able to check and substantiate the results.

Jennifer Symonds gives a list of nine essential characteristics of good observation, which are as follows:

- Good eyesight
- Alertness
- Ability to estimate
- Ability to discriminate
- Good physical condition
- An immediate record
- Good perception
- Freedom from preconceptions
- Emotional disinterest

Planning Administration Aspect of Observation

This includes the following:

- Securing an appropriate group of persons to observe
- Deciding and arranging any special conditions for the group
- Determining the length of each observation period, the interval between periods and the number of periods

Points to be Considered while Defining the Activities

These are as follows:

- Inclusion of those activities which are true representatives of the general category one is studying
- Defining those activities very carefully.

While arranging for the record, the following points should receive attention:

- Deciding the form for recording so as to make note-making easy and rapid
- Deciding the use of appropriate symbols, abbreviations and some use of shorthand

One can train oneself by:

- Training oneself to observe others as perception improves with practice
- Studying manuals that list observation techniques

Planning Effective Observation

This includes the following:

- Sampling to be observed should be adequate; appropriate group of subjects should be there
- Units of behaviour should be defined as accurately as possible
- Method of recording should be simplified
- Detailed instructions may be given to observers to eliminate the difference in the perspectives of observers
- Too many variables may not be observed simultaneously
- Excessively long periods of observation without interspersed rest periods should be avoided
- Observers should be fully trained
- Observers should be well equipped
- Conditions of observation should remain constant
- Number of observations should be adequate
- Records of observation must be comprehensive
- Length of each observation period, interval between periods, and number of periods should be clearly stated
- Interpretations should be carefully made

5.3 QUESTIONNAIRE TOOLS

A questionnaire is 'a tool for research, comprising a list of questions whose answers provide information about the target group, individual or event'. Although they are often designed for statistical analysis of the responses, this is not always the case. This method was the invention of Sir Francis Galton. Questionnaire is used when factual information is desired. When opinion rather than facts are desired, an opinionative or attitude scale is

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Check Your Progress

1. Define observation.
2. What are the main components of the observation method?
3. List two disadvantages of the observation method of data collection.

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used. Of course, these two purposes can be combined into one form that is usually referred to as ‘questionnaire’.

Questionnaire may be regarded as a form of interview on paper. The procedure for the construction of a questionnaire follows a pattern similar to that of the interview schedule. However, because the questionnaire is impersonal, it is all the more important to take care of its construction.

A questionnaire is a list of questions arranged in a specific way or randomly, generally in print or typed and having spaces for recording answers to the questions. It is a form which is prepared and distributed for the purpose of securing responses. Thus, a questionnaire relies heavily on the validity of the verbal reports.

According to Goode and Hatt, ‘in general, the word questionnaire refers to a device for securing answers to questions by using a form which the respondent fills himself.’

Barr, Davis and Johnson define questionnaire as, ‘questionnaire is a systematic compilation of questions that are submitted to a sampling of population from which information is desired’ and Lundberg says, ‘fundamentally, questionnaire is a set of stimuli to which literate people are exposed in order to observe their verbal behaviour under these stimuli.’

5.3.1 Types of Questionnaire

Figure 5.1 depicts the types of questionnaires that are used by researchers.

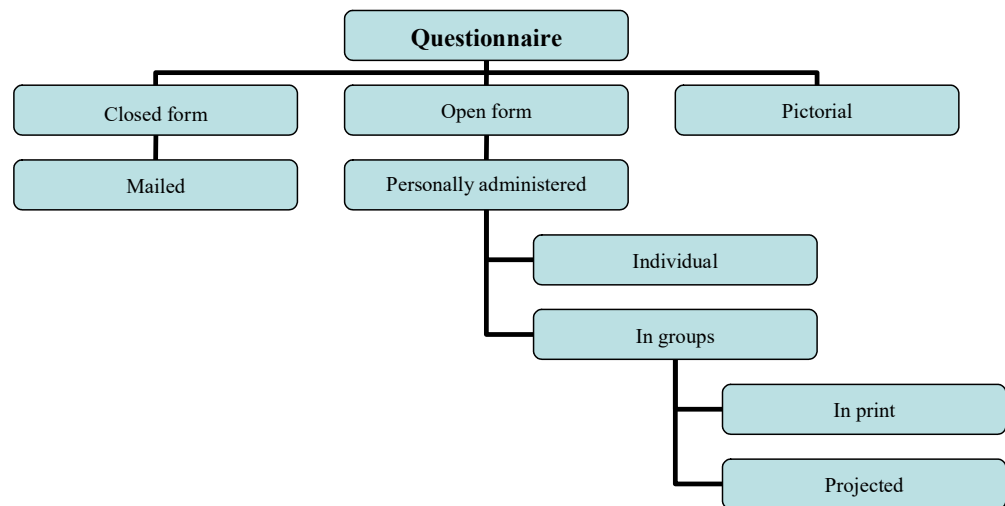


Fig. 5.1 Types of Questionnaires

Commonly used questionnaires are:

- 1. Closed form:** Questionnaire that calls for short, check-mark responses are known as closed form type or restricted type. They have highly structured answers like mark a ‘yes’ or ‘no’, write a short response or check an item from a list of suggested responses. For certain types of information, the closed form questionnaire is entirely satisfactory. It is easy to fill out, takes little time, keeps the respondent on the subject, is relatively objective and is fairly easy to tabulate and analyse.

These types of questionnaires are very suitable for research purposes. However, construction of such a type of questionnaire requires a lot of labour and thought. It is generally lengthy as all possible alternative answers are given under each question.

2. **Open form:** The open form or unrestricted questionnaire requires the respondent to answer the question in their own words. The responses have greater depth as the respondents have to give reasons for their choices. The drawback of this type of questionnaire is that not many people take the time to fill these out as they are more time consuming and require more effort, and it is also more difficult to analyse the information obtained. No alternative or plausible answers are provided. The open form questionnaire is good for depth studies and gives freedom to the respondents to answer the questions without any restriction.

Limitations of open questionnaire are as follows:

- Difficult to fill out
- Respondents may never be aware of all the possible answers
- Takes longer to fill
- Returns are often few
- Information is too unwieldy and unstructured, and hence difficult to analyse, tabulate and interpret

Some investigators combine the approaches and the questionnaires carry both the closed and open form items. In the close ended questions, the last alternative is kept open for the respondents to provide their optimum response.

3. **Pictorial form:** Pictorial questionnaires contain drawings, photographs or other such material rather than written statements and the respondents are to choose answers in terms of the pictorial material. Instructions or directions can be given orally. This form is useful in working with illiterate persons, young children and persons who do not know a specific language. It keeps up the interest of the respondent and decreases subjects' resistance to answer.

5.3.2 Questionnaire Administration Modes

The main modes of questionnaire administration are as follows:

- **Through mail:** Mailed questionnaires are the most widely used and also perhaps the most criticized tool of research. They have been referred to as a 'lazy person's way of gaining information'. The mailed questionnaire has a written and signed request as a covering letter and is accompanied by a self-addressed, written and stamped envelope for the return by post. The method of mailing out the questionnaire is less expensive in terms of time, funds required; it provides freedom to the respondent to work at his/her own convenience and enables coverage of a large population.
- **Personal contact/face-to-face:** Personally administered questionnaires both in individual and group situations are helpful in some cases and have the following advantages over the mailed questionnaire: (i) the investigator can establish a rapport with the respondents; (ii) the purpose of the questionnaire can be explained; (iii) the meaning of the difficult terms and items can be explained to the

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respondents; (iv) group administration when the respondents are available at one place is more economical in time and expense; (v) the proportion of non-response is cut down to almost zero; and (vi) the proportion of usable responses becomes larger. However, it is more difficult to obtain respondents in groups and may involve administrative permission which may not be forthcoming.

- **Computerized questionnaire:** It is a mode of questionnaire administration where the questions need to be answered on the computer.
- **Adaptive computerized questionnaire:** It is a mode of questionnaire administration presented on the computer where the next questions are adjusted automatically according to the responses given as the computer is able to gauge the respondent's ability or traits.

5.3.3 Appropriateness of Questionnaire

The qualities and features which make questionnaires an effective instrument of research and help to elicit maximum information are discussed below:

- **Type of information required:** The usefulness and effectiveness of a questionnaire is determined by the kind of information sought. Not every type of questionnaire can be elicited through it. A questionnaire which will consume more than 10–20 minutes is unlikely to get good response. Also, the questions should be explicit and capable of clear-cut replies.
- **Type of respondent reached:** A good deal depends upon the types of respondents covered by the questionnaire. All types of individuals cannot be good respondents. Only literate and socially conscious individuals would give any consideration to a questionnaire. Also, the respondent must be competent to answer the kind of questions contained in a particular questionnaire.
- **Accessibility of respondents:** Questionnaires sent by e-mail can help to survey the opinion of the people living in far-flung places.
- **Precision of the hypothesis:** Appropriateness of the questionnaire also depends upon how realistic is the hypothesis in the mind of the researcher. The researcher must frame questions in such a manner that they elicit responses needed to verify the hypothesis.

5.3.4 Types of Questions

There are many types of questions that can be asked, but the way to get to the correct answer is to know which is the right question. It requires knowledge and expertise to design the correct type of questionnaire.

The following is a list of the different types of questions which can be included in a questionnaire design:

- **Open format questions:** Open format questions are those which give the respondent a chance to communicate their individual opinions. There are no set answers to choose from. Responses from open format questionnaires are insightful and even unexpected. Qualitative questions are an example of open format questions. An ideal questionnaire is one which ends with an open format question giving the respondents the chance to state their opinion or ask for their suggestions.

Example: State your opinion about the reservation system.

A respondent's answer to an open-ended question is coded into a response scale afterwards. An example of an open-ended question is a question where the person being tested has to complete a sentence (sentence completion item).

- **Closed format questions:** Multiple choice questions are the best example of closed format questions. Closed format questions generate responses that can be statistics or percentages in nature. Preliminary analysis can also be performed with ease. Closed format questions have the added advantage of being able to monitor opinions over a period of time as they can be put to different groups at different intervals.
- **Leading questions:** These types of questions force the audience to give a particular type of answer.
For example, asking a question with answer options: fair, good, excellent superb.
- **Likert questions:** Likert questions can help you ascertain how strongly your respondent agrees with a particular statement. Likert questions can also help to assess liking and disliking.
Example: How often do you see beggars at the traffic light?
- **Rating scale questions:** In rating scale questions, the respondent is asked to rate a particular issue on a scale that may range from poor to good. Rating scale questions usually have an even number of choices, so that respondents are not given the choice of a middle option.
For example, questions with answers options: good, fair, poor or very poor.

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Questions to be Avoided during Preparation of a Questionnaire

The following questions should be avoided when preparing a questionnaire:

- **Embarrassing questions:** Embarrassing questions are those that ask respondents about their personal and private life. Embarrassing questions are mostly avoided.
- **Positive/Negative connotation questions:** While defining a question, strong negative or positive overtones must be avoided. Depending on the positive or negative association of our question, we will get different data. Ideal questions should have neutral or subtle overtones.
- **Hypothetical questions:** Hypothetical questions are questions that are based on assumption and hope. An example of a hypothetical question would be 'If you were a director in the Tribal Affairs department, what changes would you bring about?' These types of questions force the respondents to give their ideas on a particular subject. However, these kinds of questions do not give consistent or clear data.

5.3.5 Steps for Preparing and Administering the Questionnaire

The steps involved in preparing and administering the questionnaire are as follows:

- **Planning the questionnaire:** One should get all the help possible in planning and constructing the questionnaire. Other questionnaires should be studied and items should be submitted for criticism to other members of the class or faculty.
- **Modifying questions:** Items can be refined, revised or replaced by better items. If a computer is not readily available for easily modifying questions and rearranging the items, it is advisable to use a separate card or slip for each item. This procedure

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- also provides flexibility in arranging items in the most appropriate psychological order before the instrument is finalized.
- **Validity and reliability of questionnaire:** Questionnaire designers rarely deal with the degree of validity and reliability of their instrument. There are ways to improve both validity and reliability of questionnaires. Basic to the validity of a questionnaire is asking questions in the least ambiguous way. The meaning of all terms must be clearly defined so that they have the same meaning to all respondents. The panel of experts may rate the instrument in terms of how effectively it samples significant aspects of content validity. The reliability of the questionnaire may be tested by a second administration of the instrument with a small sub-sample, comparing the responses with those of the first. Reliability may also be estimated by comparing the responses of an alternate form with the original.
 - **Try out or pilot testing:** The questionnaire should be tried on a few friends and acquaintances. What may seem perfectly clear to the researcher may be confusing to the other person who does not have the frame of reference that the researcher has gained from living with and thinking about an idea over a long period. It is also a good idea to pilot test the instrument with a small group of persons similar to those who will be used in the study. They may reveal defects that can be corrected before the final form is printed.
 - **Information level of respondents:** It is important that the questionnaire be sent only to those who possess the desired information and are likely to be sufficiently interested to respond objectively and conscientiously. A preliminary card asking whether the individual would respond is recommended by some research authorities.
 - **Getting permission:** If the questionnaire is to be used in a public school, it is essential that approval for the project is secured from the Principal. Students should be informed that participation is voluntary. If the desired information is delicate or intimate in nature, the possibility of providing for anonymous responses should be considered. The anonymous instrument is most likely to produce objective and honest responses.
 - **Cover letter:** A courteous, carefully constructed cover letter should be included to explain the purpose of the study. The cover letter should assure the respondent that all information will be held in strict confidence. The letter should promise some sort of inducement to the respondent for compliance with the request. In educational circles, a summary of questionnaire results is considered an appropriate reward, a promise that should be scrupulously honoured after the study has been completed.
 - **Follow-up procedures:** Recipients are often slow to return completed questionnaires. To increase the numbers of returns, a vigorous follow-up procedure may be necessary. A courteous postcard reminding the recipient may bring in some additional responds. A further step in follow-up may involve a personal letter or reminder. In extreme cases, it may be appropriate to send the copy of questionnaire with a follow-up letter.
 - **Analysing and interpreting questionnaire responder:** Data obtained by the questionnaire is generally achieved through calculation and counting. The total is converted into proportion or percentages. Calculation of contingency coefficient of correlation is often made in order to suggest probability of relation among data. Computation of chi-square statistics in it is also advisable.

Improving the Validity of a Questionnaire

The validity of the information collected through a questionnaire can be improved by using the following techniques:

- The questions should be relevant to the subject or problem.
- The questions should be perfectly clear and unambiguous.
- The questions should be retroactive and not repulsive.
- Check whether the information has been collected from a reasonably good proportion of respondents.
- The information should show a reasonable range of variety.
- The information should be consistent with what is already known or is expected.
- Use another external criterion like consultation of documents or interview with a small group of respondents to cross check the truthfulness of the information given through the questionnaire.

The question sequence should be the following:

- Questions should flow logically from one to the next.
- The researcher must make sure that the answer to a specific question is not prejudiced by earlier questions.
- Questions should flow from the more general to the more specific.
- Questions should follow an order which starts from the least sensitive to the most sensitive.
- Questions should flow from factual and behavioural questions to attitudinal and opinion questions.
- Questions should flow from unaided to aided questions.

The three stages theory (also known as the sandwich theory) should be applied when sequencing questions. The order to be followed should be first, screening and rapport questions; second, the product specific questions; and third, demographic questions.

Questionnaire Construction Issues

The following problems are faced by a researcher while constructing a questionnaire.

- It is very important to know exactly how you are going to use the information received from the research conducted. If the research or information cannot be implemented or acted upon, then the research would just have been a waste of time, money and effort.
- Clear parameters regarding the research's aims and scope should be drawn before starting the research. This would include the questionnaire's time frame, budget, manpower, intrusion and privacy.
- The target audience selected will depend on how arbitrarily one has chosen the respondents and what the selection criteria are.
- The framework of expected responses should be clearly defined so that the responses received are not random.
- Only relevant questions should be included in the questionnaire as unrelated questions are a burden on the researcher and respondent.

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- If you have formed a hypothesis which you want to study then you will know what questions need to be asked.
- The respondents' background and education should not influence the way they answer the questions.
- The type of scale, index, or typology to be used shall be determined.
- The questions asked (closed, multiple-choice, and open) should adhere to the statistical data analysis techniques available and the goals of the study.
- Questions and prepared responses to choose from should not be biased. A biased question or questionnaire influences the responses given.
- The order in which the questions are presented or asked is also important as the earlier questions and their responses may influence the later ones.
- The language should be kept simple to avoid ambiguity. Ambiguous words may cause misunderstanding, possibly invalidating questionnaire results. Double negatives should also be avoided.
- Questions should address only one issue at a time so that the respondent is not confused as to what response is required.
- The list of possible responses should be comprehensive so that respondents should not find themselves without a suitable response. A solution to this would be to add the category of 'other' in the options.
- Categories in the questionnaire should be kept separate. For example, in both the 'married' category and the 'single' category—there may be a need for separate questions on marital status and living situation.
- Writing style should be informal yet to the point and suitable for the target audience.
- Personal questions about age, income, marital status, etc., should be placed at the end of the survey so that even if the respondent is hesitant to give out personal information, they would still have answered the other questions.
- Questions which try to trick the respondent may end in inaccurate responses.
- Presentation which is pleasing to the eye with the use of colours and images can end up distracting the respondent.
- Numbering the questions would be helpful.
- Whoever administers the questionnaire, be it research staff, volunteers or whether self-administered by the respondents, it should have clear, detailed instructions.

Factors Affecting Reliability of Answers

Factors affecting reliability of answers are as follows:

- **Confusing questions:** If the questions are not easily understood or they are capable of being interpreted in more than one way, the answers might be unreliable because the answer may be the result of misinterpretation of the questions not intended by the researcher.
- **Prejudice regarding sample:** The responses received from the sample may not be true representations of the sample.
- **Lack of coverage to illiterates:** This method is inapplicable to illiterates and semi-illiterates as they will be unable to read the questions.

- **Response selectivity:** The respondents of a questionnaire may belong to a selected group. Therefore, the conclusions lack the kind of objectivity and representativeness essential for its validity.

5.3.6 Importance and Limitations of Questionnaire Method

As a matter of fact, this method can be applied in a very narrow field. It can be used only if the respondents are educated and willing to cooperate. However, it is still widely used, owing to the following merits:

- **Economical:** The questionnaire requires paper, printing and postage only. There is no need to visit the respondents personally or continue the study over a long period.
- **Time saving:** Besides saving money, the questionnaire also saves time. Data can be collected from a large number of people within a small time frame.
- **Most reliable in special cases:** It is a perfect technique of research in some cases.
- **Research in wide area:** Mailed questionnaire comes very handy if the sample comprises people living at great distances.
- **Suitable in specific type of responses:** The information about certain problems can be best obtained through the questionnaire method.

Limitations of the Questionnaire Method

Like all other methods, the questionnaire is also limited in value and application. This means that it cannot be used in every situation and that its conclusions are not always reliable. Key limitations of the method are as follows:

- **Limited response:** As noted earlier, this method cannot be used with illiterate or semi-illiterate groups. The number of persons who cooperate and respond to the questionnaire is very small.
- **Lack of personal contact:** There is very little scope of personal contact in this method. In the absence of personal contact, very little can be done to persuade the respondents to fill up the questionnaire.
- **Useless in-depth problems:** If a problem requires deep and long study, it is obvious that it cannot be studied by the questionnaire method.
- **Possibility of wrong answers:** A respondent may not really understand a question or may give the answer in a casual manner. In both cases, there is a strong likelihood of misleading information being given.
- **Illegibility:** Some persons write so badly that it is difficult to read their handwriting.
- **Incomplete response:** There are people who give answers which are so brief that the full meaning is incomprehensible.

5.4 SCHEDULES

A schedule is a questionnaire containing a set of questions that are required to be answered to collect data about a particular item. A schedule is generally used in a face-to-face situation. The following are the objectives for which a schedule is created:

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Check Your Progress

4. What is a questionnaire?
5. What are the limitations of open form questionnaire?
6. What is the three stages theory when sequencing questions?
7. List two limitations of the questionnaire method.

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- It is created for a definite item of inquiry. A schedule sets the boundaries for the subject under study.
- It acts as an aid to memorize the information being collected by the interviewer from various respondents. It helps to avoid being confused while analysing and tabulating the data.
- It helps in tabulating and analysing the data in a systematic and standardized manner.

Characteristics of a Good Schedule

The essential characteristics of a good schedule are as follows:

- The information or questions included in the schedule should be accurate and should enable the respondent to understand properly the context in which the questions are being asked.
- The schedule should be pre-arranged and structured in such a manner that the information gathered or collected should be accurate and tenable. For this, the following points must be considered:
 - The size of the schedule should be accurate.
 - The questions in the schedule should be understandable and definite.
 - The questions should not contain any biased evaluation.
 - All the questions of the schedule should be properly interlinked.
 - The information gathered should be organized in a table so that it can be easily used for statistical analysis.

Suitability of the Schedule Method

The schedule method is mostly applied in the following situations:

- When the field of investigation is wide and dispersed
- When the researcher requires quick results at lesser cost
- When the respondents are well-trained and educated

5.4.1 Types of Schedules

There are five types of schedules, which are as follows:

- **Observation schedule:** This schedule is used to observe all the activities and record the responses of the respondents under some predefined conditions. The main idea behind examining the activities is to verify the required information.
- **Rating schedule:** It is used to measure and rate the thoughts, preferences, self-consciousness, perceptions and other similar characteristics of the respondent.
- **Document schedule:** It is used for collecting important data and preparing a source list. This schedule is mostly used to attain data from autobiographies, diaries or government records regarding written facts and case histories.
- **Institution survey schedule:** It is used for studying the problems of institutions.
- **Interview schedule:** It is used to ask the interviewee questions and record the responses in the space provided in the questionnaire itself.

Merits and Limitations of the Schedule Method

The merits of the schedule method are as follows:

- In this method, the researcher is always there to help the respondents. So, the response rate is high as compared to other methods of data collection.
- The presence of the researcher not only removes doubts present in the mind of the respondent, but also avoids false replies from the respondent due to fear of cross-checking.
- In this method, there is personal contact between the researcher and the respondent. Thus, the data can be collected easily and can also be relied upon.
- This method helps to better understand the personality, living conditions and values of the respondents.
- It is easy for the researcher to detect and rectify defects in the schedule during sampling.

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Limitations of the Schedule Method

The limitations of this method are as follows:

- It is a costly and time-consuming method.
- It requires well-trained and experienced field workers for conducting interviews of the respondents.
- Sometimes, the respondent may not be able to speak out due to the physical presence of the researcher.
- If the field of research is dispersed, it becomes difficult to organize the various activities of the research.

5.4.2 Organization of the Schedule

The schedule is prepared by performing the following steps:

- **Selection of respondents:** Usually, the sampling method is used for the selection of respondents. The sample should be representative of the respondents and should contain all the relevant information about the respondents.
- **Selection and training of field workers:** Since the field workers interview the respondents and collect the required data, this should be done carefully and proper training should be provided to them.
- **Conducting interviews:** For a successful interview and correct results, the following points must be kept in mind:
 - **Follow correct approach:** The field worker should go to the respondent with the correct approach so that the respondent can clearly understand the purpose of the interview.
 - **Generating accurate responses:** For proper and accurate response from the respondents, the respondents should not be misunderstood in their perspective and context.

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5.4.3 Difference between Questionnaire and Schedule

When you work with questionnaires and schedules, you will observe that there are several similarities between the two. However, there are prominent differences also, which are as follows:

- A questionnaire is mostly sent by the interviewer to the interviewee by mail and is filled by the interviewee, whereas a schedule is filled by the interviewer at the time of interview.
- Data collection through a questionnaire is cheaper as compared to a schedule, as money is spent only in preparing the schedules and mailing them. In the schedule method, extra money is spent on appointing interviewers and imparting training to them.
- In the case of a questionnaire, response is generally low because many people do not respond. On the other hand, response is high in the case of schedules since the interviewer fills them at the time of the interview.
- The identity of the respondent is not always clear in the case of a questionnaire, whereas in the case of schedules, the identity of the interviewee or respondent is known.
- The questionnaire method is time consuming as the respondent may not return the questionnaire in time. There is no such problem with the schedule method because the schedule is filled at the time of the interview.
- The questionnaire method does not allow personal contact with the respondent but the schedule method does.
- The questionnaire method is useful only if the respondent is literate, while in the case of a schedule, it is not necessary for the interviewee to be literate.
- The risk of incomplete and incorrect information is more in a questionnaire, while in a schedule, the information collected is complete and more accurate.

5.5 INTERVIEW

One of the main methods of data collection is conducting interviews. It takes place as a two-way conversation between the researcher and the respondent, whereby information is gathered by asking topic related questions.

We learn not only from the respondents' responses but also his/her gestures, facial expressions and pauses. Interviewing can be conducted either face-to-face or over the telephone by skilled personnel by using a structured schedule or an unstructured guide.

According to Rummel J. Francis: 'The interview method of collecting data requires the actual physical proximity of two or more persons, and generally requires that all the normal channels of communication be open to their use. It is necessary to see one another, to hear each other's voices, to understand one another's language, and to use all that is psychologically inherent in physical proximity. It usually entails a non-reciprocal relation between the individuals concerned. One party desires to get information from another—one party interviews the other—for a particular purpose.'

Check Your Progress

8. What is a schedule?
9. When is the interview schedule used?

Theodore L. Torgerson has stated that the interview method of study extends certain aspects of the observational technique.

Thus, the interview method permits the gathering of development data to supplement the cross-sectional data obtained from observations. The interviewer can probe into casual factors, determine attitudes, discover when the problem started, enlist the interviewee in an analysis of his own problem and secure his support of the therapy to be applied.

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5.5.1 Types of Interviews

The different types of interviews are as follows:

- **Group interview:** A proper setting for group interviews requires a group of not more than 10 to 12 persons with some social, intellectual, and educational homogeneity, which ensures effective participation by all. For a full spontaneous participation of all, it is better to arrange a circular seating arrangement.
- **Diagnostic interview:** Its purpose is to locate the possible causes of an individual's problems, getting information about his past history, family relations and personal adjustment problem.
- **Clinical interview:** Such an interview follows after the diagnostic interview. It is a means of introducing the patient to therapy.
- **Research interview:** Research interview is aimed at getting information required by the investigator to test his/her hypothesis or solve his/her problems of historical, experimental, survey or clinical type.
- **Single interview or panel interviews:** For the purpose of research, a single interviewer is usually present. In case of selection and treatment purposes, panel interviews are held.
- **Directed interview:** It is structured, includes questions of the closed type and is conducted in a prepared manner.
- **Non-directive interview:** It includes questions of the open-ended form and allows much freedom to the interviewee to talk freely about the problem under-study.
- **Focused interview:** It aims at finding out the responses of individuals to exact events or experiences rather than on general lines of enquiry.
- **Depth interview:** It is an intensive and searching kind of interview. It emphasizes certain psychological and social factors relating to attitudes, emotions or convictions.

It may be observed that on occasions several types are used to obtain the needed information.

Other classifications of interviews are as follows:

- Intake interview, as the initial stage in clinic and guidance centres
- Brief talk contacts as in schools and recreation centres
- Single hour interview
- Clinical psychological interview, stressing psychotherapeutic counselling and utilizing case history data and active participation by the counsellor in the re-education of the client

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- Psychiatric interviews, similar to psychological counselling, but varying with the personality and philosophical orientation of the individual worker and with the setting in which used
- Psychoanalytic interviews
- Interview form of test
- Group interviews for selecting applicants for special course
- Research interview

5.5.2 Important Elements of Research Interview

The important elements of research interview are as follows:

1. Preparation for Research Interview

- Decide the category and number of persons that you would like to interview.
- Have a clear conception of the purpose and the information required.
- Prepare a clear outline, a schedule or a checklist of the best sequence of questions that will systematically bring out the desired information.
- Decide the type of interview that you are going to use, i.e., structured or non-structured interview.
- Have a well thought-out plan for recording responses.
- Fix up the time well in advance.
- Procure the tools to be used in recording responses.

2. Executing an Interview

- Be friendly and courteous and put the respondent at ease so that he talks freely.
- Listen patiently to all opinions and never show surprise or disapproval to a respondent's answer.
- Assume an interested manner towards the respondent's opinion, and as far as possible do not divulge your own.
- Keep the direction of the interview in your own hands and avoid irrelevant conversation and try to keep the respondent on track.
- Repeat your questions slowly and with proper emphasis in case respondent shows signs of failing to understand a particular question.

3. Obtaining the Response

Perhaps the most difficult part of the job of an interviewer is to obtain a specific, complete response. People can often be evasive and answer 'do not know' if they do not want to make an effort of thinking. They can also misunderstand the question and answer incorrectly in which case the interviewer would have to probe more deeply.

An interviewer should be skilled in the technique as only then can the interviewer gauge whether the answers are incomplete or non-specific. Each interviewer must fully understand the motive behind asking particular questions and whether the answer is giving the information required. The interviewer should form the habit of asking himself/herself, 'Does that completely answer the question that I just asked?'

Throughout the interview, the interviewer must be extremely careful as to not suggest a possible reply. The interviewer should always content himself with mere repetition (if the question is not understood to answer).

4. Reporting the Response

There are two chief means of recording opinion during an interview. If the question is preceded, the interviewer only needs check a box or circle or code, or otherwise indicate which code comes closest to the respondent's opinion. If the question is not preceded, the interviewer is expected to record the response verbatim.

The following points may be kept in view in this respect:

- Quote the respondents directly, just as if the interviewers were newspaper reporters taking down the statement of an important official without paraphrasing the reply, summarizing it in the interviewer's own words, 'polishing up' any slang or correcting bad grammar that distorts the respondent's meaning and emphasis.
- Ask the respondent to wait until the interviewer gets down 'that last thought'.
- Do not write as soon as you have asked the question and do not write while the respondent talks. Wait until the response is completed.
- Use common abbreviations.
- Do not record and evaluate the responses simultaneously.

5. Closing the Interview

It should be accompanied by an expression of thanks giving recognition to the respondent's generosity in sparing time and effort.

6. Use of Tape Recorder in Interview

- It reduces the tendency of the interviewer to make an unconscious selection of data favouring the interviewer's biases.
- The tape recorded data can be played more than once, and thus it permits a thorough study of the data.
- Tape recorder speeds up the interview process.
- Tape recorder permits the recording of some gestures.
- The tape recorder permits the interviewer to devote full attention to the respondent.
- No verbal productions are lost in a tape recorded interview.
- Other things being equal, the interviewer who uses a tape recorder is able to obtain more interviews during a given time period than an interviewer who takes notes or attempts to reconstruct the interview from memory after the interview has been completed.

5.5.3 Indifferent Attitude of the Respondent and the Role of the Research Worker

It is observed that the research worker is likely to encounter several problems arising out of the apathy of the respondents. In such a situation, the following points may be kept in view:

- When the respondent is really busy and has no time, the field worker may request for a more convenient time.

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- When the respondent simply wants to avoid the interview and is not inclined to be bothered about it, the field worker should try to explain to the respondent the importance of the study, and how the respondent's own response is of material value in the case.
- When the respondent is afraid to give the interview as it affects his boss or the party to which he belongs or any other cause which is likely to harm his interest, the field worker must assure the respondent that absolute secrecy would be maintained by the researcher and the organization.
- When the respondent does not hold a high opinion about the outcome of such interviews in general, or has a poor opinion about the research organization or institution conducting it, it is the duty of the research worker at such times to explain to the respondent the importance of the problem, and convince the respondent regarding the status of the research body.
- When the respondent is suspicious and he thinks that the enquiry is either from the income tax department or some other secret agency, at such times he may generally ask such questions. Who are you? Who told you our name? Have you interviewed the neighbour? etc. The research worker should try to eliminate the respondent suspicion. A letter of authority, the letter head or the seal of the research body would prove to be useful on such occasions.
- When the respondent is unsocial or otherwise confined to his own family (such a tendency is mostly found in the case of newly married couples), the research worker at such times will try to create the respondent's interest in the subject of investigation.
- When the respondent is too haughty and thinks it below his dignity to grant an interview to petty research workers, the investigator should get a letter of introduction from an influential person.

5.5.4 Advantages and Disadvantages of Interview Method

The advantages of the interview method over other techniques are as follows:

- A well-trained interviewer can obtain more data and greater clarity by altering the interview situation. This cannot be done in a questionnaire.
- An interview permits the research worker to follow-up leads as contrasted with the questionnaire.
- Questionnaires are often shallow and they fail to dig deeply enough to provide a true picture of opinions and feelings. The interview situation usually permits much greater depth.
- It is possible for a skilled interviewer to obtain significant information through motivating the subject and maintaining rapport, other methods do not permit such a situation.
- The respondents when interviewed may reveal information of a confidential nature which they would not like to record in a questionnaire.
- Interview technique can be used in the case of children and illiterate persons who cannot express themselves in writing. This is not possible in a questionnaire.
- The percentage of response is much higher than in case of a mailed questionnaire.
- The field worker is personally present to remove any doubt or suspicion regarding the nature of enquiry or meaning of any question or term used. The answers are, therefore, not biased because of any misunderstanding.

