

MODERNITY & SOCIAL CHANGES IN EUROPE & EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

Sociology is a scientific attempt to study society. The origin of sociology dates back to early 19th & late 18th century. Reasons can be understood by looking into conditions in which sociology emerged. It emerged in Western & Central Europe.

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR RISE OF SOCIOLOGY

1. Europe was undergoing a process of transformation, i.e. modernization. These changes created a situation of hope & despair- hope of a new era of progress but creating despair & disharmony. Sociology emerged as an attempt to understand these changes.
2. With the growth of science such beliefs like god created world were collapsed. The new world was being created by human enterprise. To make sense of this newly emerging world, sociology emerged as a discipline.
3. Problems of emerging capitalist society created the need for the rise of this discipline.
4. Intellectual developments alongside the socio-economic changes provided the means for the development of sociology. Confluence of social & intellectual conditions produced sociology.

Changes that were taking place

1. Traditional society of medieval Europe was referred to as dark ages. It was a feudal society. It emerged around 7th-8th century A.D, after collapse of Roman Empire. Various warriors conquered territories & they were parceled to their follower in view of loyalty & in return of land they rendered service. They worked on lord's estate & rendered military service when called upon. It was a subsistence agrarian economy. Primary objective was to satisfy needs of those dependent on it.
2. Politically, It was decentralized system. Feudal lord enjoyed all powers in estate i.e. was autonomous & the biggest feudal lord was king who addressed to residuary matters.
3. Socially, It was a rigidly stratified society in form of estates. Each estate was governed by its own laws. The produce was very little for trade. Neither was there enough trade nor were the conditions fertile for trade.

By the start of 14th century, this system was on decline because of...

1. **International Contradictions:** Decentralization resulted in feuds among feudal lords e.g. England witnessed 100 years war. These feuds were detrimental to trade as the Victorious army plundered merchants.

In order to win these feuds they started having permanent soldiers to have an efficient army and so, they had to be paid in cash. Earlier it wasn't so. With cash, bought things from market & market economy started declining.

2. **Black Death:** Plague broke out & half of the population died. Feudal lords had to entice people from outside to work on their land by offering cash.

3. **Trade route to east discovered by Marco Polo:** Knowledge of new technology from China had reached England –mariner’s compass, gunpowder, knowledge of printing & paper. And this facilitated ship building activity & weaving, leading to discovery of America. Gold & silver was discovered in Latin America. European markets were flooded with goods. It led to centralisation of authority & establishment of absolute monarchy. It was encouraged by merchant class so that effective law & order could be established. Growing trade led to increased interaction in new languages. These communities governed by single ruler gave rise to sovereign north states. These wealthy merchants looked to reinvest surplus profits & they did so in land, & they used it for sheep rearing & scientific farming. They would take away common lands of the village→ **Enclosure movement** in Europe. *It led to capitalist agrarian economy.*

Capitalism is system of production which is essentially geared towards creation of profit. There was expansion of banking companies to provide credit facilities to merchants, making it easy for them to run business. It uprooted large number of small farmers. Tradition of village community had its own equilibrium of artisan & peasants. When peasants got uprooted, artisans also left. Some migrated to nearby cities and others to Americas to have stable life in new land. Growth of trade led to transformation of rural economy.

These migrant poor peasants & artisans became cheap labour as they were at mercy of their employers. Merchants started looking for new means for investing wealth. They would buy lot of raw material & give it to the workers to work upon → **Putting Out System** (Early form of factory system).

With emergence of steam engine textile factories were set up → **Factory System** developed. They were made to work for long hours with low wages. This forced women & children to work in extremely unhygienic conditions which led to diseases like tuberculosis.

As trade & commerce expanded, new kind of business organisations like regulated companies, joint stock companies and chartered companies, came up.

Though it **created unprecedented wealth & prosperity for land owner & merchants it also created unprecedented poverty for the majority.** So, social differences increased. There was no community support in cities. There was increase in crime & violence. There were class wars & uprisings. So 19th century is called **Century of Revolutions.** Benefits accrued to only a small section of population.

As the capitalist system developed, the **locus of economic power shifted from land & landholder**, who also enjoyed political power-to the bourgeoisie (wealthy merchants).

They also wanted political power to further promote their interest. Earlier they supported rise of absolute monarchy and now, they wanted to change it from the notion of subject to citizens who have inalienable rights which cannot be taken away by the kings. They started questioning the authority of king. *Divine right theory came to be challenged.*

There was a **confrontation between the rising bourgeoisie & the monarchy.** Monarchy was supported by church as church legitimized the ancient regime. Various philosophers vocalized the idea of bourgeoisie. *French revolution triggered the process of destruction of monarchy in Europe* as the rise of Napoleon resulted in defeat of divinely ordained kings. Prestige of monarchy in England came down. In England, democracy emerged gradually but it was not so all over Europe. Like Napoleon himself declared himself as emperor and a new dynasty was established once

again. The same was overthrown and again a new dynasty was established by his nephew & again it was overthrown. So there were continuous political upheavals.

Simultaneously, there was a massive growth of urban centers. The new **problems which emerged could not be resolved by customary methods**. So people were looking for methods to resolve them as this raised confidence in "**Human problems can be solved by human endeavour**". So, social conditions in wake of rising industrial society created a need for new knowledge for the emergence of better society.

New thinking emerged which led to reformation and it led to enlightenment. It can be traced back to **renaissance** meaning rebirth i.e. revival of ideas of ancient Greece. It reached Italy & then other parts of Western Europe. These ideas were appealing to rising merchant class unlike catholic belief that man is born because of sin. New thinking said man is the finest creation of god. Christian belief said truth is acquired by gifted individuals → prophets. **Renaissance said truth is acquired through experience**. God is not the creator of world but god is experienced in laws of nature. To glorify god, discover laws of nature. Experience developed into experimentation. Change in Christian belief as a protest against Roman Catholic Church. Protestants wanted no priest between man & God. Man has been given a life for purpose i.e. to demonstrate glory of God by unraveling the mysteries of nature. Knowledge acquired by reasoning was to be used for human welfare. This technology was used for Industrial production. Faith developed in efficacy of science to help in solving human problems.

In late 17, 18, 19th century, thinkers were reflecting on these changes. They held certain ideas in common & are called as **enlightenment philosophers**. Their ideas are referred to as *philosophy of history* i.e. to inquire into the true nature of changes that were taking place.

BELIEFS THAT WERE ADOPTED BY THESE ENLIGHTENED PHILOSOPHERS

1. Man is progressing & this is taking human society towards perfection. Initial Christian belief was society will remain as it is.
2. They raised question whether changes occurred in random spurts or followed a regular pattern. They responded by presuming that changes take place in an orderly fashion. Laws governing them can be discovered. (Law represents a recurrent pattern in reality i.e. changes follow a regular fashion, so laws governing change can be discovered.)
3. They redefined notion of society as before political society of state was co-terminus with society as a whole. **New concept of civil society emerged**. (Earlier history was concerned only with kings & courtiers, later art, architecture, religion also became part of history writing). Society came to be considered larger than State & it was considered that parts of society are inter-related.
4. Laws were discovered to gain better control over physical world. In the same way, if we apply reason & research, then, we can discover laws about society as well i.e. if scientific method is used to discover society, we can develop laws, and rules which can be used for creating perfect human society.
5. There emerged a consensus that human society is also amenable to observation & laws governing it can be discovered. Some of the enlightenment thinkers said that not only rational but perfect human society can be developed, as said by Marx, through revolution.

6. There was also an opposing current of thought: conservative reaction particularly by Roman Catholic Church.

Louis de Bonald and Joseph De Maistre- French conservative thinkers condemned the changes Edmund Burke: Moderate conservative in England.

French society witnessed greatest convulsions in the course of this century. Political instability & economic disparities were highest. Almost every family lost one able bodied person in civil war or Napoleon wars. So thinkers prayed for stability & order. French thinkers described these changes as *society in decay*. They created awareness for need of stability & harmony. **The conservative reaction provided goals for sociology → Peace, harmony & order.**

Later day thinkers strived for order in industrial society – in order to do so, they adopted enlightenment ideas. It is possible to discover the laws governing society through scientific method and make use of these laws to create harmonious society.

So, means for creation of society were enlightenment & growth in natural sciences. Enlightenment glorified science: *science is panacea to all human problems*. **August Comte said "To know is to predict, to predict is to control."** It reflects the above logic. **So, social & Intellectual conditions together gave birth to sociology.**

Circumstances of origin shaped its characteristics. Sociology, particularly in France, in the beginning was considered similar to physics and biology. August Comte called it social physics.

INFLUENCES AFFECTING EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

1. A scientific Approach to the study of society dates back to the tradition of the Enlightenment.
 2. They upheld reason as a measure to judge social institutions and their suitability for human nature.
 3. Human beings are capable of attaining perfection.
- Apart from these, other intellectual influences owing in the post-Enlightenment period influenced the emergence of sociology in Europe. They can be identified as:
- 1) The philosophy of history.
 - 2) the biological theories of evolution; and
 - 3) The Surveys of social conditions.

The basic assumption of this philosophy was that society must have progressed through a series of steps from a simple of complex stage. The contributions of the philosophy of history to sociology as having been:

On the philosophical side: the notions of development and progress.

On the scientific side: it has given the concepts of historical periods and social types.

The social thinkers, who developed the philosophy of history such as, Abbe Saint Pierre and Giambattista, were concerned with the whole of society and not merely the political, or the economic, or the cultural aspects.

Sociology moved towards an evolutionary approach, seeking to identify and account for the principal stages in social evolution.

1. The growing conviction that the methods of the natural sciences should and could be extended to the study of human affair; that human phenomenon could be classified and measured.
2. The concern with poverty, following the recognition that poverty was not natural but social. The basic assumption which underlines this method is that, through the knowledge of the social conditions one can arrive at solutions to solve the social problems found in society.
3. The background to the new approach was the series of sweeping changes associated with the Enlightenment, the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution.
4. The shattering of traditional ways of life prompted them to develop a new understanding of both the social and the natural worlds, just as natural scientists sought to explain the mysteries of life and nature.

To begin with the very beginning we shall start with **August Comte (1798-1857)** commonly regarded as the founder of Sociology. It was he who coined the name 'sociology'. Comte was born in 1798 during the ferment of the French revolution, that vast complex of events, which heralded the birth of the modern world.

AUGUST COMTE (1798-1857)

A French sociologist was born at Montpellier France to Catholic royalist parents. In 1814 he was admitted to one of the most prestigious educational institutions of France at that time, called the Ecole Polytechnique. Here most of the professors were scholars in mathematics and physics.

At the Ecole Polytechnique, he came under the influence of such traditionalist social philosophers as **L. G Bonald and Joseph de Maistre**. It was from them that he borrowed the notion of an order governing the evolution of human society. From Condorcet, another major Philosopher of France, who was beheaded later, he got the idea that this evolution occurs along with progress in human societies. In 1824, he became a secretary to Saint-Simon an aristocrat by birth but an utopian socialist in ideas. Comte's major ambition was the political reorganization of human society.

According to him such reorganization will have to depend upon the spiritual and moral unification of society.

In the book "**Cours de philosophie positive**" he wrote the law of three stages and developed his conception of a science of society. While working on this book, he discovered the principle of cerebral hygiene. This meant that in order to keep his mind uncontaminated he stopped reading other peoples works.

August Comte lived in the aftermath of the **French Revolution**. His fundamental and lifelong preoccupation was how to replace disorder by order; how to bring about a total reconstruction of society. He saw the French Revolution as a crucial turning-point in the history of human affairs.

Saint-Simon was a French aristocrat; he believed that the problems of his society could be best solved by reorganizing economic production. Saint-Simon and Comte wrote about the law of three stages through which each branch of knowledge must pass through. They said that ***the object of social physics, the positive science of society later renamed as 'sociology' is to discover the natural and immutable laws of progress***

According to Comte, sociology is the abstract theoretical science of social phenomena. He had initially called it Social Physics but later he reluctantly changed this name. He changed it because he found that a Belgian scientist, Adolph Quetelet, had

used this term to describe simple statistics. Thus, Comte was compelled to use the **word sociology**, a combination of a Latin and a Greek word which **denotes "the study of society on a highly generalized or abstract level."**

Comte was not only talking about **sociology** as a science of society, but also believed that it **must be used for reorganizing society**. He wanted to develop a **naturalistic science of society**. This science would be able to, both explain the past development of mankind as well as predict its future course.

Comte also maintained that the **new science of society must rely on reasoning and observation instead of depending on the authority of tradition**. Every scientific theory must also be based on observed facts and vice versa. Comte also **introduced the historical method**. Historical method (different from the one used by historians):-

1. A healthy advance in sociology.
2. Compares societies throughout the time in which they have evolved.
3. This method is at the core of sociological inquiry since historical evolution is the very crux of sociology.

According to Comte nothing is absolute. Every knowledge is true in a relative sense and does not enjoy everlasting validity. Thus, science has a self-corrective character and whatever does not hold true is rejected.

The term, **Positive Science** (To highlight this new mode of thinking), was used by August Comte. Initially he called it positive philosophy. But distinguished it from earlier philosophical thinking in that earlier philosophical thinking said how things ought to be. It means you are negating the way things actually are.

Observation is used to arrive at pattern of generalization. Positive science means that starting knowledge through observation & through repeated observation, discover a pattern & then help in prediction of future.

CONCLUSION

In order to appreciate fully the emphasis of a sociological perspective, it is important to realize that Sociology as a discipline arose within distinct historical, intellectual and social contexts, and that it is the product of a particular era in particular societies.

Major questions about the individual and society have preoccupied thinkers in all periods of history: The philosophers of Ancient Greece and Rome reflected upon the way society operated and/or should operate, and for centuries afterwards social and political theorists and philosophers applied themselves to similar questions.

But these 'philosophical' analyses of society were essentially based on speculation, on dubious and untested assumptions about the motives of human beings in their behaviour, and on undisciplined theorizing. And they lacked systematic analysis of the structure and workings of societies. Philosophers and thinkers frequently constructed grand models and schemes about humans and their societies without looking at how societies actually worked.

However, from the eighteenth century onwards in Western Europe, important changes took place in perspectives on understanding of society and the individual's place in it. Many considerable advances were taking place in scientific discovery with regard to the structure and composition of the physical world surrounding human beings themselves.

The natural sciences, though essentially in their infancy, were beginning to develop systematic methods for studying the physical world and the individual's 'certain'

knowledge. Could such scientific, 'rational' approach also be applied to the analysis of humans' social worlds, their relationships, experiences and behaviour within it?

WHAT PRECIPITATED THE EMERGENCE?

1. Alongside these developments there were also extensive social, economic and political changes that had and were to have profound effects on societies in Western Europe and elsewhere.
2. Scientific and technological advances laid the foundations for the transformation from a predominantly rural, agricultural manual way of life to an urban, industrial, 'mechanized' pattern of living.
3. New inventions and developments in methods of production, transport, etc. changed the scale and location of production and work, from the land and small enterprise to the town and city and large-scale enterprises like factories.
4. A greater variety of occupations emerged.

These extensive changes were integral to the process of industrialization involved. Moreover, **a major paradox**, was that *they brought a new society with great productive potential and more sophisticated and complex ways of living, while at the same time generating extensive disruptions in traditional patterns of life and relationships as well as creating new problems of overcrowded and unpleasant urban conditions, poverty and unemployment.*

Sociology as a distinct discipline **emerged against the background of these intellectual and material changes in the second half of the nineteenth century.** The early sociologists were greatly influenced by the changes in a pattern of life which they saw going on around them as industrialization proceeded, and they were often deeply disturbed by what they saw. It is important to stress at this point that these early sociologists were not intensely 'radical' individuals, but rather could frequently be more accurately labeled as 'conservatives' made uneasy by the changes they were observing in the society.

Nevertheless, they were greatly concerned with the idea of obtaining exact knowledge of the workings of society. Thus, from the very beginning, there was a great emphasis on the need to analyse social life scientifically. August Comte, the so called 'founder' of Sociology, who stressed the adoption of a scientific method of analyzing society so that we might improve society through a thorough understanding of it, summed up in his famous phrase **'To know, to predict, to control'**.

This early emphasis on the 'scientific' analysis of social life was to have (and still has) considerable implications for the subsequent development of the discipline.

Although we have located the beginnings of Sociology in Western Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, its development and acceptance as an academic discipline was not uniform and in Britain, British universities for a long time were relatively much more interested in the anthropological investigation of so called 'primitive' societies in the more remote area of the world, and British Sociology constituted a relatively minor discipline, centered mainly on the London School of Economics.

The early classical works in Sociology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were produced in France and Germany, with Emile Durkheim in France and Karl Marx and Max Weber in Germany as the outstanding figures. The work of these 'classical' sociologists still occupies a position of profound importance in

contemporary theoretical debates. Sociology developed markedly till early in this century. And the ideal sociological material was a rapidly expanding and industrializing, cosmopolitan, immigrant-based society that was experiencing a wide range of social changes.

Sociology in the USA was, therefore, understandably characterized by detailed empirical studies of a variety of area (particularly the more 'seamy' sides) of American social life of delinquent gangs and neighborhoods, of particular ethnic minorities etc. – though other works, led by Talcott Parsons, involved theorizing in the traditional manner.