- The field worker may create a friendly atmosphere for proper response. The field worker may start a discussion, and develop the interest of the respondent before showing the schedule. A right atmosphere is very conducive for getting correct replies.
- The interviewee may disclose personal and confidential information which the interviewee would not ordinarily place in writing on paper. The interviewee may need the stimulation of personal contacts in order to be drawn out.
- The interview enables the investigator to follow-up leads and to take advantage of small clues, in dealing with complex topics and questions.
- The interview permits an exchange of ideas and information. It permits 'give and take'.
- It is useful in the case of some categories of persons. The interview enables the interviewee to deal with young children, illiterates and those with limited intelligence or who's state of mind is not quite normal.
- Interviews are also used for pupil counselling, for selection of candidates for instructional purposes, for employment, for psychiatric work, etc.
- The respondent does not feel tired or bored. Supplementary questions may be put to enliven the whole discussion.
- The difficulties of bad handwriting of the respondent, use of pencil, etc., are also avoided as every schedule is filled in by the interviewer.
- A probe into life pattern is possible. The personal contact with the respondent enables the field worker to probe more deeply into the character, living conditions and general life pattern of the respondent. These factors have a great bearing in understanding the background of any reply.
- The information gathered through interviews has been found to be fairly reliable.
- It is possible for the interviewer to probe into attitudes, discover the origin of the problem, etc.
- Interview technique is very close to the teacher. It is generally accepted that no research technique is as close to the teacher's work as the interview.
- Sometimes interviews can be held at suitable intervals to trace the development of behaviour and attitudes.
- Interviews can be used for student counselling, occupational adjustment, selection of candidates for educational courses, etc.
- Interviews can be used for all kinds of research methods—normative, historical, experimental, case studies and clinical studies.
- Interview techniques provide scope for cross questioning.
- This technique allows the interviewer to remain in command of the situation throughout the investigation.
- Through the respondent's incidental comments, facial expression, bodily movements, gestures, etc., an interviewer can acquire information that could not be obtained easily by other means.
- Cross questioning by the interviewer can enable him/her to judge the sincerity, frankness and insight of the interviewee.

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Disadvantages of Interview Method

The method of interview, in spite of its numerous advantages has the following limitations:

- **Very costly:** It is a very costly affair. The cost per case is much higher in this method than in case of mailed questionnaires. Generally speaking, the cost per questionnaire is much less than the cost per interview. A large number of field workers may have to be engaged and trained in the work of collection of data. All this entails a lot of expenditure and a research worker with limited financial means finds it very difficult to adopt this method.
- **Biased information:** The presence of the field worker while encouraging the respondent to reply, may also introduce a source of bias in the interview. At times the opinion of the respondent is influenced by the field worker and his replies may not be based on what he thinks to be correct but what he thinks the investigator wants.
- **Time consuming:** It is a time consuming technique as there is no guarantee how much time each interview can take, since the questions have to be explained, interviewees have to assured and the information extracted.
- **Expertness required:** It requires a high level of expertise to extract information from the interviewee who may be hesitant to part with this knowledge.

Among the important qualities to be possessed by an interviewer are objectivity, insight and sensitivity.

5.6 PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES

The idea of projecting oneself or one's feelings on ambiguous objects is the basic assumption in projective techniques. The 19th century saw the origin of these techniques in clinical and developmental psychology. However, it was after second World War that these techniques were adopted for use in advertising agencies and market research firms. Ernest Dichter (1960) was one of the pioneers who used these techniques in consumer and motivational research. Consumer surveys and research were considered incomplete if they did not make use of projective techniques (Henry, 1956; Rogers and Beal, 1958; Newman, 1957). However, with the advent of technology and computer-aided analysis, these subjective methods were generally forgotten.

It was only in the 1990s that work done on semiotics, in-depth interviews and renewed interest in human emotions and needs, especially the latent needs and brand personalities led to resurgence of these methods (Belk et al., 1997 and Zaltman, 1997).

Unlike the other approaches discussed in the unit, these methods involve indirect questioning. Instead of asking direct questions, the method involves a relatively ambiguous stimuli and indirect questions related to imaginary situations or people. The purpose of the research is to present a situation to the respondents to project their underlying needs, emotions, beliefs and attitudes. The ambiguity of the situation is non-threatening and thus a person has no hesitation in revealing his/her true inner motivations and emotions. The more the degree of ambiguity, the more is the range of responses one gets from the respondents. In the theoretical sense, projective techniques unearth beliefs, attitudes and feelings that might underlie certain behaviour or interaction situations. Thus, the respondents' attitudes are uncovered by analysing their responses to the scenarios that

Check Your Progress

10. What is the interview method of collecting data according to Rummel J. Francis?
11. What does research interview emphasize?
12. State the significance of a tape recorder while conducting an interview.

are deliberately constructed to stimulate responses from the right side of the brain, which is stated to be the affective side. The second premise of projective techniques is to uncover the different levels of consciousness (Freud, 1911). Generally, the structured methods look at primary motivations; however, it is the underlying latent needs which might drive the individual to behave in a certain manner. The third is to reveal data that is inhibited by socially-desirable and correct responses. Sometimes individuals hesitate to express their prejudices or feelings towards other individuals, groups or objects. Indirect and ambiguous stimuli might reveal startling results in such cases. In psychology, there are a wide variety of techniques available. These can be categorized on the basis of the conduction process. Some of these techniques are briefly discussed below.

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1. Association techniques: These are the most frequently used methods in management research. They essentially involve presenting a stimulus to the respondent and he needs to respond with the first thing that comes to his mind. The method is essentially borrowed from clinical psychology, the most well-known being the Rorschach Inkblot test. The set of inkblots are ambiguous in nature, however, these are standardized blots symmetrical in nature. The first few are in shades of black and white and the others are coloured. Each of these is presented in a sequence to the consumer. The responses, time taken, the direction in which the blot is turned, are noted. There are norms and scores available for evaluating the personality of the individual. They require a considerable amount of training in conduction and interpretation and, thus, are not commonly used. A technique based on the same principle is called the word association test. This found its earliest uses in 1936 by Houghton for advertising evaluations. The technique involves presenting a group of words and the respondent needs to respond instantly with the first thing that comes to his mind. The critical words are disguised and come after a few neutral or mundane words. The idea is that the element of surprise will reveal associations that lie in the subconscious or the unconscious mind. The words which are selected to address the objectives of the study are called test words and the others are called fillers.

For example, to attest the extent of eco-friendly attitude of a community, one could have a number of words like ‘environment’, ‘plastic’, ‘water’, ‘earth’, ‘tigers’, ‘clean’, etc. These would be embedded in the fillers to see the extent to which the consumer is aware. The person’s exact response is either noted or recorded; in case one is doing this manually, it is critical to note the reaction time of the person, as hesitating would mean that there was a latent response which the person was not comfortable about revealing. In this case, the response needs to be discarded or evaluated through other responses. Another variation of the test used in individual and brand personality is to ask the person to think of an animal/object that one associates with a brand or a person.

For example, the word ‘wall’ is associated with a famous Indian cricketer.

The obtained answers are measured in terms of:

- Similarity of responses given to a test word by a number of respondents
- Unique responses
- Time taken for a response
- Non-response

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In case a person does not respond at all, it is assumed that there is emotional block hampering. A person’s attitudes and feelings related to the topic can be measured by this technique.

Illustration: Talking to elders: A popular pharmaceutical firm produces a range of expensive products meant for old age consumers. The company plans to use television advertising to create awareness about the products. Word association was used to study old people’s attitudes towards medication and supportive therapy. Six men and six women were selected to administer the test; they were matched on income, class, age, education and current status of living with their married sons/daughters. The test words used and the responses obtained are in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Test Word Used and Responses Obtained

Test words	Responses		
Health	Care (3)	Bad (2)	Good (1)
Life	Difficult (2)	Relaxed (3)	Good (1)
Medicines	Necessity (4)	Prevention (2)	Avoid (1)
Walking stick	Support (3)	Avoid (2)	Carved ivory (1)
Adult diapers	Embarrassment (4)	Necessity (2)	
Treatment	In time (2)	Expensive (4)	
Bones	Weak (3)	Brittle (3)	
Death	The end (1)	Inevitable (5)	

The major responses are highlighted and reveal that the seniors are not afraid of dying, are realistic about failing health and supportive medicines or walking stick. However, they have clearly stated that they do not want to be embarrassed. Thus, talking about their health problems on a public platform and offering solutions would not be welcome. They are conscious and positive about medicines being essential, however, their dignity must be kept intact.

This research was taken as a reflection of the attitude of the elderly at large and the company does not use television advertising at all, rather it relies on doctors and chemists to push the product.

An extension of the association technique is the completion technique.

- 2. Completion techniques:** These techniques involve presenting an incomplete object to the respondent, which can be completed by the respondent in any way.

Old age is

Sentence completion is the most popular of all projective techniques and is inevitably used in almost all measuring instruments as an open-ended question. However, the incomplete sentence of a typical projective test needs to be more ambiguous than a typical open-ended question. Generally, they are given a single word or phrase and asked to fill it in, for example:

Working at IBM is. Or

McDonald is.

Another extension of the technique is story completion. Here, the individual is given an incomplete story or idea. One provides a backdrop and a background for a possible topic. However, the possible end is left open-ended. The subject

is supposed to complete the story and provide a conclusion. The theoretical assumption is that the completion of the story/sentence reflects the underlying attitude and personality traits of the person.

- 3. Construction techniques:** These techniques might appear similar to completion technique, however here, the focus is on the completed object, which could be a story, a picture, a dialogue or a description. Here again, the level of ambiguity and scope for letting loose the respondents' imagination is vast.

Clinical psychology has a whole range of construction techniques, but here we will refer only to the ones which are actively used in business research. These are:

- **Story construction tests:** The most often used test is the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) developed by Henry (1956). There are a total of 20 pictures, most of them having the profile of a man, woman or child either clearly visible or diffused. The pictures are given to the respondent and he is asked about what is happening here? What happened or led to this? What do you think is going to happen now? The assumption is, that in most instances the person puts himself into the shoes of the protagonist and actually indicates how he would respond in the given situation. The story gives an indication of the person's personality and need structure. For example, an individual may be characterized as extroverted, or a pessimistic or high on creativity or high on dogmatism, and so on. The TAT is used extensively, in parts (a few selected pictures) or in totality in a number of organizations, including the armed forces. The usage is majorly done for selection and recruitment process.
- **Cartoon tests:** The tests make use of animated characters in a particular situation (Masling, 1952). They are considered ambiguous as the figures bear no resemblance to a living being and thus are considered non-threatening. The cartoon usually has a picture that has two or more characters talking to each other; usually the statement/question by one character is denoted and one needs to fill in the response made by the other character. The picture has a direct relation with the topic under study and is assumed to reveal the respondent's attitude, feelings or intended behaviour. They are one of the easiest to administer, analyse and score.

- 4. Choice or ordering techniques:** These techniques involve presenting the respondents with an assortment of stimuli—in the form of pictures or statements—related to the study topic. The subject is supposed to sort them into categories, based on the study instructions given. For example, in a study on measuring desired supervisor–subordinate relations, a set of Tom and Jerry cartoon pictures were used, some in which Tom is overpowering Jerry, some neutral pictures where they are carrying out their respective tasks and others where Jerry, the mouse outwits Tom. The respondent needs to sort them into good, neutral and bad picture piles.

These sets are not similar to cartoon tests as they do not require completion or closure. These require sorting, in order to measure any stereotyped or typical behaviour of the respondent. The pictures that have been given to the person carry an expert score (that is they have been categorized on a rating scale to

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reveal different degrees of the attitude). The higher the selection of pictures with extreme scores, the more rigid is the respondent's attitude and in case modification or enhancement is required, the task would be more difficult. The test is used to measure attitudes and the strength of the existing attitude.

5. Expressive techniques: The focus on the other five techniques was on the end result or the output. However, in expressive techniques, the method or means or expressions used in attempting the exercise are significant. The subject needs to express not his/her own feelings and opinions but those of the protagonist(s) in a given verbal or visual situation. Again the presumption is that people are uncomfortable giving personal opinion on a sensitive issue, but, do not mind or are less inhibitive when it is in the third person. There are many examples: Clay modelling—here the emphasis is on the manner in which the person uses or works with clay and not on the end result.

Psychodrama (Dichter, 1964)—here the person needs to take on the roles of living or inanimate object, like a brand(s) and carry out a dialogue.

Object personification (Vicary, 1951)—here the person personifies an inanimate object/brand/organization and assigns it human traits.

Role playing is another technique that is used in business research. The respondents are asked to play the role or assume the behaviour of someone else. The details about the setting are given to the subject(s) and they are asked to take on different roles and enact the situation.

The third-person technique is again considered harmless as here, the respondent is presented with a verbal or visual situation and needs to express what might be the person's beliefs and attitudes. The person may be a friend, neighbour, colleague, or a 'typical' person. Asking the individual to respond in the third person reduces the social pressure, especially when the discussion or study is about a sensitive issue. For example, no respondent even when assured of anonymity, would own up to being open to an extra-marital affair; however, if asked whether a colleague/friend/person in his/her age group might show an inclination for the same, the answers might be starkly different.

5.6.1 Evaluating Projective Techniques

As can be seen from the description of the techniques available to the researcher, the projective techniques are unsurpassed in revealing latent yet significant responses. These would not surface through a more structured or standardized techniques like focus group discussions or interviews. The ambiguity and the third-person setting give the respondent a sufficient camouflage and confidence to feel comfortable about revealing attitudes, interests and beliefs about sensitive issues. There might also be instances where the respondent is unaware of his underlying motivations, beliefs and attitudes that are operating at a subconscious level. Projective techniques are helpful in unearthing these with considerable ease and expertise.

However, this richness of data also has its disadvantages. The conduction and analysis of the technique requires specialists and trained professionals. This is also the reason why the tests are expensive and time consuming in usage. Most of the techniques require varying degrees of ambiguity and the higher the ambiguity, the richer is the response. But, at the same time, it makes the analysis and interpretation difficult and

subjective. Role playing and psychodrama require interaction and participation by the subject, thus the person who volunteers to participate in the study, might be unusual in some way. Therefore, generalizing the results of the analysis might be subject to error.

5.7 CASE STUDY AND CONTENT ANALYSIS

Case studies are discussions of individual cases under topics of discussion which help researchers to corroborate known facts proved previously through research. Social scientists, in particular, used the case study method to conduct research for many years. A variety of disciplines used this method of research to corroborate their findings in real life situations. Researcher Robert K. Yin defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1984, p. 23).

However, critics feel that the case study method is not reliable enough for establishing a rule or principle as it portrays only a minuscule population which forms not even a part of the entire population. Some feel that this method is only a reliable exploratory tool. Literature supports reports of carefully planned and crafted studies of the case study method. Robert E. Stake, Helen Simmons, and Robert Yin are renowned researchers who have written about the utility of case studies in social sciences. They have prescribed six steps that should be used when utilizing the case study method. These are:

- Determine and define the research questions
- Select the cases and determine data gathering and analysis techniques
- Prepare to collect the data
- Collect data in the field
- Evaluate and analyse the data
- Prepare the report

1. Determine and define the research questions

Before a case study research is undertaken, cementing a research focus is important so that the researcher can refer to it during the course of study. The research object is often a person, an organizational policy, a group of people, etc. A number of data gathering methods are used by the researcher who studies every case study in depth. The researcher reads the available literature to understand where the topic stands in terms of prior research and undertakes a thorough planning before embarking on the actual case study. Literature and previous studies help him to decide where to look for evidence to corroborate his findings on the concerned topic. These help in designing the blueprint for the current study.

2. Select the cases and determine data gathering and analysis techniques

While designing the study, researchers finalize the approaches, methods of data extraction and data gathering for real-life cases that they need to study. While using multiple cases, each case is treated as a single case. The conclusions of these cases can then be utilized for underlining various facets of their study. The researchers need to discriminate positively

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Check Your Progress

13. Which century saw the origin of projective techniques in clinical and developmental psychology?
14. Why is the cartoon test considered to be ambiguous in nature?

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for the case study that they want to utilize for corroborating their findings. Researchers should decide whether they want to study cases that are conventional or extraordinary while conducting the study. In case they are hesitant, they may go back to the purpose of the study that they had enumerated before beginning the research. The decision to choose a single or multiple case studies is an important one, while a single case study may be examined for analysing more than one inherent principle. These types of case studies involve two different levels of analysis which increases the complexity of data collected. Multiple sources and techniques in the data collecting process is a key strength of the case study method. Researchers need to determine what data they would wish to gather by examining a case and how to analyse the data collection. The tools they may use are interviews, surveys, documentation review, observation and collection of physical artefacts. During the design phase of the research, researchers should make sure that the study ensures construct validity, external validity, internal validity and reliability. Researchers need to use the correct measures for ensuring construct validity. Internal validity is ensured when the conditions may be used over and over again to prove validity of the case. External validity is ensured when the findings may be generalized beyond the case or cases. A case study is said to be more externally valid when it can withstand more people, places and procedures. Techniques known as within-case examination and cross-case examination and literature review help ensure the validity of the case.

3. Prepare to collect the data

Researchers using the case study method generally gather a large amount of data from a number of sources. Organizing this data in a systematic manner is a challenge in itself. Researchers should plan ahead to prevent getting overwhelmed by this data. They might even lose sight of the original purpose of gathering the data. Researchers sort, categorize, store and retrieve data for analysis with the help of databases. Extraordinary cases help researchers by providing an efficient training programme, establishing proper protocols and conducting a pilot study before entering fieldwork. The training programme covers the concept to be studied, terminology, processes, methods, etc. The researchers also learn the application of techniques used in the study. In order to gather data from the interviewed population, researchers have to be skilled enough to retain or record the interviews without the gadget coming in the interviewee's way. Researchers should know how to steer conversation towards the questions they intend to ask next. They should be trained in analysing body language and interpret answers not expected by them. Researchers need to read between the lines and in case the topic is sensitive, understand a respondent's hesitation and silence. Researchers should not feel threatened by missed appointments and lack of space for holding the interview or unexpected turns of events during the interview; for example, a respondent may break down while answering a sensitive question. Researchers should be humane, understanding and flexible in approach. They should revisit the research design that they had created before starting the case studies and make changes as and when required.

4. Collect data in the field

Researchers should be trained to collect and store multiple sources of evidence in various formats while going about studying the case. Though case study research is flexible, any change that comes up needs to be documented carefully. The multiple storing of data is required so that converging lines of enquiry and patterns may be discovered. Field notes

may be used for recording intuitions, hunches, feelings, and also for documenting the work in progress. Illustrations, anecdotes and special records may be written in the field notes so that the researcher may refer to it when making case study reports. The data and the field notes should be kept separately for analysis. The researcher needs to document, classify and cross-refer all evidence so that these could be efficiently recalled for examination and sorting as and when required.

5. Evaluate and analyse the data

The raw data gathered by the researchers need to be interpreted at different levels to find linkages between the objectives of the research and the outcome of studying the case. Researchers must remain open to new insights and opportunities throughout the evaluation and analysis process. They can triangulate data with the help of different techniques and collection methods inherent to the case study method. Researchers will be provided with new insights and conflicting data by case studies which are extraordinary. They would need to categorize, tabulate and combine data to address the purpose of the study. In order to cross-check data collected, short, repeated interviews need to be conducted. Placing information into arrays, creating matrices of categories, making flow charts or other displays, etc., may be used by the researcher as specific techniques. The quantitative data collected may be used to corroborate the qualitative data collected during interviews. Many research organizations may also use multiple researchers to verify the data collected. When these multiple observations converge, researchers may become more confident of their findings. Conflicting observations need in-depth study of the findings. The cross-case search technique requires that researchers look at data from different angles and do not reach a premature conclusion. Across all cases investigated, the cross-case search divides data by type. When a pattern from one data is vouched for by another data, the finding is stronger. When these evidences do not form a data, a further probe is essential.

6. Prepare the report

An exemplary case study report transforms the manner in which a complex issue is presented. Case study reports are often published so that readers may apply the experience in their real-life situations. Case studies mostly display evidences to gain the confidence of the readers. Researchers also underline the boundaries of the case and draw the attention of the readers to conflicting propositions. Many researchers present case study reports in the form of a chronological account. Some may treat a case as a fresh chapter. Once a report is completed, the researcher should always edit and examine it for loopholes. Representative audience group is used for comments and criticisms and the valid criticisms are incorporated in the next draft. Since case studies involve multiple sources of data, or may include more than one case within a study, they often become complex. The case study method is generally used by researchers from various disciplines to build upon a theory, to produce a new theory, to challenge or dispute a theory, to explore new horizons, to apply solutions to situations, to describe a phenomenon, etc. There are a number of advantages of the case-study method. These are: applicability to real life situations, to contemporary social situations and easy accessibility to its published reports. Case studies help common man understand a complex theory through easy, real-life situations that are used to exemplify the principle being discussed.

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Some examples of case studies are given below.

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Case Study 5.1

Danish International (C)

Shameem was returning back after an exhaustive session with P&Y consultants. The lady consultant had reviewed the information that he had provided about the working atmosphere at Danish.

The consultant had also conducted a couple of visits to the office and had submitted her report. She had pointed out clearly that the indifference she had observed was a matter of serious concern. No benchmarked data would help as the problem was peculiar to the unit. She had advised that the attitude and emotions of the members would have to be analysed. She had told Shameem that they had a couple of standardized tests that she could administer and prepare an action plan.

Shameem was not convinced as he knew that the issue needed to be handled at a different level. Then he remembered the lady he had met from Transcend, the research beyond group, who had made a presentation yesterday about seeking the latent to work on the manifest. He recalled the book that he had read by Sigmund Freud and how it had made a lot of sense about why people reacted in a certain way. Yes, there was merit in the surreal. But this was business, should he go for the subjective?

He reached office, read the P& Y report, thought about what he believed and picked up his phone and made the call

1. Who do you think he called? Why?
2. Are there any alternative technique(s) he could use? Explain by providing a template for collecting the information.

Case Study 5.2

What's in a Car?

Shridhar from Bengaluru, had developed an electric car—VERVE (It is a fully automatic, no clutch, no gears), two-door hatchback, easily seating two adults and two children with a small turning radius of just 3.5 metres. It runs on batteries and as compared to other electric vehicles, has an onboard charger to facilitate easy charging which can be carried out by plugging into any 15 amp socket at home or work. A full battery charge takes less than seven hours and gives a range of 80 km. In a quick-charge mode (two-and-a-half hours) 80 per cent charge is attained which is good enough for 65 km. A full charge consumes just about 9 units of electricity. Somehow the product did not take off the way he expected. He is contemplating about repositioning the car. As he stood looking at the prototype, he knew that there were a couple of questions to which he must find answers before he undertook the repositioning exercise. Who should be the target segment—old people, young students just going to college, housewives, or? What should be the positioning stance? What kind of image would these customers relate to? Was a new name or punch-line required? How should the promotions be undertaken? Hyundai had done it with Shah Rukh Khan, should he also consider a celebrity? If yes who?

1. What kind of research study should Shridhar undertake? Define the objectives of his research.
2. Do the stated objectives have scope for a qualitative research?
3. Which method(s) would you recommend and why?
4. Can you construct a template for conducting the study? What element would you advice Shridhar to keep in mind, and why?

Case Study 5.3**Candy-Ho! (A)**

The evening sky was overcast. Looking out from the window of his office on the 12th floor, Sagar Ahuja could still see the etched out skyline of New Delhi. Sighing wearily, he turned his thoughts back to his comfortable job at Indore where he was marketing spicy Gujarati namkeen, and wondered what on earth he was doing in an alien city whose complexities and multiplicities seemed to defy any description to his simple mind. Having been a star performer at his regional office, and responsible for the launch of two revolutionary products for his company, he had been approached by head hunters to join Nefertiti—the famous global confectionary company in India. As his first assignment he had been given the job of swimming in deep waters and launch a new bubblegum that had been developed.

The Product

It was a sugar-coated, round-shaped, centre-filled liquid gel bubblegum in two flavours—strawberry and blueberry. The product was packed in mono pillow packs and was going to be priced at ₹1.00 per piece. The name of the product was to be *Moondrops*.

He had in front of him the results of a research conducted by Offspring Research Agency—a market research company specializing in child research studies.

Research Objectives

- To understand the meaning of a candy/bubblegum in a child's life.
- To analyse the response to two advertisements that had been created to market the bubblegum.
- To arrive at a decision on how to position and market the gum, and the advertisement that would be more suitable for the purpose.

Weighted base: Those whose favourite category is bubblegum and chewing gum	771
Like the taste/like to eat it	87
Soft to chew	26
Easily available everywhere	18
Helps in passing time/kills boredom/overcomes feeling of restlessness	18
Freshens breath	17
Taste you never get tired of/can keep eating repeatedly	11
Has variety of flavours	11
Not costly/Does not cost much	11
Improves taste of mouth/removes bad taste in mouth	10
Can be had any time of the day	10
Makes me feel happy/fun to have	9
Liked by my friends	7
Worth the price I pay for it/value for money	6

Data Source: Primary Research carried out by Nefertiti Company. Random Interviews with SEC A and B consumers equally split between male and female respondents, in the top eight cities, total sample size was 1,000 respondents.

FGD Analysis

The result of 24 focus groups across age groups and metros revealed the following data from a projective technique that involved personifying the bubblegum. The responses are across age groups and are in the decreasing order of most stated.

- *I want to play with my bubblegum*
- *The bubblegum has lots of friends— lot of names*
- *The bubblegum is very naughty—no one can catch him*

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- *The bubblegum is my friend and helps me fight the older kids*
- *If all bubblegums were to fight, my bubblegum would win*
- *If I am feeling sad, my bubblegum would make me laugh*
- *My bubblegum is the bravest*

Post the FGC. Select respondents (children) were shown two advertisements. reaction to these are listed below:

(a) The Race Ad

The storyboard was that at a school annual function race, where the 'hero' of the story deliberately loses the race and comes third instead of first to get the third prize of two big jars of Moondrops. Followed by the punchline '*Moondrops ke liye kuch bhi ho sakta hai*'.

Reactions (With loud laughter)

All the kids were involved with the ad while viewing it and liked the storyboard with comments such as:

- *'It was interesting'*.
- *'Main soch raha tha ki yeh ladka ruk kyon gaya'*. (I was wondering why the boy stopped.)

The children enjoyed when the kid smiles with two big Moondrop jars in his hand.

- *'Jab who ladka race mein finish line ke pas aake ruk jata hai'*. (When the boy stops near the finish line.)
- *'Jab use third prize Moondrops milta hai aur use doorse do first and second prize wale ladke ghoor ke dekhte hain'*. (When he gets Moondrops as the third prize and the first and second prize winners stare at him.)
- *'We feel proud to win a race even if we do not get any prize.'*
- *'If I win the race then Mummy and Daddy will anyway buy me Moondrops'*.
- *'Mein sirf Moondrops ke liye race nahin haroonga'*. (I'll never lose a race just for Moondrops.)
- *'Woh ladka buddhoo tha, kyonki usne jeeti hui race har di.'* (That boy was a fool, as he lost a race that he was winning.)

The kids were surprised when the child stops just near the finish line and when the other two children are surprised and shocked that he is getting the Moondrops as the third prize.

Empathy/Relatability

Not many of the kids could relate to the ad. They did not see themselves doing the same just for getting two jars of Moondrops, the underlying reason being that they had to lose (If they could finish first, then why finish third).

(b) Kitty Party Ad

The story starts with a child returning from school to see a kitty party in progress at home (lots of fat aunties chatting and eating samosas and pakoras). One fat aunty pulls his cheek affectionately and much to his disgust, kisses him. He then feels happy when his reward is a Moondrop from the fat aunty. Seeing that he gets a Moondrop when the aunty kisses him, he plays a prank on all the aunties by jumping on the table and the sofa and kissing all the aunties there. His reward is lots of Moondrops. Followed by the punchline, '*Moondrops ke liye kuch bhi ho sakta hai*'.

Reactions

The scene where the fat aunty kisses the boy and they show her fat lips. The boy kissing the aunties by jumping on the sofa, on the table and by hugging an aunty.

- ‘*Jab who moti aunty ke lips dikhate hain*’. (When they show the fat aunty’s lips.)
- ‘*Jab who moti aunty use kiss karti hain*’. (When the fat aunty kisses him.)
- ‘*Jab who sari aunties ko kiss karta hai aur aunties hairan ho jati hain*’. (When he surprises all the aunties by kissing them.)

Likeability

- ‘*Dekhne mein maza aaya*’ (It was fun to watch.)
- ‘*Jab usne aunties ko kiss kiya to bahut accha laga*’ (It was really good to see him kissing the aunties.)
- ‘*Aunty ka face itna funny tha, unko dekh ke hasi aayi*’ (Aunty’s face was so funny that we felt like laughing.)

Empathy/Relatability

- ‘*Chii, hum naughty nahin hain*’ (Ugh, we are not naughty.)
- ‘*Aunty ko kiss nahin karenge, beizzati hoti hai.*’ (Will not kiss the aunty, it is insulting.)
- ‘*Ganda lagta hai*’. (Don’t like it.)
- ‘*Aunty ko kis karenge to manjan karna padega*’. (Will have to brush teeth if we kiss aunty.)

1. Can you help Mr Ahuja arrive at a decision?

NOTES**5.7.1 Content Analysis**

This technique involves studying a previously recorded or reported communication and systematically and objectively breaking it up into more manageable units that are related to the topic under study. It is peculiar in its nature that it is classified as a primary data collection technique and yet makes use of previously produced or secondary data. However, since the analysis is original, first hand and problem specific, it is categorized under primary methods. Some researchers classify it under observation methods, the reason being that in this, one is also analysing the communication in order to measure or infer about variables. The only difference being that one analyses communication that is ex-post facto rather than live. One can content-analyse letters, diaries, minutes of meetings, articles, audio and video recordings. The method is structured and systematic and thus of considerable credibility.

The first step involves defining U, or the *universe of content*. For example, in the case of Ritu, who wants to know what makes the young Indian tick, she could make use of the blogs written by youngsters, essays and reality shows featuring the age group. She decides that she wants to assess value systems, attitudes towards others/elders, clarity of life goal and peer influences. This step is extremely critical as this indicates the assumptions or hypotheses the researcher might have formulated.

This universe can be reported in any of five different formats (Berelson, 1954). The smallest reported unit could be a *word*. This is especially useful as it can be easily subjected to a computer analysis. In Ritu’s case, the values that she wants to evaluate are individualistic or collectivistic, aggressive or compliant. Thus, she can sift the communication and place words such as ‘I’ or ‘we’ under the respective heads. Words like ‘hate’ ‘dislike’ go under aggression and ‘alright’ ‘fine’ ‘maybe not so good’ for complacency. Then counts and frequencies are calculated to arrive at certain conclusions.

The next level is a *theme*. This is very useful but, a little difficult to quantify as this involves reporting the propositions and sentences or events as representing a theme.

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For example, disrespect towards elders is the theme and one picks out the following as a representative: a young teen's blog which says *my old man (father) has gone senile and needs to be sent to the looney bin for expecting me to become a space scientist, just because he could not become one.....*

This categorization becomes more complex as the element of observer's bias comes into play. Thus, this kind of analysis could be extremely useful when carried out by an expert. However, in the case of an untrained analyst, the reliability and validity of the findings would be questionable.

The other units are *characters* and *space and time measures*. The character refers to the person producing the communication, for example the young teenager writing the blog. Space and time are more related to the physical format, i.e., the number of pages used, the length of the communication and the duration of the communication.

The last unit is the *item*, which is more Gestaltian in nature and refers to categorizing the entire communication as say 'responsible and respectful' or 'aggressive and amoral'. As in the case of theme, this categorization is equally complex as the observer's bias is likely to be high. Thus, to ensure the reliability of the findings, one may ask another coder to evaluate the same data. Cohen (1960) states the measuring of the percentage of agreement between the two analyses by the following formula:

$$K = \frac{\text{Pr}(a) - \text{Pr}(e)}{1 - \text{Pr}(e)}$$

Here, Pr(a) is the relative observed agreement between the two raters. Pr(e) is the probability that this is due to chance. If the two raters are in complete agreement, then Kappa is 1. If there is no agreement, then Kappa = 0, 0.21–0.40 is fair, 0.41–0.80 is good and 0.81–1.00 is considered excellent.

Content analysis of large volumes becomes tedious and prone to error if handled by humans. Thus, there are various computer programmes available that can assist in the process. For computers running on Windows, one can use TEXTPACK, this is a dictionary word approach, where it can tag defined words for word frequency by sorting them alphabetically or by frequencies. Open-ended questions can be sorted by a programme called Verbastat (generally used by corporate users) or Statpac, which has an automatic coding module and is of considerable use to individual researchers.

Content analysis is a very useful technique when one has a large quantity of text as data and it needs to be structured in order to arrive at some definite conclusions about the variables under study. Computer assistance has greatly aided in the active usage of the technique. However, it can appear too simplistic, when one reduces the whole data to counts or frequencies.

Check Your Progress

15. What are case studies?
16. Why do critics feel that the case study method is not reliable enough for establishing a rule or principle?
17. What does content analysis involve?

5.8 SUMMARY

- Observations have led to some of the most important scientific discoveries in human history. Charles Darwin used his observations of animal and marine life at the Galapagos Islands to help him formulate his theory of evolution which he described in *On the Origin of Species*.
- Observation may be defined as 'a process in which one or more persons monitor some real-life situation and record pertinent occurrences'.