As an established discipline, however, Sociology is **a relatively new arrival** on the academic scene, and the real expansion in its popularity has occurred in the post-War period. We can point to some factors that have influenced this expansion: -

1. In the Post-war period there has developed **a rather more critical awareness of how societies operate**: fewer people simply back it and accept their societies unthinking. They see that alongside the many technological and social advances that have been made there still exist problem areas like overpopulation, poverty & crime.
2. Alongside this, there has developed an **increasing concern with social reform and the reordering of society**, accompanied by the belief that in order to make such reforms effective and soundly based, knowledge about society and its members is needed.
3. There has also **developed an increasing awareness of other societies & ways of life**, because of better systems of communications in travel and the mass media.
4. Increasingly, it has been claimed the people who work in government, industry, the social services etc. ought to have some sort of specialist knowledge of society on the ground that they will be better equipped to meet the demands of their work.
5. **Emergence of New nation states undergoing rapid modernization**. Therefore increasing awareness among these societies, of the need to understand social life scientifically in order to ease the process of nation building.

As result, during and since the 1960's, Sociology degree courses have increased considerably, Sociology has found its way into schools, sociologist have been increasingly recognized and consulted by various organizations, from national government downwards, in research programmes, policy, planning etc. and some sociologist have also found fame in the national media.

EMERGENCE OF SOCIOLOGY

Plato studied society in the systematic way for the first time and he considered man as a social animal and talked about ordered society. But sociology as a separate discipline arose in turbulent times of socio-economic and political upheavals in Europe preceded by renaissance. Intellectual thought got redeemed once again during this period.

Renaissance was the period of new discoveries and inventions. Mythological thinking got transformed into a rational thinking. All these scientific achievements were accompanied by spectacular rise in trade and commerce and internalization of modern technology is the production processes. Various groups of thinkers, intellectuals talked about the inevitability of progress.

The intellectual revolution of renaissance was accompanied by changes in the eco-political organization manifested by Industrial and French Revolution.

Industrial revolution was the epochal event which represented the changing economic conditions followed by several social changes. It had some political implications as feudalistic set-up started crumbling with the rise of commercial and industrial revolution. Industrial revolution changed the existing system by:

- 1) Liberation of labor from land
- 2) Rapid urbanization accompanying industrialization
- 3) Development of new, innovative technology
- 4) Expansion of markets and trade due to increased production and need for raw materials. This eventually led to colonialism.
- 5) Erosion of authority of religious institutions.
- 6) Changed family structure and organization. Extended families got converted into nucleus families.

All these transformations led to some new problems which were unknown before:--

- 1) Development of slums in new habituated areas thus living conditions got bad. (Cities became Repositories of History)
- 2) Working conditions were inhuman
- 3) Emergence of absolute poverty
- 4) Rise in crimes
- 5) Widespread structural changes happened where relations got contractual.
- 6) Property divided into 2 major Classes

The result was a total social disorder and intellectuals were compelled to think about restoring social order and to study the changes which occurred. The conditions were ripe for development of sociology (a new discipline) as all existing disciplines was considered incapable of dealing or analyzing these changes in society.

The changes which occurred as the result of modernity and revolutions enlarged their scope as the initial economic changes and later gave way to political changes. These changes in the political system were manifested in the form of FR.

- 1) Death of feudalism led to the dawn of democracy and ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity.
- 2) French Revolution was followed by turmoil in the society leading to the social disorder.

The turbulent conditions in France compelled the intellectuals to develop a scientific discipline which could predict changes and restore social order. Thus sociology was one of the intellectual products of French Revolution. These economic and political revolutions led to intellectual changes which proved to be the bedrock for sociology. Thinkers gave sociology its methodology (survey), perspectives (evolution) and source (Historical data) to study society and rational understanding of the society became the slogan of the day. The sociology was thus the intellectual product of the modernism and the industrial and French Revolutions. The economic and political revolutions provided the need and intellectuals provided the base for the emergence of sociology and it got its birth in 1838 with Auguste Comte finally conceiving it.

SCIENCE, SCIENTIFIC METHOD & CRITIQUE

MAJOR THEORETICAL STRANDS

SOCIOLOGY AS A SCIENCE

Sociology as a distinct discipline emerged during early 19th Century under the challenges posed by modernity in Europe. Due to the prevalent scientific temperament, the orientation of early sociologists was to develop it on lines similar to natural sciences.

The obsession with Darwin's theory of biological evolution and Newtonian physics generated an idea, that similar developments could take place for the society also. This idea echoes, in the writings of initial sociologists.e.g. Saint Simon initially called it 'social Physics', Comte gave 'laws of social organisation' & Durkheim frequently used terms as organic mechanical, densities etc denoting a preference for establishing sociology as a natural science. With this a controversy was generated that whether sociology can be a natural science or whether sociology is a science at all?

The term 'Science' became particularly popular during the Renaissance period. During the 19th Century, Science was understood as a body of knowledge which is based on 'empiricism', 'experimental testability', 'objectivity' and 'generation of universal theories'. This understanding of science only referred to only natural science as sciences, as only these fulfilled the criteria.

- **Inductivism:** Method of theory building, Facts – Perspectives – Theories. These were inductive theories. **Inductive theory** is based on testing of generalisation drawn of facts.
- **Deductivism** – Theory is formed first then it is tested. **Deductive theory** is based on firstly developing a theory then checking its validity through facts.
But later on science was interpreted more widely by using it as a method rather than a body of knowledge.

According to this understanding, if any body of knowledge is pursued in a systematic and rational manner based on evidence and reason, it is science. Apart from this, some standard elements of science were drawn.

- (1) **Inter subjective reliability:** It means that concept drawn in any body of knowledge should have same meaning for different people. It means that concepts should be defined precisely.
- (2) **Objectivity:** It should be possible that people pursuing science should remove their personal preconceptions and biases. This involves objectivity in terms of observation, analysis, and theory building.
- (3) **Quantifiability:** It should be possible to observe the things in a quantifiable manner or a concrete manner. It involves precise reconstruction of phenomenon under consideration.
- (4) **Theoretical Orientation:** The body of knowledge should be capable of generating some theories. Mere collection of facts cannot be called as science. The facts should give rise to some generalisation which can be converted into theories.

Arguments in favour of Sociology being a Science

- (1) Firstly, there is a considerable inters objective reliability in the concept framed in sociology e.g. meaning of concept like family, political system, urbanisation carry the same meaning for all.
- (2) Secondly, although absolute objectivity is not possible as social phenomenon may generate biases but, objectivity can be ensured by use of proper training and scientific methodology in the investigation.
e.g. Durkheim, an advocate of objectivity suggests the use of statistical techniques, comparative methods, etc. in sociology. He himself exhibits such use in his 'theory of suicide'.
e.g. Weber proposes proper training of investigation even before he uses the methods.
- (3) Different aspects fo the phenomenon can be observed concretely. There are definite limits of quantifiability but phenomenon is understood completely in terms of their consequence rather than simple empiricism.
e.g. Durkheim has tried to quantify the extreme abstract forms through his method of social facts.
- (4) Fourthly, sociology has tried to develop theories which have considerable applicability in no. of situations. But there is a limitation in universal applicability of all theories. It is important to mention here that even in natural sciences, the theories which were understood applicable in the past are considered not correct today.
- (5) Although, experimentation is not possible in sociology but the whole society is a testing ground for sociology and sociology uses methods like questionairres, interviews, etc. to test the results.
More recently, clinical sociology has emerged which studies the group beharious in different situations. At the same time mathematical sociology, socio-metry etc., employ techniques to generate theories in a logical and reasonable manner. It is relevant here that various natural sciences like astronomy cannot use experimental techniques.

Limitation of Sociology as a Science

- From a classical point of view, there are certain limitations on sociology for being a natural science as empirical testability, universal theories and absolute objectivity is not always possible.
- As mentioned earlier, there are limits of quantifiability and universal laws.
- In this context Weber outlines the difference between the subject matter of sociology on one hand and natural sciences on the other.
- Natural sciences study matter which is not having consciousness and its behaviour can be predicted.
- On the other hand sociology, studies human being who are having consciousness and the behaviour of human beings cannot be predicted. Therefore according to Weber Sociology may not be a natural science but it is a social science.
- Finally Karl Popper opines science is not a body of knowledge but a method of approaching or studying a phenomenon. It involves identifying problem, collecting information and eventually offering explanation for it and all this is done as systematically as possible. Therefore it is appropriate to call sociology as a science.

WHAT IS SCIENTIFIC STUDY

Science is a systematic body of certified and changing knowledge based on observable facts & the methods used to acquire this knowledge i.e. Science refers to both knowledge & methodology of acquiring it.

Knowledge is based on observable facts, so it is changing. As new facts come to light, in light of these facts existing knowledge is modified. Basis of knowledge is certification of knowledge by observable facts. It is systematic because it uses particular methodology.

Elements of scientific method

1) PERSPECTIVE: It means a *set of internally consistent assumptions about the reality*. Assumptions are certain beliefs which are held to be true. So certain prior knowledge of reality is must to assume e.g. For doing business, you need money & it earns more money. Observable facts are acquired in the interconnectedness, i.e. which fact can be linked to which fact.

- **Internally consistent:** assumptions should be mutually compatible & not contradicting. In certain sciences when assumptions are held to be universally valid such a set of assumptions is called **paradigm**.
- **Normal Science|:** Most scientific research falls under it. It tends to validate, prove, justify existing paradigm.
- **Revolutionary Science:** In the course of research, a new breakthrough is achieved which questions the existing paradigm leading to modification of paradigm & it is called as paradigmatic shift. Revolutionary Science is a rare phenomenon.

Where do you get assumptions from?

Either common sense assumptions are adopted or assumptions may be acquired from other sister sciences in which they have been proved true. The assumptions supported by observable facts are retained.

Early sociologists had assumptions about what society is like. They adopted assumptions from biology especially about the nature of social reality e.g. organism analogy – term 1st used by Spencer though idea was present in Comte's writings as well, reflects the role of biology-

- a) Society is compared to an organism.
- b) Enlightenment philosophers speculated that human society moves through definite shapes & follows definite pattern & thus the society changes.

2) CONCEPTS: They have same role in science as language has in day to day life. Human mind cannot comprehend reality directly. It has to be converted into symbols i.e. phonetics for defining it. Concepts are nothing but what scientific language is made of. They are symbols through which we communicate reality. Concepts tend to be defined in a more precise way so that there's no ambiguity regarding their meaning whereas day to day language is not so precise & is ambiguous. As concepts in sociology are taken from day to day, so there is a little confusion in concepts of sociology.

3) OBSERVATION: We must have an arrangement for gathering information –

- **Fact:** Any aspect of reality which has an independent existence of its own & consequently is observable & verifiable. It is also called as an **objective fact**. **Subjective facts** are not independent of the observer e.g. beauty lies in the eyes of beholder. Science is rooted in objective facts. Generally, the method used is observation. .Observation may be carried out under
 - Controlled conditions (experimentation)
 - Uncontrolled conditions.

Reality may have any number of variables. Specific aspect observation requires exclusion of certain variables & only limited variables are taken into account. So while reality is open system, experimentation is a closed system which delimits the variables.

In science, there is no random & isolated observation of facts as it would not contribute to meaningfulness. When facts are observed meaningfully, it gives rise to knowledge. Observation gives meaning to facts by meaningful interconnectedness & this is done with the help of hypothesis. **Hypothesis:** Hypothesis is a tentative statement, which formulates a precise & definite relation between 2 or more variables.

How do we arrive at a hypothesis?

- Hypothesis is always deduced from existing knowledge, common sense ideas, assumptions in paradigm, existing knowledge available in a particular field.
- Hypothesis should be such that it is reasonable to have interconnectedness between 2 or more variables. e.g. how mere observation of facts can produce a patently absurd conclusion e.g. import bill of perfumes jumped very high & number of marriages registered also jumped up.

Conclusion: perfumes led to attraction & marriages. Common sense tells that they cannot be interlinked. 3rd variable i.e. population's income rose, was ignored & so they bought more perfumes & also wanted to settle down.

Hypothesis is **an educated guess** that tells what to interlink e.g. Durkheim in his study of suicide, concluded that rate of suicide is inversely proportional to degree of solidarity. Isolated individuals are more likely to commit suicide.

Suicide is an example of psychic morbidity. Existing knowledge of Durkheim can be rephrased as rate of psychic morbidity is inversely proportional to solidarity. It broadened the scope of Schizophrenia is also a cause. So it is a new educative guess. So interlinking results in explanation of phenomena with help of others.

Hypothesis guides our search for facts. We don't prove hypothesis in scientific research but test it i.e. just see, if hypothesis is supported by observable facts or not.

Prerequisites for framing a hypothesis

- Hypothesis should be as simple, as precise & as unambiguous as possible.
- Its' testing lies in its potential falsifiability. Only a falsifiable hypothesis can be tested. It should be so constructed, that it is possible to falsify it.

For example, in England, human beings were sacrificed to please sun god in winter months. By trying to falsify it, we can test hypothesis i.e. by not performing

sacrifice one year & see if sun returns or not. In the course of testing, a hypothesis may be proved or disproved.

- Hypothesis is derived from the existing knowledge.
- Hypothesis delimits scope of observation – what is to be observed and what not.

Generalization: A statement which holds true for the whole class of phenomena is called as generalization. Scientific generalizations are not merely descriptive but explanatory in character. They try to explain one phenomena by linking it with the other, explaining one as a cause and the other as a consequence (Cause: When Phenomena is both necessary & sufficient for happening of other phenomena).

In social science, it is not possible to identify causes because controlled experimentation is not possible. So, we settle down for correlation. Number of factors may be responsible rather than 1 factor. e.g. high consumption of perfume & marriage are correlated but not causally related. So in sociology, most generalizations establish correlation.

Why do we seek generalizations?

1. They make the knowledge useful

- Generalization represents a pattern & on the basis, you can make a prediction. If you can predict, you can control. So it is man's control over his environment.
- They also contribute to the growth of scientific knowledge, as from existing generalizations new hypothesis can be deduced.

By observing regularities in observation, generalizations can proliferate. Arriving at generalizations requires a creative leap of abstraction. By raising level of abstraction, it is possible to deduce a new hypothesis, so ***they help in proliferation of research & theory building***

2. They make the knowledge manageable

- Generalizations explain all Past, Present and future events. So science tries to arrive at generalizations. Thesis, Theory & law difference in degree of generality .

If Hypothesis is disapproved, then it leads to modification of existing knowledge. This kind of scientific method is called as positive science approach. It basis its knowledge on observation & through repeated observation, tries to arrive at generalization.

SOCIOLOGY AS A POSITIVE SCIENCE & AN INTERPRETATIVE DISCIPLINE

How should sociology as a discipline be modeled?

It is a methodological debate whether it is a positive science or that it can never be a science & be limited as an interpretative discipline. This originated in the 2nd half of the 19th century in Germany & has persisted since.

Positive Science is a systematic body of knowledge based on observable facts. Positive science relies on observable & verifiable facts.

It tries to arrive at generalizations. Generalizations make knowledge useful, meaningful & manageable

Basic assumptions behind positive science

1. If reality can be wholly known by observation alone, it is a positive science.
2. Reality tends to be recurrent & patterned, so that patterns of generalization are discovered through patterns of interconnection by observation.
Social behaviour can be known through outside observation & has recurrent pattern.
So it is called a positive science.

Sociology was influenced by physical & biological sciences, especially physics & biology. Early sociologists conceived it as a positive science.

August Comte, Herbert Spencer, Durkheim – viewed sociology as positive science

The ***functionalist tradition*** has continued to view sociology as a positive science.

Conflict tradition – The Marxist approach goes beyond mere empiricism where data is subjected to method of historical materialism. But in 2 basic assumptions it resembles positivists.

In practice, ***the positivist tradition has to encounter numerous problems:***

- Experimentation
- Quantification
- Generalization
- Objectivity

Experimentation

It is the hallmark of positive science because it enables observation under controlled conditions. Therefore, it facilitates scientists to discover causal interconnections. Experimental studies are rarely possible in sociology. There are other sciences also in which experimentation is not possible. Even in Astronomy, experimentation is not possible. In Population genetics, experimentation is possible only upto lower animals. But they are well established positive sciences. So experimentation is a method dependent on nature of subject matter, but it is not a necessary pre-requisite for positive science

Quantification

Not all aspects of social reality can be expressed quantitatively. Precise measurement is not possible. Social science lacks exactitude of physical sciences.

Generalization

Human behaviour does not follow such recurrent pattern as physical objects do because of role of volition. Patterns in context of human behaviour are of

limited generality. Precise causal interconnections cannot be discovered because of lack of experimentation. At best, correlations can be discovered.

Objectivity

Unlike physical & natural sciences, personal prejudices have greater influence on collection of data in social sciences because of their very subject matter e.g. Weber's personal life had strong influence on his sociology. Sociology has not been wholly successful as a positive science, as pioneers like Weber, pointed out clearly that if strategies of social research are based on positive science alone, it would be a serious mistake, though he did not get it right by rejecting the positive science approach.

Neo Kantians: Reject the idea of sociology ever being a positive science. It can only be **an interpretative discipline**. This anti-positivist stance continues to be **reflected in symbolic interactionism & ethnomethodism**. Social life is fundamentally different from physical & natural reality. Difference lies in presence of *gist*.