- In the process of ‘participant observation’, the observer becomes more or less one of the group members and may actually participate in some activity or the other of the group.
- All observations consist of two main components, the subject and the object. The subject refers to the observer, whereas the object refers to the activity or any type of operation that is being observed.
- Observation is a costly affair. It involves lot of expenses on travelling, staying at the places where the event is taking place and purchase of sophisticated equipment.
- A questionnaire is ‘a tool for research, comprising a list of questions whose answers provide information about the target group, individual or event’.
- Questionnaire that calls for short, check-mark responses are known as closed form type or restricted type. They have highly structured answers like mark a ‘yes’ or ‘no’, write a short response or check an item from a list of suggested responses.
- The open form or unrestricted questionnaire requires the respondent to answer the question in their own words.
- The three stages theory (also known as the sandwich theory) should be applied when sequencing questions. The order to be followed should be first, screening and rapport questions; second, the product specific questions; and third, demographic questions.
- Whoever administers the questionnaire, be it research staff, volunteers or whether self-administered by the respondents, it should have clear, detailed instructions.
- The respondents of a questionnaire may belong to a selected group. Therefore, the conclusions lack the kind of objectivity and representativeness essential for its validity.
- A schedule is a questionnaire containing a set of questions that are required to be answered to collect data about a particular item. A schedule is generally used in a face-to-face situation.
- Observation schedule is used to observe all the activities and record the responses of the respondents under some predefined conditions. The main idea behind examining the activities is to verify the required information.
- Data collection through a questionnaire is cheaper as compared to a schedule, as money is spent only in preparing the schedules and mailing them. In the schedule method, extra money is spent on appointing interviewers and imparting training to them.
- One of the main methods of data collection is conducting interviews. It takes place as a two-way conversation between the researcher and the respondent, whereby information is gathered by asking topic related questions.
- A proper setting for group interviews requires a group of not more than 10 to 12 persons with some social, intellectual, and educational homogeneity, which ensures effective participation by all.
- There are two chief means of recording opinion during the interview. If the question is preceded, the interviewer need only check a box or circle or code, or otherwise indicate which code comes closest to the respondent’s opinion. If the question is not preceded, the interviewer is expected to record the response verbatim.

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- A proper setting for group interviews requires a group of not more than 10 to 12 persons with some social, intellectual, and educational homogeneity, which ensures effective participation by all.
- Research interview is aimed at getting information required by the investigator to test his hypothesis or solve his problems of historical, experimental, survey or clinical type.
- Perhaps the most difficult part of the job of an interviewer is to obtain a specific, complete response. People can often be evasive and answer 'do not know' if they do not want to make the effort of thinking. They can also misunderstand the question and answer incorrectly in which case the interviewer would have to probe more deeply.
- A well-trained interviewer can obtain more data and greater clarity by altering the interview situation. This cannot be done in a questionnaire.
- An interview permits the research worker to follow-up leads as contrasted with the questionnaire.
- The idea of projecting oneself or one's feelings on to ambiguous objects is the basic assumption in projective techniques. The 19th century saw the origin of these techniques in clinical and developmental psychology.
- Ernest Dichter (1960) was one of the pioneers who used these techniques in consumer and motivational research. Consumer surveys and research were considered incomplete if they did not make use of projective techniques.
- In the theoretical sense, projective techniques unearth beliefs, attitudes and feelings that might underlie certain behaviour or interaction situations.
- Cartoon tests make use of animated characters in a particular situation (Masling, 1952). They are considered ambiguous as the figures bear no resemblance to a living being and thus are considered non-threatening.
- Case studies are discussions of individual cases under topics of discussion which help researchers to corroborate known facts proved previously through research.
- Researchers using case study method generally gather a large amount of data from a number of sources. Organizing this data in a systematic manner is a challenge in itself. The researcher should plan ahead to prevent getting overwhelmed by this data.
- An exemplary case study report transforms the manner in which a complex issue is presented. Case study reports are often published so that readers may apply the experience in his or her real-life situations. The case studies mostly display evidences to gain the reader's confidence.
- Content analysis involves studying a previously recorded or reported communication and systematically and objectively breaking it up into more manageable units that are related to the topic under study.
- Content analysis of large volumes becomes tedious and prone to error if handled by humans. Thus, there are various computer programmes available that can assist in the process. For computers running on Windows, one can use TEXTPACK, this is a dictionary word approach, where it can tag defined words for word frequency by sorting them alphabetically or by frequencies.

- Content analysis is a very useful technique when one has a large quantity of text as data and it needs to be structured in order to arrive at some definite conclusions about the variables under study.

5.9 KEY TERMS

- **Observation:** It may be defined as a process in which one or more persons monitor some real-life situation and record pertinent occurrences.
- **Questionnaire:** It is a tool for research, comprising a list of questions whose answers provide information about the target group, individual or event.
- **Schedule:** It is a questionnaire containing a set of questions that are required to be answered to collect data about a particular item; it is generally used in a face-to-face situation.
- **Case studies:** They are discussions of individual cases under topics of discussion which help researchers to corroborate known facts proved previously through research.

5.10 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Observation may be defined as ‘a process in which one or more persons monitor some real-life situation and record pertinent occurrences’.
2. All observations consist of two main components, the subject and the object. The subject refers to the observer, whereas the object refers to the activity or any type of operation that is being observed.
3. The disadvantages of observation are as follows:
 - It is very difficult to establish the validity of observations.
 - Many items of observation cannot be defined.
4. A questionnaire is ‘a tool for research, comprising a list of questions whose answers provide information about the target group, individual or event’.
5. Limitations of open questionnaire are as follows:
 - They are difficult to fill out.
 - The respondents may never be aware of all the possible answers.
 - They take longer to fill.
6. The three stages theory (also known as the sandwich theory) should be applied when sequencing questions. The order to be followed should be first, screening and rapport questions; second, the product specific questions; and third, demographic questions.
7. The limitations of the questionnaire method is:
 - **Limited response:** As noted earlier, this method cannot be used with illiterate or semi-illiterate groups. The number of persons who cooperate and respond to the questionnaire is very small.
 - **Lack of personal contact:** There is very little scope of personal contact in this method. In the absence of personal contact, very little can be done to persuade the respondents to fill up the questionnaire.

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8. A schedule is a questionnaire containing a set of questions that are required to be answered to collect data about a particular item. A schedule is generally used in a face-to-face situation.
9. The interview schedule is used to ask the interviewee questions and record the responses in the space provided in the questionnaire itself.
10. According to Rummel J. Francis: 'The interview method of collecting data requires the actual physical proximity of two or more persons, and generally requires that all the normal channels of communication be open to their use. It is necessary to see one another, to hear each other's voices, to understand one another's language, and to use all that is psychologically inherent in physical proximity. It usually entails a non-reciprocal relation between the individuals concerned. One party desires to get information from another—one party interviews the other—for a particular purpose.'
11. Research interview is aimed at getting information required by the investigator to test his hypothesis or solve his problems of historical, experimental, survey or clinical type.
12. A tape recorder is very helpful in an interview because:
 - It reduces the tendency of the interviewer to make an unconscious selection of data favouring his/her biases.
 - The tape recorded data can be played more than once, and thus it permits a thorough study of the data.
13. The 19th century saw the origin of these techniques in clinical and developmental psychology.
14. Cartoon tests make use of animated characters in a particular situation (Masling, 1952). They are considered ambiguous as the figures bear no resemblance to a living being and thus are considered non-threatening.
15. Case studies are discussions of individual cases under topics of discussion which help researchers to corroborate known facts proved previously through research.
16. Critics feel that the case study method is not reliable enough for establishing a rule or principle as it portrays only a minuscule population which forms not even a part of the entire population.
17. Content analysis involves studying a previously recorded or reported communication and systematically and objectively breaking it up into more manageable units that are related to the topic under study.

5.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Differentiate between participant and non-participant observation.
2. What are the recording techniques of observation?
3. Enumerate the advantages of the observation method of data collection.
4. What are the types of questionnaires?
5. List the questions that should be avoided during the preparation of a questionnaire.

6. State the importance of the questionnaire method of data collection.
7. What are the characteristics of a good schedule?
8. What are the major differences between a schedule and a questionnaire?
9. What is the interview method of data collection? What are its types?
10. How is the attitude of a respondent significant for a researcher during an interview?
11. What are projective techniques? How is it different from the other methods of data collection?
12. Write a note on the evaluation of projective techniques.
13. How do case studies help the common man?
14. What is the content analysis technique of data collection?

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain observation schedule as a tool of data collection.
2. Discuss the concept of questionnaire as a method of data collection.
3. Assess schedule as a method of data collection. Also, assess the difference between a schedule and a questionnaire.
4. List the merits and limitations of the schedule method of data collection.
5. Critically analyse how conducting interviews are an important source of data collection.
6. 'The idea of projecting oneself or one's feelings on to ambiguous objects is the basic assumption in projective techniques.' Explain projective method as a tool of data collection.
7. How are case studies an important source of data collection? What are the steps that should be used when utilizing the case study method?
8. Describe content analysis as a technique of data collection.

5.12 FURTHER READING

- Chawla, D. and N. Sondhi. 2011. *Research Methodology*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
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UNIT 6 ANALYSIS AND USE OF STATISTICS

NOTES

Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Unit Objectives
- 6.2 Data Processing
 - 6.2.1 Editing of Data
 - 6.2.2 Coding of Data
 - 6.2.3 Classification of Data
 - 6.2.4 Tabulation of Data
- 6.3 Analysis of Data
 - 6.3.1 Types of Analysis
 - 6.3.2 Data Interpretation
- 6.4 Representation of Data
 - 6.4.1 Tables
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- 6.5 Use of Statistics
 - 6.5.1 Mean
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 - 6.5.3 Mode
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 - 6.5.5 Measures of Dispersion
 - 6.5.6 Standard Deviation
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Key Terms
- 6.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 6.9 Questions and Exercises
- 6.10 Further Reading

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The unit will begin with a discussion on data processing. The processing of data involves analysis and manipulation of the collected data by performing various functions. The data has to be processed in accordance with the outline laid down at the time of developing the research plan. Processing of data is essential for ensuring that all relevant data has been collected for performing comparisons and analyses. Editing of data involves the testing of data collection instruments in order to ensure maximum accuracy. Coding of data can be defined as representing the data symbolically using some predefined rules. You will also learn about the classification of data. Classification of data involves arrangement of data in groups or classes on the basis of some common characteristics. The methods of classification can be divided under the two headings: classification according to attributes and classification according to class intervals. Further, you will learn about the tabulation of data. In simple terms, tabulation means placing the data collected and results from research in a tabular form. Tabulation can be done by hand or mechanically using various electronic devices. Several factors like the size and type of study, cost considerations, time pressures and availability of tabulating machines decide the choice of tabulation. You will also learn about the analysis of data. Analysis of data is the process of transforming data for the purpose of extracting useful information,

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which in turn facilitates the discovery of some useful conclusions. Finding conclusions from the analysed data is known as interpretation of data. However, if the analysis is done, in the case of experimental data or survey, then the value of the unknown parameters of the population and hypothesis testing is estimated. Moreover, you will learn about the statistical; tools for data analysis. There are certain basic statistical methods which can be classified into three groups: descriptive statistics, inferential statistics and measures of central tendency and dispersion. The unit will also discuss the measures of central tendency and dispersion.

6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the concept of data processing
- Explain the analysis of data and coding
- Discuss the tools tables, graphs and diagrams
- Assess the use of statistics including mean, median, mode and standard deviation

6.2 DATA PROCESSING

Research does not merely consist of data that is collected. Research is incomplete without proper analysis of the collected data. **Processing** of data involves analysis and manipulation of the collected data by performing various functions. The data has to be processed in accordance with the outline laid down at the time of developing the research plan. Processing of data is essential for ensuring that all relevant data has been collected for performing comparisons and analyses. The functions that can be performed on data are as follows:

- Editing
- Coding
- Tabulation
- Classification

Usually, experts are of the opinion that processing and analysis of data are inter-related. Therefore, they should be thought as one and the same thing. It is argued that analysis of data generally involves a number of closely-related operations, which are carried out with the objective of summarizing the collected data and organizing it in such a way that they are able to answer the research questions associated with it.

However, in technical terms, the processing of data involves data representation in such a way that it is open to analysis. Similarly, analysis of data is defined as the computation of certain measures along with searching for the patterns of relationship that may exist among data groups.

6.2.1 Editing of Data

Editing of data involves the testing of data collection instruments in order to ensure maximum accuracy. This includes checking the legibility, consistency and completeness of the data. The editing process aims at avoiding equivocation and ambiguity. The collected raw data is also examined to detect errors and omissions, if any. A careful

scrutiny is performed on the completed questionnaires and schedules to assure that the data has the following features:

- Accuracy
- Consistency
- Unity
- Uniformity
- Effective arrangement

The stages at which editing should be performed are as follows:

- **Field editing:** This involves reviewing the reporting forms by the investigator, that are written in abbreviated or illegible form by the informant at the time of recording the respondent's responses. Such type of editing must be done immediately after the interview. If performed after some time, such editing becomes complicated for the researcher, as it is difficult to decipher any particular individual's writing style. The investigator needs to be careful while doing such kind of editing and restrain the researcher from correcting errors or omission by guesswork.
- **Central editing:** This kind of editing involves a thorough editing of the entire data by a single editor or a team of editors. Such editing takes place when all the schedules created according to the research plan have been completed and returned to the researcher. Editors correct errors, such as data recorded in the wrong place or data recorded in months when it should be recorded in weeks. They can provide an appropriate answer to incorrect or missing replies by reviewing the other information in the schedule. At times, the respondent can be contacted for clarification. In some cases, if the answer is inappropriate or incomplete and an accurate answer cannot be determined on any basis, then the editor should delete or remove that answer from the collected data. He/she can put a note as 'no answer' in such a case. The answers that can be easily deciphered as wrong should be dropped from the final results.

Besides using the above-mentioned methods according to the data source, the researcher should also keep in mind certain points while doing the editing which are as follows:

- Familiarity with the instructions given to interviewers and coders
- Know-how of editing instructions
- Single-line striking for deleting an original entry
- Standardized and distinctive editing of data
- Initializing all the answers that have been changed

6.2.2 Coding of Data

Coding of data can be defined as representing the data symbolically using some predefined rules. Once data is coded and summarized, the researcher can analyse it and relationships can be found among various categories.

Checklist for Coding

The checklist enables the researcher to put the responses of the individuals into a limited number of categories or classes, which should possess the following important characteristics:

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- Classes should be appropriate and in accordance with the research problem under consideration.
- There must be a class for every data element.
- There should be mutual exclusivity, which means that a specific answer can be placed in one and only one cell of a given category set.
- The classes should be one-dimensional. This means that every class is defined in terms of only one concept.

Significance of Coding

Coding of data is necessary for efficient analysis. It facilitates classification of data into a small number of classes. Thus, only important and critical information that is required for analysis is retained in the research. Coding decisions are usually taken at the designing stage of the questionnaire. This makes it possible to pre-code the questionnaire choices which, in turn, is helpful for computer tabulation.

However, in case of hand coding, some standard method may be used. One such method is to code in the margin with a coloured pencil. Another method is to transcribe data from the questionnaire to a coding sheet. Whatever method is adopted, you should note that coding errors are altogether eliminated or reduced to the minimum level.

6.2.3 Classification of Data

Research studies involve extensive collection of raw data and usage of the data to implement a research plan. To make the research plan easier, the data needs to be classified in different groups for understanding the relationship among different phases of research plan. Classification of data involves arrangement of data in groups or classes on the basis of some common characteristics. The methods of classification can be divided under the following two headings:

- Classification according to attributes.
- Classification according to class intervals.

Figure 6.1 shows the classification of data.

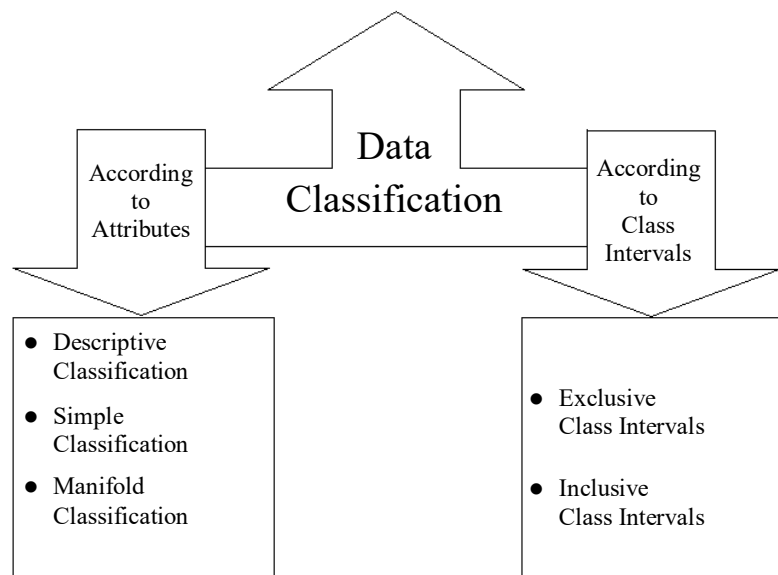


Fig. 6.1 Data Classification

Classification of Data According to Attributes

Data is classified on the basis of similar features, as follows:

- **Descriptive Classification:** This classification is performed according to the qualitative features and attributes, which cannot be measured quantitatively. These features can be either present or absent in an individual or an element. The features related to descriptive classification of attributes, can be literacy, sex, honesty, solidity, etc.
- **Simple Classification:** In this type of classification, the elements of data are categorized as those possessing the concerned attribute and those that do not.
- **Manifold Classification:** In this type of classification, two or more attributes are considered simultaneously and the data is categorized into a number of classes on the basis of those attributes. The total number of classes of final order is given by 2^n , where n = number of attributes considered.

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Classification of Data According to Class Intervals

Classifying data according to class intervals is a quantitative phenomenon. Class intervals help categorize data which has similar numerical characteristics, such as income, production, age, weight, etc. Data can be measured with certain statistical tools like mean, mode and median. The different categories of data according to class intervals are as follows:

- **Statistics of Variables:** This term refers to measurable attributes, as these typically vary over time or between individuals. The variables can be discrete, i.e., taking values from a countable or finite set, continuous, i.e., having a continuous distribution function or neither. This concept of a variable is widely utilized in the social, natural, medical sciences.
- **Class Intervals:** These refer to a range of values of a variable. This interval is used to calibrate the scale of a variable in order to tabulate the frequency distribution of a sample. A suitable example of such data classification can be the categorizing of birth rate in a country. In this case, babies aged 0–1 year will form a group; those aged 2–5 years will form another group, and so on. The entire data is thus categorized into several numbers of groups or classes or in other words, class intervals. Each class interval has an upper limit as well as a lower limit, which is defined as ‘the class limit.’ The difference between two class limits is known as class magnitude. The classes can have equal or unequal class magnitudes.

The number of elements in a given class is called the frequency of the given class interval. All class intervals, with their respective frequencies, are taken together and described in a tabular form called the frequency distribution.

Problems Related to Classification of Data

The problems related to classification of data on the basis of class intervals are divided into the following three categories:

- (a) **Number of classes and their magnitude:** There are differences regarding the number of classes into which data can be classified. As such, there are no predefined rules for classification of data. It all depends upon the skill and experience of the researcher. The researcher should display the data in such a way that it should be clear and meaningful to the analyst.

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As regards the magnitude of classes, it is usually held that class intervals should be of equal magnitude, but in some cases unequal magnitudes may result in better classification. It is the researcher's objective and judgement that plays a significant role in this regard. In general, multiples of two, five and ten are preferred while determining class magnitudes. H.A. Sturges suggested the following formula for determining the size of class interval:

$$i = R / (1 + 3.3 \log N)$$

Where,

i = Size of class interval.

R = Range (difference between the values of the largest element and smallest element among the given elements).

N = Number of items to be grouped.

Sometimes, data may contain one or two or very few elements with very high or very low values. In such cases, the researcher can use an open-ended interval in the overall frequency distribution. Such intervals can be expressed below two years; or twelve years and above. However, such intervals are not desirable, yet cannot be avoided.

(b) Choice of class limits: While choosing class limits, the researcher must determine the mid-point of a class interval. A mid-point is generally derived by taking the sum of the upper and lower limit, of a class and then dividing it by two. The actual average of elements of that class interval should remain as close to each other as possible. In accordance with this principle, the class limits should be located at multiples of two, five, ten, twenty and hundred and such other figures. The class limits can generally be stated in any of the following forms:

o **Exclusive Type Class Intervals:** These intervals are usually stated as follows:

- 10–20
- 20–30
- 30–40
- 40–50

These intervals should be read in the following way:

- 10 and under 20
- 20 and under 30
- 30 and under 40
- 40 and under 50

In the exclusive type of class interval, the elements whose values are equal to the upper limit of a class are grouped in the next higher class. For example, an item whose value is exactly thirty would be put in 30–40 class interval and not in 20–30 class interval. In other words, an exclusive type of class interval is that in which the upper limit of a class interval is excluded and items with values less than the upper limit, but not less than the lower limit, are put in the given class interval.

o **Inclusive Type Class Intervals:** These intervals are normally stated as follows:

- 11–20
- 21–30
- 31–40
- 41–50

This should be read as follows:

- 11 and under 21
- 21 and under 31
- 31 and under 41
- 41 and under 51

In this method, the upper limit of a class interval is also included in the concerning class interval. Thus, an element whose value is twenty will be put in 11–20 class interval. The stated upper limit of the class interval 11–20 is twenty but the real upper limit is 20.999999 and as such 11–20 class interval really means eleven and under twenty-one. When data to be classified happens to be a discrete one, then the inclusive type of classification should be applied. But when data happens to be a continuous one, the exclusive type of class intervals can be used.

(c) **Determining the frequency of each class:** The frequency of each class can be determined using tally sheets or mechanical aids. In tally sheets, the class groups are written on a sheet of paper and for each item a stroke (a small vertical line) is marked against the class group in which it falls. The general practice is that after every four small vertical lines in a class group, the fifth line for the element falling in the same group is indicated as a diagonal line through the above said four lines. This enables the researcher to perform the counting of elements in each one of the class groups. Table 6.1 shows a hypothetical tally sheet.

Table 6.1 Sample of a Tally Sheet

Income groups (Rupees)	Tally mark	Number of families (Class frequency)
Below 600	|||| |||| |||| III	15
601-900	|||| |||| I	9
901-1300	|||| |||| |||| |||| |||| |||| I	25
1301-1500	|||| |||| |||| IIII	16
1501 and above	|||| |||| II	10
Total		75

In case of large inquiries and surveys, class frequencies can be determined by means of mechanical aids, i.e., with the help of machines. Such machines function either manually or automatically and run on electricity and can sort cards at a speed of around 25,000 cards per hour. Although this method increases the speed, it is an expensive method.

NOTES

6.2.4 Tabulation of Data

In simple terms, tabulation means placing the data collected and results from research in a tabular form.

NOTES

Methods of Tabulation

Tabulation can be done by hand or mechanically using various electronic devices. Several factors like the size and type of study, cost considerations, time pressures and availability of tabulating machines decide the choice of tabulation. Relatively, large data requires computer tabulation. Hand tabulation is preferred in case of small inquiries, when the number of questionnaires is small and they are of relatively short length. The different methods used in hand tabulation are as follows:

- **Direct tally method:** This method involves simple codes, where the researcher can directly tally from the questionnaire. The codes are written on a sheet of paper called tally sheet and for each response, a stroke is marked against the code in which it falls. Usually, after every four strokes against a particular code, the fifth response is indicated by drawing a diagonal or horizontal line through the strokes. These groups are easy to count and the data is sorted against each code conveniently.
- **List and tally method:** In this method, code responses may be transcribed into a large worksheet, allowing a line for each questionnaire. This facilitates listing of a large number of questionnaires in one worksheet. The tallies are then made for each question.
- **Card sort method:** This is the most flexible hand tabulation method, where the data is recorded on special cards of convenient sizes and shapes with a series of holes. Each hole in the card stands for a code. When the cards are stacked, a needle passes through a particular hole, thus representing a particular code. These cards are then segregated and counted. In this way, frequencies of various codes can be found out by a repetition of this technique.

Significance of Tabulation

Tabulation enables the researcher to arrange data in a concise and logical order. It summarizes the raw data and displays the same in a compact form for further analysis. It helps in the orderly arrangement of data in rows and columns. The various advantages of tabulation of data are as follows:

- A table saves space and reduces descriptive and explanatory statements to a minimum.
- It facilitates and eases the comparison process.
- The summation of elements and detection of omissions and errors become easy due to a tabular description.
- A table provides a basis for statistical computations.

Checklist for Tables

A table should communicate the required information to the reader in such a way that it becomes easy for him/her to read, comprehend and recall the information when required. There are certain conventions to be followed during tabulation, which are as follows:

- All tables should have a clear, precise and adequate title to make them intelligible enough without any reference to the text.

- Tables should be featured with clarity and readability.
- Every table should be given a distinct number to facilitate easy reference.
- The table should be of an appropriate size and tally with the required information.
- The columns and rows should be headed with bold font letters. It is a general rule to include independent variables in the left column or first row and dependent variables in the bottom row or right column.
- Displaying of numbers should be neat and readable.
- Explanatory footnotes, if any, regarding the table should be placed directly beneath the table, along with the reference symbols used in the table.
- The source of the table should be indicated just below the table.
- The table should contain thick lines to separate data of one class from data of another class and thin lines to separate the different subdivisions of each class.
- All column figures should be properly aligned.
- Abbreviations should be avoided in a table to the best possible extent.
- If the volume of data happens to be large, then it should not be crowded in a single table. It makes the table unwieldy and inconvenient.

Tabulation can also be classified into complex or simple. The former type of tabulation gives information about one or more groups of independent variables, whereas the latter shows the division of data into two or more categories.

6.3 ANALYSIS OF DATA

Analysis of data is the process of transforming data for the purpose of extracting useful information, which in turn facilitates the discovery of some useful conclusions. Finding conclusions from the analysed data is known as interpretation of data. However, if the analysis is done, in the case of experimental data or survey, then the value of the unknown parameters of the population and hypothesis testing is estimated.

Analysis of data can be either descriptive or inferential. Inferential analysis is also known as statistical analysis. Descriptive analysis is used to describe the basic features of the data in a study, such as persons, work groups and organizations. Inferential analysis is used to make inferences from the data, which means that we are trying to understand some process and make some possible predictions based on this understanding.

6.3.1 Types of Analysis

The various types of analyses are as follows:

- **Multiple Regression Analysis:** This type of analysis is used to predict a single dependent variable by a set of independent variables. In multiple regression analysis, the independent variables are not correlated to each other.
- **Multiple Discriminant Analysis:** In multiple discriminant analysis, there is one single dependent variable, which is very difficult to measure. One of the main objectives of this type of analysis is to understand group differences and predict the likelihood that an entity, i.e., an individual or an object, belongs to a particular class or group based on several metric-independent variables.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

1. State the functions that can be performed on data.
2. When are coding decisions taken?
3. Define class intervals.
4. List the different methods used in hand tabulation.

- **Canonical Correlation Analysis:** It is a method for assessing the relationship between variables. This analysis also allows you to investigate the relationship between two sets of variables.

NOTES

Univariate, Bivariate and Multivariate Analysis

Many types of analyses are performed according to the variance that exists in the data. Such analyses is carried out to check if the differences between three or more variables are significant enough to evaluate them statistically. There are three types of such analyses, namely univariate, bivariate and multivariate analyses.

- (i) **Univariate Analysis:** In this analysis, only a single variable is taken into consideration. It is usually the first activity pursued while analysing the data. It is performed with the purpose of describing each variable in terms of mean, median or mode, and variability. Examples of such analysis are averages or a set of cases that may come under a specific category amidst a whole sample.
- (ii) **Bivariate Analysis:** This type of analysis examines the relationship between two variables. It tries to find the extent of association that exists among these variables. Thus, a bivariate analysis may help you; for example, to find whether the variables of irregular meals and migraine headaches are associated and up to what extent. Here, the two variables are thus statistically measured simultaneously.
- (iii) **Multivariate Analysis:** This type of analysis involves observation and analysis of three or more than three statistical variables at a time. Such an analysis is performed using statistical tests or even in a tabular format. Thus, for example, you can study the variables of age, educational qualification and annual income of a given set of population at the same time using the multivariate analysis method.

Table 6.2(a) Bivariate Table

	1991	1992	1993
Percentage of students failed	33 per cent	38 per cent	42 per cent
Percentage of students passed	67 per cent	62 per cent	58 per cent

Although the data in both tables is related, except the variable of ‘attempts’, the multivariate table has been displayed separately in this example. However, you should note that the tables have dealt simultaneously with two or more variables of the data.

Table 6.2(b) Multivariate Table

	1991	1992	1993
	First Attempt	Second Attempt	Third Attempt
Percentage of students who passed in Maths	27 per cent	35 per cent	–
Percentage of students who passed in English	53 per cent	60 per cent	44 per cent

6.3.2 Data Interpretation

Data interpretation refers to the identification of trends in different variables. The researcher uses statistics for this purpose. The researcher is required to be familiar with the knowledge of the scales of measurement. This enables him/her to choose the appropriate statistical method for his/her research project. The scales of measurement facilitate the allotment of numerical values to characteristics adhering to any specific rules. This measurement is also related to such levels of measurement of data like nominal, ordinal and internal and ratio levels. These levels can be explained as follows:

- **Nominal Measurement:** The nominal measurement assigns a numeral value to a specific characteristic. It is the fundamental form of measurement. The nominal measurement calculates the lowest level of data available for measurement.
- **Ordinal Measurement:** This type of measurement involves allotting a specific feature to numeral value in terms of a specific order. The ordinal scale displays the way in which an entity is measured. The ordinal scale of measurement is used to calculate and derive data pertaining to the median, percentage, rank order, correlations and percentile.
- **Interval Measurement:** A researcher can depict the difference between the first aspect of a data and another aspect using this level of measurement. The interval scale of measurement is useful for the researcher in several ways. It can be applied in the calculation of arithmetic mean, averages, standard deviations and determining the correlation between different variables.
- **Ratio Measurement:** In this method, there are fixed proportions (ratio) between the numerical data and the amount of the characteristics that it represents. A researcher should remember while measuring the ratio levels that a fixed zero point exists. The ratio level of measurement facilitates researchers in determining the appropriate data, if the aspects possess any certain characteristic. Almost any type of arithmetical calculations can be executed using this scale of measurement.

The most important feature of any measuring scale is its reliability and validity, which is explained as follows:

- **Reliability:** It is the term used to deal with accuracy. A scale measurement can be said to be reliable, when it exactly measures, only that what it is supposed to measure. In other words, when the same researcher repeats a test, i.e., with a different group but resembling the original group, he/she should get the same results as the former.
- **Validity:** According to Leedy, validity is the assessment of the soundness and the effectiveness of the measuring instrument. There are three types of validity, which can be stated as follows:
 - o **Content Validity:** It deals with the accuracy with which an instrument measures the factors or content of the course or situations of the research study.
 - o **Prognostic Validity:** It depends on the possibility to make judgements from results obtained by the concerned measuring instrument. The judgement is future oriented.
 - o **Simultaneous Validity:** This involves comparing of one measuring instrument with another; one that measures the same characteristic and is available immediately.

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Check Your Progress

5. Define bivariate analysis.
6. When is the ordinal scale of measurement used?

6.4 REPRESENTATION OF DATA

NOTES

There can be a large amount of raw data collected from different sources. Such amount of data becomes quite cumbersome and confusing for the researcher to handle and analyse. It is almost impossible for the researcher to deal with all this data in raw form. Therefore, such data must be presented in a suitable and summarized form without any loss of relevant information so that it can be efficiently used for decision-making. Hence, we construct appropriate tables, graphs and diagrams to interpret, and summarize the entire set of raw data.

In view of the ever-increasing importance of statistical data in business operations and their management, the presentation of data in the form of graphs, tables and diagrams, their importance and use have been discussed in this section.

6.4.1 Tables

Classification of data is usually followed by tabulation, which is considered as the mechanical part of classification.

Tabulation is the systematic arrangement of data in columns and rows. The analysis of the data is done so by arranging the columns and rows to facilitate analysis and comparisons.

Tabulation has the following objectives:

- (i) Simplicity is one of the main objectives of tabulation. The removal of unnecessary details gives a clear and concise picture of the data.
- (ii) Economy of space and time.
- (iii) Ease in comprehension and remembering.
- (iv) Facility of comparisons is another main objectives of tabulation. Comparisons within a table and with other tables may be made.
- (v) Ease in handling of totals, analysis, interpretation, etc.

Construction of Tables

A table is constructed depending on the type of information to be presented and the requirements of statistical analysis. The following are the essential features of a table:

- (i) **Title:** It should have a clear and relevant title, which describes the contents of the table. The title should be brief and self explanatory.
- (ii) **Stubs and captions:** It should have clear headings and sub headings. Column headings are called captions and row headings are called stubs. The stubs are usually wider than the captions.
- (iii) **Unit:** It should indicate all the units used.
- (iv) **Body:** The body of the table should contain all information arranged according to description.
- (v) **Headnote:** The headnote or prefatory note, placed just below the title, in a less prominent type, gives some additional explanation about the table. Sometimes, the headnote consists of the unit of measurement.
- (vi) **Footnotes:** A footnote at the bottom of the table may clarify some omissions of special features.

- (vii) **Source:** A source note gives information about the source used, if any.
- (viii) **Arrangement of data:** Data may be arranged according to requirements in chronological, alphabetical, geographical, or any other order.
- (ix) **Emphasis:** The items to be emphasized may be put in different print or marked suitably.
- (x) **Other details:** Percentages, ratios, etc. should be shown in separate columns. Thick and thin lines should be drawn at proper places.