- Human behavior is influenced by consciousness.
- This fact is reflected in meanings.
- Meanings are unique & variable.
- Meanings cannot be understood by observation alone.
- They need interpretation.

So, sociology cannot be a positive science.

These 2 view points are not mutually exclusive, rather they complement each other. Sociology can fruitfully **use methods of positive science (Macro sociology). Interpretative discipline → (Micro sociology)**

Depending upon nature of sub matter, both can be used. Even in other disciplines like physics, microphysics cannot be subjected to the same degree of certitude as macrophysics e.g. Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, Brogli's wave particle theorem. Same is true for micro & macro sociology.

PROBLEM OF OBJECTIVITY & VALUE NEUTRALITY

Objectivity refers to a **frame of mind-set on the part of social scientist, so that the personal prejudices & predilections do not contaminate the process of collection & analysis of data**. Sociological investigations should be free from prejudices of race, colour, religion, gender or ideology. Objectivity in this sense is desirable.

- According to Durkheim, social facts should be treated as things.
- Radcliff Brown → sociological research should be free from egocentric & ethnocentric bias.
- Malinowski advocated cultural relativism as a stance to serve as a corrective to ethnocentrism.
- Weber advocated value neutrality, because values are chief source of bias which contaminates our perception.

Values should be restricted to area of technical competence like:

- Selection of topic of research.
- Interpreting meanings from various texts.
- Which data is significant?

Objectivity is a broader term including value neutrality.

Value Neutrality

Sociologists should **exclude ideological assumptions while conducting sociology research**. If such assumptions cannot be avoided, sociologist should be value frank for making his value preference explicit.

- Sociologist should not propagate/advocate any particular value.
- He should avoid evaluative judgment on fact
- He should remain indifferent to moral implications of research. Research should not be tailored to suit a particular kind of public morality.

Sociologists have appreciated need for objectivity & value neutrality, but it **remains an elusive goal**. Gunnar Myrdal argued that total value neutrality is a myth.

- Facts and data become meaningful only when looked from a certain viewpoint.
- Selection of topic of research is guided by prejudice.
- Formulation of hypothesis is influenced by ideological factors and thus brings value contamination.

For example, Jajmani system was studied by W. Weiser (Functionalist) and Oscar Lewis (Marxist). W. Weiser concluded that it represents organic division of labour. Oscar Lewis concluded that it represents politico-economic dependence & so it is exploitative.

- No technique of data collection is fool proof. There are field limitations e.g. questionnaire: Return rate is barely 25 %. In interview there is double dose of subjectivity.
- Answer what you think is being questioned.
- Interpreted as per interviewer.

We can **minimize subjectivity by**

- Being value frank.
- Using trained research workers.

One more view point criticizes idea of total objectivity. e.g. David Horowitz, C.W. Mills & A. Gouldner. They say **excessive value neutrality reduces sociologist to level of a spectator**. This is absurd. Knowledge is for social sake. So universal ethics must be adhered to & moral stance adopted.

Q. Discuss the problem of objectives in sociology. How objectivity can be ensured?

Renaissance period in Europe witnessed an obsession for science which permeated not only in all spheres of life but the academic disciplines too. Contrary to the orthodox beliefs; science stressed on a reasoned and logical pursuit of knowledge. The scientific pursuit involved above all 'an objectives research' objectivity came to be understood in the overall context of modernity.

Initial sociologist tried to develop sociology not only in an objectives manner but also on the lines similar to natural sciences.

Objectivity means freedom from personal biases in the sociological investigations. The source of personal biases is various identities like race, caste,

language, religion, culture, etc. These biases exist in the form of values in the society and certain values are preferred by persons thereby creating biases.

Therefore, value freedom becomes essential for removing such biases. This is also known as value neutrality. Thus, objectivity also implies value neutrality and both are interrelated and draw from each other.

Sociology as a body of knowledge involves accumulation of facts, interpretation of facts and finally generating theories based on these facts. The very fact that sociology deals with human beings generates some problems of objectivity at various levels.

Problem in accumulation of facts: Sociology uses various scientific methods like observation, interviews, schedules and questionnaires etc. for the purpose of data collection. All these methods face problems of objectivity.

- (a) E.g. Interview method faces the problem of values of both interviews and interviewee thereby generating incorrect data.
- (b) Further the method of observation suffers from the values of observer. E.g. a very famous quote by W. White illustrate this point, "I started as participant observer, but ended up as participant non observer".
- (c) Durkheim in his famous study of suicide is often accused of collecting data in such a way which satisfies his own viewpoint.
- (d) Similarly Weber's method of 'Ideal Types' is often accused of involving subjectivity of the observer.

Problem of objectivity in Interpretation of facts: Interpretation can also be coloured by various values/ viewpoints e.g. Robert Redfield and Oscar Lewis studied the same village in Mexico at approximately same time. But the contrasting results of both the studies established beyond doubt the influence of ideological biases in interpretation of facts. Redfield made a functional interpretation whereas Louis made a conflict interpretation. Similarly caste system in India is understood in different ways and sociologists are affected by their own biases.

Theory Building–Generation of theory: Value loaded interpretation of facts generates theories and is one sided and give a partial view of the total phenomenon e.g. Durkheim gave only functional theory of religion whereas in reality we see people do fight in the name of religion. Whereas Marx considers religion as opium of masses but it is also true that religion controls individual thereby ensuring conformity. In this way sociology faces the problem of objectivity at various levels of research. Apart from this subjectivity also occur in terms of choice of an area of subject, choice of a method.

Steps taken to ensure objectivity

Right from the beginning sociologists have tried to suggest measures for ensuring objectivity. **Auguste Comte** advocated absolute objectivity, Durkheim suggested scientific methodology for ensuring objectivity later on also, attempts were made in different ways to ensure objectivity.

The various steps suggested are

- (1) Few sociologist went to the extent of arguing that sociology should refrain from studying 'what ought to be' and concentrate on 'what is'

- (2) Objectivity can be maximized by proper training of the investigator. Weber, as early as early 1890's suggested training for sociologists.
- (3) The investigator should confine himself to his own area of competence. At least the researcher will be aware of his own personal biases in his own area.
- (4) Research must be taken in a transparent and open manner and should be subject to critique so that possible biases may be pointed out.
- (5) A sociologist should not advocate a particular value as it may colour all his investigations.

The issue of objectivity can further be scrutinized in the light of another school of thought who refrains from considering objectivity as a desirable goal. Here the importance of different viewpoints/ ideologies is stressed e.g. Gunnar Myrdal in this context made a very famous statement, 'Chaos cannot organise itself into cosmos, we need view point'.

Similarly, the reformative agenda of sociology (what ought to be) is considered desirable as ignoring this will mean falsifying its own history e.g. C.W. Mills argued that over emphasis on objectivity will compromise reformist agenda.

It is a well known fact that social problems can be understood within a particular cultural context and the ignorance of this context may generate problems e.g. Lynd studied social strain within a specific cultural context and argues the understanding of values in this context.

Therefore absolute objectivity is neither a goal nor a desire in sociology. The nature or scope of sociology is such that subjectivity to some extent is upto an end both inevitable as well as desirable e.g. Max Weber argues that subject matter of social sciences is human beings which is having consciousness and understanding his subjectivity is the task of sociology.

But, at the same time it is cautioned that excessive subjectivity will render the research meaningless. Therefore, objectivity is proposed in terms of methods, whereas various viewpoints can be used for the interpretation of facts and generation of theories. **Elwin Gouldner** summed up the debate through his famous quote, "Value neutrality is an elusive goal in sociology, absolute objectivity cannot be established."

CONCLUSION

The ***basic premise that underlies the positivist approach*** is:

1. The facts or data to be collected are fully amenable to sensory observation. Thus, all social behaviour is viewed as observable from without.
2. Internal meanings and motives underlying the behaviour of a person are supposed to be shaped by forces outside him namely, the society. (Durkehim's methodological prescription, namely, "Treat Social facts as things" and his explanation of suicide" in terms of social factors are examples par excellence of this premise).
3. Society can shape the behaviour of its members almost completely through socialization.

However, there is **another section of sociologist** who regards the above view as an "over- socialized" conception of man. They do not accept the belief that "an individual is simply the society writ small".

1. According to them ***each individual's personality carries an imprint of his unique experience along with the socially transmitted world view***

2. They draw attention to the mercurial nature of man.
3. They see in the positivistic approach an attempt to reduce man to a passive robot.
4. They have not altogether rejected the positivist approach rather they find it inadequate and seek to supplement it with new approaches which look for new data and adopt new methods.
5. These sociologists see their discipline as somewhat akin to literature than to natural sciences in the sense that they seek to reflect the pattern of meaning in a set of observation they have made.

However, there is not a total consensus among these critics of positivist approach. One aspect they share in common is that **they all emphasise on the importance of underlying meanings in order to understand social behaviour.** These critics of positivism differ significantly among themselves. On extreme, there exists anti-positivist approach like that of ethno methodologists and on the other side there are moderate critics of positivism like **Max Weber whose approach tries to build a bridge between positivist approach and extreme form of interactionism.**

According of Weber

- Social reality is characterized by the presence of "geist" or "consciousness".
- Due to the presence of "consciousness" people ascribe meanings to the situation around them which include other people too.
- These meanings influence the subsequent behaviour. Consequently any attempt to understand social reality must take into account these meanings and motives.
- These meanings are ascribed by the individual actors.
- An attempt to understand social behaviour should not stop simply at observation from without; instead it should involve interpretation of the underlying meanings and motives.
- This requires the use of new method through which an empathetic liaison can be established between the observer and the actor. Empathetic liaison means that the observer tries to place himself imaginatively in the actor's position.
- Having established empathetic liaison, the sociologist should try to figure out meanings and motives given by the actor.
- In terms of these meanings and motives, he then tries to rationally explain the actor's behaviour.

This is the essence of 'verstehen approach' advocated by Max Weber.

SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Other interpretative sociologists, those identified as "symbolic interactionists" – are content to operate with a relatively simple set of assumption about how we come to know about social phenomena.

They accept the meaning that the actors attribute to social phenomena at the face value and proceed to erect their systematic interpretations on these foundations. The term symbolic interactionist was used because **it is through the symbols that meanings, motives and attributes are conveyed.**

Thus, an understanding of symbols can help in understanding the meanings conveyed by actors involved in the interacting situation. For example, a cross

(x) may symbolize a barbarian method of execution or a religious movement. A Red Light symbolizes a brothel or an indication that traffic should come to a halt.

Therefore, for a proper understanding of the meanings conveyed in the course of interaction one should know what the symbols are; including the phonetic symbols. Also one should be able to appreciate how and in what manner, in each interactive situation, the actors are using these symbols. The **assumptions underlying symbolic interactionism** are:

- Symbols are man made & not to intense nature of objects & events but to the ways in which men perceive them.
- The individual and the society are regarded as inseparable, for the individual can become a human being only in a social context.
- Human beings are viewed as acting on the basis of meaning which they give to the objects and events rather than simply reacting either to external stimuli such as social forces or internal stimuli such as organic drives. **(Symbolic interactionism therefore rejects both societal and biological determinism).**
- Meanings arise from the process of interaction rather than being simply present at the outset. To some degree meanings are created, modified, developed and changed within interactive situation rather than being fixed and preformed. Thus, in the process of interaction, actors do not slavishly follow preset norms or mechanically act out established rules.
- Meanings are the result of interpretive procedures employed by actors. Within the context of interactions by taking the role of others; actors interpret the meanings and intentions of others.
- By means of the mechanism of self-interaction, individuals modify or change definitions of their situation, rehearse alternative course of interactions and consider their possible consequences.
- These meanings that guide actions arise in the context of interaction, via, a series of complex interpretive procedures.

The methodology of symbolic interactionism, as advocated by Herbert Blumer demands that, the sociologist must immerse himself in the area of life that he seeks to investigate. Rather than attempting to fill data into predefined categories, he must attempt to grasp the actor's view of social reality.

This involves "Feeling one's way inside the experience of the actor". Since action is directed by the actor, meanings the sociologists must catch the process of interpretation through which the actors construct their action. This means, he must take the role of the acting unit whose behaviour he studies.

One of the important works of sociological research carried out in the tradition of symbolic interactionism is **a study of physically handicapped by Fred Davis**. Another approach belonging to social Anthropology which can also be categorized as an "interpretive" approach starts with:

- A description of commonly accepted meanings that people attribute to social phenomena. **Mere description of such meanings would simply amount to an ethnographic study of the people – an account of their culture.** But these sociologists are interested in understanding social phenomena in general terms.
- They must move beyond to find meaning of the phenomena, and try to discover patterns and regularities in these meanings, which they can represent as cultural "themes"

- Further patterns and regularities running through themes may in turn be represented as configuration of themes, which taken together may be held to characterize the essential characteristics of a culture.

In this way the social Anthropologist, Ruth Benedict, characterizes the cultures of some American Indian peoples as "Dionysian", that is, given to extreme and frenzied state of being and other as "Apollonian", that is always seeking moderation in behaviour and cultural expressions. She achieved this by tracing these features through wide range of their manifestation in the cultures of the people she examined.

These interpretations of meanings at different levels of abstractions are all informed and guided by the ultimate motive of establishing concepts, that provide sociologists with a general way of understanding human activities and beliefs.

There is yet another set of sociologists – those identified as "**Ethno methodologists**"– **who try to analyse the commonsense nature of social interactions.**

- The accumulated commonsense of generation results in pattern of behavioural topicalities'.
- Social order is dependent upon people behaving in a commonsense way.
- Social interaction must be interpreted in terms of these commonsense meanings, however, for ethno methodologist; the basic problem of Sociology goes even further than this.

They begin with the assumption that society exists. It is the main study of methods used by public. Only in so far as members perceive its existence; So members' view of social reality must be understood. But sociologists must also be concerned with processes by which people come to establish meanings in social phenomena. They say that the ***aim of Sociology should not be simply to identify and record the meanings that people have ascribed to a situation, but to understand the ways in which they generate those meanings in the first place.***

The idea is that it is important to understand "how the world looks", to those who live in it. The same idea has been approved by these sociologists. They argue that the final emphasis should be on the ways in which the members of society come to see their world in the ways they do.

Harold Garfinkel and Cicourel are some of the important Ethno methodologists. Another example of this account of study is, **Cicourel's study of "Juvenile Delinquency"** in which he traces the way in which young people come to be categorized as "**Juvenile Delinquents**" by the Police, Probationary Officers, the Courts and so on.

The account of information which "**interpretive sociologists**" require to substantiate their analysis is quite different from the information needed by "positivistic sociologists". Therefore, new sources of information are made use of. However, quite often even those methods of data collection, which are used by positivist sociologist, are also made use of by interpretive sociologist. A few are:

- Weber relied on official statistical records and historical documents in his study of "The Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism".

- Direct observation is also frequently used, accompanied by extensive verbatim recording of conversational exchange among the actors involved.
- More recently, Tape-Recording and even Video-Tape-recording have also been increasingly used, so that the sociologist may have the opportunity of analyzing not only the details of wording of exchanges and the intonations of voices, but also gestures and facial expressions which may provide important clues to the way in which the meanings are interacted.
- Sometimes more normal laboratory techniques have also been used as in the well-known experiment by Garfinkel, 30 students were asked to take part on an experiment with "Psycho-therapeutic" procedures.

Besides the use of such innovative techniques, the other methods of data collection, used by interpretive sociologists include: the case studies and use of life histories, personal diaries and correspondence and other biographical records to provide insights into the subjective dimension of the social behaviour.

Research Designs

A research design is the arrangement of conditions for the collection and analysis of data in manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose and economize on procedure. The research design is the conceptual structure, within which research is conducted; which constitutes the blue print for collection, measurement and analysis of data. Following are the steps involved in the formulation of the research problem:

- 1) Defining the research problem;
- 2) Identifying the purpose of research;
- 3) Defining the universe of study, like the study of a tribal village or of criminals;
- 4) Defining the subject of research, like the study of kinship relations, nature of case relations or the nature of hierarchy in the organizational structure etc;
- 5) Formulation of hypotheses;
- 6) Identifying the type of data required;
- 7) Identifying the techniques of data collection, keeping in view the availability of time, and other resources;
- 8) Identification of the methods of analyzing data;
- 9) Clear and operational definitions of the concept involved; and
- 10) Statement of the manner in which the report will be prepared.

Based on the purpose of research, research designs can be classified into three categories:

- Exploratory Research Design
- Descriptive Research Design
- Experimental Research Design

Exploratory Research Design

The main purpose of exploratory research design is to acquire preliminary information about the universe of study so that a more precise investigation can be carried on or a working hypothesis can be developed.

The need for exploratory research design arises because not much information is available in the initial stages about the universe of study. The major

emphasis in such studies is that, they must be flexible enough to provide opportunity for considering different aspects of problem under study.

Depending upon the **nature of the universe of study and the problem of research, exploratory research design may start with:**

- A survey of the concerned literature.
- The field experience survey of the analysis of insight stimulating examples.

Where sufficient Literature is already available, it may prove to be a simple and fruitful method for gaining a detailed insight for developing a hypothesis. However the existing literature may not be always adequate or may not be available at all. In such cases a survey of people who had practical experience with the problem to be studied can be of help. The object of such a survey is:

- Obtain an insight into the relationship between variables.
- Acquire new ideas relating to the research problem.

For such a survey, people who are competent and can contribute new ideas may be carefully selected as respondents, to ensure representation of different types of experience. The respondent so selected are then interviewed.

The interviewer must ensure sufficient flexibility so that the respondents have the freedom to raise issues and questions which the researcher has not previously conceived. In those areas, where neither adequate literature is available nor is there enough experience to serve as a guide to the researcher, then he may rely upon an analysis of insight stimulating examples.

For this purpose the researcher may make use of unstructured interview. In case the universe of study happens to be such that the verbal interaction alone is not enough to gain an insight into the problem, then the researcher may resort to participant observation as the techniques of data collection.

Descriptive Research Design

Is used if the researcher is studying a community

- With which he is already familiar.
- if the purpose of research is to present an accurate description of the characteristics of a particular institution group or an event in the community;
- if the research aims at testing a given hypothesis under non-controlled conditions

Then, the appropriate design of research is called descriptive research design. Sometimes, descriptive design forms the second step of the research; the first step being exploratory design. Here, **exploratory research design is used to help formulate the hypotheses while descriptive research design is used to test the hypotheses.** Since the purpose is to obtain complete and accurate information:

- The procedure to be used must be carefully planned.
- The research design in other stages must be well defined.
- To obtain error free data closely supervise the staff of field workers as they collect and record information.
- As the data is collected, it should be examined for completeness, comprehensiveness consistency and reliability.

The descriptive and exploratory designs can be compared in a tabulated manner as follows:

	EXPLORATORY RESEARCH	DESCRIPTIVE RESEARCH
Objective	Formulate a problem for precise investigation	Carries out a detailed and accurate analysis of a particular community.
Why	Relatively speaking, one does not know much about the universe of study before starting the research.	Relative speaking, one knows quite a bit about the area since the area is unexplored.
What	Helps in the development of hypothesis which could be tested further whether in a form of descriptive or experimental research designs.	May be oriented towards testing a set of hypothesis.

The comparative assessment indicates that both exploratory and descriptive designs can be placed on a continuum. The exploratory research clarified the concepts, formulated hypothesis, and increased familiarity with the area. Once this ground work is done, the descriptive design can be formed. The latter is feasible only after preliminary pilot-survey has been completed. This is how we can establish the relationship between exploratory and descriptive designs. Both are complementary and supplement each other.

EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design which is used to test a hypothesis of a causal relationship under a controlled situation is called experimental research design. The essence of the experimental design (in sociology) lies in its testing of hypothesis derived from theory. The experimental research design in sociology observes the following aspects:-

- The investigator controls or manipulates an independent variable of stimulus. (X)
- observes the effects on the dependent variable (Y)
- The effect of the independent variable on the dependent variables is observed by minimizing the effects of extraneous variables which might confound the result.
- These propositions are tested on a sample generally called experimental sample (E)
- The theoretical propositions of the experimental research design can be analysed from the following empirical study.

Experimentation in Sociology raised certain important questions:

- Ethical question
- Difficulties in forming a control sample
- Retaining it over time
- The difficulties encountered in controlling the extraneous environment, etc.

Realizing these problems in some of the experiments carried out by sociologists the experimental sample is used as a control sample. It is debatable whether the absence of Control means a non-experimental design. **The theoretical propositions followed here are the following:** Experimental sample is also the control sample.

- The experimental sample is measured in the given respects before introducing the independent variables.
- After it has been measured the stimulus for independent variable is introduced.
- The experimental sample is measured after stimulus and the change is calculated.

The modification of the experimental design is generally accepted in sociology and is called before and after research. The best example of this type of research design is the **Hawthorne study carried out by E. Mayo, F. Roethlisberger, W. Dickson and G. Homans.** In this study, the relationship between physical conditions of work and the study of the effects of good housing upon former slum families re-housed in Summer Field Homes of Monopolies (US) is an example of the modified experimental design.

Chapin's hypothesis is that the re-housing of slum families in a public housing project would result in the improvement of living conditions and the social life of these families. As per the demand of any true experimental design the families in this context, cannot be re-housed.

Thus, Chapin studies the families which have moved out of the housing project and compared these with those left behind in the slum conditions. The left over families form the control sample; whereas those which have moved out constitute the experimental group. **F. Stuart Chapin's analysis** is a **variant of the 'before-and-after' design**, which he calls **'ex-post-facto' research design.**

The modified experimental design suits sociological research. One can conclude from Chapin's analysis that it is extremely difficult to have a 'control group' comparable to one which could be used in physical and biological sciences. It is true that the 'before-and-after; research design does not reveal what might have happened to the control group with no introduction of stimulus; every sociological inquiry has to work within a set of limitations.

ISSUES OF MEASUREMENT IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

With growth of science, there has been development of what Abraham Kaplan called as ***Mystique of Quantity***. 19th century witnessed that phase when, science grows to last place in decimal i.e. unless you have expressed a phenomenon in numerical terms, you have not done enough..

Liebniths – (Contemporary of Newton who independently developed calculus): he said that all conflicts grow out of fact that our knowledge imprecise, with quantification, debate would vanish.

Advantage of Quantification/ Measurement:-

- It helps us to learn more about what we already know.
- It gives exactitude & precision to our knowledge.
- It helps in standardization by which we are assured of equivalences among objects of diverse origin e.g. money is a quantifier of value.
- It adds to efficiency. Efficiency & rationalization increase with calculability.
- Quantification helps in testing & verification of hypothesis e.g. Durkheim's study of suicide.
- It helps in operationalization of concepts.

Strong proponents of the mystique of quantity go to the extent that, there is no difference which is qualitative. All differences are quantitative only. Everything can be seen in quantitative terms. They make a strong case of the need of measurement.

What is measurement?

- Assignment of certain symbols, especially numerical symbols to a certain property of indices or objects according to a certain rule.
- Property i.e. being measured is called as magnitude.
- Value of numerical symbol is called as measure.

Pre-requisites for measurement

If the object w.r.t. to the said property be arranged in an asymmetrical transitive order, then we can devise scale to assignment value

Kinds of measurement

- Fundamental
- Derived

Derived measurements are based on fundamental measurements, subjected to certain laws. There are different kinds of scales which can be created using different rules. Sltiz for Johoda have given 4 kinds of scales.

1. Nominal scale
2. Ordinal scale
3. Interval scale
4. Ratio scale

Nominal Scale consists of 2 or more named category into which individual or objects can be classified. The two Categories are different from each other e.g. boys and girls.

There is no measurement of more of less. We can assign no's., or alphabets for the categories. Nominal Scale is characteristic of exploratory research where emphasis is on uncovering a relationship between 2 characteristics rather than on specifying which some degree of precision, the mathematical form of relationship e.g. classifying in terms of their personality type.

Ordinal Scale defines relative position of objects or individuals w.r.t. a certain property with no implication as to the distinction between positions. E.g. this is hotter than that but not how much hotter. Durkhiem's solidarity can be pointed out in ordinal scale.

Interval Scales not only are positions arranged relation to each other as greater, equal or less, intervals of measurement are also equal e.g. 1,2,3, are equidistant. But it does not tell us absolute zero e.g. what temperature is zero e.g. Likert scales.

Ratio Scale fixes absolute zero as the starting point. Ratio Scale is more advanced than Interval Scale. The various scales that we make use of are a combination of 2 or more of these scales.

Criticism of measurement

Measurement is perfect for natural science. But problems arise when we use measurement in behavioural science. Abraham Kaplan says "if you can measure it, then, this isn't it" i.e. you have measured something else; meaning you cannot succeed in measuring human behaviour.

Positivist study on marital relations: subject complained that he's being asked how often it is the only measurement of relation. In case of human affairs, a part loses its meaning when it is separated from the whole. Kaplan called it as the **mystique of quality** e.g. suicide rates- Durkheim did not quantify pain & suffering experienced before suicide. It is reductionism. It prevents you from looking reality in its totality. It introduces unwarranted sameness; therefore quantification is not possible.

Kaplan tries to resolve this debate by saying that, as such there's nothing wrong in quantification as it increases efficiency, precision & accuracy; but the problem is to decide adequate property & proper magnitude.

MAX WEBER

CONTEXT

Marxists: By the time, the ideas of Max Weber started floating around, a no. of German scholars & Political thinkers had accepted Marxian ideology. Social Marxist party accepted it as a dogma. It accepted all viewpoints partly, but rejected them as well, while critically evaluating.

Neokantians: Neokantians like **Dilthey, Rickert & Windelband**, started with the assumption that, reality is dualistic in nature. Social reality is fundamentally different from natural reality because of presence of *geist* i.e. consciousness, because of this *geist*, human beings respond to their environment meaningfully unlike physical objects which respond to impersonal forces. Human behaviour cannot be understood without taking underlying meaning & motives into consideration.

Motive: Motive is a complex of subjective meanings, which seems to the actor as an adequate ground for his conduct - **defined by Weber**.

Neokantians believe that these meanings & motives cannot be known by observation alone. These meaning & motives are highly variable; therefore no generalization is possible. So, positive scientific approach cannot be used for study of Social behaviour of man.

Positivism

Karl Menger: Advocated positive science approach. He advocated that sociology should also be a positive science. Weber accepted **Neokantian** view about dualistic nature of Social reality & pointed out that social science cannot be built on strategies of positive sciences alone. While goal of positive sciences is to discover the pattern of inter-connections through repeated observations, the goal of social science is to understand at the level of meanings. (**Thus, he tried to resolve that *methodenstreit*.**)

Karl Berg: The fundamental assumption on which he developed his Sociology rests on how he viewed persons in society.

Assumptions: Persons are cultural beings endowed with the capacity & will to take a deliberate stance towards the world & to lend it meaning. Culture shapes human beings but there is no pure cultural determinism, because they can still give meanings & modify culture by deliberate will. Guided by these meanings, they act out their behaviour.

Trying to synthesize positivism with Neokantianism, in Weberian sociology, **persons are genuine actors, capable of interpreting their social reality and of initiating creative action**. They do not mechanically act out their culture. Based on their experience they modify it. In the light of life experience, they re-interpret it.

Weber – There are no objective meanings that exist in history.

(No independent spirit as Hegel talked of, Nor inevitable logic in history. Meanings exist in the mind of the actor, though shaped by culture, but culture as interpreted by them. Social action of individuals includes both social and subjective meanings.

Rhine Hard Bendix: He said he was **deparsonizing** Weber. Action contains both objective & subjective meaning. Sociology is a science concerning itself with interpretative understanding of social action.

Social Action is fundamental unit of analysis. We shall speak of action in so far as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to his behaviour, be it overt or covert. Action is social in so far as its subjective meaning takes account of the behaviour of others & is thereby oriented in its course

Meaning

Action: Human behaviour is action in so far as actor attaches subjective meaning to his behaviour. No meaning, then, no action arrives at motives & gives meaning. **Why Social:** It takes cognizance of others behaviour & is thereby oriented in its course. Others need not be physically present; they may be present in consciousness of actor.

Social action is a meaningful response oriented to others

Theodore Able: Clarified what Weber means. Every individual tries to arrive at meaning of culture in its own way & arrive at behavioural maxims & these maxims guide our behaviour.

Since Social action is determined by type of meanings, **Weber developed classification of social action based on kind of meanings involved.** He invented fourfold typology of social action based on four pure types of meanings.

1. Goal Rational/Zweck Rational Action.
2. Value Rational / Wert Rational Action.
3. Traditional Action
4. Affective Action

Distinguished in terms of kind of meanings that are involved-

1. **Goal Rational Action** – Progressive utilization or utilization of progressively efficient means to achieve specific & practical goal. This has pure instrumental orientation that means are chosen to attain success in goals rationally decided upon. Goals are specific & practical e.g. Cost benefit analysis. Means are also chosen purely because of their efficiency. They are the best possible way of attaining those goals.
2. **Value Rational Action** – The goals are dictated by the values which the actor believes command him to achieve those goals. Goals are chosen because of commitment to values but the means are rationally decided upon.
3. **Traditional Action** – Actor chooses a course of conduct to maintain continuity with the tradition. Meaning given is that, this is just the way it is done e.g. men in India don't wear sarees.
4. **Affective Action** – Sole purpose of performing the act is to express emotions e.g. cuddling a baby, hurling abuses etc.

They are only pure types of actions. Real meanings are infinite involving many elements. For Weber, Sociology is interpretative understanding of social action.

Methodology

According to Weber, the **cognitive aim of social science is more than that of a natural science**. Social science is not content only with discovering patterns of inter-connection. Rather, it also tries to understand at level of meanings & motives. An explanation in social science should be adequate at level of meanings & also at level of casualty.

Disagreeing with **Neokantians**, he pointed out that all sciences try to arrive at generalisation. So sociology is no different. But in sociology, we can have limited generalizations i.e. only a thesis & not a theory.

Social research cannot be based on the strategies of natural sciences alone since sociology is an interpretative study, so it has to understand underlying meanings & motives & thus use other methods like:-

1. **Verstehein** (Borrowed from **Neokantians**)
2. **Ideal types**
3. **Causal pluralism**
4. **Value neutrality**

Verstehein:

Verstehein is interpretative understanding of social action, through empathetic liaisons, in order to, trace the cause & effect of social action through a sequence of motives.

It means, we try to interpret meanings & the underlying motives through empathetic liaisons. Put yourself in the shoes of the actor to understand his behaviour. Imaginatively establish a contact with the actor & then view the world from his eyes e.g. Agatha Christie's murder mysteries. Social life is a chain of interconnected action. So there will be a sequence of motives. This sequence also has a causal significance. Relate this to the consequences of action, so that the explanation is both meaningfully & causally adequate.

2 Steps in Verstehein:

1. Stage of Direct Observational Understanding
2. Stage of Motivational Understanding

Direct Observational Understanding: Observe phenomena in its details & attribute natural meanings to what we observe, like, positive science method.

Motivational Understanding: Try to find out the motive behind the action, and interpret motives by establishing empathetic liaison.

Verstehein was already in use by **Neokantians**, they said that Weber did not clarify much what he meant by Verstehein. He used it only in Protestantism study &

not in others. Even in protestant ethics, he is taking into account the patterned meaning of actor, the meaning that actors share in concert i.e. he is trying to explain how Protestantism increased capitalism.

He takes **Calvinism** as one of the illustration of protestant sects. Meanings dictated by Protestantism ideology were therefore shared meanings i.e. culturally shaped. He does not look at actor as socially determined. Protestants ended up saying that what Weber was concerned about was actually the culturally shaped meanings. He was not clear what he meant from *Verstehe*n i.e. unique or collective meanings.

Stephen Karlberg, Anthony Giddens, & later day Weber meant both. This makes method more comprehensive & complete. His method of **individualism** resolves structure v/s agency debate.

Structure- Established patterns exercising constraint & shaping behaviour. Used by Protestantism & it considers that the Social Actor is passive.

Agency: Actor employing creativity & making conscious choice.

Individual vs. Society i.e. society shapes individual or individuals shape social reality.

Micro Sociology, Ethno-methodology & symbolic interactionism, phenomenology--- Alfred Schutz, (founder, inspired by Weber & later on influenced Garfinkel) inspired by Weber. So *Verstehe*n can be applied at both macro & micro level.

While approaches of Emile Durkheim & Parsons can only be applied for macro level analysis. Here, lies the superiority for Weber's approach, as **Giddens says it is the approach of structuration** -- in the course of interaction structures constrain & are also enabling. Existing structure gets transformed & new form of interaction emerges so it is both structure & agency in Weber's approach.

Ideal type

What is it that we apply *Verstehe*n to?

Weber- Social reality is infinitely complex. Therefore human mind cannot comprehend reality in its entirety. Selectivity is unavoidable. Only limited aspects of reality are to be explored at a time. Selectivity is exercised by constructing ideal types.

An ideal type is formed by the **one sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many**, diffuse discrete, more or less present & occasionally absent, concrete individual phenomena which are arranged according to those one sided emphasized viewpoints into unified analytical construct. In its conceptual purity, this **mental construct cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality**.

Meaning: It is an analytical construct. Picture of reality consists of only those things which are seen from that point of view. It depicts the world as it appears from that point of view. The picture is built by us in terms of that point of view into a unified model. It is a mental construct. In its pure form, it is never found in reality. Only those episodes are synthesized which are in line with the point of view. It is not a true description of reality. **Karl Marx's 2 class model i.e. the Bourgeoisie & the Proletariat, is an ideal type**. Extreme forms of economic inequalities will result in the

formation of 2 classes therefore conflict & change. Marx used only those viewpoints of class which explained conflict & change.

No case in reality may resemble it. Most may fall within it. It is a **rational construct**. It is not also an average type. It doesn't have those elements which are occasionally found. It may have elements which may not be found. It is an **ideal in the realm of ideas**. It is not an exhaustive description of reality. It is neither true nor false. To evaluate ideal type, look out whether it successfully conveys that point of view. Ideal type is not supposed to be a faithful & an adequate description of reality. So it can be criticized on this ground.