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A table should be easy to read and should contain only the relevant details. If the aim of clarification is not achieved, the table should be redesigned.

Types of Tables

Depending on the nature of the data and other requirements, tables may be divided into various types. They are given below:

- (i) **General Tables or Reference Tables:** These contain detailed information for general use and reference, e.g., tables published by government agencies.
- (ii) **Specific Purpose or Derivative Tables:** They are usually summarized from general tables and are useful for comparison and analytical purposes. Averages, percentages, etc., are incorporated along with information in these tables.
- (iii) **Simple and Complex Tables:** A table showing only one characteristic is a simple table. The tables that show two or more characteristics or groups of items are termed as complex tables (see Tables 6.3 and 6.4).

Table 6.3 Simple Table

Cinema Attendance among Adult Male Factory Workers in Bombay March 1972

<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Number of Workers</i>
Less than once a month	3780
1 to 4 times a month	1652
More than 4 times a month	926

Table 6.4 is the result of a survey on the cinema-going habits of adult factory workers.

Table 6.4 Complex Table

Cinema Attendance among Adult Male Factory Workers in Bombay March 1972

<i>Cinema Attendance Frequency</i>	<i>Single</i>		<i>Married</i>	
	<i>Under 30</i>	<i>Over 30</i>	<i>Under 30</i>	<i>Over 30</i>
Less than once a month	122	374	1404	1880
1-4 times a month	1046	202	289	115
More than 4 times a month	881	23	112	10
Total	2049	599	1805	2005

It is obvious that the tabular form of classification of data is a great improvement over the narrative form.

Frequently, table construction involves deciding which attribute should be taken as primary and which as secondary. For the previous table, we can also consider that whether it would be improved further if 'under 30' and '30 and over' had been the main

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column headings and 'single' and 'married' the sub headings. The modifications depend on the purpose of the table. If the activities of age groups are to be compared, it is best left as it stands. But if a comparison between men of different marital status is required, the change would be an improvement.

Advantages of Tabulating of Data

The following are the advantages of tabulating data:

- (i) Tabulated data can be more easily understood and grasped than untabulated data.
- (ii) A table facilitates comparisons between subdivisions and with other tables.
- (iii) It enables the required figures to be located easily.
- (iv) It reveals patterns within the figures, which otherwise might not have been obvious, e.g., from the previous table, we can conclude that regular and frequent cinema attendance is mainly confined to younger age group.
- (v) It makes the summation of items and the detection of errors and omissions, easier.
- (vi) It obviates repetition of explanatory phrases and headings and hence takes less space.

6.4.2 Graphs

In a graph, the independent variable should always be placed on the horizontal or x -axis and the dependent variable on the vertical or y -axis.

Line Graphs

Here, the points are plotted on paper (or graph paper) and joined by straight lines. Generally, continuous variables are plotted by the line graph.

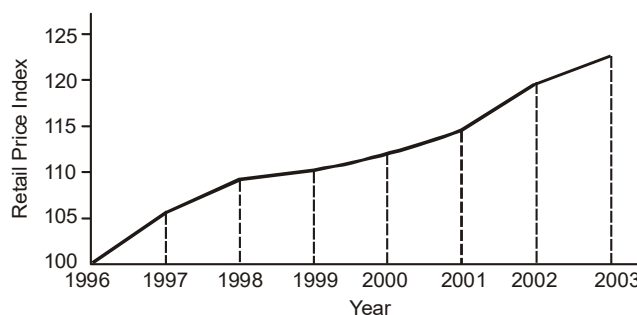
Example 6.1: The monthly averages of Retail Price Index from 1996 to 2003 (Jan. 1996 = 100) were as follows:

Year	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Retail Price Index	100	105.8	109.0	109.6	110.7	114.5	119.3	122.3

Draw a diagram to display these figures.

Solution: Here, years are plotted along the horizontal line and the retail price index along the vertical line.

Erect perpendiculars to horizontal line from the points marked as retail price index for the years 1997, 1998, ..., 2003 and cut off these ordinates according to the given data and thus various points will be plotted on the paper. Join these points by straight lines.



Frequency Polygon

A frequency polygon is a line chart of frequency distribution in which, either the values of discrete variables or midpoints of class intervals are plotted against the frequencies and these plotted points are joined together by straight lines. Since the frequencies generally do not start at zero or end at zero, this diagram as such would not touch the horizontal axis. However, since the area under the entire curve is the same as that of a histogram which is 100 per cent of the data presented, the curve can be enclosed so that the starting point is joined with a fictitious preceding point whose value is zero. This ensures that the start of the curve is at horizontal axis and the last point is joined with a fictitious succeeding point whose value is also zero, so that the curve ends at the horizontal axis. This enclosed diagram is known as the frequency polygon.

We can construct the frequency polygon from the table presented for the ages of 30 workers as shown in Figure 6.2.

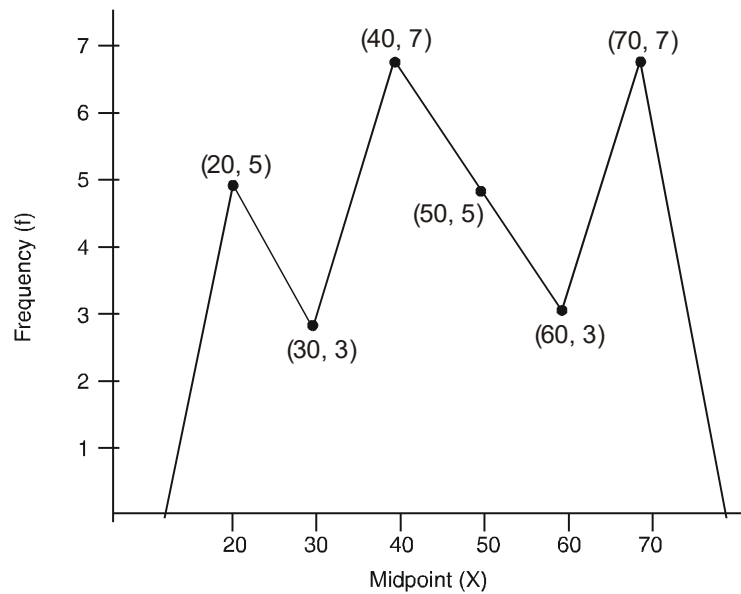


Fig. 6.2 Frequency Polygon

Relative Frequencies

In a frequency distribution, if the frequency in each class interval is converted into a proportion, dividing it by the total frequency, we get a series of proportions called *relative frequencies*. A distribution presented with relative frequencies rather than actual frequencies is called a *relative frequency distribution*. The sum of all relative frequencies in a distribution is 1.

Ogive Curves

Cumulative frequency curve or ogive is the graphic representation of a cumulative frequency distribution. Ogives are of two types. One of these is less than and the other one is greater than ogive. Both these ogives are constructed based upon the following table of our example of 30 workers.

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<i>Class Interval (years)</i>	<i>Mid-point</i>	<i>(f)</i>	<i>Cum. Freq. (less than)</i>	<i>Cum. Freq. (greater than)</i>
15 and upto 25	20	5	5 (less than 25)	30 (more than 15)
25 and upto 35	30	3	8 (less than 35)	25 (more than 25)
35 and upto 45	40	7	15 (less than 45)	22 (more than 35)
45 and upto 55	50	5	20 (less than 55)	15 (more than 45)
55 and upto 65	60	3	23 (less than 65)	10 (more than 55)
65 and upto 75	70	7	30 (less than 75)	7 (more than 65)

(i) **Less than Ogive:** In this case, the less than cumulative frequencies are plotted against the upper boundaries of their respective class intervals. Less than Ogive is shown in Figure 6.3.

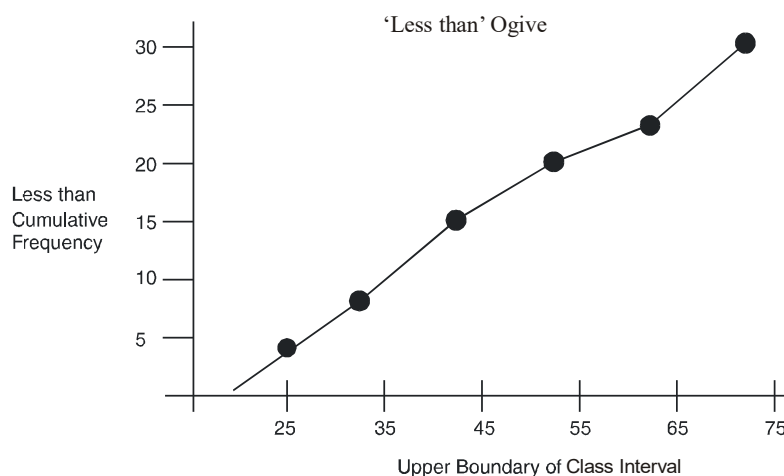


Fig. 6.3 Less than Ogive

(ii) **Greater or More than Ogive.** In this case, the greater than cumulative frequencies are plotted against the lower boundaries of their respective class intervals. Greater than ogive is shown in Figure 6.4.

These ogives can be used for comparison purposes. Several ogives can be drawn on the same grid, preferably with different colours for easier visualization and differentiation.

Although, diagrams and graphs are powerful and effective media for presenting statistical data, they can only represent a limited amount of information and they are not of much help when intensive analysis of data is required.

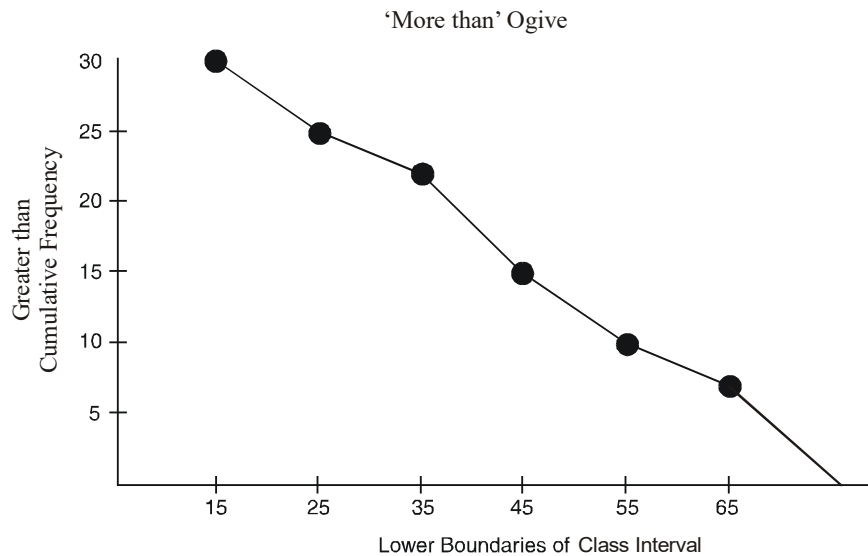


Fig. 6.4 Greater than Ogive

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Histograms

A histogram is the graphical description of data and is constructed from a frequency table. It displays the distribution method of a data set and is used for statistical as well as mathematical calculations.

The word histogram is derived from the Greek word ‘histos’ which means ‘anything set upright’ and ‘gramma’ which means ‘drawing, record, writing’. It is considered as the most important basic tool of statistical quality control process.

In this type of representation, the given data is plotted in the form of a series of rectangles. Class intervals are marked along the X -axis and the frequencies along the Y -axis according to a suitable scale. Unlike the bar chart, which is one dimensional, meaning that only the length of the bar is important and not the width, a histogram is two-dimensional in which both the length and the width are important. A histogram is constructed from a frequency distribution of a grouped data, where the height of the rectangle is proportional to the respective frequency and the width represents the class interval. Each rectangle is joined with the other and any blank spaces between the rectangles would mean that the category is empty and there are no values in that class interval.

As an example, let us construct a histogram for our example of ages of 30 workers. For convenience sake, we will present the frequency distribution along with the midpoint of each interval, where the midpoint is simply the average of the values of the lower and the upper boundary of each class interval. The frequency distribution is shown in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 Frequency Distribution Table

<i>Class Interval (years)</i>	<i>Mid-Point</i>	<i>(f)</i>
15 and upto 25	20	5
25 and upto 35	30	3
35 and upto 45	40	7
45 and upto 55	50	5
55 and upto 65	60	3
65 and upto 75	70	7

The histogram of this data would be shown in Figure 6.5.

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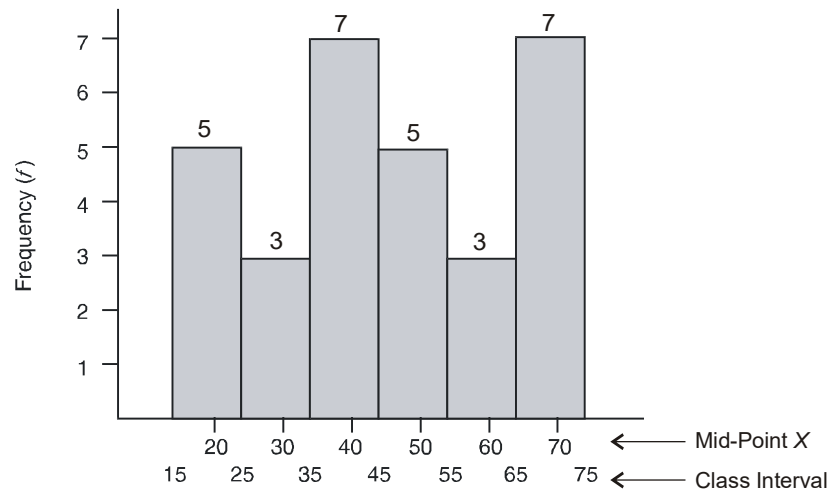


Fig. 6.5 Histogram

6.4.3 Diagrams

The data we collect can often be more easily understood for interpretation if it is presented graphically or pictorially. Diagrams and graphs give visual indications of magnitudes, groupings, trends and patterns in the data. These important features are more simply presented in the form of graphs. Also, diagrams facilitate comparisons between two or more sets of data.

The diagrams should be clear and easy to read and understand. Too much information should not be shown in the same diagram; otherwise, it may become cumbersome and confusing. Each diagram should include a brief and self explanatory title dealing with the subject matter. The scale of the presentation should be chosen in such a way that the resulting diagram is of appropriate size. The intervals on the vertical as well as the horizontal axis should be of equal size; otherwise, distortions would occur.

Diagrams are more suitable to illustrate the data which is discrete, while continuous data is better represented by graphs. The following are the diagrammatic and the graphic representation methods that are commonly used.

One-Dimensional Diagrams

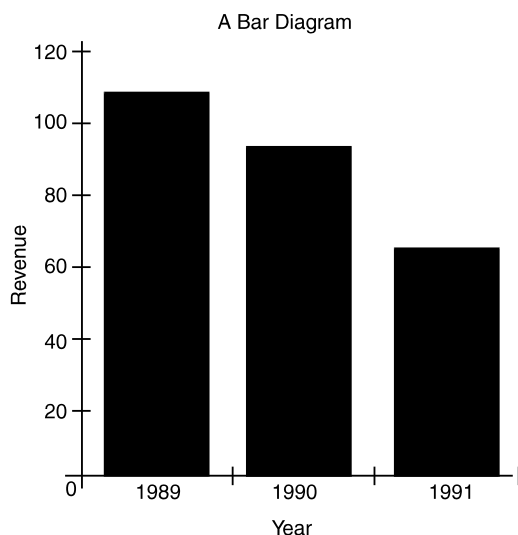
Bars are simply vertical lines where the lengths of the bars are proportional to their corresponding numerical values. The width of the bar is unimportant but all bars should have the same width so as not to confuse the reader of the diagram. Additionally, the bars should be equally spaced.

Example 6.2: Suppose that the following were the gross revenues (in \$100,000.00) for a company XYZ for the years 1989, 1990 and 1991.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Revenue</i>
1989	110
1990	95
1991	65

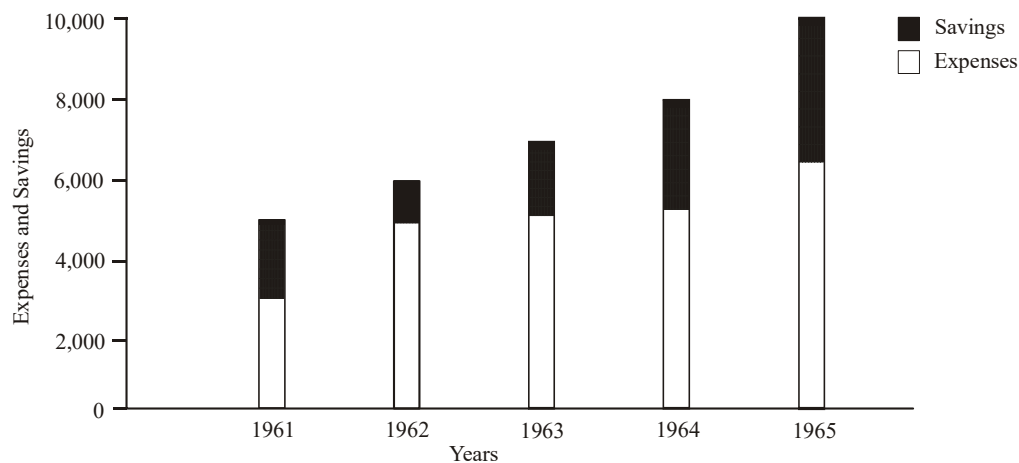
Construct a bar diagram for this data.

Solution: The bar diagram for this data can be constructed as follows with the revenues represented on the vertical axis and the years represented on the horizontal axis.



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When each figure is made up of two or more component figures, the bars may be subdivided into components. Too many components should not be shown.



Component Bar Chart Showing Expenses and Savings of Mr X

The following shows the Annual Income, Expenses and Savings of Mr X:

Year	Amounts in ₹ of			Percentages of		
	Income	Expenses	Savings	Income	Expenses	Savings
1961	5000	3000	2000	100.0	60.0	40.0
1962	6000	5000	1000	100.0	83.3	16.7
1963	7000	5000	2000	100.0	71.4	28.6
1964	8000	5000	3000	100.0	62.5	37.5
1965	10000	6000	4000	100.0	60.0	40.0

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The bars drawn can be further subdivided into components depending upon the type of information to be shown in the diagram (see Figure 6.3 and Table 6.4). This will be clear by the following example in which we present three components in a bar.

Multiple Bar Charts

The multiple bar charts for showing expenses and savings of Mr X is shown in Figure 6.6.

Here, the interrelated component parts are shown in adjoining bars, coloured or marked differently, thus allowing comparison between different parts.

These charts can be used if the overall total is not required. Some charts given earlier show totals also.

Two-Dimensional Diagrams

Two dimensional diagrams take two components of data for representation. These are also called area diagrams as it considers two dimensions. The types are rectangles, squares and pie. It can be best explained with the help of the following squares diagram example:

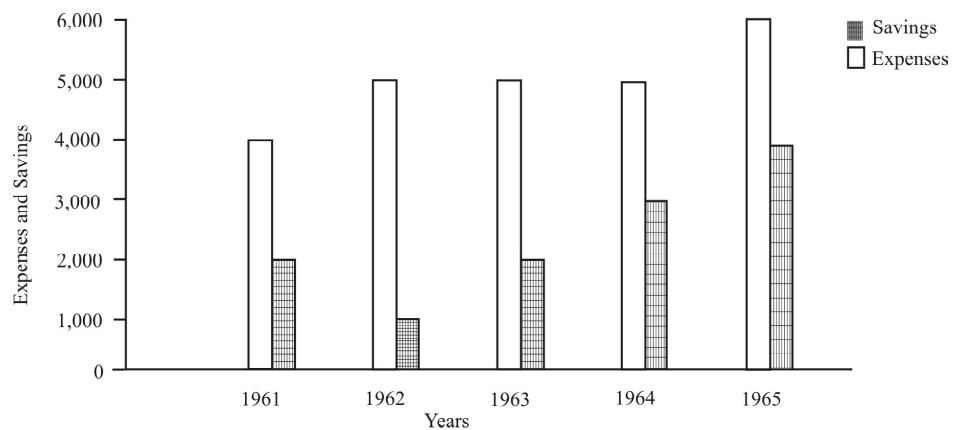


Fig. 6.6 Multiple Bar Chart showing Expenses and Savings of Mr X

Squares: The square diagram is easy and simple to draw. Take the square root of the values of various given items that are to be shown in the diagrams and then select a suitable scale to draw the squares.

Pie Diagrams

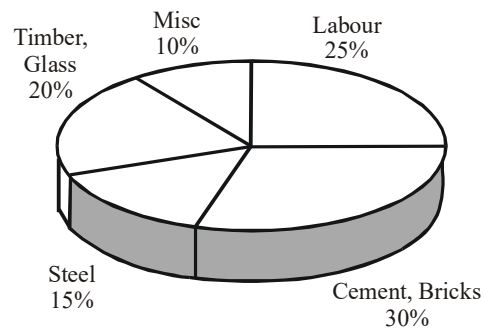
This type of diagram enables us to show the partitioning of a total into its component parts. The diagram is in the form of a circle and is also called a pie because the entire diagram looks like a pie and the components resemble slices cut from it. The size of the slice represents the proportion of the component out of the whole.

Example 6.3: The following figures relate to the cost of the construction of a house. The various components of cost that go into it are represented as percentages of the total cost.

Item	% Expenditure
Labour	25
Cement, bricks	30
Steel	15
Timber, glass	20
Miscellaneous	10

Construct a pie chart for the above data.

Solution: The pie chart for this data is presented as follows:



Pie charts are very useful for comparison purposes, especially when there are only a few components. If there are too many components, it may become confusing to differentiate the relative values in the pie.

Three-Dimensional Diagrams

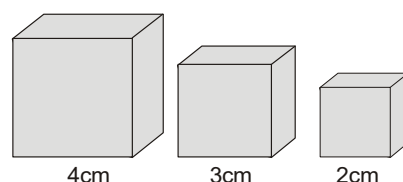
Three dimensional diagrams are also termed as volume diagram and consist of cubes, cylinders, spheres, etc. In these diagrams, three dimensions namely length, width and height are taken into account. Cubes are used to represent where side of a cube is drawn in proportion to the cube root of the magnitude of data.

Example 6.4: Represent the following data using volume diagram.

Category	Number of Students
Under graduate	64000
Post graduate	27000
Professionals	8000

Solution: The sides of cubes are calculated as follows:

Category	Number of Students	Cube Root	Side of Cube
Undergraduate	64000	40	4 cm
Postgraduate	27000	30	3 cm
Professional	8000	20	2 cm



NOTES

Check Your Progress

7. What is a frequency polygon?
8. How is data represented in histograms?

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6.5 USE OF STATISTICS

In the preceding section, you learnt the techniques of data collection, summarizing and condensing data into various tables, diagrams and charts. Now, let us discuss arithmetic procedures that can be used for analysing and interpreting quantitative data. These measures and procedures relate to some properties and characteristics of data which include measures of central location of data, other measures of non-central location, measures of dispersion of data in itself and around the mean and the shape of the data.

6.5.1 Mean

This section pertains to arithmetic mean.

Arithmetic Mean

There are several commonly used measures such as arithmetic mean, mode and median. These values are very useful not only in presenting the overall picture of the entire data but also for the purpose of making comparisons among two or more sets of data.

As an example, questions like ‘How hot is the month of June in Delhi?’ can be answered generally by a single figure of the average for that month. Similarly, suppose we want to find out if boys and girls of age 10 years differ in height for the purpose of making comparisons. Then, by taking the average height of boys of that age and the average height of girls of the same age, we can compare and record the differences.

While arithmetic mean is the most commonly used measure of central tendency, mode and median are more suitable measures under certain set of conditions and for certain types of data. However, each measure of central tendency should meet the following requisites.

- It should be easy to calculate and understand.
- It should be rigidly defined. It should have only one interpretation so that the personal prejudice or the bias of the investigator does not affect its usefulness.
- It should be representative of the data. If it is calculated from a sample, the sample should be random enough to be accurately representing the population.
- It should have a sampling stability. It should not be affected by sampling fluctuations. This means that if we pick ten different groups of college students at random and compute the average of each group, then we should expect to get approximately the same value from each of these groups.
- It should not be affected much by extreme values. If few, very small or very large items are present in the data, they will unduly influence the value of the average by shifting it to one side or other, so that the average would not be really typical of the entire series. Hence, the average chosen should be such that it is not unduly affected by such extreme values.

Arithmetic mean is also commonly known as the mean. Even though average, in general, means measure of central tendency, when we use the word average in our daily routine, we always mean the arithmetic average. The term is widely used by almost everyone in daily communication. We speak of an individual being an average student or of average intelligence. We always talk about average family size or average family income or grade point average (GPA) for students, and so on.

For discussion purposes, let us assume a variable X which stands for some scores such as the ages of students. Let the ages of 5 students be 19, 20, 22, 22 and 17 years. Then variable X would represent these ages as follows:

$$X: 19, 20, 22, 22, 17$$

Placing the Greek symbol Σ (Sigma) before X would indicate a command that all values of X are to be added together. Thus:

$$\Sigma X = 19 + 20 + 22 + 22 + 17$$

The mean is computed by adding all the data values and dividing it by the number of such values. The symbol used for sample average is \bar{X} so that:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{19 + 20 + 22 + 22 + 17}{5}$$

In general, if there are n values in the sample, then

$$\bar{X} = \frac{X_1 + X_2 + \dots + X_n}{n}$$

In other words,

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n X_i}{n}, \quad i = 1, 2 \dots n$$

According to this formula, the mean can be obtained by adding up all values of X_i , where the value of i starts at 1 and ends at n with unit increments so that $i = 1, 2, 3, \dots n$.

If instead of taking a sample, we take the entire population in our calculations of the mean, then the symbol for the mean of the population is μ (mu) and the size of the population is N , so that:

$$\mu = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N X_i}{N}, \quad i = 1, 2 \dots N$$

If we have the data in grouped discrete form with frequencies, then the sample mean is given by:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\Sigma f(X)}{\Sigma f}$$

Here, Σf = Summation of all frequencies
= n

$\Sigma f(X)$ = Summation of each value of X multiplied by its corresponding frequency (f)

Example 6.5: Let us take the ages of 10 students as follows:

19, 20, 22, 22, 17, 22, 20, 23, 17, 18

Solution: This data can be arranged in a frequency distribution as follows:

(X)	(f)	f(X)
17	2	34
18	1	18
19	1	19
20	2	40
22	3	66
23	1	23
Total = 10		200

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In this case, we have $\Sigma f = 10$ and $\Sigma f(X) = 200$, so that:

$$\begin{aligned}\bar{X} &= \frac{\Sigma f(X)}{\Sigma f} \\ &= 200/10 = 20\end{aligned}$$

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Example 6.6: Calculate the mean of the marks of 46 students given in the following table.

Frequency of Marks of 46 Students

Marks (X)	Frequency (f)
9	1
10	2
11	3
12	6
13	10
14	11
15	7
16	3
17	2
18	1
Total	46

Solution: This is a discrete frequency distribution, and is calculated using the equation

$\bar{x} = \frac{\Sigma f(x)}{\Sigma f}$. The following table shows the method of obtaining $\Sigma f(X)$.

Marks (X)	Frequency (f)	f(X)
9	1	9
10	2	20
11	3	33
12	6	72
13	10	130
14	11	154
15	7	105
16	3	48
17	2	34
18	1	18
	$\Sigma f = 46$	$\Sigma f(X) = 623$

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\Sigma f(X)}{\Sigma f} = \frac{623}{46} = 13.54$$

Characteristics of the mean

The arithmetic mean has three interesting properties. These are as follows:

- (i) The sum of the deviations of individual values of X from the mean will always add up to zero. This means that if we subtract all the individual values from their mean, then some values will be negative and some will be positive, but if all these differences are added together then the total sum will be zero. In other words, the positive deviations must balance the negative deviations. Or symbolically:

$$\sum_{i=1}^n (X_i - \bar{X}) = 0, i = 1, 2, \dots n$$

- (ii) The second important characteristic of the mean is that it is very sensitive to extreme values. Since the computation of the mean is based upon inclusion of all values in the data, an extreme value in the data would shift the mean towards it, thus making the mean unrepresentative of the data.
- (iii) The third property of the mean is that the sum of squares of the deviations about the mean is minimum. This means that if we take differences between individual values and the mean and square these differences individually and then add these squared differences, then the final figure will be less than the sum of the squared deviations around any other number other than the mean. Symbolically, it means that:

$$\sum_{i=1}^n (X_i - \bar{X})^2 = \text{Minimum, } i = 1, 2, \dots, n$$

The following examples will make the concept clear about properties of mean.

- (iv) The product of the arithmetic mean and the number of values on which the mean is based is equal to the sum of all given values. In other words, if we replace each item in series by the mean, then the sum of these substitutions will equal the sum of individual items. Thus, in the figures 3, 5, 7, 9, if we substitute the mean for each item 6, 6, 6, 6 then the total is 24, both in the original series and in the substitution series.

This can be shown like this.

Since,
$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum X}{N}$$

∴
$$N\bar{X} = \sum X$$

For example, if we have a series of values 3, 5, 7, 9, the mean is 6. The squared deviations are:

X	$X - \bar{X} = X'$	X'^2
3	$3 - 6 = -3$	9
5	$5 - 6 = -1$	1
7	$7 - 6 = 1$	1
9	$9 - 6 = 3$	9
		$\sum X'^2 = 20$

This property provides a test to check if the computed value is the correct arithmetic mean.

Example 6.7: The mean age of a group of 100 persons (grouped in intervals 10–, 12–, ..., etc.) was found to be 32.02. Later, it was discovered that age 57 was misread as 27. Find the corrected mean.

Solution: Let the mean be denoted by \bar{X} . So, putting the given values in the formula of arithmetic mean, we have,

$$32.02 = \frac{\sum X}{100}, \text{ i.e., } \sum X = 3202$$

Correct
$$\sum X = 3202 - 27 + 57 = 3232$$

∴ Correct AM =
$$\frac{3232}{100} = 32.32$$

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Example 6.8: The mean monthly salary paid to all employees in a company is ₹500. The monthly salaries paid to male and female employees average ₹520 and ₹420, respectively. Determine the percentage of males and females employed by the company.

Solution: Let N_1 be the number of males and N_2 be the number of females employed by the company. Also, let x_1 and x_2 be the monthly average salaries paid to male and female employees and \bar{x} be the mean monthly salary paid to all the employees.

$$\bar{x} = \frac{N_1x_1 + N_2x_2}{N_1 + N_2}$$

or $500 = \frac{520N_1 + 420N_2}{N_1 + N_2}$ or $20N_1 = 80N_2$

or $\frac{N_1}{N_2} = \frac{80}{20} = \frac{4}{1}$

Hence, the males and females are in the ratio of 4 : 1 or 80 per cent are males and 20 per cent are females in those employed by the company.

Short-cut methods for calculating mean

We can simplify the calculations of mean by noticing that if we subtract a constant amount A from each item X to define a new variable $X' = X - A$, the mean \bar{X}' of X' differs from \bar{X} by A . This generally simplifies the calculations and we can then add back the constant A , termed as the *assumed mean*:

$$\bar{X} = A + \bar{X}' = A + \frac{\sum f(X')}{\sum f}$$

Table 6.6 illustrates the procedure of calculation by short-cut method using the data given in Example 6.8. The choice of A is made in such a manner as to simplify calculation the most, and is generally in the region of the concentration of data.

Table 6.6 Short-Cut Method of Calculating Mean

X	(f)	Deviation from Assumed Mean (13) X'	$f(X')$
9	1	-4	-4
10	2	-3	-6
11	3	-2	-6
12	6	-1	-6
13	10	0	-22
14	11	+1	+11
15	7	+2	+14
16	3	+3	+9
17	2	+4	+8
18	1	+5	+5
			+47
			-22
	$\Sigma f = 46$		$\Sigma fX' = 25$

The mean,

$$\bar{X} = A + \frac{\sum f(X')}{\sum f} = 13 + \frac{25}{46} = 13.54$$

This mean is same as calculated in Example 6.9.

In the case of grouped frequency data, the variable X is replaced by midvalue m , and in the short-cut technique; we subtract a constant value A from each m , so that the formula becomes:

$$\bar{X} = A + \frac{\sum f(m - A)}{\sum f}$$

In cases where the *class intervals are equal*, we may further simplify calculation by taking the factor i from the variable $m - A$ defining,

$$X' = \frac{m - A}{i}$$

where i is the class width. It can be verified that when X' is defined, then, the mean of the distribution is given by:

$$\bar{X} = A + \frac{\sum f(X')}{\sum f} \times i$$

The following examples will illustrate the use of the short-cut method.

Example 6.9: The ages of twenty husbands and wives are given in the following table. Form frequency tables showing the relationship between the ages of husbands and wives with class intervals 20–24; 25–29; etc.

Calculate the arithmetic mean of the two groups after the classification.

S.No.	Age of Husband	Age of Wife
1	28	23
2	37	30
3	42	40
4	25	26
5	29	25
6	47	41
7	37	35
8	35	25
9	23	21
10	41	38
11	27	24
12	39	34
13	23	20
14	33	31
15	36	29
16	32	35
17	22	23
18	29	27
19	38	34
20	48	47

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Solution:

Calculation of Arithmetic Mean of Husbands' Age

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Class Intervals	Midvalues m	Husband Frequency (f_1)	$x_1' = \frac{m-37}{5}$	f_1x_1'
20-24	22	3	-3	-9
25-29	27	5	-2	-10
30-34	32	2	-1	-2
				-21
35-39	37	6	0	0
40-44	42	2	1	2
45-49	47	2	2	4
				6
$\Sigma f_1 = 20$				$\Sigma f_1x_1' = -15$

Husband age, arithmetic mean:

$$\bar{x} = \frac{\Sigma f_1x_1'}{N} \times i + A = \frac{-15}{20} \times 5 + 37 = 33.25$$

Calculation of Arithmetic Mean of Wives' Age

Class Intervals	Midvalues m	Wife Frequency (f_2)	$x_2' = \frac{m-37}{5}$	f_2x_2'
20-24	22	5	-3	-15
25-29	27	5	-2	-10
30-34	32	4	-1	-4
35-39	37	3	0	0
40-44	42	2	1	2
45-49	47	1	2	2
				-25
$\Sigma f_2 = 20$				$\Sigma f_2x_2' = -25$

Wife age, arithmetic mean:

$$\bar{x} = \frac{\Sigma f_2x_2'}{N} \times i + A = \frac{-25}{20} \times 5 + 37 = 30.75$$

Weighted arithmetic mean

In the computation of arithmetic mean we had given equal importance to each observation in the series. This equal importance may be misleading if the individual values constituting the series have different importance as in the following example:

The Raja Toy shop sells

- Toy cars at ₹3 each
- Toy locomotives at ₹5 each
- Toy aeroplanes at ₹7 each
- Toy double decker at ₹9 each

What shall be the average price of the toys sold, if the shop sells 4 toys, one of each kind?

$$\text{Mean price, i.e., } \bar{x} = \frac{\sum x}{4} = \text{Rs } \frac{24}{4} = ₹6$$

In this case, the importance of each observation (price quotation) is equal in as much as one toy of each variety has been sold. In the above computation of the arithmetic mean, this fact has been taken care of by including ‘once only’ the price of each toy.

But if the shop sells 100 toys: 50 cars, 25 locomotives, 15 aeroplanes and 10 double deckers, the importance of the four price quotations to the dealer is **not equal** as a source of earning revenue. In fact, their respective importance is equal to the number of units of each toy sold, i.e.,

The importance of toy car	50
The importance of locomotive	25
The importance of aeroplane	15
The importance of double decker	10

It may be noted that 50, 25, 15, 10 are the quantities of the various classes of toys sold. It is for these quantities that the term ‘weights’ is used in statistical language. Weight is represented by symbol ‘w’, and $\sum w$ represents the sum of weights.

While determining the ‘average price of toy sold’, these weights are of great importance and are taken into account in the manner illustrated as follows:

$$\bar{x} = \frac{w_1x_1 + w_2x_2 + w_3x_3 + w_4x_4}{w_1 + w_2 + w_3 + w_4} = \frac{\sum wx}{\sum w}$$

When w_1, w_2, w_3, w_4 are the respective weights of x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4 which in turn represent the price of four varieties of toys, viz., car, locomotive, aeroplane and double decker, respectively.

$$\begin{aligned} \bar{x} &= \frac{(50 \times 3) + (25 \times 5) + (15 \times 7) + (10 \times 9)}{50 + 25 + 15 + 10} \\ &= \frac{(150) + (125) + (105) + (90)}{100} = \frac{470}{100} = ₹4.70 \end{aligned}$$

The table below summarizes the steps taken in the computation of the weighted arithmetic mean.

Table 6.7 Weighted Arithmetic Mean of Toys Sold by the Raja Toy Shop

Toys	Price per Toy ₹x	Number Sold w	Price × Weight xw
Car	3	50	150
Locomotive	5	25	125
Aeroplane	7	15	105
Double Decker	9	10	90
		$\Sigma w = 100$	$\Sigma xw = 470$

$$\Sigma w = 100; \quad \Sigma wx = 470$$

$$\bar{x} = \frac{\sum wx}{\sum w} = \frac{470}{100} = 4.70$$

The weighted arithmetic mean is particularly useful where we have to compute the *mean of means*. If we are given two arithmetic means, one for each of two different

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series, in respect of the *same variable*, and are required to find the arithmetic mean of the combined series, the weighted arithmetic mean is the only suitable method of its determination.

Example 6.10: The arithmetic mean of daily wages of two manufacturing concerns A Ltd. and B Ltd. is ₹5 and ₹7, respectively. Determine the average daily wages of both concerns if the number of workers employed were 2,000 and 4,000 respectively.

Solution: (i) Multiply each average (viz. 5 and 7), by the number of workers in the concern it represents.

(ii) Add up the two products obtained in (i) above.

(iii) Divide the total obtained in (ii) by the total number of workers.

Weighted Mean of Mean Wages of A Ltd. and B Ltd.

<i>Manufacturing Concern</i>	<i>Mean Wages x</i>	<i>Workers Employed w</i>	<i>Mean Wages × Workers Employed wx</i>
A Ltd.	5	2,000	10,000
B Ltd.	7	4,000	28,000
		$\Sigma w = 6,000$	$\Sigma wx = 38,000$

$$\begin{aligned}\bar{x} &= \frac{\Sigma wx}{\Sigma w} \\ &= \frac{38,000}{6,000} \\ &= ₹6.33\end{aligned}$$

The above mentioned examples explain that ‘Arithmetic Means and Percentage’ are not original data. They are derived figures and their importance is relative to the original data from which they are obtained. This relative importance must be taken into account by weighting while averaging them (means and percentage).

Advantages of mean

- Its concept is familiar to most people and is intuitively clear.
- Every data set has a mean, which is unique and describes the entire data to some degree. For example, when we say that the average salary of a professor is ₹ 25,000 per month, it gives us a reasonable idea about the salaries of professors.
- It is a measure that can be easily calculated.
- It includes all values of the data set in its calculation.
- Its value varies very little from sample to sample taken from the same population.
- It is useful for performing statistical procedures such as computing and comparing the means of several data sets.

Disadvantages of mean

- It is affected by extreme values, and hence, are not very reliable when the data set has extreme values especially when these extreme values are on one side of the ordered data. Thus, a mean of such data is not truly a representative of such data. For example, the average age of three persons of ages 4, 6 and 80 years gives us an average of 30.

- It is tedious to compute for a large data set as every point in the data set is to be used in computations.
- We are unable to compute the mean for a data set that has open-ended classes either at the high or at the low end of the scale.
- The mean cannot be calculated for qualitative characteristics such as beauty or intelligence, unless these can be converted into quantitative figures such as intelligence into IQs.

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Geometric mean

The geometric mean (G) is the n th root of the product of n values.

$$G = \sqrt[n]{x_1 \times x_2 \times \dots \times x_n}$$

The G.M. of 2, 4, 8 is the cube root of their product.

$$G = \sqrt[3]{2 \cdot 4 \cdot 8} = \sqrt[3]{64} = 4$$

If the frequencies of x_1, x_2, \dots, x_k are respectively f_1, f_2, \dots, f_k ($\Sigma f = n$)

$$G = \sqrt[n]{x_1^{f_1} \cdot x_2^{f_2} \dots x_k^{f_k}}$$

Logarithms may be used in the calculation of G.M.

$$\text{Log } G = \frac{1}{n} [f_1 \log x_1 + f_2 \log x_2 + \dots + f_k \log x_k] = \frac{\Sigma f \log x}{n}$$

$$G = \text{Antilog } \frac{1}{n} \Sigma f \log x$$

If there are no frequencies, $G = (x_1 x_2 \dots x_n)^{\frac{1}{n}}$ and $\log G = \frac{1}{n} \Sigma \log x$

Merits and uses of geometric mean

Most of the properties and merits of G.M. resemble those of A.M.

- The GM takes into account all the items in the data and condenses them into one representative value.
- It has a downward bias. It gives more weight to smaller values than to larger values.
- It is determinate. For the same data there cannot be two geometric means.
- It balances the ratios of the values on either side of the data. It is ideally suited to average rates of change such as index numbers and ratios between measures and percentages.
- It is amenable to algebraic manipulations like the A.M.

Demerits of geometric mean

- It is difficult to use and to compute.
- It is determined for positive values and cannot be used for negative values of zero. A zero will convert the whole product into zero.

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6.5.2 Median

The second measure of central tendency that has a wide usage in statistical works is the median. Median is that *value* of a variable which divides the series in such a manner that the number of items below it is equal to the number of items above it. Half the total number of observations lie below the median, and half above it. The median is thus a positional average.

The median of ungrouped data is found easily if the items are first arranged in order of the magnitude. The median may then be located simply by counting, and its value can be obtained by reading the value of the middle observations. If we have five observations whose values are 8, 10, 1, 3 and 5, the values are first arrayed: 1, 3, 5, 8 and 10. It is now apparent that the value of the median is 5, since two observations are below that value and two observations are above it. When there is an even number of cases, there is no actual middle item and the median is taken to be the average of the values of the items lying on either side of $(N + 1)/2$, where N is the total number of items. Thus, if the values of six items of a series are 1, 2, 3, 5, 8 and 10, then the median is the value of item number $(6 + 1)/2 = 3.5$, which is approximated as the average of the third and the fourth items, i.e., $(3+5)/2 = 4$.

Thus, the steps required for obtaining median are:

1. Arrange the data as an array of increasing magnitude.
2. Obtain the value of the $(N + 1)/2$ th item.

Even in the case of grouped data, the procedure for obtaining median is straightforward as long as the variable is discrete or non-continuous as is clear from the following example.

Example 6.11: Obtain the median size of shoes sold from the following data.

Number of Shoes Sold by Size in One Year

Size	Number of Pairs	Cumulative Total
5	30	30
$5\frac{1}{2}$	40	70
6	50	120
$6\frac{1}{2}$	150	270
7	300	570
$7\frac{1}{2}$	600	1170
8	950	2120
$8\frac{1}{2}$	820	2940
9	750	3690
$9\frac{1}{2}$	440	4130
10	250	4380
$10\frac{1}{2}$	150	4530
11	40	4570
$11\frac{1}{2}$	39	4609
Total		4609

Solution: Median, is the value of $\frac{(N + 1)}{2}$ th = $\frac{4609 + 1}{2}$ th = 2305th item. Since the items are already arranged in ascending order (size-wise), the size of 2305th item is easily determined by constructing the cumulative frequency. Thus, the median size of shoes sold is $8\frac{1}{2}$, the size of 2305th item.

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In the case of grouped data with continuous variable, the determination of median is a bit more involved. Consider the following table where the data relating to the distribution of male workers by average monthly earnings is given. Clearly the median of 6291 is the earnings of $(6291 + 1)/2 = 3146$ th worker arranged in ascending order of earnings.

From the cumulative frequency, it is clear that this worker has his income in the class interval 67.5–72.5. But, it is impossible to determine his exact income. We therefore, resort to approximation by assuming that the 795 workers of this class are distributed *uniformly* across the interval 67.5 to 72.5. The median worker is $(3146 - 2713) = 433$ rd of these 795, and hence, the value corresponding to him can be approximated as,

$$67.5 + \frac{433}{795} \times (72.5 - 67.5) = 67.5 + 2.73 = 70.23$$

Distribution of Male Workers by Average Monthly Earnings

Group No.	Monthly Earnings (₹)	No. of Workers	Cumulative No. of Workers
1	27.5–32.5	120	120
2	32.5–37.5	152	272
3	37.5–42.5	170	442
4	42.5–47.5	214	656
5	47.5–52.5	410	1066
6	52.5–57.5	429	1495
7	57.5–62.5	568	2063
8	62.5–67.5	650	2713
9	67.5–72.5	795	3508
10	72.5–77.5	915	4423
11	77.5–82.5	745	5168
12	82.5–87.5	530	5698
13	87.5–92.5	259	5957
14	92.5–97.5	152	6109
15	97.5–102.5	107	6216
16	102.5–107.5	50	6266
17	107.5–112.5	25	6291
Total			6291

The value of the median can thus be put in the form of the formula,

$$Me = l + \frac{\frac{N+1}{2} - C}{f} \times i$$

Where l is the lower limit of the median class, i its width, f its frequency, C the cumulative frequency upto (but not including) the median class, and N is the total number of cases.

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Finding median by graphical analysis

The median can quite conveniently be determined by reference to the ogive which plots the cumulative frequency against the variable. The value of the item below which half the items lie, can easily be read from the ogive.

Example 6.12: Obtain the median of data given in the following table.

Monthly Earnings	Frequency	Less Than	More Than
27.5	—	0	6291
32.5	120	120	6171
37.5	152	272	6019
42.5	170	442	5849
47.5	214	656	5635
52.5	410	1066	5225
57.5	429	1495	4796
62.5	568	2063	4228
67.5	650	2713	3578
72.5	795	3508	2783
77.5	915	4423	1868
82.5	745	5168	1123
87.5	530	5698	593
92.5	259	5957	334
97.5	152	6109	182
102.5	107	6216	75
107.5	50	6266	25
112.5	25	6291	0

Solution: It is clear that this is grouped data. The first class is 27.5–32.5, whose frequency is 120, and the last class is 107.5–112.5, whose frequency is 25. Figure 6.7 shows the ogive of less than cumulative frequency. The median is the value below which $N/2$ items lie, is $6291/2 = 3145.5$ items lie, which is read of from Figure 6.8 as about 70. More accuracy than this is unobtainable because of the space limitation on the earning scale.

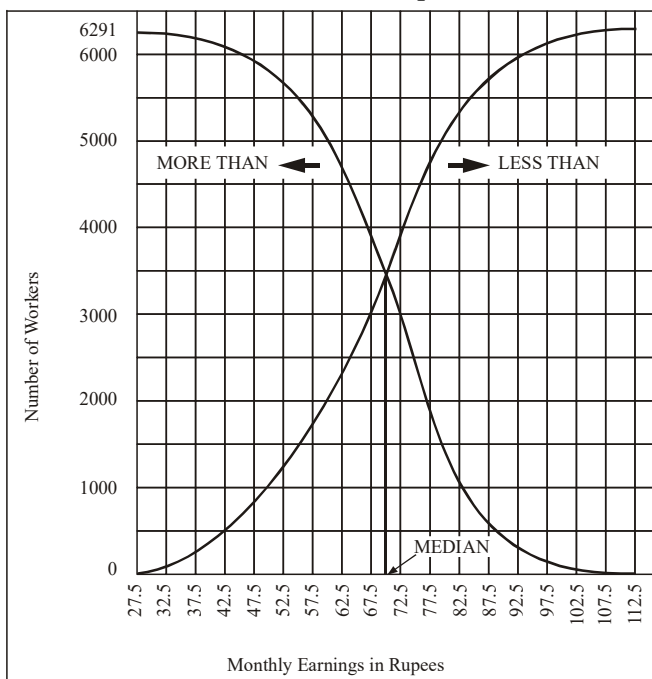


Fig. 6.7 Median Determination by Plotting Less than and More than Cumulative Frequency

The median can also be determined by plotting both ‘less than’ and ‘more than’ cumulative frequency as shown in Figure 6.7. It should be obvious that the two curves should intersect at the median of the data.

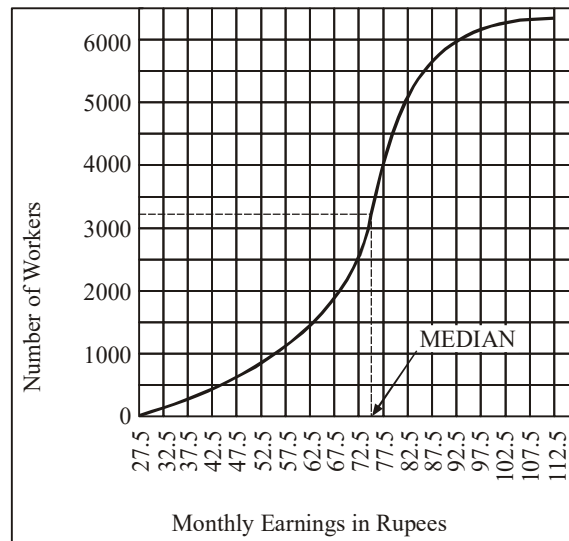


Fig. 6.8 Median

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Advantages of median

- Median is a positional average and hence the extreme values in the data set do not affect it as much as they do to the mean.
- Median is easy to understand and can be calculated from any kind of data, even from grouped data with open-ended classes.
- We can find the median even when our data set is qualitative and can be arranged in the ascending or the descending order, such as average beauty or average intelligence.
- Similar to mean, median is also unique, meaning that, there is only one median in a given set of data.
- Median can be located visually when the data is in the form of ordered data.
- The sum of absolute differences of all values in the data set from the median value is minimum. This means that, it is less than any other value of central tendency in the data set, which makes it more central in certain situations.

Disadvantages of median

- The data must be arranged in order to find the median. This can be very time consuming for a large number of elements in the data set.
- The value of the median is affected more by sampling variations. Different samples from the same population may give significantly different values of the median.
- The calculation of median in case of grouped data is based on the assumption that the values of observations are evenly spaced over the entire class interval and this is usually not so.
- Median is comparatively less stable than mean, particularly for small samples, due to fluctuations in sampling.
- Median is not suitable for further mathematical treatment. For example, we cannot compute the median of the combined group from the median values of different groups.

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6.5.3 Mode

The mode is that value of the variable which occurs or repeats itself the greatest number of times. The mode is the most ‘fashionable’ size in the sense that it is the most common and typical, and is defined by Zizek as ‘the value occurring most frequently in a series (or group of items) and around which the other items are distributed most densely’.

The mode of a distribution is the value at the point around which the items tend to be most heavily concentrated. It is the most frequent or the most common value, provided that a sufficiently large number of items are available, to give a smooth distribution. It will correspond to the value of the maximum point (ordinate), of a frequency distribution if it is an ‘ideal’ or smooth distribution. It may be regarded as the most typical of a series of values. The modal wage, for example, is the wage received by more individuals than any other wage. The modal ‘hat’ size is that, which is worn by more persons than any other single size.

It may be noted that the occurrence of one or a few extremely high or low values has no effect upon the mode. If a series of data are unclassified, not have been either arrayed or put into a frequency distribution, the mode cannot be readily located.

Taking first an extremely simple example, if seven men are receiving daily wages of ₹5, 6, 7, 7, 7, 8 and 10, it is clear that the modal wage is ₹7 per day. If we have a series such as 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 11, it is apparent that there is no mode.

There are several methods of estimating the value of the mode. But, it is seldom that the different methods of ascertaining the mode give us identical results. Consequently, it becomes necessary to decide as to which method would be most suitable for the purpose in hand. In order that a choice of the method may be made, we should understand each of the methods and the differences that exist among them.

The four important methods of estimating mode of a series are: (i) Locating the most frequently repeated value in the array; (ii) Estimating the mode by interpolation; (iii) Locating the mode by graphic method; and (iv) Estimating the mode from the mean and the median. Only the last three methods are discussed in this unit.

Estimating the mode by interpolation

In the case of continuous frequency distributions, the problem of determining the value of the mode is not so simple as it might have appeared from the foregoing description. Having located the modal class of the data, the next problem in the case of continuous series is to interpolate the value of the mode within this ‘modal’ class.

The interpolation is made by the use of any one of the following formulae:

$$(i) Mo = l_1 + \frac{f_2}{f_0 + f_2} \times i; \quad (ii) Mo = l_2 - \frac{f_0}{f_0 + f_2} \times i$$

$$(iii) Mo = l_1 + \frac{f_1 - f_0}{(f_1 - f_0) + (f_1 - f_2)} \times i$$

Where l_1 is the lower limit of the modal class, l_2 is the upper limit of the modal class, f_0 equals the frequency of the preceding class in value, f_1 equals the frequency of the modal class in value, f_2 equals the frequency of the following class (class next to modal class) in value, and i equals the interval of the modal class.

Example 6.13: Determine the mode for the data given in the following table.

Wage Group	Frequency (f)
14 — 18	6
18 — 22	18
22 — 26	19
26 — 30	12
30 — 34	5
34 — 38	4
38 — 42	3
42 — 46	2
46 — 50	1
50 — 54	0
54 — 58	1

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Solution: In the given data, 22 – 26 is the modal class since it has the largest frequency. The lower limit of the modal class is 22, its upper limit is 26, its frequency is 19, the frequency of the preceding class is 18, and of the following class is 12. The class interval is 4. Using the various methods of determining mode, we have,

$$(i) Mo = 22 + \frac{12}{18+12} \times 4 \quad (ii) Mo = 26 - \frac{18}{18+12} \times 4$$

$$= 22 + \frac{8}{5} \quad = 26 - \frac{12}{5}$$

$$= 23.6 \quad = 23.6$$

$$(iii) Mo = 22 + \frac{19-18}{(19-18)+(19-12)} \times 4 = 22 + \frac{4}{8} = 22.5$$

In formulae (i) and (ii), the frequency of the classes adjoining the modal class is used to pull the estimate of the mode away from the midpoint towards either the upper or lower class limit. In this particular case, the frequency of the class preceding the modal class is more than the frequency of the class following and therefore, the estimated mode is less than the midvalue of the modal class. This seems quite logical. If the frequencies are more on one side of the modal class than on the other it can be reasonably concluded that the items in the modal class are concentrated more towards the class limit of the adjoining class with the larger frequency.

The formula (iii) is also based on a logic similar to that of (i) and (ii). In this case, to interpolate the value of the mode within the modal class, the differences between the frequency of the modal class, and the respective frequencies of the classes adjoining it are used. This formula usually gives results better than the values obtained by the other and exactly equal to the results obtained by graphic method. The formulae (i) and (ii) give values which are different from the value obtained by formula (iii) and are more close to the central point of modal class. If the frequencies of the class adjoining the modal are equal, the mode is expected to be located at the midvalue of the modal class, but if the frequency on one of the sides is greater, the mode will be pulled away from the central point. It will be pulled more and more if the difference between the frequencies of the classes adjoining the modal class is higher and higher. In Example 6.13, the frequency of the modal class is 19 and that of preceding class is 18. So, the mode should be quite close to the lower limit of the modal class. The midpoint of the modal class is 24 and lower limit of the modal class is 22.

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Locating the mode by the graphic method

The upper corners of the rectangle over the modal class have been joined by straight lines to those of the adjoining rectangles as shown in the diagram; the right corner to the corresponding one of the adjoining rectangle on the left, etc. If a perpendicular is drawn from the point of intersection of these lines, we have a value for the mode indicated on the base line. The graphic approach is, in principle, similar to the arithmetic interpolation explained earlier.

The mode may also be determined graphically from an ogive or cumulative frequency curve. It is found by drawing a perpendicular to the base from that point on the curve where the curve is most nearly vertical, i.e., steepest (in other words, where it passes through the greatest distance vertically and smallest distance horizontal). The point where it cuts the base gives us the value of the mode. How accurately this method determines the mode is governed by: (i) The shape of the ogive, (ii) The scale on which the curve is drawn.

Estimating the mode from the mean and the median

There usually exists a relationship among the mean, median and mode for moderately asymmetrical distributions. If the distribution is symmetrical, the mean, median and mode will have identical values, but if the distribution is skewed (moderately) the mean, median and mode will pull apart. If the distribution tails off towards higher values, the mean and the median will be greater than the mode. If it tails off towards lower values, the mode will be greater than either of the other two measures. In either case, the median will be about one-third as far away from the mean as the mode is. This means that,

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Mode} &= \text{Mean} - 3(\text{Mean} - \text{Median}) \\ &= 3 \text{ Median} - 2 \text{ Mean} \end{aligned}$$

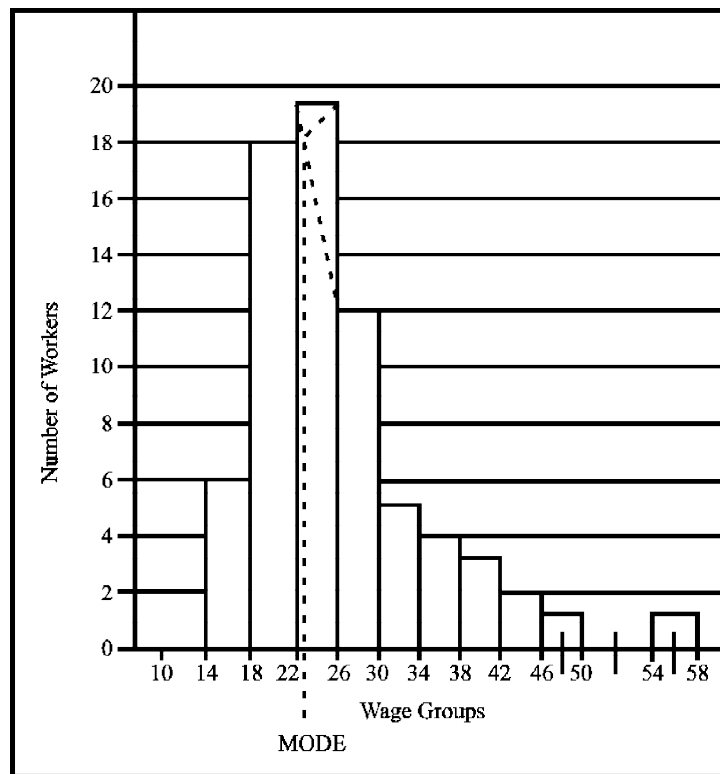


Fig. 6.9 Method of Mode Determination by Graphic Interpolation

In the case of the average monthly earnings, the mean is 68.53 and the median is 70.2. If these values are substituted in the above formula, we get,

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Mode} &= 68.5 - 3(68.5 - 70.2) \\ &= 68.5 + 5.1 = 73.6\end{aligned}$$

According to the formula used earlier,

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Mode} &= l_1 + \frac{f_2}{f_0 + f_2} \times i \\ &= 72.5 + \frac{745}{795 + 745} \times 5 \\ &= 72.5 + 2.4 = 74.9\end{aligned}$$

OR

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Mode} &= l_1 + \frac{f_1 - f_0}{2f_1 - f_0 - f_2} \times i \\ &= 72.5 + \frac{915 - 795}{2 \times 915 - 795 - 745} \times 5 \\ &= 72.5 + \frac{120}{290} \times 5 = 74.57\end{aligned}$$

The difference between the two estimates is due to the fact that the assumption of relationship between the mean, median and mode may not always be true which is obviously not valid in this case.

Example 6.14: (i) In a moderately symmetrical distribution, the mode and mean are 32.1 and 35.4 respectively. Calculate the median.

(ii) If the mode and median of moderately asymmetrical series are respectively 16" and 15.7", what would be its most probable median?

(iii) In a moderately skewed distribution, the mean and the median are respectively 25.6 and 26.1 inches. What is the mode of the distribution?

Solution: (i) We know,

$$\text{Mean} - \text{Mode} = 3 (\text{Mean} - \text{Median})$$

or $3 \text{ Median} = \text{Mode} + 2 \text{ Mean}$

or $\text{Median} = \frac{32.1 + 2 \times 35.4}{3}$

$$= \frac{102.9}{3}$$

$$= 34.3$$

(ii) $2 \text{ Mean} = 3 \text{ Median} - \text{Mode}$

or $\text{Mean} = \frac{1}{2}(3 \times 15.7 - 16.0) = \frac{31.1}{2} = 15.55$

(iii) $\text{Mode} = 3 \text{ Median} - 2 \text{ Mean}$

$$= 3 \times 26.1 - 2 \times 25.6 = 78.3 - 51.2 = 27.1$$

Advantages of mode

- Similar to median, the mode is not affected by extreme values in the data.
- Its value can be obtained in open-ended distributions without ascertaining the class limits.

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- It can be easily used to describe qualitative phenomenon. For example, if most people prefer a certain brand of tea, then this will become the modal point.
- Mode is easy to calculate and understand. In some cases, it can be located simply by observation or inspection.

Disadvantages of mode

- Quite often, there is no modal value.
- It can be bi-modal or multi-modal, or it can have all modal values making its significance more difficult to measure.
- If there is more than one modal value, the data is difficult to interpret.
- A mode is not suitable for algebraic manipulations.
- Since the mode is the value of maximum frequency in the data set, it cannot be rigidly defined if such frequency occurs at the beginning or at the end of the distribution.
- It does not include all observations in the data set, and hence, less reliable in most of the situations.

6.5.4 Quartiles, Deciles and Percentiles

Some measures other than measures of central tendency are often employed when summarizing or describing a set of data where it is necessary to divide the data into equal parts. These are positional measures and are called quantiles and consist of quartiles, deciles and percentiles. The quartiles divide the data into four equal parts. The deciles divide the total ordered data into ten equal parts and percentiles divide the data into 100 equal parts. Consequently, there are three quartiles, nine deciles and 99 percentiles. The quartiles are denoted by the symbol Q so that Q_1 will be such point in the ordered data which has 25 per cent of the data below and 75 per cent of the data above it. In other

words Q_1 is the value corresponding to $\left(\frac{n+1}{4}\right)$ th ordered observation. Similarly, Q_2 divides the data in the middle, and is also equal to the median and its value Q_2 is given by:

$$Q_2 = \text{The value of } 2\left(\frac{n+1}{4}\right)\text{th ordered observation in the data.}$$

Similarly, we can calculate the values of various deciles. For instance,

$$D_1 = \left(\frac{n+1}{10}\right)\text{th observation in the data, and}$$

$$D_7 = 7\left(\frac{n+1}{10}\right)\text{th observation in the ordered data.}$$

Percentiles are generally used in the research area of education where people are given standard tests and it is desirable to compare the relative position of the subject's performance on the test. Percentiles are similarly calculated as:

$$P_7 = 7\left(\frac{n+1}{100}\right)\text{th observation in the ordered data.}$$

and,

$$P_{69} = 69\left(\frac{n+1}{100}\right)\text{th observation in the ordered data.}$$

Quartiles

The formula for calculating the values of quartiles for grouped data is given as follows.

$$Q = L + (j/f)C$$

where,

Q = The quartile under consideration.

L = Lower limit of the class interval which contains the value of Q .

j = The number of units we lack from the class interval which contains the value of Q , in reaching the value of Q .

f = Frequency of the class interval containing Q .

C = Size of the class interval.

Let us assume we took the data of the ages of 100 students and a frequency distribution for this data has been constructed as shown.

The frequency distribution is as follows:

Ages (CI)	Mid-point (X)	(f)	$f(X)$	$f(X)^2$
16 and upto 17	16.5	4	66	1089.0
17 and upto 18	17.5	14	245	4287.5
18 and upto 19	18.5	18	333	6160.5
19 and upto 20	19.5	28	546	10647.0
20 and upto 21	20.5	20	410	8405.0
21 and upto 22	21.5	12	258	5547.0
22 and upto 23	22.5	4	90	2025.0
		Totals = 100	1948	38161

In our case, in order to find Q_1 , where Q_1 is the cut off point so that 25 per cent of the data is below this point and 75 per cent of the data is above, we see that the first group has 4 students and the second group has 14 students making a total of 18 students. Since Q_1 cuts off at 25 students, it is the third class interval which contains Q_1 . This means that the value of L in our formula is 18.

Since we already have 18 students in the first two groups, we need 7 more students from the third group to make it a total of 25 students, which is the value of Q_1 . Hence, the value of (j) is 7. Also, since the frequency of this third class interval which contains Q_1 is 18, the value of (f) in our formula is 18. The size of the class interval C is given as 1. Substituting these values in the formula for Q , we get

$$\begin{aligned} Q_1 &= 18 + (7/18)1 \\ &= 18 + .38 = 18.38 \end{aligned}$$

This means that 25 per cent of the students are below 18.38 years of age and 75 per cent are above this age.

Similarly, we can calculate the value of Q_2 , using the same formula. Hence,

$$\begin{aligned} Q_2 &= L + (j/f)C \\ &= 19 + (14/28)1 = 19.5 \end{aligned}$$

This also happens to be the median.

By using the same formula and same logic we can calculate the values of all deciles as well as percentiles.

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We have defined the median as the value of the item which is located at the centre of the array. We can define other measures which are located at other specified points. Thus, the N th percentile of an array is the value of the item such that N per cent items lie below it. Clearly then the N_{th} percentile P_n of grouped data is given by

$$P_n = l + \frac{\frac{nN}{100} - C}{f} \times i$$

where l is the lower limit of the class in which $nN/100$ th item lies, i its width, f its frequency, C the cumulative frequency upto (but not including) this class, and N is the total number of items.

We similarly define the N th decile as the value of the item below which $(nN/10)$ items of the array lie. Clearly,

$$D_n = P_{10n} = l + \frac{\frac{nN}{10} - C}{f} \times i$$

where the symbols have the obvious meanings.

The other most commonly referred to measures of location are the quartiles. Thus, n th quartile is the value of the item which lies at the $n(N/5)$ th item. Clearly Q_2 , the second quartile is the median, for grouped data.

$$Q_n = P_{25n} = l + \frac{\frac{nN}{4} - C}{f} \times i$$

6.5.5 Measures of Dispersion

A measure of dispersion, or simply dispersion may be defined as statistics signifying the extent of the scatteredness of items around a measure of central tendency.

A measure of dispersion may be expressed in an 'absolute form', or in a 'relative form'. It is said to be in an absolute form when it states the actual amount by which the value of an item on an average deviates from a measure of central tendency. Absolute measures are expressed in concrete units, i.e., units in terms of which the data have been expressed, e.g., rupees, centimetres, kilograms, etc., and are used to describe frequency distribution.

A relative measure of dispersion computed is a quotient by dividing the absolute measures by a quantity in respect to which absolute deviation has been computed. It is as such a pure number and is usually expressed in a percentage form. Relative measures are used for making comparisons between two or more distributions.