Methodological utility of ideal type -

1. Selectivity is unavoidable. There is no other way to reach reality except through ideal type. Same reality can be depicted through many ideal types.
2. It is a classificatory device e.g. actions, authority systems
3. It can also play a limited role in predicting social phenomenon. In case the social reality approximates an ideal type, we can predict the likely consequences that will follow, e.g., Marx's model of social change. The Naxalite movement may increase in India because of increasing rural disparities. Age in men, drought, unemployment resemble conditions of Marxian model. There is an increasing trend towards violent conflict.
4. It can serve as a source for hypothesis. Hypothesis can be deduced which in turn stimulates further research.
5. It can help in establishing logical interconnections between different social constellations. Reality exists in cluster form i.e. different aspects exist in cluster form e.g. capitalism, entrepreneur, technology.
6. An ideal type serves as the social science equivalent of experimentation in natural sciences. It is a mental experiment. An experiment is a closed system; individual selectivity of variables & then, interconnections between those variables is explored.

It can stimulate further research. So variables causing deviation of ideal type from reality can trigger further research.

How to provide causal explanation?

Causal pluralism

Weber talks of two aspects;

1. **Nature of Generalizations:** Explanatory generalizations that sociology should provide should be a thesis & not theory. Thesis is an indication of trends or tendencies, that in social science, it cannot have precision like natural science.
2. Since each attempt to explore & explain phenomena consist of **ideal type model & not comprehensive explanation of reality**, so such explanation is one of plausible explanations. So explanation should be based on causal pluralism or multi-causal explanation.

So, he is Critical of Marxists in Germany, who tended to account for all social phenomena in terms of a single economic cause or mono-causal economic determinism.

In his later writings, Marx & Engels had conceded that super-structure also influences the base. But, Marxist influenced by earlier Marxian writings tended to adopt mono-causal explanation. In contrast, Weber suggested causal pluralism as a methodological principle in social sciences.

Value Neutrality

Study of Social Phenomena should be based on value neutrality. Value neutrality means that Weber did concede that value bias cannot be altogether eliminated. **Value should be confined to the area of technical competence** i.e. the area of value relevance e.g. you make a choice of the topic of research.

- Even in course of research, which data are significant is a value based choice.
- What interpretation is given to the documentary resources?

So, at the level of technical competence, values are unavoidable. But beyond this, sociology should be value-free.

1. Sociologist should not carry any ideological assumptions during the course of his research.
2. He should not propagate any values in the name of research.
3. Sociologist should be indifferent to moral implications of research. His job is to tell the truth.
4. He should not pass evaluative judgment on the fact.
5. Social scientist should be value frank i.e. some values which are unavoidable & do creep into research, then, at the end of the research, you must describe that these values were chosen & make them explicit.

Value free science is useless, if the idea of Value Neutrality is stretched too far.

Criticism

Radical sociologists criticized the idea of Value Neutrality. In the name of Value Neutrality, **Social sciences have been decreased to the position of a spectator**, simply watching the game. By taking neutral stance, we are biased towards dominant value. Duty of sociologist is social welfare & thus **there are certain universal values independent of any culture** & sociologist must adhere to them. Sociologist must take a moral stance while conducting research.

Standard American sociology -- moral & political neutrality, like during Vietnam War, none took a stance that American policy was brutal & also played havoc with the lives of American soldiers. Millions of Vietnamese were killed. Hippie movement was an off-shoot against the war. Radical sociologist took up a moral stance that this Value Neutrality is like delivering a lecture onboard a ship which is sinking. Sociologists must adopt value stance.

But, it does not mean that while conducting research you become biased. Knowledge is for social welfare, so value stance is necessary. To be neutral is to legitimize status quo.

PROTESTANT ETHICS & SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM

All aspects of methodology of Weber were made use of in this study. Inter-connection between protestant religion & rise of capitalism was well established in Weber's time. Marx & Engels had explained the rise of Protestantism as legitimizing the ideology of nascent capitalism.

Marxist explanation

1. Capitalism developed century before Protestantism which developed in Second half of 16th Century, while Mercantilist capitalism developed in 15th Century.
2. Engels pointed out that Catholicism had many tenets which were not conducive to the growth of capitalism e.g. **Catholicism condemned borrowing & lending of money**. Unlike Protestantism, that demanded from workers that their life should be one with continuous good worth & thus, emphasized hard work & excellence in these worldly pursuits.

Catholicism emphasized on periodic & occasional good works. **Doctrine of Predestination** in Protestantism was a safeguard against the uncertainties of business. Therefore, looking at economic system and religion in terms of base & super-structure, **Engels explains change in terms of gradual use of capital**. Rise of Protestantism as a protest against Roman cathedral was seen as the rise of a new ideology which justified goals & life of rising bourgeoisie.

Marxist historians commenting on the Indian society said that, a similar the trend in rise of Buddhism & Jainism, in response to rising of ancient trade & commerce, emerged against Brahminical ideology.

Dawn Martindale has pointed out that **Jainism can be compared with quackers** (one of the sect of Protestants). This may be very difficult to prove whether Jainism or quacker facilitated rise of capitalism or vice-versa. One thing can be easily estimated that **both are co-related & both help each other**. Marxists said Protestantism was a response to early capitalism. Further proved by fact, most protestant were either wealthy merchants or skilled workers. Even agriculturalists were Protestants. Catholicism dominated areas were poor. However, **Weber regarded this kind of explanation a mono-causal one i.e. led by economic determinism**. Looking at economic forces as solely responsible for **changes in super-structure**

China

Most industrial inventions are of Chinese origin, but there was no rise of modern capitalism i.e. an institutionalized pursuit of wealth where the whole economy is geared towards generation of profit. Organization of production is on piece rate system. Worker also wants to increase wages and entrepreneurs also want to increase profits. Emphasis was on working less. System of ethics developed to regulate pursuit of wealth. Ethics ensure that economic gains can be acquired on a sustainable basis. Only modern capitalism is characterized by a spirit of gaining project.

Western Europe

Developed modern capitalism. Look for other causes that contributed to the rise of capitalism in addition to economic causes. Ethos of western societies must be looked

into. On the bases of historical records found in Germany, wealthy were Protestants & poor were Catholics. So ethos was those of Protestants. There is an empirical evidence of the 2 being correlated.

Application in of ideal type of & Verstehen to show change, how they are corrected

While talking of protestism, Weber scanned through doctrines of protestant sects- Calvinism, Methodism, Baptist, peitists. Among them were ideas which could be logically connected to the rise of capitalism. Ideal types help in establishing causal correlation between social constellations. Protestantism is social constellation. Weber selected those sects of Protestants, in which case, causal link can be most easily demonstrated i.e. ideal types.

He found that among these sects, the best demonstration is that of Calvinist. Engels demonstrated that **Calvinist was true bourgeoisie religion** suited to urban bourgeoisie rather than rural. Convenience of demonstration is the basis of selecting Calvinists. While selecting Calvinists he selects doctrine of pre-destination as it can be easily linked with capitalism.

He tries to establish causal chain through Verstehen. As per the doctrine of predestination, solution for man is predestined. As per Christianity, the ultimate goal is the salvation of man. According to Catholicism, priestly class helps people to achieve salvation, help pray, & also helps in sin absolvment. It is against this pope & priestly orders that Protestantism emerged. It says that no intermediaries are required between man & god. Each man should approach god directly.

God is transcendent. God's wish can neither be known nor changed. Those who are select by of God, attain salvation. This issue is already decided before birth. Priests can only act as middle man between man & god. Since god's wish cannot be changed, so priest can do nothing. Dispensed with the role of priest, priest provided emotional support to believers.

DOCTRINE OF PREDESTINATION

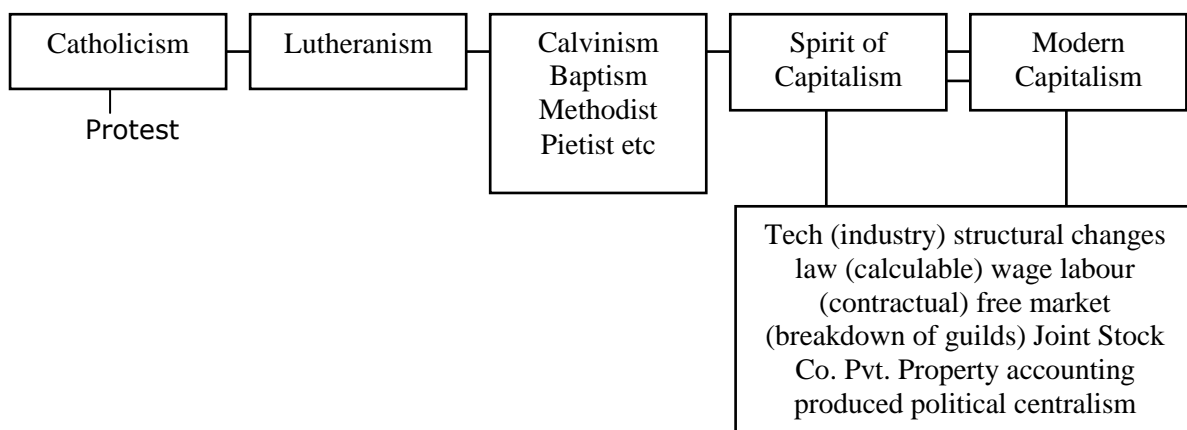
1. Taking salvation is obligatory. Start with the premise that you are bound to win.
2. Life has been given to man by god with a purpose. Man is the instrument of his will. Purpose is to demonstrate his glory. Work that we do must be seen as a **calling** that has to be pursued with utmost seriousness & sincerity. If we succeed in this world, it's a proof of being selected by God. (There is no reason to believe that god should pursue his glory on damned.) Since this life is given to man by God with a purpose, it should not be wasted on the pleasures of flesh.

Protestants devoted all their efforts to succeed in these worldly pursuits. Further, evidence in writings of protestant writers like Benjamin Franklin, Richard Baxter etc. gain spirit & and ethical regulation of conduct in the pursuit of wealth is fully demonstrated e.g. in one of the writings that is necessary hints to those that would be rich. **Benjamin Franklin** wrote to young entrepreneurs, Time is money, don't squander it in pleasure seeking. Save the money & invest it. Don't spend it. Build trust among friends. Have market reputation. Pay loans in time. Your hard work assures the creditor.

Weber arrived at the view, that Protestantism helped in fostering a particular kind of mindset i.e. hard work, efficiency, risk taking, organizing enterprise, frugal living, careful management of money.

These traits of mindset are called the 'Spirit of capitalism'. According to Weber, capitalism is a rational organization of economic conduct. Protestants contributed in rational organization of mind set. Modern capitalism developed in areas dominated by protestant ethos. Thus, he established a causal chain in terms of subjective motives of Protestants.

Views of writers are an idealized version. Nobody lives the ideals fully. Even Franklin lived luxuriously. But, such ideals do channelize your efforts. In his later work, **General Economic History**, he identified the various factors which contributed to the rise of capitalism. According to Weber, it was not only the protestant ethics leading to rise of capitalism and thus replacing one mono-causal explanation by other. He adhered to his principle of causal pluralism. In **general economic history**, he identified various factors which can be shown in the flow-chart form as demonstrated by **Jonathan Turner**.



Religion is not necessary, even secular ideology can play this role. Weber also attempted a comparative study of many religions: China, India, Catholicism, Islam etc. He compared them in terms of their attributes.

Religion can be either:-

Inner Worldly	Other Worldly
World affirmation ethos e.g. Protestantism if you succeeded here, you will get salvation. Pursuit of wealth is god given duty & no longer, greed.	World rejection ethos e.g. Islam ultimate goal is to prepare yourself for Qyamat. Hinduism: World is Maya. Goal is nirvana
Religion can be characterized by	
Asceticism	Mysticism
Man is seen as an instrument of god's will. Man's life has to be strictly regulated & disciplined	Man is like a vassal of god i.e. smaller god. Conduct is so organized as to acquire characteristics like divinity & so try to be divine like.

They can be combined as:

Inner worldly asceticism

inner worldly mysticism

Other worldly asceticism

other worldly mysticism

Inner worldly asceticism: Ideology with **Inner worldly asceticism** is conducive to rise of capitalism. As it results in rationalization of mindset & capitalism is rational transformation of society.

Other worldly asceticism: Hindu sadhus have asceticism for other worldly goals.

Nationalism (Inner worldly asceticism)- In 3rd world countries, nationalism is responsible for the rise of capitalism. People paid taxes. These were used for building infrastructure & industrialization; an attempt to discipline life & divert your efforts to the inner worldly goals.

Industries are temples of modern India. Confucianism, Hinduism & Islam lacked **Inner worldly asceticism**.

CRITICISM

Weber's thesis has also been criticized:

1. **Tawny:** According to this British Historian, Capitalism 1st developed in England, but English Protestants were puritans & not Calvinists. However, this can be defended as the criticism is based on the reading of **protestant ethics & spirit of capitalism** not on methodological essays. Ideal type need not be present always.

Puritans do not believe in the doctrine of predestination. But Weber was only constructing ideal type. **Inner worldly asceticism** is true of all Protestants. Only the convenience of showing a causal link, was the basis of his using the doctrine of predestination. All Protestants emphasized on these worldly goals. Puritans are known for frugal life, they Re-invested profits.

2. Capitalism cannot be sustained by asceticism. If no consumer will be there, how will capitalism sustain. Asceticism can take care of supply side, but not demand. Capitalism is rather based on hedonistic tendencies.

It can be defended, as hedonism is characteristic of advanced capitalism. Early entrepreneur capitalists needed asceticism for capital formation. Weber was aware that these are unanticipated consequences of protestant ethos.

3. **Werner Sombert:** Accepted both Marx & Weber's views. Entrepreneurial spirit was crucial for rise of capitalism. He traced the development of capitalism in 3 stages: early capitalism ending before Industrial revolution; high capitalism belonging to 1760; late capitalism beginning with WW-I. He explains-

- I. Entrepreneurs were drawn from all sections of society.
- II. **Role played by Jews:** Jews were marginal men. marginal men (socially & culturally marginalized) do well financially. As marginal men seek security in lieu of financial success, Jews supply capital to entrepreneurs. Jews were the 1st to develop banking system.
- III. Precious metal: Europe lacked precious metal i.e. gold & silver. Europeans did not have much to return to India & China. They paid in gold & silver because of

colonialisation of Latin America. Spaniards were first to bring bullion. Inflow of precious metals played an important role.

IV. He agreed that protestant ethics emphasized hard work while deferring gratification.

4. **Marxists like Andre Gundar, Frank Walerstein, Lenin** pointed out the role of colonial rule, that colonial rule facilitated the use of capitalism. Once colonialism was gone, Britain decreased to the status of most developed of developing countries. Colonies were cheap source of raw material which was invested into business.

CLASSIFICATION OF DOMINATIONS/ AUTHORITY SYSTEMS AS GIVEN Y WEBER

Weber initiated **systematic study of power & authority**. According to Weber, Power refers to the chances of an individual or a group to realize its will through Communal action even in face of resistance by other. **Chances mean probability**. Power is a resource by which an individual or a group through coordinated effort is able to realize its goals even in the face of resistance by others, this is the conflict view of power because basic assumption is that society is characterized by conflicting interests. One group realizes power by thwarting other groups' goals or interests. Total distribution of power in society is constant. If one gains, other loses. It is also called **Zero sum concept** because **Positive and negative neutralize each other** & the net result is zero.

Though in the last resort, **power relies on coercion but coercion cannot be the basis for sustained exercise of power** e.g. Kashmir. Total no. of terrorists may not be greater than 2000, security forces are nearly 5 lakhs. Terrorism prevalent since 1988; coercion cannot to make it peaceful.

Power can be sustained & be effective only when those over whom is in exercised, accept the exercise of power as just and rightful i.e. legitimate. Legitimate power is authority. The manner in which legitimacy is gained is the basis of classification of domination by Weber. The manner in which legitimacy is gained is related to the type of social action that predominates social life.

Societies where traditional action is the most common & the dominant type of social action are characterized by **traditional authority**. Where social life corresponds more & more to goal rational action, authority system is **legal rational authority**. Corresponding to affective action, authority is charismatic authority.

He was not able to suggest the type of authority correspondent to wert rational action. So **classification of authority system is only 3 fold:**

Traditional authority

Commands issued by authority are **deemed to be just & valid**. These commands happen to be in accordance with custom

Traditional Authority	
Patriarchalism	Patrimonialism
1. Authority exercised in very small scale societies e.g. Household, Hoarders & bands of tribes e.g. Bushmen of Kalahari	- More advanced characteristic of large scale agrarian society e.g. medieval kingships i.e. Sultanism (Sultan of Turkey)
2. Like in feudal households in Europe,	- Inheritance is the basic principle of recruitment. Administrative staff consist of

<p>authority acquired by inheritance or eldest male member in the group exercises authority.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Authority is exercised as joint right on behalf of group as a whole. 4. Compliance does not depend on formal apparatus for enforcement of law e.g. police, courts 5. No clearly defined administrative staff. 6. Authority of incumbent depends on consent of group. 7. Authority is exercised in accordance with customary norms rather than formal enactments i.e. eternal yesterday govern today. 8. Obedience is directly to the master or the individual concerned, rather than to any set of formal rules. Loyalty is personal. (India – unevenly modern macro-structure in traditional society e.g. Bureaucrats with personal loyalty. Functioning of bureaucracy is like traditional authority) 	<p>hierarchy of the officers e.g. India earlier congress dynasty. Now in almost every party inheritance is according to customary rules e.g. British monarchy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Loyalty is personal - Recruitment consists of favorites. Personal trust & loyalty is the basis, not efficiency. - No rational system of rewards given to favorites. It does not constitute career for them - Commands are obeyed because they are seen as inherent in the office. - Deemed valid as long as they do not contravene the customs. Thus, arbitrariness in exercise of demand as long as it falls within scope of customary rules. - No clear cut demarcation of boundaries or demands of authority limits to authority are defined in a vague & imprecise manner. Task specialization tends to be minimal. - The system resists bureaucratization - No clear separation between sphere of official competence & personal competence.
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Legal Rational Authority (LRA)

With the **process of rationalization in social life**, there is increased predominance of goal rational action & therefore, Nature of authority system changes towards legal rational authority.

He defines bureaucracy, which he regards as, an ideal type model of LRA as large scale organizations are rationally designed to coordinate the activities of many individuals in pursuit of organizational goal. Legitimacy depends upon rational laws. It is not mindless pursuit of customs. Any conduct is chosen because it is the efficient way of doing things.

Attributes of Bureaucracy

Tasks to be performed in the **pursuit of organizational goals** are organized as offices & thus, activities to be discharged are treated as official duties. Each official has already defined area of responsibilities. Tasks are broken into manageable activities. These offices are arranged in hierarchy.

Hierarchy acts as a chain of command in which information flows from bottom to top while decisions from top to bottom. Decisions are made on the basis of abstract (general) rational values. Rules are general to any situation. **Rules are efficient & lay down fixed procedures for performance of task.** Clearly define

limits held by officials. Every decision is a case of application of general rules to a situation. Those who issue commands are also subject to same rules.

Loyalty is to the rules. Bureaucracy is supposed to act in a way of formalistic impersonality i.e. adhere to the form of rule & keep personal likes & dislikes at abeyance. His actions are therefore rational & not affective. Recruitment of incumbents is according to their competence, technical skills & efficiency. There is a **rational system of rewards**. Work in **bureaucracy is a full time career**. There is a clear separation between official & private life. LRA is a result of rationalization process. It is an institutionalized form of rational action.

Limitation

Bureaucrats serve **vested interests** as acts in a rule bound manner value order & resist change- **Dehumanizing consequences of Bureaucracy**. Only do what he is expected to do. **Tends to produce specialists without spirit**. Strict control of official is a limitation of freedom.

The process of rationalization of which bureaucracy is a part, is primarily irrational. But unavoidable, as it is most efficient type of organisation. **As society is moving towards rationalization, so authority system has to be LRA**. It is the most efficient because recruitment is on basis of efficiency. (Act in accordance with rational rules.) **Formalistic impersonality keeps idiosyncrasies in check**. We can subordinate bureaucracy to political head. It will ensure role of bureaucracy in public interest as political head is an elected member e.g. ancient Egypt, China, later stages of Roman Empire.

CHARISMATIC AUTHORITY

From Greek word charisma i.e. gift of grace, an **exceptional superhuman capability**.

Basis of authority: Belief in charisma of leaders. **Leader is seen as a supernatural individual with exceptional qualities**. Charismatic authority is a product of crisis i.e. it develops in times of crisis when existing authority system cannot help in achieving requisite goals. It **leads to breakdown of authority system** e.g. Hindu belief of avatar. Belief in charisma of leader gives rise to obedience. **Relation is characterized by affective action**. There is an un-questioned devotion to the leader, thus extraordinary powers of the leader & the felt duty by followers form the basis of legitimacy.

Offices in a charismatic authority system are assigned on the basis of shared charisma. Other functionaries also have similar charismatic authority. No formal appointments & careers. No formal rules & no well defined hierarchy. Only tasks that are unquestioned followed. Spontaneous obedience of commands of leaders e.g. Osama Bin Laden, Christ, Prophet Mohammad, Lenin, Mao, Gandhi.

This **flexibility is because of lack of rigid hierarchy** & formal rules makes it highly adaptive & provides revolutionary are potential. Most revolutions led by charismatic leaders. It **carries the potential to bring drastic changes as it is not bound by any rule**. So it can act in a very flexible & adaptive fashion. This is another factor responsible for change.

There are no Charismatic leaders in the west anymore, because of no crisis, & goals can be achieved through social institutional machinery. In **3rd world society**, institutions are floundering. Pre-industrial to Industrial society transition cannot be held by institutional norms. **So charismatic leaders still have an appeal in the 3rd world societies.**

However, charismatic authority has a **built in instability**. It is inherently unstable if charisma fails e.g. Bhindranwala, Hitler etc. If charismatic leader succeeds, charismatic authority comes to an end because now authority has to stabilize & think of day to day needs e.g. Churchill lost elections after WW-II. Castro continues to be charismatic because of stagnant Cuban economy & continuous attacks by US on his life. Authority system has to adapt to day to day routine i.e. routinization of charisma. This authority Changes to LRA or TA if the leader dies or becomes too old, authority can be acquired only by a person equally perceived as charismatic, this problem of change is resolved by --

1. Looking for someone with similar traits.
2. Designation by the existing leader
3. Selection of new leader is made in a mystical manner i.e. revelation e.g. Dalai Lama.

Charismatic authority can develop in any society. However, Bureaucracy is indispensable for modern industrial society.

Debate: 2 Major Issues

1. Problem of control: Can bureaucracy be controlled & made responsive to the people? Is it possible to bring bureaucracy subordinate to political head. Empirical studies have shown that the effectiveness of controlling bureaucracy is very limited.

Seymour Lipset studied a province in Canada which was ruled by Right wing party. But when left wing came to power, Lipset tried to find out that to what extent leftists were able to control bureaucracy. But Bureaucracy was unsympathetic of political ideas. They defied political orders, so he concluded that bureaucracy is difficult to control

Selzinck: His study of Tennessee valley authority; small farmers to be administered by agricultural departments. During training, policies in favour of vested interest are formed.

India: Failure of land reform: How can bureaucracy be made responsible. Lack of political will & connivance of bureaucracy with landed classes led to the failure of reforms. Barely 1% was declared surplus that was not re-distributed. **Hare Krishna Konar** – Leader of land reforms. Bargadars were mobilized to reveal information about benami holdings & CPM supported it. Bureaucracy was pressured both from below & above. If there is lack of thrust below & lack of political will, then bureaucracy is ineffective.

2. Bureaucratic structure that he has suggested is rule bound, rigid debate between formal & informal structure or judicious use of both, which is the best? Studies show that formal structure not always necessarily efficient.

R.K. Merton: Routine regulatory tasks are efficient. **Emergent Situation:** Rule bound system is not efficient. Rule is a norm based on past pattern. **Formalistic impersonality:** Bureaucracy is indifferent to public grievances.

Peter Blau, Alvin Gouldner, Burn & Stalker Studied Japanese management - Combined elements of formal & informal structure. Familial ties created within organisation. So successful, firm acted like one extended family. Japan already has a tradition of strong family loyalty, so this was adapted to modern needs.

Toffler: Rigid hierarchical bureaucracy is on way out & it will give way to adhocracy

Marxists: Tried to give alternative system—like, socialism.

Lenin: Believed there would be a steady decline of bureaucracy after establishing dictatorship of proletariat. All would be bureaucrats for a time as administrative tasks would be simplified. No special occupational roles. But after revolution of 1917, no dismantling of state bureaucracy. Infact, bureaucracy has been seen as organizational principle of Soviet Union.

M Djalas- Political bureaucrats in USSR directed economy for their own benefit.

David lane: Central administration has been a major instrument in ensuring industrialisation. This has benefited the whole society. But, undoubtedly socialism has not resulted in dismantling of bureaucratic structure.

Mao: Cultural Revolution

Yeochi king: Mao placed control in the hands of masses by

1. **Role shifting:** leaders at the base of organisation to empathize with masses & minimize status difference.
2. **Group based decision making system:** Workers directly participating. But it was a short-lived experiment which waned with Mau's departure.

Robert Michels: Political Parties: Study of European socialist parties & Trade Unions, particularly German Socialist Party.

Assumption: Democracy is inconceivable without organization, because it helps in voicing the wishes and interests of relatively powerless.

However organization sounds the death knell of democracy. Direct participation by members in running an organization is impossible. Once representative democracy is established, it leads to creation of bureaucracy which by its very nature is undemocratic.

Special Division of Labour results in decision being taken by relatively few. This produces oligarchy. The Iron law of oligarchy. States that the primary concern of the leader is to maintain to own position. **Displacement of goals results.**

Masses have psychological need to be led & leaders become cultural figures. So leaders see their own interests & the maintenance of organisation is indistinguishable in the name of socialism, dictatorship in the hands of powerful leaders will result.

Union Democracy – Lipset, Trow & Coleman

I.N. Typographical Union: Provides exception to the iron law of oligarchy. It contains 2 parties which helps in keeping a constant check on the party in power & to generate alternative policies to the existing. Frequent elections mean that rank & file can actually determine union policy. Many decisions are put to referendum.

This ensures a high degree of partnership. The factors responsible for this organizational structure are:

1. Strong identification with craft.
2. (Organizing social clubs which helped in developing political skills is relatively apathetic).
3. The income of leaders & workers is almost same, so that leaders don't hesitate in returning to the shop floor.

However, they agree that **large scale organization requires bureaucratic structure**. The masses are not interested in participation in union affairs. The higher salaries of leaders lead them to institutionalize dictatorial mechanism. Even in representative democracies, the salaries of officials are much higher than the rank & file. Officialdom of the union defines the choices available to the organization and its members.

Philip Selznick: In his study of Tennessee Valley Authority: Selznick argues that primary need of the organization is survival for which it has to cooperate with the local power structure & in the process, the ideals for which the organisation was set up, are lost.

As long as there are major power differences within the clientele of organization, popular representation & participation in decisions of organization will not be possible.

He proved this point by his study of **Tennessee Valley Authority**, which aimed at local participation for ensuring proper representation of the masses. However, the gains drained into the pockets of wealthier farmers vis, cheap supply of fertilizers, retaining land around dam.

Lipset questions Weber's assumptions that parliamentary control can be an effective means of making the bureaucracy responsive to the ends of the people. On the basis of his study of Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) government, in the province of Saskatchewan in Canada, Lipset found that the entrenched bureaucracy was successfully able to scuttle the reformist politics of this new socialist government.

AN ASSESSMENT OF WEBER

Weber's contribution to modern sociology is **multidimensional** so much so that, he can be considered as one of the **founding fathers of modern sociology**. He contributed a new perspective on the nature of subject matter of sociology and laid down the foundations of interpretative sociology. He carried out a **penetrating analysis of crucial features of western society** like Social stratification, bureaucracy, rationality and growth of capitalism. He devoted his efforts to building up typologies, yet

most of his efforts were directed primarily towards building typologies and generalizations of empirical nature.

By viewing the subject matter of sociology in terms of social action, he highlighted the significance of subjective meanings and motives in understanding social behaviour. This view of Weber presented an alternative and a corrective to the positivist approach in sociology.

Another great contribution of Weber lies in enriching the methodology of social science.

Ideal type: Given the complex and variegated nature of social reality, Weber believed that it cannot be comprehensively understood by the human mind in a single attempt. Therefore an attempt to study social reality must take one aspect of social reality into account at a time.

Weber thought that **methods of positive science alone are inadequate for a comprehensive study of social behaviour** and needed to be supplemented by new methods which are characteristic of social science. However, Weber has been criticized on this account by Alfred Schultz. According to him, **Verstehein** is not a method but a particular form in which human thinking takes cognizance of the social and cultural world, while having nothing to do with the interpretation.

Weber's study of power, authority, bureaucracy etc. have **stimulated research in political sociology and studies of political parties**, political elite and pressure groups, voting behaviour, bureaucracy and political changes in developed and developing societies both.

Weber was one of the earliest sociologists, to try to study economic behaviour in its social context. This approach initiated by Weber influenced many scholars. **Sombert, Schumpeter and John Strachey** have attempted to deal with economic phenomena in the context of the social structure as a whole, rather than treating it in isolation, as had been the practice before.

A direct influence of Weber can be seen in **Schumpeter's work**. At one place Weber wrote that, puritans wanted work as a calling. This point has been elaborated by Schumpeter also. He argues in his book that the decay of capitalism (idealism will be largely caused by the rejection of bourgeoisie values and not economic breakdown. Further, on the lines suggested by Weber's work **Parsons and Smelser have attempted to show in their book Economy and Society** that economic theory is only a part of the general sociological theory. **Arthur Lewis** who in his book '**The theory of Economic Growth**' has highlighted the significance of sociological factors like the desire for goods, Attitude to work, influence of property system, social mobility, the religious and family structures, population growth, the role of government etc. in determining economic growth.

Weber conceded at the **outset that, perfect causality is not possible in social sciences**. According to **Bottomore**, such statements would run like this, whenever there are conditions, of the kind C there will be a trend of the kind T. This approach is exemplified in Weber's studies on the origin of capitalism, development of modern bureaucracy and the economic influence of world religions. The same approach has been followed by C.W Mills in his work 'White Collar workers'.

Weber's theory of social stratification and his views on the nature of socialism show a greater correspondence with empirical reality as compared to those of Marx.

Frankfurt School of thought namely Adoma, Marcuse, Habermans etc.

Although Weber appreciated the technical advantages of bureaucratic organisation, he was also aware of its disadvantages. He saw the **strict control on human freedom and the uniform and rational procedures of bureaucratic practice as preventing spontaneity, creativity and individual initiative**. Weber saw the danger of bureaucrats becoming preoccupied with uniformity and order, losing sight of all else, becoming dependent on the security provided by the highly structured niche in the bureaucratic machine. He believed that, as if they were deliberately to become men who need order and nothing but order, they would become nervous and cowardly and if for one moment this order wavered they would feel helpless as if they were torn away from their total incorporation in it.

Weber was fearful to the ends to which bureaucratic organisations could be directed. They represented the most complete and effective institutionalization of power so far created. In Weber's eyes, bureaucracy has been and is a **powerful instrument of the first order, for the one who controls the state bureaucratic administration**. He saw two main dangers if this control was left in the hands of bureaucrats themselves. **Firstly**, particularly in times of crisis, bureaucratic leadership would be ineffective. Bureaucrats are trained to follow order and conduct routine operations rather than to make policy decisions and take initiatives in response to a crisis. **Secondly**, in capitalist practices, to fit the demands of capital. Weber believed that these dangers could only be avoided by the strong practices to fit the demands of capital. Weber believed that these dangers could only be avoided by the strong parliamentary control of the state bureaucracy.

Bureaucratic Structure & personality: The bureaucrat is trained to comply strictly with the rules but, when situations arise which are not covered by the rules this training may lead to inflexibility and timidity. The bureaucrat has not been taught to improvise and innovate and in addition, he may well be afraid to do so. His career incentive shushes as promotions are designed to reward conformity.

Displacement of goals: There is a tendency, for conformity to the official regulation to become an end in itself, rather than, the means to an end. **Thirdly** the emphasis on impersonality in bureaucratic procedures may lead to friction between officials and the public.

PETER BLAU AND ALVIN GOULDNER – FORMAL AND INFORMAL STRUCTURE & degree of bureaucratization: There is over emphasis on elements of formal structure in the ideal type.

Similarly **Alvin Gouldner**, on the basis of his studies of a gypsum plant in USA shows that formal structures may not always be effective in attaining organizational goals. In fact, the type of organizational structure depends upon the nature of goals to be attained and the nature of environment in which goals are to be pursued.

Twenty Scottish and English firms, mainly in the electronics industry which are formal and rigid and are termed mechanistic system by them, are suitable for dealing with predictable familiar and routine situations. Since change is a hallmark of a modern society, **mechanistic type of bureaucratic organisation may well be untypical of the future**.

In the **organic type of organisations** the areas of responsibility are not clearly defined. The rigid hierarchies and specialized division of labour of mechanistic system tends to disappear.

Tasks are shaped by the nature of the problem rather than instructions and decisions. Although a hierarchy exists, it tends to become blurred as

communication travels in all directions and top management no longer has the sole prerogative over important decisions nor is it seen to monopolize knowledge necessary to make them.

Idea of equality & social justice what is good for sociology justice is not good for growth?

Democratic state needs legitimacy in terms of votes. **Adopt a policy which is pro-poor & pro-growth.** So, legitimation crisis is built in. More legality is not legitimacy.

CRITICISM OF WEBER

Verstehein: There is great deal of scope for subjectivity & verification is not possible in terms of objective criteria that they indeed were meanings & motives.

Ideal types; questioned by **Parsons & Hampell.** Weber's ideal types are not derived from a general theory. Ideal Types should be reduced from general theory framework of society as a whole. They are type atomism i.e. intuitive, isolated & lack coherence. There is a lot of subjectivity in building ideal types.

Estate System: Feudal society was divided into nobility, clergy, commoners, serfs. Each estate governed by difference of laws.

Lloyd Warner's classification: Education is one of the criteria of class differentiation.

Goldthorpe & Lockwood: they questioned the importance of technology in shaping workers attitude & behaviour as given by **Blauner.** Reject Blauner's positivist approach in favour of social action perspective, closer to phenomenological approach. **They Study Lutton:** Affluent worker-- sample 250 men in 3 firms which employed a range of production techniques.

Intrinsic job satisfaction: Similar to Blauner's result.

Instrumental Orientation: Similar in all workers. Work is a means to an end. Money is the primary consideration.