A measure of dispersion should possess all those characteristics which are considered essential for a measure of central tendency, viz.

- It should be based on all observations.
- It should be readily comprehensible.
- It should be fairly easily calculated.
- It should be affected as little as possible by fluctuations of sampling.
- It should be amenable to algebraic treatment.

The following are some common measures of dispersion:

(i) The range, (ii) the semi-interquartile range or the quartile deviation, (iii) the mean deviation, and (iv) the standard deviation. Of these, the standard deviation is the best measure. We describe these measures in the following sections.

Range

The crudest measure of dispersion is the range of the distribution. The range of any series is the difference between the highest and the lowest values in the series. If the marks received in an examination taken by 248 students are arranged in ascending order, then the range will be equal to the difference between the highest and the lowest marks.

In a frequency distribution, the range is taken to be the difference between the lower limit of the class at the lower extreme of the distribution and the upper limit of the class at the upper extreme.

Table 6.8 Weekly Earnings of Labourers in Four Workshops of the Same Type

Weekly earnings ₹	No. of workers			
	Workshop A	Workshop B	Workshop C	Workshop D
15–16	...	...	2	...
17–18	...	2	4	...
19–20	...	4	4	4
21–22	10	10	10	14
23–24	22	14	16	16
25–26	20	18	14	16
27–28	14	16	12	12
29–30	14	10	6	12
31–32	...	6	6	4
33–34	...	...	2	2
35–36	...	...	...	...
37–38	...	...	4	...
Total	80	80	80	80
Mean	25.5	25.5	25.5	25.5

Consider the data on weekly earning of worker on four workshops given in the Table 6.8. We note the following:

Workshop	Range
A	9
B	15
C	23
D	15

From these figures, it is clear that the greater the range, the greater is the variation of the values in the group.

The range is a measure of absolute dispersion and as such cannot be usefully employed for comparing the variability of two distributions expressed in different units. The amount of dispersion measured, say, in pounds, is not comparable with dispersion measured in inches. So the need of measuring relative dispersion arises.

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An absolute measure can be converted into a relative measure if we divide it by some other value regarded as standard for the purpose. We may use the mean of the distribution or any other positional average as the standard.

For Table 6.8, the relative dispersion would be:

$$\text{Workshop } A = \frac{9}{25.5} \quad \text{Workshop } C = \frac{23}{25.5}$$

$$\text{Workshop } B = \frac{15}{25.5} \quad \text{Workshop } D = \frac{15}{25.5}$$

An alternate method of converting an absolute variation into a relative one would be to use the total of the extremes as the standard. This will be equal to dividing the difference of the extreme items by the total of the extreme items. Thus,

$$\text{Relative Dispersion} = \frac{\text{Difference of extreme items, i.e., Range}}{\text{Sum of extreme items}}$$

The relative dispersion of the series is called the coefficient or ratio of dispersion. In our example of weekly earnings of workers considered earlier, the coefficients would be:

$$\text{Workshop } A = \frac{9}{21+30} = \frac{9}{51} \quad \text{Workshop } B = \frac{15}{17+32} = \frac{15}{49}$$

$$\text{Workshop } C = \frac{23}{15+38} = \frac{23}{53} \quad \text{Workshop } D = \frac{15}{19+34} = \frac{15}{53}$$

Merits and limitations of range

Merits

Of the various characteristics that a good measure of dispersion should possess, the range has only two, viz (i) it is easy to understand, and (ii) its computation is simple.

Limitations

Besides the aforesaid two qualities, the range does not satisfy the other test of a good measure and hence it is often termed as a crude measure of dispersion.

The following are the limitations that are inherent in the range as a concept of variability:

- (i) Since it is based upon two extreme cases in the entire distribution, the range may be considerably changed if either of the extreme cases happens to drop out, while the removal of any other case would not affect it at all.
- (ii) It does not tell anything about the distribution of values in the series relative to a measure of central tendency.
- (iii) It cannot be computed when distribution has open-end classes.
- (iv) It does not take into account the entire data. These can be illustrated by the following illustration. Consider the data given in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9 Distribution with the Same Number of Cases,
but Different Variability

Class	No. of students		
	Section A	Section B	Section C
0–10	...	...	...
10–20	1	...	...
20–30	12	12	19
30–40	17	20	18
40–50	29	35	16
50–60	18	25	18
60–70	16	10	18
70–80	6	8	21
80–90	11	...	...
90–100	...	...	...
Total	110	110	110
Range	80	60	60

The table is designed to illustrate three distributions with the same number of cases but different variability. The removal of two extreme students from section *A* would make its range equal to that of *B* or *C*.

The greater range of *A* is not a description of the entire group of 110 students, but of the two most extreme students only. Further, though sections *B* and *C* have the same range, the students in section *B* cluster more closely around the central tendency of the group than they do in section *C*. Thus, the range fails to reveal the greater homogeneity of *B* or the greater dispersion of *C*. Due to this defect, it is seldom used as a measure of dispersion.

Specific uses of range

In spite of the numerous limitations of the range as a measure of dispersion, there are the following circumstances when it is the most appropriate one:

- (i) In situations where the extremes involve some hazard for which preparation should be made, it may be more important to know the most extreme cases to be encountered than to know anything else about the distribution. For example, an explorer, would like to know the lowest and the highest temperatures on record in the region he is about to enter; or an engineer would like to know the maximum rainfall during 24 hours for the construction of a storm water drain.
- (ii) In the study of prices of securities, range has a special field of activity. Thus to highlight fluctuations in the prices of shares or bullion it is a common practice to indicate the range over which the prices have moved during a certain period of time. This information, besides being of use to the operators, gives an indication of the stability of the bullion market, or that of the investment climate.
- (iii) In statistical quality control the range is used as a measure of variation. We, e.g., determine the range over which variations in quality are due to random causes, which is made the basis for the fixation of control limits.

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Quartile Deviation

Another measure of dispersion, much better than the range, is the semi-interquartile range, usually termed as ‘quartile deviation’. As stated in the previous unit, quartiles are the points which divide the array in four equal parts. More precisely, Q_1 gives the value of the item $1/4$ th the way up the distribution and Q_3 the value of the item $3/4$ th the way up the distribution. Between Q_1 and Q_3 are included half the total number of items. The difference between Q_1 and Q_3 includes only the central items but excludes the extremes. Since under most circumstances, the central half of the series tends to be fairly typical of all the items, the interquartile range ($Q_3 - Q_1$) affords a convenient and often a good indicator of the absolute variability. The larger the interquartile range, the larger the variability.

Usually, one-half of the difference between Q_3 and Q_1 is used and to it is given the name of quartile deviation or semi-interquartile range. The interquartile range is divided by two for the reason that half of the interquartile range will, in a normal distribution, be equal to the difference between the median and any quartile. This means that 50 per cent items of a normal distribution will lie within the interval defined by the median plus and minus the semi-interquartile range.

Symbolically:

$$Q.D. = \frac{Q_3 - Q_1}{2} \quad \dots(6.1)$$

Let us find quartile deviations for the weekly earnings of labour in the four workshop whose data is given in Table 6.8. The computations are as shown in Table 4.5.

As shown in the table, Q.D. of workshop A is ₹2.12 and median value in 25.3. This means that if the distribution is symmetrical the number of workers whose wages vary between $(25.3 - 2.1) = ₹23.2$ and $(25.3 + 2.1) = ₹27.4$, shall be just half of the total cases. The other half of the workers will be more than ₹2.1 removed from the median wage. As this distribution is not symmetrical, the distance between Q_1 and the median Q_2 is not the same as between Q_3 and the median. Hence the interval defined by median plus and minus semi inter-quartile range will not be exactly the same as given by the value of the two quartiles. Under such conditions the range between ₹23.2 and ₹27.4 will not include precisely 50 per cent of the workers.

If quartile deviation is to be used for comparing the variability of any two series, it is necessary to convert the absolute measure to a coefficient of quartile deviation. To do this the absolute measure is divided by the average size of the two quartile.

Symbolically:

$$\text{Coefficient of quartile deviation} = \frac{Q_3 - Q_1}{Q_3 + Q_1} \quad \dots(6.2)$$

Applying this to our illustration of four workshops, the coefficients of Q.D. are as given below.

Table 6.10 Calculation of Quartile Deviation

		Workshop A	Workshop B	Workshop C	Workshop D
Location of Q_2	$\frac{N}{2}$	$\frac{80}{2} = 40$	$\frac{80}{2} = 40$	$\frac{80}{2} = 40$	$\frac{80}{2} = 40$
	Q_2	$24.5 + \frac{40 - 30}{22} \times 2$ = 24.5 + 0.9 = 25.4	$24.5 + \frac{40 - 30}{18} \times 2$ = 24.5 + 1.1 = 25.61	$24.5 + \frac{40 - 30}{16} \times 2$ = 24.5 + 0.75 = 25.25	$24.5 + \frac{40 - 30}{16} \times 2$ = 24.5 + 0.75 = 25.25

Location of Q_1	$\frac{N}{4}$	$\frac{80}{4} = 20$	$\frac{80}{4} = 20$	$\frac{80}{4} = 20$	$\frac{80}{4} = 20$
	Q_1	$22.5 + \frac{20-10}{22} \times 2$ = 22.5 + .91 = 23.41	$22.5 + \frac{20-16}{14} \times 2$ = 22.5 + .57 = 23.07	$20.5 + \frac{20-10}{10} \times 2$ = 20.5 + 2 = 22.5	$22.5 + \frac{20-18}{16} \times 2$ = 22.5 + .25 = 22.75
Location of Q_3	$\frac{3N}{4}$	$3 \times \frac{80}{4} = 60$	60	60	60
	Q_3	$26.5 + \frac{60-52}{14} \times 2$ = 26.5 + 1.14 = 27.64	$26.5 + \frac{60-48}{16} \times 2$ = 26.5 + 1.5 = 28.0	$26.5 + \frac{60-50}{12} \times 2$ = 26.5 + 1.67 = 28.17	$26.5 + \frac{60-50}{12} \times 2$ = 26.5 + 1.67 = 28.17
Quartile Deviation	$\frac{Q_3 - Q_1}{2}$	$\frac{27.64 - 23.41}{2}$ = $\frac{4.23}{2} = ₹2.12$	$\frac{28 - 23.07}{2}$ = $\frac{4.93}{2} = ₹2.46$	$\frac{28.17 - 22.5}{2}$ = $\frac{5.67}{2} = ₹2.83$	$\frac{28.17 - 22.75}{2}$ = $\frac{5.42}{2} = ₹2.71$
Coefficient of quartile deviation	$\frac{Q_3 - Q_1}{Q_3 + Q_1}$	$\frac{27.64 - 23.41}{27.64 + 23.41}$ = 0.083	$\frac{28 - 23.07}{28 + 23.07}$ = 0.097	$\frac{28.17 - 22.5}{28.17 + 22.5}$ = 0.112	$\frac{28.17 - 22.75}{28.17 + 22.75}$ = 0.106

NOTES

Characteristics of quartile deviation

- The size of the quartile deviation gives an indication about the uniformity or otherwise of the size of the items of a distribution. If the quartile deviation is small it denotes large uniformity. Thus, a coefficient of quartile deviation may be used for comparing uniformity or variation in different distributions.
- Quartile deviation is not a measure of dispersion in the sense that it does not show the scatter around an average, but only a distance on scale. Consequently, quartile deviation is regarded as a measure of partition.
- It can be computed when the distribution has open-end classes.

Limitations of quartile deviation

Except for the fact that its computation is simple and it is easy to understand, a quartile deviation does not satisfy any other test of a good measure of variation.

Mean Deviation

A weakness of the measures of dispersion discussed earlier, based upon the range or a portion thereof, is that the precise size of most of the variants has no effect on the result. As an illustration, the quartile deviation will be the same whether the variates between Q_1 and Q_3 are concentrated just above Q_1 or they are spread uniformly from Q_1 to Q_3 . This is an important defect from the viewpoint of measuring the divergence of the distribution from its typical value. The mean deviation is employed to answer the objection.

Mean deviation also called average deviation, of a frequency distribution is the mean of the absolute values of the deviation from some measure of central tendency. In other words, mean deviation is the arithmetic average of the variations (deviations) of the individual items of the series from a measure of their central tendency.

NOTES

We can measure the deviations from any measure of central tendency, but the most commonly employed ones are the median and the mean. The median is preferred because it has the important property that the average deviation from it is the least.

Calculation of the mean deviation then involves the following steps:

- (a) Calculate the median (or the mean) Me (or \bar{X}).
- (b) Record the deviations $|d| = |x - Me|$ of each of the items, ignoring the sign.
- (c) Find the average value of deviations.

$$\text{Mean Deviation} = \frac{\sum |d|}{N} \quad \dots(6.3)$$

Example 6.15: Calculate the mean deviation from the following data giving marks obtained by 11 students in a class test.

14, 15, 23, 20, 10, 30, 19, 18, 16, 25, 12.

Solution: Median = Size of $\frac{11+1}{2}$ th item
= size of 6th item = 18.

Serial No.	Marks	$|x - \text{Median}|$ $|d|$
1	10	8
2	12	6
3	14	4
4	15	3
5	16	2
6	18	0
7	19	1
8	20	2
9	23	5
10	25	7
11	30	12
		$\sum |d| = 50$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Mean deviation from median} &= \frac{\sum |d|}{N} \\ &= \frac{50}{11} = 4.5 \text{ marks.} \end{aligned}$$

For grouped data, it is easy to see that the mean deviation is given by

$$\text{Mean deviation, M.D.} = \frac{\sum f|d|}{\sum f} \quad \dots(6.4)$$

where $|d| = |x - \text{median}|$ for grouped discrete data, and $|d| = M - \text{median}|$ for grouped continuous data with M as the mid-value of a particular group. The following examples illustrate the use of this formula.

Example 6.16: Calculate the mean deviation from the following data

Size of item	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Frequency	3	6	9	13	8	5	4

Solution:

Size	Frequency f	Cumulative frequency	Deviations from median (9) $|d|$	$f|d|$
6	3	3	3	9
7	6	9	2	12
8	9	18	1	9
9	13	31	0	0
10	8	39	1	8
11	5	44	2	10
12	4	48	3	12
	48			60

Median = the size of $\frac{48+1}{2} = 24.5$ th item which is 9.

Therefore, deviations d are calculated from 9, i.e., $|d| = |x - 9|$.

$$\text{Mean deviation} = \frac{\sum f|d|}{\sum f} = \frac{60}{48} = 1.25$$

Example 6.17: Calculate the mean deviation from the following data:

x	0–10	10–20	20–30	30–40	40–50	50–60	60–70	70–80
f	18	16	15	12	10	5	2	2

Solution:

This is a frequency distribution with continuous variable. Thus, deviations are calculated from mid-values.

x	Mid-value	f	Less than c.f.	Deviation from median $|d|$	$f|d|$
0–10	5	18	18	19	342
10–20	15	16	34	9	144
20–30	25	15	49	1	15
30–40	35	12	61	11	132
40–50	45	10	71	21	210
50–60	55	5	76	31	155
60–70	65	2	78	41	82
70–80	75	2	80	51	102
		80			1182

NOTES

Median = the size of $\frac{80}{2}$ th item

$$= 20 + \frac{6}{15} \times 10 = 24$$

and then, mean deviation = $\frac{\sum f|d|}{\sum f}$

$$= \frac{1182}{80} = 14.775.$$

NOTES

Merits and demerits of the mean deviation

Merits

- It is easy to understand.
- As compared to standard deviation (discussed later), its computation is simple.
- As compared to standard deviation, it is less affected by extreme values.
- Since it is based on all values in the distribution, it is better than range or quartile deviation.

Demerits

- It lacks those algebraic properties which would facilitate its computation and establish its relation to other measures.
- Due to this, it is not suitable for further mathematical processing.

Coefficient of mean deviation

The coefficient or relative dispersion is found by dividing the mean deviations recorded. Thus,

$$\text{Coefficient of M.D.} = \frac{\text{Mean Deviation}}{\text{Mean}} \quad \dots(6.5)$$

(when deviations were recorded from the mean)

$$= \frac{\text{M.D.}}{\text{Median}} \quad \dots(6.6)$$

(when deviations were recorded from the median)

Applying the above formula to Example 6.17.

$$\text{Coefficient of Mean deviation} = \frac{14.775}{24}$$

$$= 0.616$$

6.5.6 Standard Deviation

By far the most universally used and the most useful measure of dispersion is the standard deviation or root mean square deviation about the mean. We have seen that all the methods of measuring dispersion so far discussed are not universally adopted for want of adequacy and accuracy. The range is not satisfactory as its magnitude is determined by most extreme cases in the entire group. Further, the range is notable because it is dependent on the item whose size is largely matter of chance. Mean deviation method is also an unsatisfactory measure of scatter, as it ignores the algebraic signs of deviation.

We desire a measure of scatter which is free from these shortcomings. To some extent standard deviation is one such measure.

The calculation of standard deviation differs in the following respects from that of mean deviation. First, in calculating standard deviation, the deviations are squared. This is done so as to get rid of negative signs without committing algebraic violence. Further, the squaring of deviations provides added weight to the extreme items, a desirable feature for certain types of series.

Secondly, the deviations are always recorded from the arithmetic mean, because although the sum of deviations is the minimum from the median, the sum of squares of deviations is minimum when deviations are measured from the arithmetic average. The deviation from \bar{x} is represented by d .

Thus, standard deviation, σ (sigma) is defined as the square root of the mean of the squares of the deviations of individual items from their arithmetic mean.

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum(x - \bar{x})^2}{N}} \quad \dots(6.7)$$

For grouped data (discrete variables)

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum f(x - \bar{x})^2}{\sum f}} \quad \dots(6.8)$$

and, for grouped data (continuous variables)

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum f(M - \bar{x})^2}{\sum f}} \quad \dots(6.9)$$

where M is the mid-value of the group.

The use of these formulae is illustrated by the following examples.

Example 6.18: Compute the standard deviation for the following data:

11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

Solution:

Here formula (6.7) is appropriate. We first calculate the mean as $\bar{x} = \sum x/N = 176/11 = 16$, and then calculate the deviation as follows:

x	$(x - \bar{x})$	$(x - \bar{x})^2$
11	-5	25
12	-4	16
13	-3	9
14	-2	4
15	-1	1
16	0	0
17	+1	1
18	+2	4
19	+3	9
20	+4	16
21	+5	25
176		110

Thus by formula (7).

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{110}{11}} = \sqrt{10} = 3.16$$

NOTES

Example 6.19: Find the standard deviation of the data in the following distributions:

<i>x</i>	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	20
<i>f</i>	4	11	32	21	15	8	6	4

NOTES

Solution:

For this discrete variable grouped data, we use formula 6.8. Since for calculation of \bar{x} , we need $\sum fx$ and then for σ we need $\sum f(x - \bar{x})^2$, the calculations are conveniently made in the following format.

<i>x</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>fx</i>	$d = x - \bar{x}$	d^2	fd^2
12	4	48	-3	9	36
13	11	143	-2	4	44
14	32	448	-1	1	32
15	21	315	0	0	0
16	15	240	1	1	15
17	8	136	2	4	32
18	5	90	3	9	45
20	4	80	5	25	100
	100	1500			304

Here $\bar{x} = \sum fx / \sum f = 1500/100 = 15$

and
$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum fd^2}{\sum f}}$$

$$= \sqrt{\frac{304}{100}} = \sqrt{3.04} = 1.74$$

Example 6.20: Calculate the standard deviation of the following data.

<i>Class</i>	1-3	3-5	5-7	7-19	9-11	11-13	13-15
<i>frequency</i>	1	9	25	35	17	10	3

Solution: This is an example of continuous frequency series and formula 6.9 seems appropriate.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Mid-point</i>	<i>Frequency</i>		<i>Deviation of mid-point x from mean (8)</i>	<i>Squared deviation</i>	<i>Squared deviation times frequency</i>
	<i>x</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>fx</i>		d^2	d^2
1-3	2	1	2	-6	36	36
3-5	4	9	36	-4	16	144
5-7	6	25	150	-2	4	100
7-9	8	35	280	0	0	0
9-11	10	17	170	2	4	68
11-13	12	10	120	4	16	160
13-15	14	3	42	6	36	108
		100	800			616

First the mean is calculated as

$$\bar{x} = \sum fx / \sum x = 800/100 = 8.0$$

Then the deviations are obtained from 8.0. The standard deviation

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum f(M - \bar{x})^2}{\sum f}}$$

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum fd^2}{\sum f}} = \sqrt{\frac{616}{100}}$$

$$= 2.48$$

NOTES

Calculation of Standard Deviation by Short-cut Method

The three examples worked out above have one common simplifying feature, namely \bar{x} in each, turned out to be an integer, thus, simplifying calculations. In most cases, it is very unlikely that it will turn out to be so. In such cases, the calculation of d and d^2 becomes quite time-consuming. Short-cut methods have consequently been developed. These are on the same lines as those for calculation of mean itself.

In the short-cut method, we calculate deviations x' from an assumed mean A . Then,
for ungrouped data

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum x'^2}{N} - \left(\frac{\sum x'}{N}\right)^2} \quad \dots(6.10)$$

and for grouped data

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum fx'^2}{\sum f} - \left(\frac{\sum fx'}{\sum f}\right)^2} \quad \dots(6.11)$$

This formula is valid for both discrete and continuous variables. In case of continuous variables, x in the equation $x' = x - A$ stands for the mid-value of the class in question.

Note that the second term in each of the formulae is a correction term because of the difference in the values of A and \bar{x} . When A is taken as \bar{x} itself, this correction is automatically reduced to zero. Examples 6.7 to 6.11 explain the use of these formulae.

Example 6.21: Compute the standard deviation by the short-cut method for the following data:

11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21

Solution: Let us assume that $A = 15$.

	$x' = (x - 15)$	x^2
11	-4	16
12	-3	9
13	-2	4
14	-1	1
15	0	0
16	1	1
17	2	4
18	3	9
19	4	16
20	5	25
21	6	36
$N = 11$	$\sum x' = 11$	$\sum x'^2 = 121$

NOTES

$$\begin{aligned}\sigma &= \sqrt{\frac{\sum x'^2}{N} - \left(\frac{\sum x'}{N}\right)^2} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{121}{11} - \left(\frac{11}{11}\right)^2} \\ &= \sqrt{11 - 1} \\ &= \sqrt{10} \\ &= 3.16.\end{aligned}$$

Another method

If we assumed A as zero, then the deviation of each item from the assumed mean is the same as the value of item itself. Thus, 11 deviates from the assumed mean of zero by 11, 12 deviates by 12, and so on. As such, we work with deviations without having to compute them, and the formula takes the following shape:

x	x^2
11	121
12	144
13	169
14	196
15	225
16	256
17	289
18	324
19	361
20	400
21	441
176	2,926

$$\begin{aligned}\sigma &= \sqrt{\frac{\sum x^2}{N} - \left(\frac{\sum x}{N}\right)^2} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{2926}{11} - \left(\frac{176}{11}\right)^2} = \sqrt{266 - 256} = 3.16\end{aligned}$$

Example 6.22: Calculate the standard deviation of the following data by short method.

Person	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Monthly income (Rupees)	300	400	420	440	460	480	580

Solution: In this data, the values of the variable are very large making calculations cumbersome. It is advantageous to take a common factor out. Thus, we use $x' = \frac{x - A}{20}$. The standard deviation is calculated using x' and then the true value of σ is obtained by multiplying back by 20. The effective formula then is

$$\sigma = C \times \sqrt{\frac{\sum x'^2}{N} - \left(\frac{\sum x'}{N}\right)^2}$$

where C represents the common factor.

Using $x' = (x - 420)/20$.

x	Deviation from Assumed mean $x' = (x - 420)$	x'	x'^2
300	-120	-6	36
400	-20	-1	1
420	0	0	0
		-7	
440	20	1	1
460	40	2	4
480	60	3	9
580	160	8	64
		+ 14	
$N = 7$		7	115

NOTES

$$\begin{aligned}\sigma &= 20 \times \sqrt{\frac{\sum x'^2}{N} - \left(\frac{\sum x'}{N}\right)^2} \\ &= 20 \sqrt{\frac{115}{7} - \left(\frac{7}{7}\right)^2} \\ &= 78.56\end{aligned}$$

Example 6.23: Calculate the standard deviation from the following data:

Size	6	9	12	15	18
Frequency	7	12	19	10	2

Solution:

x	Frequency f	Deviation from assumed mean 12	Deviation divided by common factor 3 x'	x' times frequency fx'	x'^2 times frequency fx'^2
6	7	-6	-2	-14	28
9	12	-3	-1	-12	12
12	19	0	0	0	0
15	10	3	1	10	10
18	2	6	2	4	8
	$N = 50$			$\sum fx'$ = -12	$\sum fx'^2$ = 58

Since deviations have been divided by a common factor, we use

$$\begin{aligned}\sigma &= C \sqrt{\frac{\sum fx'^2}{N} - \left(\frac{\sum fx'}{N}\right)^2} \\ &= 3 \sqrt{\frac{58}{50} - \left(\frac{-12}{50}\right)^2} \\ &= 3 \sqrt{1.1600 - .0576} = 3 \times 1.05 = 3.15.\end{aligned}$$

NOTES

Example 6.24: Obtain the mean and standard deviation of the first N natural numbers, i.e., of $1, 2, 3, \dots, N - 1, N$.

Solution: Let x denote the variable which assumes the values of the first N natural numbers.

Then

$$\bar{x} = \frac{\sum_1^N x}{N} = \frac{N(N+1)}{2N} = \frac{N+1}{2}$$

because
$$\sum_1^N x = 1 + 2 + 3 + \dots + (N-1) + N$$

$$= \frac{N(N+1)}{2}$$

To calculate the standard deviation σ , we use 0 as the assumed mean A . Then

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum x^2}{N} - \left(\frac{\sum x}{N}\right)^2}$$

But
$$\sum x^2 = 1^2 + 2^2 + 3^2 + \dots + (N-1)^2 + N^2 = \frac{N(N+1)(2N+1)}{6}$$

Therefore

$$\begin{aligned} \sigma &= \sqrt{\frac{N(N+1)(2N+1)}{6N} - \frac{N^2(N+1)^2}{4N^2}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{(N+1)}{2} \left[\frac{2N+1}{3} - \frac{N+1}{2} \right]} = \sqrt{\frac{(N+1)(N-1)}{12}} \end{aligned}$$

Thus for first 11 natural numbers

$$\bar{x} = \frac{11+1}{2} = 6$$

and
$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{(11+1)(11-1)}{12}} = \sqrt{10} = 3.16$$

Example 6.25:

	Mid-point x	Frequency f	Deviation from class of assumed mean x'	Deviation time frequency fx'	Squared deviation times frequency fx'^2
0-10	5	18	-2	-36	72
10-20	15	16	-1	-16	16
				-52	
20-30	25	15	0	0	0
30-40	35	12	1	12	12
40-50	45	10	2	20	40
50-60	55	5	3	15	45
60-70	65	2	4	8	32
70-80	75	1	5	5	25
				-60	
		79		60	242
				-52	
				$\sum fx' = 8$	

Solution: Since the deviations are from assumed mean and expressed in terms of class-interval units,

$$\begin{aligned}\sigma &= i \times \sqrt{\frac{\sum x'^2}{N} - \left(\frac{\sum fx'}{N}\right)^2} \\ &= 10 \times \sqrt{\frac{242}{79} - \left(\frac{8}{79}\right)^2} \\ &= 10 \times 1.75 = 17.5.\end{aligned}$$

NOTES

Combining Standard Deviations of Two Distributions

If we were given two sets of data of N_1 and N_2 items with means \bar{x}_1 and \bar{x}_2 and standard deviations σ_1 and σ_2 respectively, we can obtain the mean and standard deviation \bar{x} and σ of the combined distribution by the following formulae:

$$\bar{x} = \frac{N_1\bar{x}_1 + N_2\bar{x}_2}{N_1 + N_2} \quad \dots(6.12)$$

and
$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{N_1\sigma_1^2 + N_2\sigma_2^2 + N_1(\bar{x} - \bar{x}_1)^2 + N_2(\bar{x} - \bar{x}_2)^2}{N_1 + N_2}} \quad \dots(6.13)$$

Example 6.26: The mean and standard deviations of two distributions of 100 and 150 items are 50, 5 and 40, 6 respectively. Find the standard deviation of all taken together.

Solution: Combined mean

$$\begin{aligned}\bar{x} &= \frac{N_1\bar{x}_1 + N_2\bar{x}_2}{N_1 + N_2} = \frac{100 \times 50 + 150 \times 40}{100 + 150} \\ &= 44\end{aligned}$$

Combined standard deviation

$$\begin{aligned}\sigma &= \sqrt{\frac{N_1\sigma_1^2 + N_2\sigma_2^2 + N_1(\bar{x} - \bar{x}_1)^2 + N_2(\bar{x} - \bar{x}_2)^2}{N_1 + N_2}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{100 \times (5)^2 + 150(6)^2 + 100(44 - 50)^2 + 150(44 - 40)^2}{100 + 150}} \\ &= 7.46.\end{aligned}$$

Example 6.27: A distribution consists of three components with 200, 250, 300 items having mean 25, 10 and 15 and standard deviation 3, 4 and 5, respectively. Find the standard deviation of the combined distribution.

Solution: In the usual notations, we are given here

$$\begin{aligned}N_1 &= 200, N_2 = 250, N_3 = 300 \\ \bar{x}_1 &= 25, \bar{x}_2 = 10, \bar{x}_3 = 15\end{aligned}$$

The formulae (12) and (13) can easily be extended for combination of three series as

$$\begin{aligned}\bar{x} &= \frac{N_1\bar{x}_1 + N_2\bar{x}_2 + N_3\bar{x}_3}{N_1 + N_2 + N_3} \\ &= \frac{200 \times 25 + 250 \times 10 + 300 \times 15}{200 + 250 + 300}\end{aligned}$$

$$= \frac{12000}{750} = 16$$

and

$$\begin{aligned}\sigma &= \sqrt{\frac{N_1\sigma_1^2 + N_2\sigma_2^2 + N_3\sigma_3^2 + N_1(\bar{x} - \bar{x}_1)^2 + N_2(\bar{x} - \bar{x}_2)^2 + N_3(\bar{x} - \bar{x}_3)^2}{N_1 + N_2 + N_3}} \\ &= \sqrt{\frac{200 \times 9 + 250 \times 16 + 300 \times 25 + 200 \times 81 + 250 \times 36 + 300 \times 1}{200 + 250 + 300}} \\ &= \sqrt{51.73} = 7.19.\end{aligned}$$

NOTES

Comparison of Various Measures of Dispersion

The range is the easiest to calculate the measure of dispersion, but since it depends on extreme values, it is extremely sensitive to the size of the sample, and to the sample variability. In fact, as the sample size increases the range increases dramatically, because the more the items one considers, the more likely it is that some item will turn up which is larger than the previous maximum or smaller than the previous minimum. So, it is, in general, impossible to interpret properly the significance of a given range unless the sample size is constant. It is for this reason that there appears to be only one valid application of the range, namely in statistical quality control where the same sample size is repeatedly used, so that comparison of ranges are not distorted by differences in sample size.

The quartile deviations and other such positional measures of dispersions are also easy to calculate but suffer from the disadvantage that they are not amenable to algebraic treatment. Similarly, the mean deviation is not suitable because we cannot obtain the mean deviation of a combined series from the deviations of component series. However, it is easy to interpret and easier to calculate than the standard deviation.

The standard deviation of a set of data, on the other hand, is one of the most important statistics describing it. It lends itself to rigorous algebraic treatment, is rigidly defined and is based on all observations. It is, therefore, quite insensitive to sample size (provided the size is 'large enough') and is least affected by sampling variations.

It is used extensively in testing of hypothesis about population parameters based on sampling statistics.

In fact, the standard deviations has such stable mathematical properties that it is used as a standard scale for measuring deviations from the mean. If we are told that the performance of an individual is 10 points better than the mean, it really does not tell us enough, for 10 points may or may not be a large enough difference to be of significance. But if we know that the s for the score is only 4 points, so that on this scale, the performance is $2.5s$ better than the mean, the statement becomes meaningful. This indicates an extremely good performance. This sigma scale is a very commonly used scale for measuring and specifying deviations which immediately suggest the significance of the deviation.

The only disadvantages of the standard deviation lies in the amount of work involved in its calculation, and the large weight it attaches to extreme values because of the process of squaring involved in its calculations.

Check Your Progress

9. List the characteristics of mean.
10. How is median calculated when the number of cases is even?
11. What are the four important methods of estimating mode of a series?
12. Define range.
13. Why is the median deviation chosen over mean deviation?

6.6 SUMMARY

- Data processing involves the analysis and manipulation of the collected data by performing various functions. The functions that can be performed on data are: editing, coding, tabulation and classification.
- Editing of data involves the testing of data collection instruments in order to ensure maximum accuracy.
- Coding of data can be defined as representing the data symbolically using some predefined rules.
- Classification of data involves arrangement of data in groups or classes on the basis of some common characteristics.
- Tabulation means placing the data collected and results from research in a tabular form.
- Analysis of data is the process of transforming data for the purpose of extracting useful information, which in turn facilitates the discovery of some useful conclusions.
- The various types of analyses are: multiple regression analysis, multiple discriminant analysis and canonical correlation analysis.
- Analysis on the basis of the variance that exists in the data can be: univariate analysis, bivariate analysis and multivariate analysis.
- Data interpretation refers to the identification of trends in different variables. The researcher uses statistics for this purpose. The level of measurement used can be nominal, ordinal, interval or ratio.
- Data in raw form can be cumbersome to deal with. It must be presented in a suitable and summarized form without any loss of relevant information so that it can be efficiently used for decision-making. The common forms of representation of data are: graphs, tables, diagrams, etc.
- Tabulation is a systematic arrangement of data in columns and rows. The analysis of the data is done so by arranging the columns and rows to facilitate analysis and comparisons. A table is constructed depending on the type of information to be presented and the requirements of the statistical analysis.
- Diagrams and graphs give visual indications of magnitudes, groupings, trends and patterns in the data. These important features are more simply presented in the form of graphs. Also, diagrams facilitate comparisons between two or more sets of data.
- While arithmetic mean is the most commonly used measure of central tendency, mode and median are more suitable measures under certain set of conditions and for certain types of data.
- Arithmetic mean is commonly known as the mean. Even though average, in general, means measure of central tendency, when we use the word average in our daily routine, we always mean the arithmetic average.
- Median is that value of a variable which divides the series in such a manner that the number of items below it is equal to the number of items above it.

NOTES

NOTES

- The mode of a distribution is the value at the point around which the items tend to be most heavily concentrated. It is the most frequent or the most common value, provided that a sufficiently large number of items are available, to give a smooth distribution.
- Some measures than other measures of central tendency are often employed when summarizing or describing a set of data where it is necessary to divide the data into equal parts. The quartiles divide the data into four equal parts, the deciles divide the total ordered data into ten equal parts and the percentile divide the data into 100 equal parts.
- A measure of dispersion, or simply dispersion may be defined as statistics signifying the extent of the scatteredness of items around a measure of central tendency. These can be in the form of mean deviation, quartile deviation or standard deviation.

6.7 KEY TERMS

- **Data processing:** It refers to the analysis and manipulation of the collected data by performing various functions.
- **Coding of data:** It is defined as representing the data symbolically using some predefined rules.
- **Analysis of data:** It is the process of transforming data for the purpose of extracting useful information, which in turn facilitates the discovery of some useful conclusions.
- **Mean:** It refers to the arithmetic average and measure of central location.
- **Mode:** It is a form of average that can be defined as the most frequently occurring value in the data.
- **Median:** It refers to a measure of central tendency that appears in the centre of an ordered data.
- **Standard deviation:** The square root of the average of the squared deviations from their mean of a set of observations.

6.8 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. The functions that can be performed on data are: editing, coding, tabulation and classification.
2. Coding decisions are usually taken at the designing state of the questionnaire.
3. Class intervals refer to a range of values of a variable. This interval is used to calibrate the scale of a variable in order to tabulate the frequency distribution of a sample.
4. The following are the different methods used in hand tabulation: direct tally method, list and tally method and card sort method.
5. Bivariate analysis is a type of analysis that examines the relationship between two variables. It tries to find the extent of association that exists among these variables.
6. The ordinal scale of measurement is used to calculate and derive data pertaining to the median, percentage, rank order, correlations and percentile.

7. A frequency polygon is a line chart of frequency distribution in which, either the values of discrete variables or midpoints of class intervals are plotted against the frequencies and these plotted points are joined together by straight lines.
8. In histograms, the given data is plotted in the form of a series of rectangles. Class intervals are marked along the X-axis and the frequencies along the Y-axis according to a suitable scale.
9. The following are the characteristics of mean: the sum of the deviation of individual values of X from the mean will always add up to zero, it is very sensitive to extreme values, and the sum of the squares of the deviations about the mean is minimum.
10. When there is an even number of cases, there is no actual middle item and the median is taken to be the average of the values of the items lying on either side of $(N+1)/2$, where N is the total number of items.
11. The four important methods of estimating mode of a series are: (i) locating the most frequently repeated value in the array; (ii) estimating the mode by interpolation; (iii) locating the mode by graphic method; and (iv) estimating the mode from the mean and the median.
12. Range is the crudest measure of dispersion. It is the difference between the highest and lowest values in the series.
13. The median deviation is preferred over mean because it has the important property that the average deviation from it is the least.

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6.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Distinguish between the terms data classification according to attributes and class intervals.
2. State any three advantages of tabulation.
3. What is an Ogive curve?
4. Differentiate between a mean and a mode.
5. Write three characteristics of mean.
6. What is the importance of arithmetic mean in statistics?
7. Define quartiles, deciles and percentiles with suitable examples.
8. What is geometric mean? How is it calculated?
9. Write the definition and formula of quartile deviation.
10. How will you calculate the mean deviation of a given data?
11. Explain standard deviation. Why is it used in statistical evaluation of data?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Briefly describe the process and significance of coding of data.
2. Enumerate and elaborate on the methods of tabulation.
3. Elaborate on any three ways of representation of the collected data.
4. Discuss the various types of diagrams used for data representation.

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5. Explain the term descriptive statistics with the help of examples.
6. Discuss the various measures of central tendency.
7. Discuss the significance of diagrammatic representation of data.
8. Explain the common techniques of diagrammatic representation.
9. The following table gives the heights (in inches) of 100 boys of a class. Calculate mean, mode and median of the height.

<i>Height (inches)</i>	<i>No. of Students</i>
60–62	5
62–64	18
64–66	42
66–68	20
68–70	8
70–72	7
	100

Solution: 65.58

10. The daily profits in rupees of 100 shops are distributed as follows. Draw a histogram of the data and then find the modal value. Check this value by direct calculation.

<i>Profits per shop</i>	<i>Number of shops</i>
0–100	12
100–200	18
200–300	27
300–400	20
400–500	17
500–600	6

Since class 200–300 has the highest frequency, i.e., 27, mode lies in this class.

Mode = 256.25

6.10 FURTHER READING

- Chandan, J. S. 1998. *Statistics for Business and Economics*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Gupta, S. C. 2006. *Fundamentals of Statistics*. New Delhi: Himalaya Publishing House.
- Gupta, S. P., 2005. *Statistical Methods*. New Delhi: Sultan Chand and Sons.
- Hooda, R. P. 2002. *Statistics for Business and Economics*. New Delhi: Macmillan India.
- Kothari, C. R., 1984. *Quantitative Techniques*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Monga, G. S. 2000. *Mathematics and Statistics for Economics*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

UNIT 7 REPORT WRITING

Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Unit Objectives
- 7.2 Need for Effective Documentation
 - 7.2.1 Importance of Report Writing
 - 7.2.2 Types of Research Reports
- 7.3 Components of Report
- 7.4 Report Writing: Report Formulation
 - 7.4.1 Guidelines for Effective Documentation
 - 7.4.2 Research Briefings: Oral Presentation
- 7.5 Summary
- 7.6 Key Terms
- 7.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 7.8 Questions and Exercises
- 7.9 Further Reading

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7.0 INTRODUCTION

The final unit will discuss the writing of research reports. A research study is a tedious task and calls for exhaustive investigation on the part of the researcher. This quite often leads to accumulation of bulk data obtained from the research study. Even if the concerned study results in brilliant hypotheses or a generalized theory, it is the responsibility of the researcher to format this bulk study into an easy-to-understand pattern or format. This is where a research report comes in.

One cannot overemphasize the significance of a well-documented and structured research report. This step is often taken as extremely rudimentary and is, thus, ignored. However, just like all the other steps in the research process, this requires careful and sequential progression. The unit will discuss in detail the formation and presentation of the research study. The format and the steps might be moderately adjusted and altered based on the reader's requirement. Thus, it might be for an academic and theoretical purpose or might need to be clearly spelt and linked with the business manager's decision dilemma.

7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the importance of report writing
- Describe the types of research reports
- Explain the report preparation and presentation
- Identify the components of report
- Assess the formulation of report writing and guidelines

7.2 NEED FOR EFFECTIVE DOCUMENTATION

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On completion of the research study and after obtaining the research results, the real skill of the researcher lies in terms of analysing and interpreting the findings and linking them with the propositions formulated in the form of research hypotheses at the beginning of the study. The statistical or qualitative summary of results would be little more than numbers or conclusions unless one is able to present the documented version of the research endeavour.

7.2.1 Importance of Report Writing

Depending on the business researcher's orientation, the intention might be different and would be reflected in the form of the presentation but the significance is critical to both. Essentially, this is so because of the following reasons:

- The research report fulfills the historical task of serving as a concrete proof of the study that was undertaken. This serves the purpose of providing a framework for any work that can be conducted in the same or related areas.
- It is the complete detailed report of the research study undertaken by the researcher, thus it needs to be presented in a comprehensive and objective manner. This is a one-way communication of the researcher's study and analysis to the reader/manager, and thus needs to be all-inclusive and yet neutral in its reporting.
- For academic purposes, the recorded document presents a knowledge base on the topic under study and for the business manager seeking help in taking more informed decisions, the report provides the necessary guidance for taking appropriate action.
- As the report documents all the steps followed and the analysis carried out, it also serves to authenticate the quality of the work carried out and establishes the strength of the findings obtained.

Thus, effective recording and communicating of the results of the study becomes an extremely critical step of the research process. Based on the nature of the research study and the researcher's orientation, the report can take different forms.

7.2.2 Types of Research Reports

The form and structure of the research report might change according to the purpose for which it has been designed. Based on the size of the report, it is possible to divide the report into the following types:

Brief Reports

These kinds of reports are not formally structured and are generally short, sometimes not running more than four to five pages. The information provided is of a limited scope and is prepared either for immediate consumption or as a prelude to the formal structured report that would subsequently follow. These reports could be designed in several ways.

- **Working papers or basic reports** are written for the purpose of collating the process carried out in terms of scope and framework of the study, the methodology followed and instrument designed. The results and findings would also be recorded

here. However, the interpretation of the findings and study background might be missing, as the focus is more on the present study rather than past literature. These reports are significant as they serve as a reference point when writing the final report or when the researcher wants to revisit the detailed steps followed in collecting the study-related information.

- **Survey reports** might or might not have an academic orientation. The focus here is to present findings in an easy-to-comprehend format that includes figures and tables. The reader can then study the patterns in the findings to arrive at appropriate conclusions, essential for resolving the research problem. The advantage of these reports is that they are simple and easy to understand and present the findings in a clear and usable format.

Detailed Reports

These are more formal and pedantic in their structure and are essentially either academic, technical or business reports. Sometimes, the researcher may prepare both kinds—for an academic as well as for a business purpose. The language, presentation and format of the two kinds of reports would be vastly different as they would need to be prepared for the understanding of the reader's capabilities and intentions.

Technical Reports

These are major documents and would include all elements of the basic report, as well as the interpretations and conclusions, as related to the obtained results. This would have a complete problem background and any additional past data/records that are essential for comprehending and interpreting the present study output. All sources of data, sampling plan, data collection instrument(s), data analysis outputs would be formally and sequentially documented.

Business Reports

These reports would not have the technical rigour and details of the technical report and would be in the language and include conclusions as understood and required by the business manager. The tables, figures and numbers of the first report would now be pictorially shown as bars and graphs and the reporting tone would be more in business terms rather than in conceptual or theoretical terms. If needed, the tabular data might be attached in the appendix.

7.3 COMPONENTS OF REPORT

Whatever the type of report, the reporting and dissemination of the study and its findings require a structured format and by and large, the process is standardized. As stated above, the major difference amongst the types of reports is that all the elements that essentially constitute a research report would be present only in a detailed technical report.

The entire research project needs to be recorded either as a single written report or into several reports, depending on the need of the readers. The researcher would need to assist the business manager in deciphering the report, executing the findings, and in case of need, to revise the report to suit the specific actionable requirements of the manager.

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Check Your Progress

1. State one extremely critical step of the research process.
2. Why is the purpose for writing working papers?

As presented in Figure 7.1, most research reports include the following sections:

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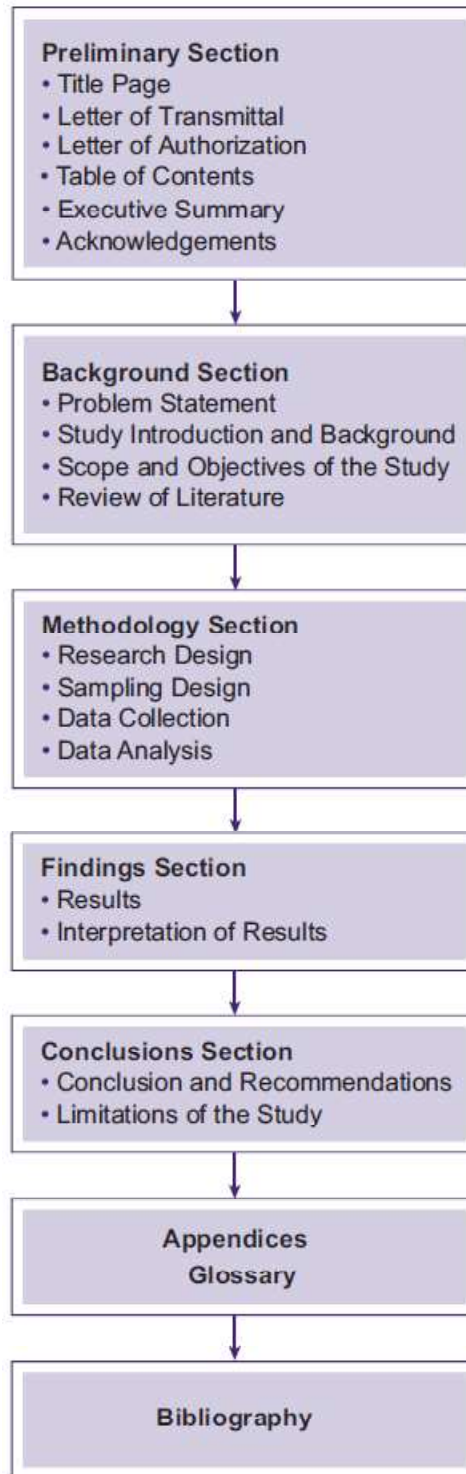


Fig. 7.1 The Process of Report Formulation and Writing

1. Preliminary Pages

This section mainly consists of identification information for the study conducted. It has the following individual elements:

Title page: This includes classification data about:

- The target audience, or the intended reader of the report.
- The report author(s), including their name, affiliation and address.
- The title of the study presented in a manner to clearly indicate the study variables; the relationship or status of the variables studied and the population to which the results apply. The title should be crisp and indicative of the nature of the project, as illustrated in the following examples.
 - o Comparative analysis of BPO workers and schoolteachers with reference to their work–life balance
 - o Segmentation analysis of luxury apartment buyers in the National Capital Region (NCR).
 - o An assessment of behavioural factors impacting consumer financial investment decisions.

Letter of transmittal: This is the letter that goes alongside the formalized copy of the final report. It broadly refers to the purpose behind the study. The tone in this note can be slightly informal and indicative of the rapport between the client-reader and the researcher. A sample letter of transmittal is presented in Exhibit 7.1. The letter broadly refers to three issues: It indicates the term of the study or objectives; next it goes on to broadly give an indication of the process carried out to conduct the study and the implications of the findings. The conclusions are generally indicative of the researcher’s interest/learning from the study and in some cases may be laying the foundation for future research opportunities.

Letter of authorization: Sometimes the letter of authorization may be redundant as indications of the formal approval for conducting the study might be included in the letter of transmittal. The author of this letter is the business manager or corporate representative who formally gives the permission for executing the project. The tone of this letter, unlike the above document, is very precise and formal, leaving no room for speculation or interpretation.

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Exhibit 7.1 Sample Letter of Transmittal

To:	Mr Prem Parashar	From:	Nayan Navre
Company:	Just Bondas Corporation (JBC)	Company:	Jigyasa Associates
Location:	Mumbai 116879	Location:	Sabarmati Dham, Mumbai
Telephone:	48786767; 4876768	Telephone:	41765888
Fax:	48786799	Fax:	41765899

Addendums: Highlight of findings (pages: 20)

15 January 2011

Dear Prem,

Please find the enclosed document which covers a summary of the findings of the November- December 2010 study of the new product offering and its acceptability. I would be sending three hard copies of the same tomorrow.

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Once the core group has discussed the direction of the expected results I would request you to kindly get back with your comments/queries/suggestions, so that they can be incorporated in the preparation of the final report document.

The major findings of the study were that the response of the non-vegetarians consuming the new *keema bonda pav* at Just Bondas was positive. As you can observe, however, the introduction of the non-vegetarian *bonda* has not been well received by the regular customers who visit the outlets for their regular *aloo bonda*. These findings, though on a small respondent base, are significant as they could be an indication of a deflecting loyal customer base.

Best regards,

Nayan

As explained, this letter is not critical to submission, in case reference to the same has been made in the transmittal letter. However, in case it is to be included in the report, it is advisable to reproduce the exact prototype of the original letter.

Table of contents: All reports should have a section that clearly indicates the division of the report based on the formal areas of the study as indicated in the research structure. The major divisions and subdivisions of the study, along with their starting page numbers, should be presented. The subheadings and the smaller sections of a topic need not be indicated here as then the presentation of the content seems cluttered.

Once the major sections of the report are listed, the list of tables come next, followed by the list of figures and graphs, exhibits (if any) and finally the list of appendices.

Executive summary: This is the last and the most critical element of the preliminary section. The summary of the entire report, starting from the scope and objectives of the study to the methodology employed and the results obtained, have to be presented in a brief and concise manner. In case the research requirement was to provide recommended changes based on the findings, it is advisable to provide short pointers here. Interestingly, it has been observed that in most instances the business managers read only the executive summary in its complete detail and most often just glance through the rest of the report. Thus, it becomes extremely critical to present a Gestaltan view of the entire report in a suitable condensed form.

The executive summary essentially can be divided into four or five sections. It begins with the study background, scope and objectives of the study, followed by the execution, including the sample details and methodology of the study. Next comes the findings and results obtained. The fourth section covers the conclusions which are more or less based on the opinion of the researcher. Finally, as stated earlier, in case the study objectives necessitates implications, the last section would include recommendations and suggestions.

Acknowledgements: A small note acknowledging the contribution of the respondents, the corporates and the experts who provided inputs for accomplishing the study is to be included here.

Though the executive summary comes before the main body of the report, it is always prepared after the entire report has been finalized and is ready in its final form. The length of this section is one or two pages only and the researcher needs to effectively present the most significant parts of the study in a succinct form. It has been observed that the executive summary is a standalone document that is often circulated independently to the interested managers who might be directly or indirectly related to the study.

2. Main Text

This is the most significant and academically robust part of the report. The sections of this division follow the essential pattern of a typical research study.

Problem definition: This section begins with the formal definition of the research problem. The problem statement is the research intention and is more or less similar to what was stated earlier as the title of the research study.

Study background: Study background presents details of the preliminary conceptualization of the management decision problem and all the groundwork done in terms of secondary data analysis, industry experts' perspectives and any other earlier reporting of similar approaches undertaken. Thus, essentially, the section begins by presenting the decision-makers' problem and then moves on to a description of the theoretical and contemporary market data that laid the foundation that guided the research.

In case the study is an academic research, there is a separate section devoted to the review of related literature, which presents a detailed reporting of work done on the same or related topic of interest.

Study scope and objectives: The logical arguments then conclude in the form of definite statements related to the purpose of the study. A clear definition of the scope and objective of the study is presented usually after the study background; in case the study is causal in nature, the formulated hypotheses are presented here as well.

Methodology of research: This section would not be sequentially placed here, for short reports or for a business report. In such reports, a short description of the methodology followed would be documented in the appendix. However, for a technical and academic report, this is a significant and primary contribution of the research study. The section would essentially have five to six sections specifying the details of how the research was conducted. These would essentially be:

- *Research framework or design:* The variables and concepts being investigated are clearly defined, with a clear reference to the relationship being studied. The justification for using a particular design has to be presented in a sequential and step-wise manner enlisting the experimental and control conditions, in case of a causal study. The researcher must take care to keep the technical details of the execution in the appendix and present the execution details in simple language, in the main body.
- *Sampling design:* The entire sampling plan in terms of the population being studied, along with the reasons for collecting the study-related information from the given group is given here. The execution details, in terms of sample size calculations, sampling frame considered and field work details can be recorded in the appendix rather than in the main body of the report. However, the sample profile and identification details are included in the main section. As stated earlier, the report needs to be reader-friendly, and too much technical information might not be required by the decision-maker.
- *Data collection methods:* In this section, the researcher should clearly list the information needed for the study as drawn from the study objectives stated earlier. The secondary data sources considered and the primary instrument designed for the specific study are discussed here. However, the final draft of the measuring instrument can be included in the appendix, which includes the execution details in terms of how the information was collected; how the open ended or opinion-

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based questions were handled; and how irregularities were handled and accounted for in the study. These and similar information enable a clear insight into the standardization of procedures maintained.

- *Data analysis*: Here, the researcher again needs to revisit the research objectives and the study design in order to justify the analytical tools and techniques used in the study. The assumptions and constraints of the analysis need to be explained here in simple, non-technical terms. There is no need to give a detailed description of the statistical calculations here.
- *Study results and findings*: This is the most critical chapter of the report and requires special care; it is probably also one of the longest chapters in the document. The researcher could, thus, consider either breaking this into subchapters or at least clear subheadings.

Researchers commonly divide the chapter on the basis of the data collection plan, i.e., there is a section on interview analysis, another one on focus group discussion and the third referring to the questionnaire analysis. This, however, does not serve any purpose as the results would then seem repetitive and disjointed. Instead, the result should be organized according to the information areas on which the data was collected or on the basis of the research objectives. There are also times when the data would be presented for the whole sample and then will be split and presented for the sub-population studied. For example, in the study on work-life balance, the findings were presented for the whole sample and then at the micro level for the BPO sector and separately for the school teacher segment. For each group, first the sample profile in terms of the demographic details of age, education, income (individual and family), years of experience, marital status, family size and other details was presented. Next, the descriptive data was made available on the seven sub-scales studied—and lastly—the predictive data—based on a multiple regression analysis with work-life balance as the dependent variable and the seven variables as independent, was presented. There was only one open-ended question related to the individual's suggestion as to what support was required from one's place of work to achieve work-life balance. This was presented last in the form of a bar chart showing variability in the responses given. Again as advised earlier, it is essential to present the findings in the form of simplified tables, graphs and figures, with the same being explained in simple text subsequently.

Interpretations of Results and Suggested Recommendations

The section study results and findings, i.e., the main report, presents a bird's eye view of the information as it exists in a summarized and numerical form. This kind of information might become difficult to understand and convert into actionable steps, thus the real skill of the researcher lies in simplifying the data in a reader-friendly language. Here, it is recommended that this section should be more analytical and opinion based. The results could be supported by the data that was presented earlier, for example, industry forecasts or the expert opinion. In case the report had an earlier section on literature review, the researcher could demonstrate the similarity of findings with past studies done on the topic. For example, in a study conducted on analysing the antecedents of turnover intention, the results obtained were explained as follows:

The results of the logit regression indicate that organizational commitment, age and marital status are significant at 5 per cent and 10 per cent levels respectively. The results indicate that as organizational commitment increases, the log of odd ratios in the favour of high turnover intention reduces, which is very logical. This is in accordance with the results obtained by Mobley, et al. (1978), Cotton and Tuttle (1986), Igbaria and Greenhaus (1992), Ahuja, et al. (2007). Thus, when employees feel committed to an organization, they are more likely to stay with the organization.

Sometimes, the research results obtained may not be in the direction as found by earlier researchers. Here, the skill of the researcher in justifying the obtained direction is based on his/her individual opinion and expertise in the area of study. For example, in the same study on turnover intentions, contrary findings were explained as follows:

...the results indicate that the log of odd ratios in favour of high turnover intention is more in the case of older respondents; this is contrary to the findings of Zeffane and Gul (1995) and Finegold, et al. (2002). However, this has to be understood in the light of the profession, as in India, most people take the BPO sector as a stop-gap career and use the time at the BPO employment as an opportunity to enhance their academic qualification and then move on, which is also one of the reasons why this sector is a young sector.

Subsequent to the subsection on the interpretation of results, sometimes, the study requirement might be to formulate indicative recommendations to the decision-makers as well. Thus, in case the report includes recommendations, they should be realistic, workable and topically related to the industry studied. For example, to the business manager of organic food products, the following recommendation was made to build awareness amongst potential customers about the benefits of organic products:

Organic food study: An illustration: The power of the print media in promoting a high-involvement product is unsurpassed. Thus, articles by leading nutritionists and doctors (88 per cent of consumers are influenced by others in consuming health alternatives) on any aspect of organic food would work well. The organic players need to take care that they do not advertise only their product offerings and price alone but they also need to educate the consumer on the health benefits of the products in their advertisements.

The article/advertisement could be placed in the Sunday supplements of newspapers so that people would read them at leisure. The major decision-makers for groceries are women thus magazines like Femina, Health and Savvy would be likely choices (the magazines suggested are English fortnightlies and have a reader profile similar to our sample profile). This is also because the product is a premium and niche product and thus requires selective exposure.

Limitations of the Study

The last in this section is a brief discussion of the problems encountered during the study and the constraints in terms of time, financial or human resources. There could also have been constraints in obtaining the required information, either because the data about the topic of interest has not been collected or because it is not readily available to all. These clear revelations about the drawbacks are thus kept in mind by the reader when analysing the results and the implications of the study.

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3. End Text

The final section of the report provides all the supportive material in the study. Some of the common details presented in this section are as follows:

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Appendices: The appendix section follows the main body of the report and essentially consists of two kinds of information:

1. Secondary information like long articles or in case the study uses/is based on/ refers to some technical information that needs to be understood by the reader. Or long tables or articles or legal or policy documents.
2. Primary data that can be compressed and presented in the main body of the report. This includes: Original questionnaire, discussion guides, formula used for the study, sample details, original data, long tables and graphs which can be described in statement form in the text.

Bibliography: This is an important part of the final section as it provides the complete details of the information sources and papers cited in a standardized format. It is recommended to follow the publication manuals from the American Psychological Association (APA) or the Harvard method of citation for preparing this section. In fact, with the advancement in computer technology the latest version of Microsoft office Word 2007 can automatically generate a bibliography based on any of these formats, based on the source information provided in the document.

The reporting content of the bibliography could also be in terms of:

- **Selected bibliography:** Selective references are cited in terms of relevance and reader requirement. Thus, the books or journals, that are technical and not really needed to understand the study outcomes are not reported.
- **Complete bibliography:** All the items that have been referred to, even when not cited in the text, are given here.
- **Annotated bibliography:** Along with the complete details of the cited work, some brief information about the nature of information sought from the article is given. This could run into three or four lines or a brief paragraph.

At this juncture we would like to refer to another method of citation that an author might wish to use during report writing. This could be in the form of a footnote. To explain the difference we would first like to explain what a typical footnote is:

Footnote: A typical footnote, as the name indicates, is part of the main report and comes at the bottom of a page or at the end of the main text. This could refer to a source that the author has referred to or it may be an explanation of a particular concept referred to in the text.

The referencing protocol of a footnote and bibliography is different. In a footnote, one gives the first name of the person first and the surname next. However, this order is reversed in the bibliography. Here we start first with the surname and then the first name. In a bibliography, we generally mention the page numbers of the article or the total pages in the book. However, in a footnote, the specific page from which the information is cited is mentioned. A bibliography is generally arranged alphabetically depending on the author's name, but in the footnote the reporting is based on the sequence in which they occur in the text.

Glossary of terms: In case there are specific terms and technical jargon used in the report, the researcher should consider putting a glossary in the form of a word list of terms used in the study. This section is usually the last section of the report.

7.4 REPORT WRITING: REPORT FORMULATION

An important point to remember in report writing is that the document compiled is meant for specific readers. Thus, one needs to design the same according to the needs of the reader. Listed below are some features of a good research study that should be kept in mind while documenting and preparing the report.

Clear report mandate: While writing the research problem statement and study background, the writer needs to be focused, precise and very explicit in terms of the problem under study, the background that provided the impetus to conduct the research and the study domain. This is prepared on the assumption that the writer at no point in time needs to be physically present in order to clarify the research mandate. One cannot make an assumption that the reader has earlier insights into the problem situation. The writer needs to be absolutely clear on the need for lucidity of thought and dissemination of this knowledge to the reader.

Clearly designed methodology: Any research study has its unique orientation and scope and thus has a specific and customized research design, sampling and data collection plan. The writer, thus, needs to be explicit in terms of the logical justification for having used the study methods and techniques. However, as stated earlier, the language should be non-technical and reader friendly and any technical explanations or details must be provided in the appendix. In researches, that are not completely transparent on the set of procedures, one cannot be absolutely confident of the findings and resulting conclusions.

Clear representation of findings: The sample size for each analysis, any special conditions or data treatment must be clearly mentioned either as a footnote or as an endnote, so that the reader takes this into account while interpreting and understanding the study results. The sample base is very important in justifying a trend or taking a strategic decision; for example, if amongst a sample of bachelors we say that 100 per cent young bachelors want to buy grocery online or on the telephone and the recommended strategy is to suggest this as the delivery channel, one might be making an error if the size of the bachelors was four out of a total sample of 100 grocery buyers considered. Thus, complete honesty and transparency in stating the treatment and editing of missing or contrary data is extremely critical.

Representativeness of study finding: A good research report is also explicit in terms of extent and scope of the results obtained, and in terms of the applicability of findings. This is also dependent on whether the assumptions and preconditions made for formulating the conclusions and recommendations of the study have been explicitly stated.

In order to ensure that one has been able to achieve the above stated objective, the reader must ensure a standardization of procedures in writing the document as well as follow standard protocols for preparing graphs and tables. In the following section we will briefly discuss some simple rules that the researcher can use as guidelines for this.

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Check Your Progress

3. List the three issues addressed by the letter of transmittal.
4. What is an executive summary?
5. List the sections which specify how the methodology of research.
6. Give examples of primary data which is included in the appendices.

7.4.1 Guidelines for Effective Documentation

The following are certain guidelines that are needed for effective documentation.

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Command over the medium: Even though one may have done an extremely rigorous and significant research study, the fundamental test still remains as to how the learning has been disseminated. Regardless of how effective the graphs and figures are in showcasing the findings, the verbal description and explanation—in terms of why it was done, how it was done, and what was the outcome, still remain the acid test.

Thus, a correct and effective language of communication is critical in putting ideas and objectives in the vernacular of the reader/decision-maker. The writer may, thus, be advised to read professionally written reports and, if necessary, seek assistance from those proficient in preparing business reports.

Phrasing protocol: There is a debate about whether or not one makes use of personal pronoun while reporting. To understand this, one needs to revisit the responsibility of the researcher, which is to present the findings of his/her study, with complete objectivity and precision. The use of personal pronoun such as ‘I think.....’ or ‘in my opinion.....’ lends a subjectivity and personalization of judgement. Thus, the tone of the reporting should be neutral. For example:

‘Given the nature of the forecasted growth and the opinion of the respondents, it is likely that the.....’

Whenever the writer is reproducing the verbatim information from another document or comment of an expert or published source, it must be in inverted commas or italics and the author or source should be duly acknowledged.

For example:

Sarah Churchman, Head of Diversity, PricewaterhouseCoopers, states ‘At PricewaterhouseCoopers we firmly believe that promoting work–life balance is a ‘business-critical’ issue and not simply the ‘right thing to do’. Profitable growth and sustainable business depends on attracting and retaining top talent and we know, from our own research and experience that work–life policies are an essential ingredient of successful recruitment and retention strategies.’

The writer should avoid long sentences and break up the information in clear chunks, so that the reader can process it with ease. Similar is the case in structuring of the chapters or sections of the report that can be logically broken down into smaller sections that are comprehensive and complete and yet maintain a strong but logical link with the flow of reporting.

With the onset of the use of abbreviated communications in SMS and emails, most people tend to use shortened form as ‘cd.’ for could and ‘u’ for you, etc. Also the use of colloquial language and slangs must be avoided, as this is a formal document and one must maintain the sanctity of the formal documentation required in a research report.

Simplicity of approach: Along with grammatically and structurally correct language, care must be taken to avoid technical jargon as far as possible. The business manager, might have been a business student who had prepared a research report in his academic pursuits but now understands simple common terms and does not have the time or inclination to juggle the dictionary and the report together. In case it is imperative to use certain terminology, then, as stated earlier, the definition of these terms can be provided in the glossary of terms at the end of the report.

Sometimes the writer may prepare different research reports for the same study to suit the need of diverse readers, for example, the business report needs to be crisp and simple with definable and workable recommendations. On the other hand, an academic report could discuss extensively the literature review section, as well as the statistical analysis and interpretation.

Report formatting and presentation: In terms of paper quality, page margins and font style and size, a professional standard should be maintained. The font style must be uniform throughout the report. The topics, subtopics, headings and subheadings must be construed in the same manner throughout the report. Sometimes certain academic reports have a mandated format for presentation which the writers need to follow, in which case there is no choice in presentation.

However, when this is not clear, it is advisable that the writer creates his/her own formatting rules and saves it on a notepad so that they can be implemented in a standardized and professional manner.

The researcher can provide data relief and variation by adequately supplementing the text with graphs and figures. Pictorial representations are simple to comprehend and also break the monotony and fatigue of reading. They should be used effectively whenever possible in the report.

Guidelines for Presenting Tabular Data

We have discussed this topic in detail in the previous unit. In this section, we will recall some of the concepts again along with some new information.