Instrumental Collectivism: Join trade unions as they regard trade unions as means to personal ends rather than seeing group solidarity as an end in it. This is because they are more family centered, satisfy their affective needs in family; so don't look for these needs at work. Thus, their alienation is not because of work.

Wedderburn & Crompton: The general orientation of the worker i.e. instrumental orientation is not influenced by technology. Work related attitudes & behaviour are influenced by production techniques.

Samuel Bowles & Herbert Gintis: The alienated characteristic of work cannot be ascribed to modern techniques, but is a product of class & power relationship of economic life.

Fragmentation of tasks: Justified on grounds of efficiency. It is actually a means of control based on the **Principle of divide & conquers Because,** If all workers could perform all tasks, they may band together & go into production for themselves. It would divide the legitimacy of employers' authority to control.

Hierarchical Principle of authority & control: Large No. of studies disapprove this -- More the control of worker, more they produce. Infact hierarchical principle is the primary instrument of control. The organisation of work is a means for maintaining the power of ruling class.

ALIENATION

It Means to be estranged, detached or a feeling of helpless. First used by Hegel. External world is shaped by spirit. As it is alienated from its source, it stands as objective reality. Adopted by young Hegelians like **Fuerbach** - Idea of god is self-alienation of man. It is divinized essence of man.

Marx was influenced by Fuerbach's ideas. Further developed into socio-psychological conditions rather than meta-physical ideas. It appears in the ideas of young Marx in his book Das Capital; he uses the word exploitation, not alienation. Uses alienation in Paris manuscript. In this, he developed this concept systematically.

Alienation: It is a state of mind caused by Social circumstances i.e. socio-psychological condition. According to Marx, man is alienated from nature and has no control over it. Thus, he develops Forces of Production to control nature. In this process, alienation reaches to the social sphere. As some kind of market exchange develops, alienation begins. Work or labour is distinctive characteristic of human species. Work is self affirming activity by which man affirms himself & humanity.

Objectification of labour

Labour is converted to an object. This Object is the embodiment of labour. When fruits of production are exchanged as commodity in return of money, it leads to alienation of labour. Through this, man expresses humanity as products are used by others. As private property develops, social alienation grows & reaches a height in capitalism, where labour is also treated as commodity. Worker sells his labour for wages.

- 1) Relationship becomes purely contractual.
- 2) All social relations are devoid of humanity, compassion & feeling. Man is alienated from society.

Man is also alienated from his work because what & how it to be produced is is decided by capitalist. Capitalist is also alienated because, mere profit drives him. Profit rather than mutual concerns determine what is to be produced. So capitalist is also alienated. Worker is the producer, but has no say on it. So he is Alienated from production. So labour power is siphoned off from him. Within capital system, more a worker works, more he loses out as his only power 'labour' is sold to the capitalist & in return only his animal needs are satisfied. Work instead of being an end in itself becomes a means to survival which becomes a life worse than an animal, as no animal is enslaved to another animal to survive. Man just gets mere subsistence. Man gets alienated from his true self. In his leisure time, only man seeks meaning. Work is stupefying & exhausting. As man gets alienated from his own essence, he surrenders before god.

Religion is soul of heartless world, It is sigh of an anguished creature, It is opium of masses. Religion benumbs his senses to misery rather than treating him. Religion directs his attention away from looking into real reasons of misery. Man does not think of corrective action. Religion is a false consciousness. It comes in the way of

the rise of collective conscience. Both the worker & capitalist are alienated from their true essence.

Here lies the flaw. Man agrees with domination over nature, he should live in harmony. The Institution of property is a problem. Industrial society does dehumanize man. Concern for creativity in work becomes hollow because of goal is determined by profits, monetary rewards, etc.

Weber: Industrial society alienates man. Actually it is an inevitable process of rationalization. Rationalization means progressive advancement in terms of **formalistic rationality**. Continuous advance in terms of 4 parameters:-

1. Increased efficiency
2. Increasing calculability i.e. monetization is more calculable alternative
3. Increasing predictability
4. Increasing control

Private property is result of formalistic rationality. With Industrial society, every aspect of life has become calculable. Money is a calculable index of success. Increasing predictability by discovering underlying pattern. if predictability increases then control becomes easy.

Substantive rationality: Different goals & values you are seeking should become more & more compatible with each other. If you achieve one, it enhances your chances in achieving other. Advance in formalistic rationality has been achieved at the cost of Substantive **rationality**.

Sylvester Stallone– Rich but wants stable married life. But failed on 2nd front. 2 goals cannot mutually comply because of formalistic rationality.

Compulsive conformity to rational rules robs work of all its meaning. Creates metaphysical pathos & absurdity of life. Compulsive conformity to rational rules enhances formalistic rationality, but it is achieved at the cost of **Substantive rationality**. Compatibility of diverse goals is lost. Loss of **Substantive rationality** results in alienation. Private Property is the consequence of formalistic rationality.

Andregorz: Alienation at work leads the worker to seek self fulfillment in leisure. Just the way capitalist guides his work activities, so does he guide his leisure activities. It creates passive consumer who seeks satisfaction in consumption of these goods. Leisure provides a means of escape to the problem than an active solution to it.

More recently **Herbert Marcuse**, who was form Frankfurt school in his book **One dimensional man** has talked of alienation in contemporary society. Conditions of work improved, 40 hrs/week work only; so leisure time increase so also income. Alienation has remained same. Work has become stupefying & meaningless. There is Deskilling & standardization of work, and hence is creativity destroyed. Work has ceased to have intrinsic meaning for worker. Even leisure time activities were equally stupefying to satisfy false needs created by mass media. At best it causes short term euphoria on foundations of unhappiness. Neither work nor leisure has any meaning, there is misery in midst of plenty. He suggested the term **Happy Consciousness** which describes false belief that the system delivers the goods; it is more than appropriate than the Marxist phrase **false class consciousness**.

C.W. Mills

Alienation has acquired a new form in advanced industrial society. With economic development, there is an expansion in the tertiary sector. The demand for skills with things have given way to skills with persons i.e. manipulating humans, how well you can influence others, is the value now. They are selling other personality i.e. prostitution of personality. Their true self is destroyed; worker ceases to be aware of his true self.

Seaman: Alienation has 5 dimensions –

1. Anomie: Normlessness in case of social alienation. There are different manifestations of alienation.
2. Self estrangement: Not at peace with oneself (I am not my kind of guy)
3. Meaninglessness
4. Loneliness
5. Helplessness

American sociologists have tried to empirically study this phenomenon.

Robert Blauner: "Alienation & Freedom", Related alienation to the kind of technology, he Selected different kind of industries & related them to alienation

- Control on work process - powerlessness
- Meaning & sense of purpose in work - meaninglessness
- Degree of social integration in work - isolation
- Degree of involvement in work - self estrangement

Printing & Craft industry – There is Special division of labour. Finished product is meaningful. High involvement in community & trade union, no Isolation due to all these and there is no self estrangement.

Textile industry- machine work, which is supervised. There is No control over pace of work. Work is at pace of machine lending to –Powerlessness. Division of labour, little skill involved & little contribution to the finished product, so there is Meaninglessness. Workers have close unit communities, so no isolation. Traditional outlook & lower aspirations & lower level of education so low self estrangement.

Automobile/assembly line industry – Job predetermined by engineers, line controls the speed of work, Strict supervision so powerlessness; standardized product, highly fragmented work so meaningless. Worker don't feel as part of company & do not enjoy with workmates and so feel isolated; self estrangement due to -above factors.

Processing industries – More control discretion & initiative in work so no powerlessness. There is responsibility to the worker and so no meaninglessness. Integrated work process & co-operation so there is integration. More the standardization of technology more is the alienation. Taken 4 indices of seaman (M,L,H,S)

Alienation in developing societies -

Haebarmas: Legitimation Crisis -Modern industrial society faced legitimating crisis because mere legality does not ensure legitimacy. Weber's view is simplistic that if you exercise authority according to rules then there will be legitimacy. But in Modern industrial society there is a built in contradiction –

1. Goals of ever increasing growth
2. The Need help of the state in promoting growth

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN INDIA

India is a multi-cultural and multi-religious society. Hinduism is the largest religion in India. Its 828 million adherents (2001) compose 80.4% of the population. The term Hindu, originally a geographical description, derives from the Sanskrit, Sindhu, (the historical appellation for the Indus River), and refers to a person from the land of the river Sindhu.

Islam is a monotheistic religion centered around the belief in one God and following the example of Muhammad. It is the largest minority religion in India. According to the 2001 census, India is home to 138 million Muslims; they compose 13.4% of the population. Muslims represent the majority in Jammu and Kashmir and Lakshadweep, and high concentrations in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, and Kerala. The largest denomination is Sunni Islam, which is practised by nearly 80% of Indian Muslims.

There have been large scale changes in composition due to conversion from one faith to other. Further, **spatial pattern of distribution has undergone large scale change** especially after partition in 1947. The 1941 census reveals Hindu population approximately to 67% while that of Muslims to 24%. The creation of Pakistan and Bangladesh led to movement of Muslims to these territories while Hindus to India. Thus, 1951 census had 84% Hindu population and less than 10% Muslims. However, the percentage of Muslims has increased over time to more than 13% while Hindus declined marginally to over 81%.

The decline among Hindus owe to their comparatively lower growth rates and partly their conversion into other religions. Their growth rate declined from more than 23% to about 20%, while growth rate of Muslims declined marginally from 31% to 29% in last 50 years. Their higher growth is attributed to their rejection of family planning on religious basis. Such a high rate of growth can disturb the demographic profile of the country in long run. Their highest percentages are concentrated in Lakshadweep and J&K, while UP has their highest number.

Christianity is a monotheistic religion centered on the life and teachings of Jesus as presented in the New Testament; it is the third largest religion of India, making up 2.3% of the population. Christians comprise a majority in Nagaland and have significant populations in North-East India, Goa and Kerala.

Buddhism is a dharmic, nontheistic religion and philosophy. Buddhists form majority populations in the Indian states of Arunachal Pradesh, and the Ladakh region of Jammu and Kashmir and a large minority (40%) in Sikkim. Around 8 million Buddhists live in India, about 0.8% of the population. Buddhists are found in Maharashtra, Karnataka, UP, West Bengal, Arunachal and Ladakh area. In Maharashtra, it is primarily due to conversion of Harijans on advice of Dr. Ambedkar.

Jainism is a nontheistic dharmic religion and philosophical system originating in Iron Age India. Jains compose 0.4% (around 4.2 million) of India's population, and are concentrated in the states of Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Rajasthan. Jains are concentrated in western parts of the country. Their growth rate is higher than national average. Jainism, although usually believed to be atheistic/non-theistic, Paul Dundas writes, "While Jainism is, as we have seen. atheist in

the limited sense of rejection of a creator god and the possibility of the intervention of such a being in human affairs, it nonetheless must be regarded as a theist religion in the more profound sense that it accepts the existence of a divine principle, the parmatman, often in fact referred to as 'God' existing in potential state within all beings".

Sikhism began in sixteenth century North India with the teachings of Nanak and nine successive human gurus. As of 2001, there were 19.2 million Sikhs in India. Sikhs are concentrated primarily in Punjab, but distributed throughout the country. Punjab is the spiritual home of Sikhs, and they make more than 60% of the population of the state. There are also significant populations of Sikhs in neighbouring New Delhi and Haryana. The rate of growth of Sikhs has declined over time from 32% in 1961-71 to about 16% presently.

Paul Dundas writes, "However, the earliest censuses of India suggest that many Jains and members of other religious groups saw themselves as in fact constituting varieties of Hinduism and, according to the Census Report for the Punjab of 1921, 'in view of the unwillingness of large number of Jains and Sikhs to be classed separately from Hindus, permission was given to record such persons as Jain-Hindus and Sikh-Hindus".

As of the census of 2001, Parsis (followers of Zoroastrianism in India) represent approximately 0.006% of the total population of India, with relatively high concentrations in and around the city of Mumbai. There are several tribal religions in India, such as Donyi-Polo and Mahima. About 2.2 million people in India follow the Bahá'í Faith, thus forming the largest community of Bahá'ís in the world. Ayyavazhi, prevalent in South India, is officially considered a Hindu sect, and its followers are counted as Hindus in the census.

There is today a very small community of Indian Jews. There were more Jews in India historically, including the Cochin Jews of Kerala, the Bene Israel of Maharashtra, and the Baghdadi Jews near Mumbai. In addition, since independence two primarily proselyte Indian Jewish communities in India: the Bnei Menashe of Mizoram and Manipur, and the Bene Ephraim, also called **Tegulu Jews**. Of the approximately 95,000 Jews of Indian origin, fewer than 20,000 remain in India. Some parts of India are especially popular with Israelis, however, swelling local Jewish populations seasonally. Around 0.07% of the people did not state their religion in the 2001 census.

POPULATION OF DIFFERENT RELIGIONS IN INDIA				
RELIGIOUS GROUP	1991		2001	
	No. (Mn)	%	No. (Mn)	%
Hindus	672.6	82.41	827.5	80.44
Muslims	95.2	11.67	138.2	13.42
Christians	18.9	2.32	24.1	2.33
Sikhs	16.3	1.99	19.2	1.84
Buddhists	6.3	0.77	7.9	0.68
Jains	3.4	0.41	4.2	0.38
Others	3.5	0.43	7.3	0.65
Total	816.2	100.0	1028.4	100.0

Since a very long time, people belonging to various religious communities have been living together in this country. Not only major religious communities are spread all over the country, but the people belonging to all religious communities reside

in each village and town in the country. **At the world level, Christians dominate** the population with approximately 2,069 mn people following the religion followed by Muslims (1,254), Hindus (837), and Buddhists. At the bottom lie the Sikhs, Jews, Jains and Zoroastrians in that order. At the national level, Hindus dominate the scenario followed by Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and Buddhists. Religious minority groups in India have been able to preserve their group identities and have also stayed in the mainstream of national politics.

Five religious communities, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Zoroastrians (Parsis) are notified as minorities under the National Commission for Minorities Act, 1992. These constitute about **18.47%** of the country's population. Hindus are also considered as minority in some states and UTs. They are outnumbered by Muslims in states of J&K and Lakshadweep, by Sikhs in Punjab, by Christians in north east states of Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh.

PROBLEMS OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

The problems of minorities, who are relatively lesser in numerical strength than the majority community, have been gaining too much importance in the politics of many nations in the world. Both the developed and developing countries are also caught in the problems associated with the minorities. In many third world nations, nowadays, racial tensions, communal violence and ethnic clashes make headlines almost daily. For instance, the ethnic conflict between the Buddhists and the Tamils is still going on in Sri Lanka, which has put a major obstacle in the way of economic development of that country.

There exists large no. of disparities among different groups in their socio-economic status. There are number of problems and grievances of minorities in general and Muslims in particular, some delicate and some complex, some real and some perceptible. The Muslims in India constitute the largest religious minority in the country. Though a minority in its numerical strength, it is as big as to make it the second biggest Muslim population in the world, next to Indonesia. The Muslims constituted 13.4 per cent of the Indian population according to the 2001 census, and form an important segment in the social fabric of the country. But economically, Muslims are the most backward community with the lowest employment rate. With such backward economic status, there was hardly any incentive for a modern secular education. The Muslim backwardness in the country can evidently be seen as they lack behind the majority community- both educationally and economically. So while Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Parsis have better social conditions, Muslims represent poor conditions of living.

Religious disparities exist in education too. Muslims have low literacy rate and higher poverty. Christians have highest literacy rates. Literacy rate among Muslims continues to be lower than national average. Study by **NCAER** showed that Literacy Rates among Muslims is very low. **Factors responsible** for low literacy among Muslims are that the loss of power as a result of British conquest led to revivalist tradition among Muslims rather than modernization movement, except Aligarh movement. They generally prefer sending their children to a traditional Islamic educational institution rather than to a modern institution. Such tendencies are gradually vanishing as enlightened Muslim or Muslim institution are engaged in developing awareness among Muslim parents and their children towards the acquisition of education

starting from very basic Islamic traditional schooling to the acquisition of education at college or university level. Presently Muslims in comparison to the other communities in the country are almost proportionally equal in the pursuit of modern education but still Muslims lack behind in terms of the acquisition of professional and technical education. The admission to these courses requires competition, where Muslims generally are not up to the mark in competing with the other community. It is a matter of reality that Muslims have far below representation proportionately in a composition for professional and technical courses.

So, low level of education among the Muslims result in low level of development. This resulted in increase in Hold of Ulemmas after partition and they emphasized on religious learning. Also, majority of Muslims were driven into poverty after independence as there was decline in demand for their skills due to industrialization. So, percentage of BPL population increased among Muslims. The important reason which is purely psychological in nature is the perception of Muslim that they are being discriminated in all spheres of competitive life against their counterparts. This psychological feeling may some times help the minority feeling which sometimes help the minority people to excel beyond the level of their competitive counterparts but mostly minority members get discouraged and they reluctantly come in the fray and consequently they remain at the un important position where they can not assert or exercise their authority and skills they have development and expansion of the nation.