Most research studies involve some form of numerical data, and even though one can discuss this in text, it is best represented in tabular form. The advantage of doing this is that statistical tables present the data in a concise and numeral form, which makes quantitative analysis and comparisons easier. Tables formulated could be general tables following a statistical format for a particular kind of analysis. These are best put in the appendix, as they are complex and detailed in nature. The other kind is simple summary tables, which only contain limited information and yet, are, essentially critical to the report text.

The mechanics of creating a summary table are very simple and are illustrated below with an example (Table 7.1). The illustration has been labelled with numbers which relate to the relevant section.

Table identification details: The table must have a title (1a) and an identification number (1b). The table title should be short and usually would not include any verbs or articles. It only refers to the population or parameter being studied. The title should be briefly yet clearly descriptive of the information provided. The numbering of tables is usually in a series and generally one makes use of Arabic numbers to identify them.

Data arrays: The arrangement of data in a table is usually done in an ascending manner. This could either be in terms of time, as shown in Table 7.1 (column-wise) or according to sectors or categories (row-wise) or locations, e.g., north, south, east, west and central. Sometimes, when the data is voluminous, it is recommended that one goes alphabetically, e.g., country or state data. Sometimes there may be subcategories to the main categories, for example, under the total sales data—a column-wise component of the revenue statement—there could be subcategories of department store, chemists and druggists, mass merchandisers and others. Then these have to be displayed under the sales data head, after giving a tab command as follows:

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Table 7.1 Automobile Domestic Sales Trends

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		Year-wise data (number of cars)				
		2002-2003	2003-2004	2004-2005	2006-2007	2007-2008
1a	2b	4b	4a	4c		
	Category					
	Passenger vehicles.....	707,198	902,090	1,061,572	1,143,076	1,379,979
	Commercial Vehicles.....	190,682	260,114	318,430	351,041	467,765
	Three-wheelers.....	231,529	284,078	307,862	359,920	403,910
7a	Two-wheelers.....	4,812,126	5,364,249	6,209,765	7,052,391	7,872,334
	Grand Total*	5,941,535	6,810,537	7,897,629	8,906,428	10,123,988
5b	*Does not include second hand car sales.					
6a	Source: SIAM					

Total sales

- Mass market
- Department store
- Drug stores
- Others (including paan beedi outlets)

Measurement unit: The unit in which the parameter or information is presented should be clearly mentioned.

Spaces, Leaders and Rulings (SLR): For limited data, the table need not be divided using grid lines or rulings. Simple white spaces add to the clarity of information presented and processed. In case the number of parameters are too many and the data seems to be bulky to be simply separated by space, it is advisable to use vertical ruling. Horizontal lines are drawn to separate the headings from the main data, as can be seen in Table 7.1. When there are a number of subheadings as in the sales data example, one may consider using leaders (.....) to assist the eye movement in absorbing and processing the information.

Total sales

- Mass market.....
- Department store.....
- Drug stores.....
- Others (including paan beedi outlets).....

Assumptions, details and comments: Any clarification or assumption made, or a special definition required to understand the data, or formula used to arrive at a particular figure, e.g., total market sale or total market size can be given after the main tabled data in the form of footnotes.

Data sources: In case the information documented and tabled is secondary in nature, complete reference of the source must be cited after the footnote, if any.

Special mention: In case some figure or information is significant and the reader should pay special attention to it, the number or figure can be bold or can be highlighted to increase focus.

Similar to the summarized and succinct data in the form of tables, the data can also be presented through visual representations in the form of graphs. As we have seen the previous unit, the visual representation of the findings in the form of lines or boxes and bars relative to a number line is easy to comprehend and interpret. There are some standard rules and procedures available to the researcher for this; also there are computer programs like MS Excel and SPSS, where the numbered data can be converted with ease into graphical form.

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Line and curve graphs: Usually, when the objective is to demonstrate trends and some sort of pattern in the data, a line chart is the best option available to the researcher as the line is able to clearly portray any change in pattern during a particular time period. On the same chart, it is also possible to show patterns of growth of different sectors or industries in the same time period or to compare the change in the studied variable across different organizations or brands in the same industry. Certain points to be kept in mind while formulating line charts include:

- The time units or the causal variable being studied are to be put on the X-axis, or the horizontal axis.
- If the intention is to compare different series on the same chart, the lines should be of different colours or forms (Figure 7.2).
- Too many lines are not advisable on the same chart as then the data becomes too cluttered; an ideal number would be five or less than five lines on the chart.

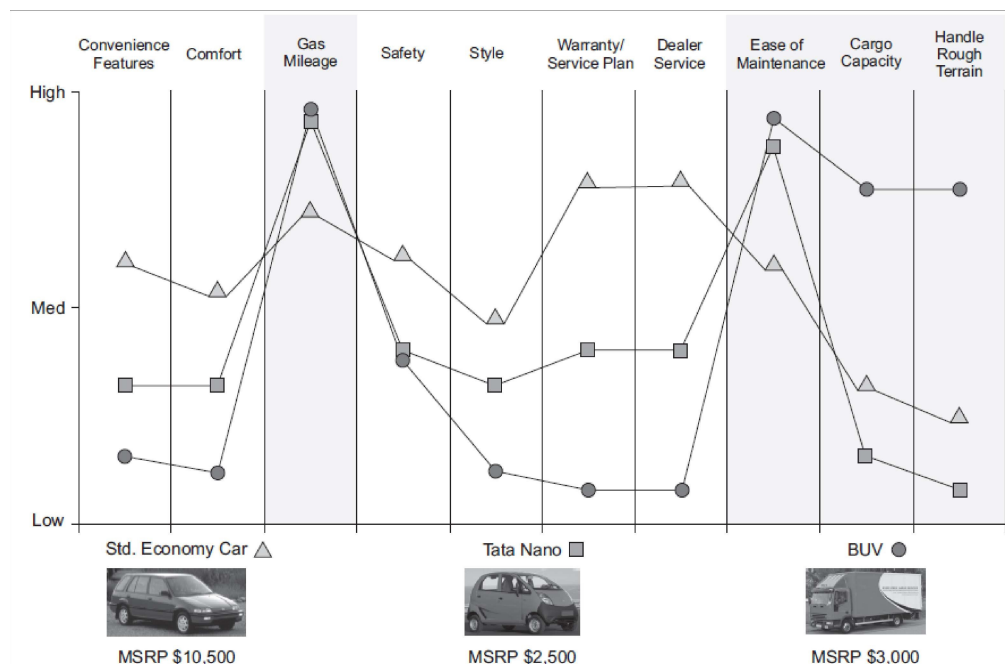


Fig. 7.2 Comparative Analysis of Vehicles (including Nano) on Features Desired by

Source: vytrak.com

- The researcher also must take care to formulate the zero baseline in the chart as otherwise, the data would seem to be misleading. For example, in Figure 7.3(a), in case the zero baseline is (as shown in the chart) the expected change in the number of hearing aids units to be sold over the time period 2002–03 to 2007–08,

it can be accurately perceived. However, in Figure 7.3(b), where the zero is at 1,50,000 units, the rate of growth can be misjudged to be more swift.

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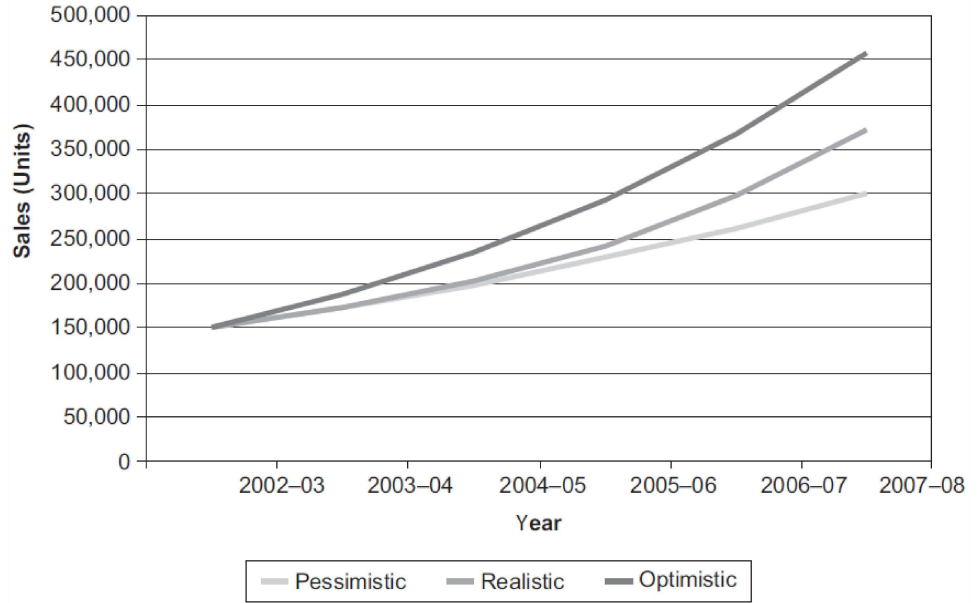


Fig. 7.3(a) Expected Growth in the Number of Hearing Aids Units to be Sold in North India (Three Perspectives)

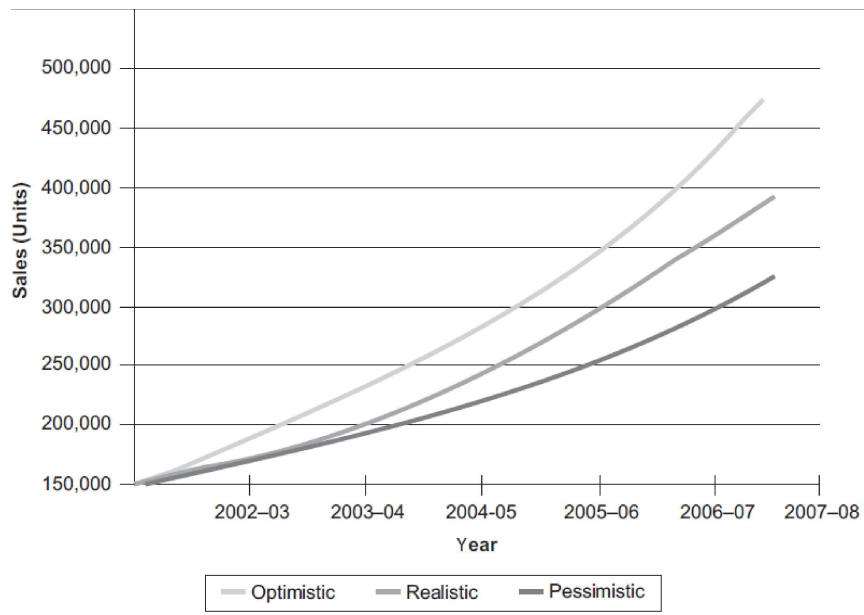


Fig. 7.3(b) Expected Growth in the Number of Hearing Aids Units to be Sold in North India (Three Perspectives)

Area or stratum charts: Area charts are like the line charts, usually used to demonstrate changes in a pattern over a period of time. However, here there are multiple lines that are essentially components of the original composite data. What is done is that the change in each of the components is individually shown on the same chart and each of them is stacked one on top of the other. The areas between the various lines indicate the scale or volume of the relevant factors/categories (Figure 7.4).

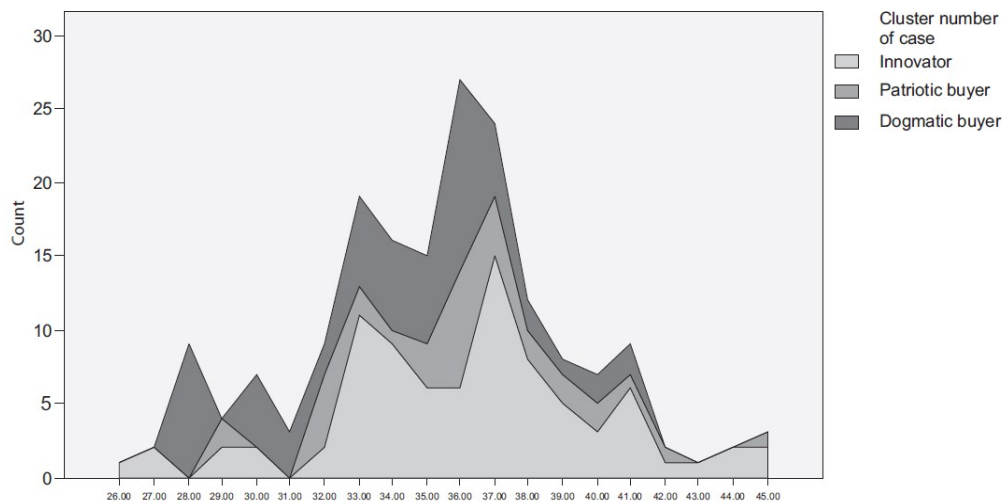


Fig. 7.4 Perception of Nano by Three Psychographic Segments of Two-wheeler Owners

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Pie charts: Another way of demonstrating the area or stratum or sectional representation is through the pie charts. The critical difference between a line and pie chart is that the pie chart cannot show changes over time. It simply shows the cross-section of a single time period. The sections or slices of the pie indicate the ratio of that section to the total area of the parameter being displayed. There are certain rules that the researcher should keep in mind while creating pie charts.

- The complete data must be shown as a 100 per cent area of the subject being graphed.
- It is a good idea to have the percentages displayed within or above the pie rather than in the legend as then it is easier to understand the magnitude of the section in comparison to the total. For example, Figure 7.5 shows the brand-wise sales in units for the existing brands of hearing aids in the North Indian market.

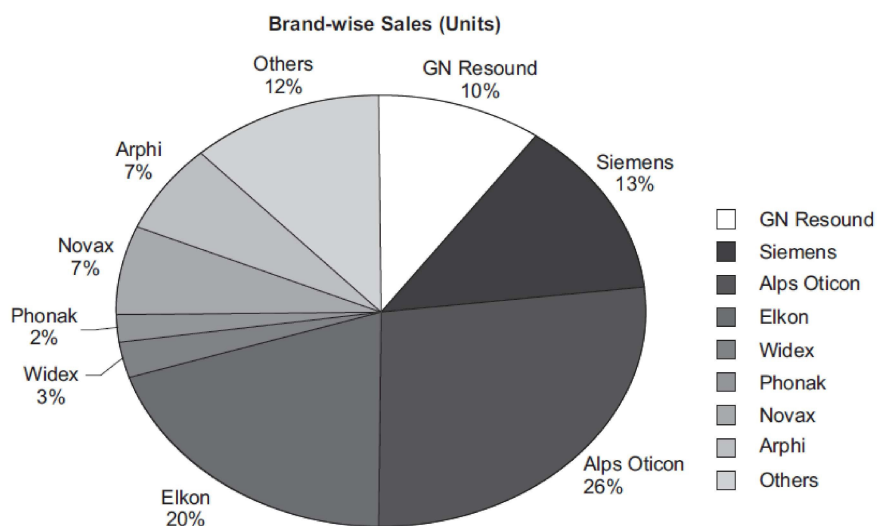


Fig. 7.5 Brand-wise Sales (units) of Hearing Aids in the North Indian Market (2002-03)

- Showing changes over time is difficult through a pie chart, as stated earlier. However, the change in the components at different time periods could be demonstrated as in Figure 7.6, showing share of the car market in India in 2009 and the expected market composition of 2015.

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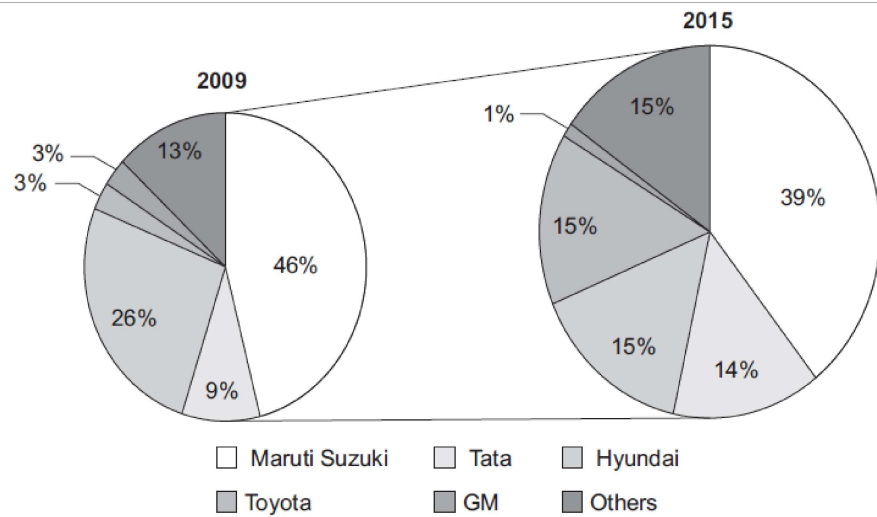


Fig. 7.6 Current Structure of the Indian Car Market (2009) and the Forecasted Structure for 2015

Bar charts and histograms: A very useful representation of quantum or magnitude of different objects on the same parameter are bar diagrams. The comparative position of objects becomes very clear. The usual practice is to formulate vertical bars; however, it is possible to use horizontal bars as well if none of the variable is time related [Figure 7.7(a)]. Horizontal bars are especially useful when one is showing both positive and negative patterns on the same graph [Figure 7.7(b)]. These are called bilateral bar charts and are especially useful to highlight the objects or sectors showing a varied pattern on the studied parameter. It is possible to generate bar graphs with relative ease with computer programs today and the distance between the bars can be extremely precise as compared to those created by hand.

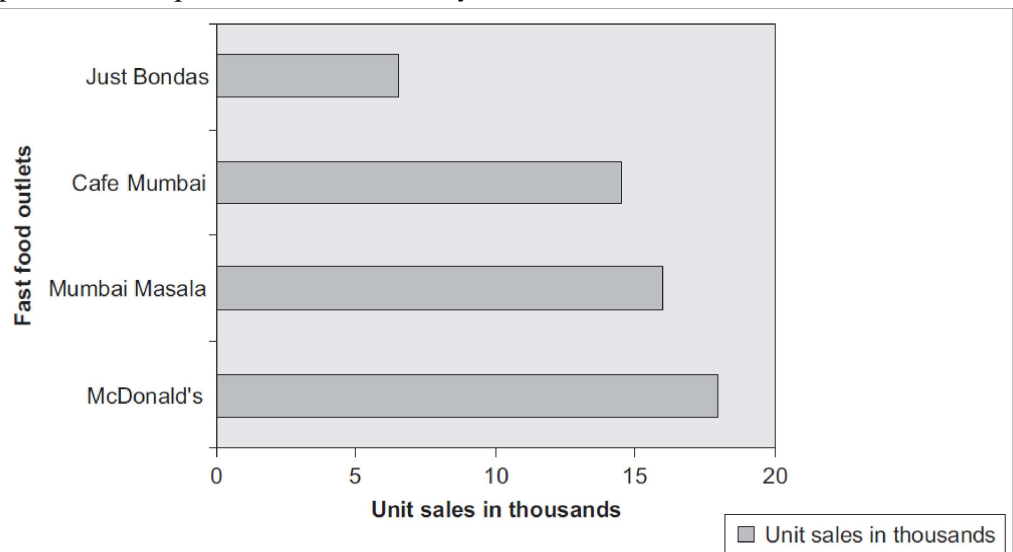


Fig. 7.7(a) Bar Chart Per day, Unit Sales (Thousands) at Fast Food Outlets in Mumbai

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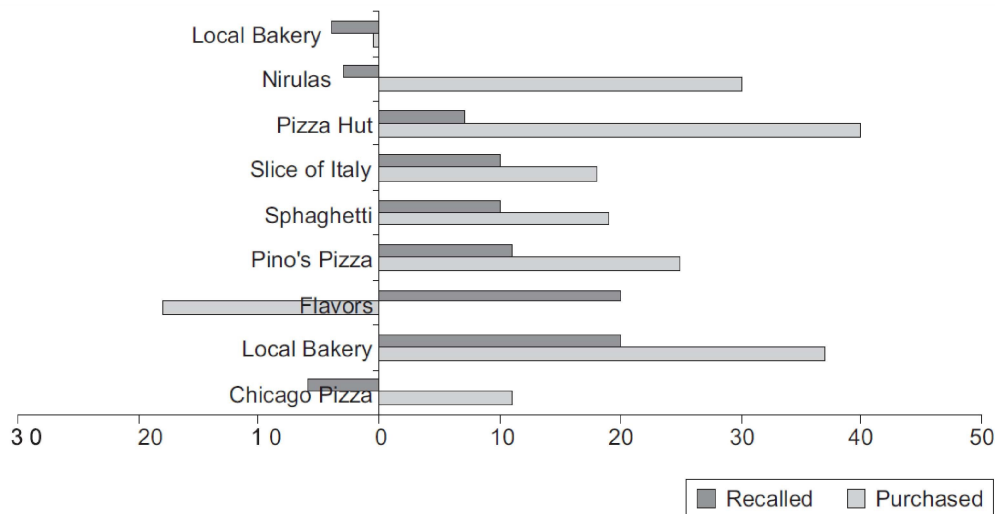


Fig. 7.7(b) Bilateral Bar Chart—the Brand Recall and Brand Purchase Response for Pizza Joints in the NCR

Another variation of the bar chart is the histogram (Figure 7.8) here the bars are vertical and the height of each bar reflects the relative or cumulative frequency of that particular variable.

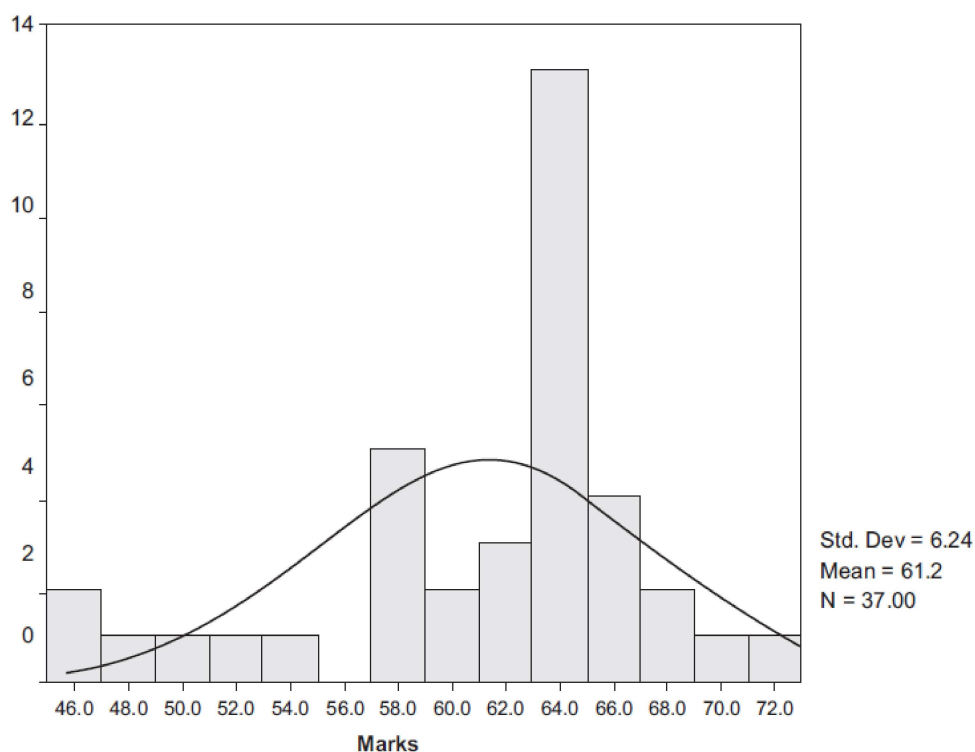


Fig. 7.8 Histogram (With Normal Curve) Displaying Marks in a Course on Research Methods for Management

Pictogram: A pictogram shows graphical representation of data. Pictograms are most often used in popular and general read such as in magazines and newspapers, as they are eye-catching and easy to comprehend by one and all. They are not a very accurate or scientific representation of the actual data and, thus, should be used with caution in an

academic or technical report. Examples of pictograph are given in Figures 7.9(a) and 7.9(b).

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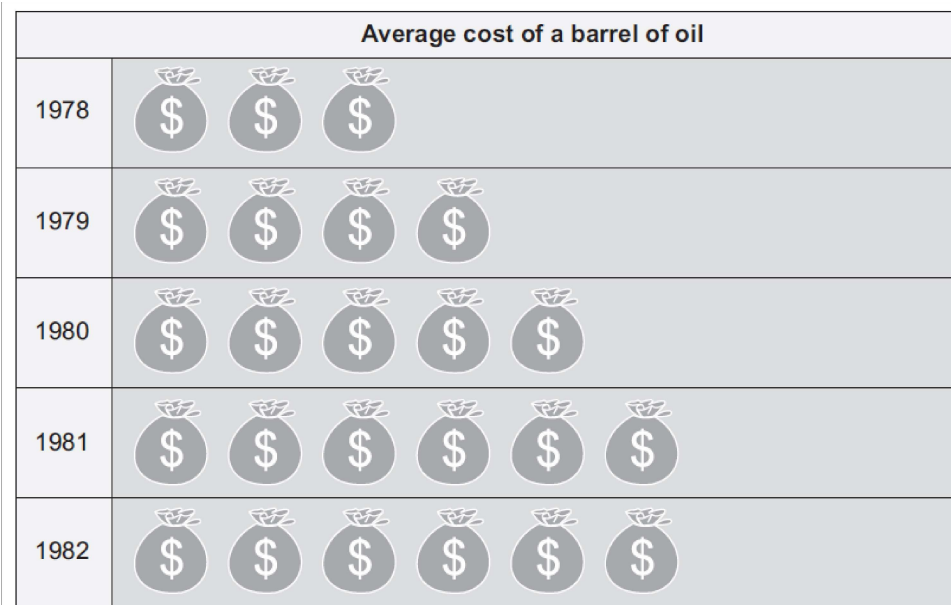


Fig. 7.9(a) Pictogram Displaying Change in the Cost of Oil Vver a Five-Year Block (1978–1982)

Source: tutorvista.com



Fig. 7.9(b) Pictogram Displaying Sales for Cookie Shop over Three Years (2007–09)

Source: 4spreadsheets.pbworks.com

Geographic representation: Geographic or regional maps related to countries, states, districts, territories can be used as a base to show occurrence of the studied variable in various regions or to show comparative analysis about major brands or industries or minerals. In case of comparative data, the researcher must provide the legend in the displayed map, for example any map of the location may be given.

7.4.2 Research Briefings: Oral Presentation

Once the final draft of the research report is prepared and documented, the last stage is sharing the findings and research implications with the client or interested audience. This is usually done orally and with the support of visual aids. The presentation that the researcher might be making could be detailed for his team members or for an academic audience. However, in case the presentation is for the client or for a business audience, brevity and focus of the presentation is critical. A thumb rule for this is not to go beyond 20 minutes with more time for question and answers and interactive discussion on the findings.

Regardless of the audience for the presentation, the most critical aspect of the presentation is two-fold:

- (a) Who is the listener? What does he/she seek from the presentation?
- (b) What is the core of the briefing—is it background, or methodology, key findings or decision directions that the findings are indicating?

Once the researcher is clear on this, he needs to need to focus on three key aspects:

Study background: This should be essentially 10–15 per cent of the entire presentation. It should explain the impetus behind the study as briefly and with suitable emphasis as possible.

Study findings: The major conclusions of the study need to be shared in simple words and with appropriate supportive visuals or material. The researcher must be able to demonstrate clearly the link between the study objectives and the findings.

Study implications: In case this was agreed upon between the researcher and the client or was specified as a study objective by the researcher, this section would be the last section of the presentation. The link between what was found and what is suggested must be clear to the audience. The researcher may vary the discussion time between the earlier section and this as 45 per cent each or 30–70 or 70–30, depending on the study objective, i.e., more findings or more implication oriented. As supportive material the researcher can make use of:

Handouts: These could be in the form of the primary questionnaire designed for the study or company brochures and other related secondary material. They should be distributed to the audience when the presenter is referring to them.

Slides: These are created today with the help of computer programmes. There are endless possibilities enhancing the material be presented and for engaging the listener. The designing and creation of the material requires considerable skill and care to ensure that the presentation style should be the supportive aid for an effective delivery and not a showcase of the computer graphics that the researcher is well versed with. Too much clutter and a random mix of text and graphics should be avoided. Animation of the data in synchronization with the vocal delivery makes the presentation more forceful.

Chalkboards and flipcharts: These are additional visual aids that could be kept as standby for the question-and-answer session when an idea might have to be highlighted or demonstrated in the response of some query raised by the listeners. However, use of these means during an active presentation should be avoided as they necessitate the presenter to be engaged with the medium at the cost of losing contact with the listener.

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Video and audio tapes: Again, these are supportive materials that can be used to emphasize a point.

The world has become smaller as a consequence of technological innovations that make dissemination of knowledge seem like child's play. Thus, the significance of communication and presentation of this learning cannot be overemphasized.

7.5 SUMMARY

- On completion of the research study and after obtaining the research results, the real skill of the researcher lies in terms of analysing and interpreting the findings and linking them with the propositions formulated in the form of research hypotheses at the beginning of the study.
- The following is the significance of report: it fulfills the historical task of serving as a concrete proof, it ideally presents a comprehensive and objective study of the research problem, it presents a knowledge based on the topic under study, it documents all the steps followed and the analysis carried out.
- Research can be divided into brief reports, detailed reports, technical reports, and business reports.
- Whatever the type of report, the reporting and dissemination of the study and its findings require a structured format and by and large, the process is standardized.
- The following are the steps involved in the report formulation and presentation: a preliminary section with rudimentary parts, the background section with the scope, objectives, background etc; the methodology section and the conclusions.
- The preliminary pages include the letter of transmittal, letter of authorization, table of contents, executive summary and acknowledgements.
- The main text of the report includes problem definition, study background, study scope and objectives and the methodology of research.
- The end text of the report includes appendices, bibliography, footnote and glossary of terms.
- The features of a good research study: clear report mandate, clearly designed methodology, clear representation of findings, representativeness of study finding, etc.
- Guidelines for effective documentation include pointers related to command over the medium, phrasing protocol, simplicity of approach and report formatting and presentation.
- Guidelines for presenting tabular data includes discussion related to the table identification details, data arrays, measurement unit, space, leaders and rulings, assumptions, details and comments, data sources and special mention. There are also certain guidelines related to graphic representation and the use of different graphs.
- Once the final draft of the research report is prepared and documented, the last stage is sharing the findings and research implications with the client or interested audience. This is usually done orally with the support of visual aids.

Check Your Progress

7. State the assumption on which the research problem statement is prepared.
8. What is the advantage of presenting information in a tabular form?
9. What is the critical difference between a line and pie chart?
10. Mention the thumb rule to ensure the brevity and focus of the presentation.

7.6 KEY TERMS

- **Preliminary pages:** It is the initial section of the report which should carry a 'title' and a 'date,' followed by the acknowledgements in the form of Preface or Foreword.
- **Main text:** It is the main text of the report which comprises of the complete outline of the research report with all the details.
- **Letter of transmittal:** It is the letter that goes alongside the formalized copy of the final report containing the purpose behind the study.
- **Executive summary:** It includes the summary of the report starting from the scope and objectives of the study to the methodology employed and the results obtained in a brief and concise manner.

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7.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Effective recording and communicating of the results of the study is the extremely critical step of the research process.
2. Working papers or basic reports are written for the purpose of collating the process carried out in terms of scope and framework of the study, the methodology followed and instrument designed.
3. The following are the three issues addressed by the letter of transmittal: it indicates the term of the study or objectives, next it goes on to broadly give an indication of the process carried out to conduct the study and the implications of the findings.
4. An executive summary is the summary of the entire report, starting from the scope and objectives of the study to the methodology employed and the results obtained, have to be presented in a brief and concise manner.
5. The following sections specify the methodology of research: research framework, sampling design, data collection methods, data analysis and study results and findings.
6. Some examples of the primary data which are included in the appendices are: original questionnaire, discussion guides, formula used for the study, sample details, original data, and long tables and graphs which can be described in statement form in the text.
7. The research problem statement is prepared on the assumption that the writer at no point in time needs to be physically present in order to clarify the research mandate.
8. The advantage of presenting information in a tabular form is that the statistical tables present the data in a concise and numeral form, which makes quantitative analysis and comparisons easier.
9. The critical difference between a line and pie chart is that the pie chart cannot show changes over time. It simply shows the cross-section of a single time period. The sections or slices of the pie indicate the ratio of that section to the total area of the parameter being displayed.

10. The thumb rule to be followed to ensure the brevity and focus of the presentation is for the presentation to not go beyond 20 minutes with more time for question and answers and interactive discussion on the findings.

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7.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is the significance of report writing?
2. List the classification of data included in the title page of a report.
3. Briefly explain the different types of graphs and their uses.
4. Explain the research briefings for oral presentation.
5. What is the difference between geographic representations and pictograms?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the different types of report.
2. What are the guidelines for effective report writing? Illustrate with suitable examples.
3. Discuss the concept of methodology of report mentioned in the main text of the report.
4. Critically examine the interpretations of results and suggested recommendations
5. Discuss the features of the report writing.
6. 'Visual representations of results are best understood by a reader; thus special care must be taken for this formulation.' Examine the truth of this statement by giving suitable examples.

7.9 FURTHER READING

- Kothari, C.R. 2009. *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. New Delhi: New Age International Pvt. Ltd. Publishers.
- Chawla, Deepak and Neena Sondhi. 2016. *Research Methodology Concepts and Cases*, 2nd edition. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
- Bajpai, Naval. 2011. *Business Research Methods*. 1st edition. New Jersey: Pearson Education.
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