The minorities claim that unlike their Hindu counterpart, they are relatively deprived in areas like employment, politics and social facilitation. According to them, they are poorly represented in civil services as well as in medical and engineering colleges. The serious communal riots especially after 1960s have instilled a sense of insecurity among the Muslims and tend to push them into their narrow communal shell. The anti-Muslim violence in Gujarat during February-May 2002 supposedly in retaliation to the Godhra incident has shaken not only the Indian Muslims, but all the concerned Indian citizens. During the caste conflicts, communal violence, etc., the minority groups seek police protection. But the government in power also finds it difficult to provide such protection for all the members of minorities. For instance, the Modi government in Gujarat was unable to provide protection for the Muslims after the Gujarat massacre, in which huge numbers of Muslims were killed. Again, the then Rajiv Gandhi government at the Centre was severely criticized for its failure to provide adequate security for the Sikh community of Delhi because of the communal riots that broke out after the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984. Now, secularism began to be used merely as a slogan of opportunism.

Another important grievance of the Muslim community is inadequate representation in various services under the control of govt. of India. In spite of the fact that the constitution of India provides equal opportunities to all irrespective of any discrimination on the basis of the religion etc., the number of Muslims recruited to various services have never been above 5% and mostly lower around two or three percent in the govt. service. The relative number of jobs held by Muslims in govt. and in industrial and commercial undertakings has been a bone of contention for a long time. There is a strong feeling among Muslims that this number has been steadily declining. Among several reasons one important factor may be also the lack of quantitative supply of really competent candidates from the Muslim community.

Unlike the Muslims, the **Christians are the second largest** and oldest religious minority in the country. It is chiefly spread in south India, particularly in Kerala. Consistent with the social philosophy of their religion, the Christians, in India are well represented in the social welfare activities of the country with particular concern for the

service of the unprivileged. Their role in the sphere of health and education is well recognised. But recently, There is apprehension among some sections that for enlarging its base, the Christian community is involved in converting the low caste Hindus or tribes to its own community or religion, resulting in the killing and intense conflict between the majority Hindus and the Christian minority. Communal conflicts witnessed large scale attacks on the churches and Christians in Gujarat, Orissa and several other states. The very recent attacks on Christians and churches in the Kandhamal district of Orissa has created too much insecurity and fear among the Christian minority not only in India, but also shook the entire Christian community of world.

Minorities' problem is linked with the building up of nation-states. In a nation-state exists a national society, whose constituents have feelings of oneness with the land and the culture of that nation based on emotional attachment and common beliefs, and they are always prepared to sacrifice everything for protecting the nation-state. The national community rules over the nation-state, and the country as well as nation are known by the name of that society. In such states there are some elements or sections of people, who are less in number and different from the national community in respect of language, race or religion, and they are called minorities of that nation-state.

Thus the question of minorities arises only in that nation-state, where the majority community is regarded the nation of the state. Where no specific community enjoys recognition in the form of the nation, the question of recognizing any other community as minorities does not arise at all. The **UN Commission on Human Rights** in 1950 had defined *minorities* as below:

'Only those communities other than the ruling national community can be termed as minorities, who want to have a language, religion or race different from the language, religion and race of the national community. It is essential for being recognised as minorities that they should be sufficient in number and their constituents should be faithful to the nation in which they live.'

Physical existence of majority and minority group is an outcome of the differential treatment which the groups are experiencing; one group enjoys all or most of the privileges whereas other enjoys a few or is deprived privileges. This differential treatment keeps one to feel as being the member of either privileged or underprivileged groups. Privilege group here is an indicative of majority groups and under privilege refers to the minority groups.

As the term minority and majority groups are always perceived to be in the relative terms and the formal is generally characterized as being weak under privilege and victim of the later group, so the problem of minority is a universal phenomenon irrespective of the affluent and backward states existing on the globe.

The problems of issues of Indian sub continent have been very peculiar. Before British rule; Muslims were ruling the Indian sub continent and they were forced out of power by British. This was followed by the division of Indian sub continent better known as partition on the religious basis. In spite of all that happened during the partition of independent India experienced the beginning of the new era. India was declared a secular state where equality to all was provided irrespective of caste creed and religion.

These rights clearly become the part of the constitution which is mentioned in **Article 29 and 30**. Article 29 states, "any section of the citizen residing in the territory of India or any part thereof, having a distinct language, script or culture of its own, shall have the right to conserve the same" Article 30 acknowledges "the right of

minorities based on religion or language to establish and administer educational institution of their choice".

If these articles are put together it would appear that Indian constitution envisages three categories of minorities- classified in terms of language, religion and culture for which all rights are guaranteed to keep their identities intact. So far as religious in the Indian sub continent are the Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhist, Jains and very small minority of Persians. There is yet another minority recognized in the constitution is of Anglo- Indians which is a combination of racial religious and linguistic characteristics. Among all the above minorities Muslims are the largest single minority community in India.

There are number of problems and grievances of minorities in general and Muslims in particular, some delicate and some complex, some real and some perceptible. The Muslim backwardness in the country can evidently see as they lack behind the majority community- both educationally and economically. There are two commonly prevalent explanations regarding educational backwardness among Muslims in contemporary India. One explanation is that they have been slow to take advantage of governmental liberal policy regarding education since independence due to their particular attitude or cultural ethos.

The important reason which is purely psychological in nature is the perception of Muslim that they are being discriminated in all spheres of competitive life against their counterparts. This psychological feeling may sometimes help the minority feeling which sometimes help the minority people to excel beyond the level of their competitive counterparts but mostly minority members get discouraged and they reluctantly come in the fray and consequently they remain at the un important position where they cannot assert or exercise their authority and skills they have development and expansion of the nation.

The important grievances of religious minorities relate, perhaps to the operation of the state agencies of the law and order, welfare, education and health, public services, state contracts, credits, licenses, and the judiciary. In spite of the fact that the constitution of India provides equal opportunities to all irrespective of any discrimination on the basis of the religion etc, the number of Muslims recruited to various services have never been above 5% and mostly lower around two or three percent in the govt. service. The relative number of jobs held by Muslims in govt. and in industrial and commercial undertakings has been a bone of contention for a long time. There is a strong feeling among Muslims that this number has been steadily declining.

Another major problem facing the minorities is the continued eruption of large scale communal riots from time to time. Regardless of which sites starts the riot, the Muslim generally suffers relatives lose in terms of lives lost and property destroyed and in conjunction of each other keeps the Muslim at the gross economic loss. This was clearly evident from Gujarat communal riot 2002, in which several Muslims were victimized as a result of Godhra incident. No special efforts have been made to fulfill the need of education and training of the major portion of Muslim population which belongs to the lower strata of society. The minorities will earn friendship and good feeling of others if they emphasis that they are part of the whole and as such try to strengthen the composite culture which already exist, rather than try to develop a separate culture in the country.

Not only major religious communities are spread all over the country, but the people belonging to all religious communities reside in each village and town in the

country. Religious minority groups in India are chiefly the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs, the Jains and the Buddhists, who have been able to preserve their group identities and have also stayed in the mainstream of national politics.

The Muslims in India constitute the largest religious minority in the country. Though a minority in its numerical strength, it is as big as to make it the second biggest Muslim population in the world, next to Indonesia. The Muslims constituted 13.4 per cent of the Indian population according to the 2001 census, and form an important segment in the social fabric of the country. But economically, Muslims are the most backward community with the lowest employment rate. With such backward economic status, there was hardly any incentive for a modern secular education.

Unlike the Muslims, the Christians are the second largest and oldest religious minority in the country. It is chiefly spread in south India, particularly in Kerala. Consistent with the social philosophy of their religion, the Christians, in India are well represented in the social welfare activities of the country with particular concern for the service of the unprivileged. Their role in the sphere of health and education is well recognised.

But recently, some Christian missionaries of the country have been alleged to be involved in conversion activities that led to communal conflicts which witnessed large scale attacks on the churches and Christians in Gujarat, Orissa and several other states. The very recent attacks on Christians and churches in the Kandhamal district of Orissa shook the entire Christian community of the world.

Similarly, the early part of the 20th century witnessed the rise of numerous Sikh sectarian organisations that emphasized the distinct Sikh identity. Sikhism is another important religion in India which is spread in different parts of the country, especially in Punjab, Delhi, Haryana, Bihar, etc. Claiming Punjab as their motherland, the Sikhs have developed a very strong sub-national identity, carrying with them the vital elements of the Punjabi culture.

The Sikhs are excellent cultivators in the rural areas; they have played a very significant role in the Green Revolution of the country. In urban areas, most of them earn their livelihood in the trade and commerce sectors. They have always maintained a larger share in defence forces of the country. Like the Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, other religious minorities of the country, such as the Jains and the Buddhists have also stayed in the mainstream of Indian politics.

The Constitution of India has provided the minority groups with some safeguards. The Preamble of the Constitution describes the concept of secularism which means that the State has no religion of its own, and there is equal respect for and protection to all religions. No one is to be discriminated on grounds of religion and everyone is guaranteed full and equal freedom of religion. Article 30 of the Indian Constitution states that the minorities have rights to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

This includes the right to choose the medium of instruction, curricula, and subject to be taught. Minorities can impart instructions to their children in their own languages. The National Commission for Minorities undertakes review of the implementation of the policies formulated by the Union and state governments with regard to minorities. It looks into specific complaints regarding deprivation of rights and safeguards of minorities, and conducts research and analysis on the question of avoidance of discrimination against the minorities.

The minority communities have to face several problems in India. The minorities are not able to integrate properly in the Hindu-dominated society. There is

apprehension among some sections that for enlarging its base, the Christian community is involved in converting the low caste Hindus or tribes to its own community or religion, resulting in the killing and intense conflict between the majority Hindus and the Christian minority. This has created too much insecurity and fear among the Christian minority in India. The minorities claim that unlike their Hindu counterpart, they are relatively deprived in areas like employment, politics and social facilitation.

The politicians found it easy to align a large number of multi-cultural citizens into culturally distinct groups for the realization of their vested interests. Most of the communal riots in the country have been the handiwork of disgruntled politicians, anti-social elements and criminals. Demolition of the Babri Masjid in December 1992, the Mumbai riots, and the Godhra carnage and subsequent massacres in 2002 revealed the serious weakness and susceptibility of India's commitments towards democracy and secularism. Thus, the condition of religious minorities in India continues to be very complex and critical.

In order to improve the condition of the religious minorities in India, the government in power should make every effort to restore their confidence. It is also necessary to create conditions in which the minorities are assured that their constitutional and legal rights are safeguarded. The government should seriously respond to the real needs and requirements of the poor and needy minority groups. The government should seriously consider the **Sachar Committee Report** without any delay and implement its recommendations.

People-to-people contact, social consciousness, abolition of illiteracy etc. may prove useful confidence-building measures. The secular values must be internalized by the people and political parties. No political party should be permitted to contest election by exploiting the emotions of a particular community. Efforts should also be made to promote liberal social reforms to deal effectively with communalism and the influence of communalist leaders. The secular political class of India should campaign for widening the base of education for Muslims. The religious minorities have to be empowered educationally and economically. The progress of the country can be achieved if all the religious communities in India live in perfect harmony.

Sachar committee has put a lot of analysis about the Indian Muslim with "statistical reports" based on information from government agencies, banks, Indian Minority Commission, different state governments and its agencies. The major points covered in the reports are:

- In the field of literacy the Committee has found that the rate among Muslims is very much below than the national average. The gap between Muslims and the general average is greater in urban areas and women. 25 per cent of children of Muslim parents in the 6-14 year age group have either never attended school or have dropped out.
- Muslim parents are not averse to mainstream education or to send their children to affordable Government schools. The access to government schools for children of Muslim parents is limited.
- Bidi workers, tailors and mechanics need to be provided with social safety nets and social security. The participation of Muslims in the professional and managerial cadre is low.
- The average amount of bank loan disbursed to the Muslims is 2/3 of the amount disbursed to other minorities. In some cases it is half. The Reserve Bank of India's efforts to extend banking and credit facilities under the Prime Minister's 15-point programme of 1983 has mainly benefited other minorities marginalizing Muslims.

- There is a clear and significant inverse association between the proportion of the Muslim population and the availability of educational infrastructure in small villages. Muslim concentration villages are not well served with pucca approach roads and local bus stops.
- Substantially larger proportion of the Muslim households in urban areas, are in the less than Rs.500 expenditure bracket.
- The presence of Muslims has been found to be only 3% in the IAS, 1.8% in the IFS and 4% in the IPS.
- Muslim community has a representation of only 4.5% in Indian Railways while 98.7% of them are positioned at lower levels. Representation of Muslims is very low in the Universities and in Banks. Their share in police constables is only 6%, in health 4.4%, in transport 6.5%.
- For the Maulana Azad Education Foundation to be effective the corpus fund needs to be increased to 1000 crore. Total allocation in the four years 2002 to 2006 for Madarsa Modernization Scheme is 106 crore. The information regarding the Scheme has not adequately percolated down. Even if the share of Muslims in elected bodies is low they and other under-represented segments can be involved in the decision making process through innovative mechanisms.
- Most of the variables indicate that Muslim-OBCs are significantly deprived in comparison to Hindu-OBCs. The work participation rate (WPR) shows the presence of a sharp difference between Hindu-OBCs (67%) and the Muslims. The share of Muslim-OBCs in government/ PSU jobs is much lower than Hindu-OBCs.

WELFARE MEASURES

India was declared a secular state where equality to all was provided irrespective of caste creed and religion. The Constitution of India has provided the minority groups with some safeguards. The Preamble of the Constitution describes the concept of secularism which means that the State has no religion of its own, and there is equal respect for and protection to all religions. No one is to be discriminated on grounds of religion and everyone is guaranteed full and equal freedom of religion. Article 30 of the Indian Constitution states that the minorities have rights to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

This includes the right to choose the medium of instruction, curricula, and subject to be taught. Minorities can impart instructions to their children in their own languages. The National Commission for Minorities undertakes review of the implementation of the policies formulated by the Union and state governments with regard to minorities. It looks into specific complaints regarding deprivation of rights and safeguards of minorities, and conducts research and analysis on the question of avoidance of discrimination against the minorities.

- It is the constitutional responsibility of govt. to see that educational culture of any community does not suffer from handicapped of any kind. All minorities can avail themselves of the educational facilities available equally to all citizens in the publicly financed non denominational institutions all over the country and at the same line handsome grants –in aid are also give to the educational institution run by different minorities as per the right in short in the Indian constitution. There are few universities in the country which were started by the minorities for special purpose of promoting education among the members of their communities along with their

cultural and religious identities. Apart from various religious schools and other minority schools colleges, Aligarh Muslim University at Aligarh, Jamia Usmania University at Hyderabad, Jamia Milia Islamia at New Delhi, Jamia, New Delhi, Gurunanak Dev University at Amritsar are few Muslim and Sikh minority centers of learning which have been playing vital role in the service of educational and socio-economical advancements of their respective communities.

- **Maulana Azad Education Foundation:** Promoting education amongst the educationally backward sections of the society, and minorities in particular.
- **15 point Programme** for Welfare of Minorities was launched in 1983 with three-pronged strategy:-
 - (i) To tackle the situation arising out of communal riots
 - (ii) Ensuring adequate representation of the minority communities in government employment
 - (iii) Other measures, such as, ensuring flow of benefits to the minority communities.
- **National Commission For Minorities**
 - The National Commission for Minorities (NCM) was set up as a **statutory body** in 1993 through the enactment of National Commission for Minorities Act, 1992.
 - **To grant a Constitutional Status to the NCM. Government introduced Constitution (103rd Amendment) Bill, 2004** and National Commission for Minorities (Repeat) Bill, in the Lok Sabha in 2004.
 - Responsible to safeguard the interests of minorities, which broadly relates to atrocities by the police, service matters, minority educational institutions and disputes relating to religious places.
- **National Commission For Religious And Linguistic Minorities** started functioning in **2005** with following terms of reference:-
 - (a) To suggest criteria for **identification** of **socially** and **economically backward** sections among religious and linguistic minorities.
 - (b) To recommend measures for **welfare** including reservation in education and government employment.
 - (c) To suggest the necessary constitutional, legal and administrative modalities as required for the implementation of their recommendations
- **The Central Wakf Council**
 - **A Wakf is a permanent dedication of movable or immovable properties for purposes recognized by the Muslim Law as religious, pious or charitable.**
 - Responsibility of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment.
 - The Central Wakf Council a **statutory body** set up by the Central Government in **1964** and reconstituted in 2005.
- **Special Officer For Linguistic Minorities**
 - Office of the Special Officer for Linguistic Minorities was created in 1957, in pursuance of the Provision of **Article 350-B** of the Constitution.
 - The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities of India has his Headquarters at **Allahabad**.

One heartening fact about religious composition of India is that different groups have co-existed for the last several centuries even during the troubled times. India is the only country in the world where people belonging to different religious faiths are co-existing in peace & harmony. In order to improve the condition of the religious minorities in India, the government in power should make every effort to restore their confidence. It is also necessary to create conditions in which the minorities are assured

that their constitutional and legal rights are safeguarded. The government should seriously respond to the real needs & requirements of poor and needy minority groups.

People-to-people contact, social consciousness, abolition of illiteracy etc. may prove useful confidence-building measures. The secular values must be internalized by the people and political parties. No political party should be permitted to contest election by exploiting the emotions of a particular community. Efforts should also be made to promote liberal social reforms to deal effectively with communalism and the influence of communalist leaders. The religious minorities have to be empowered educationally and economically. The progress of the country can be achieved if all the religious communities in India live in perfect harmony.

Recently PM Manmohan Singh announced 15- Point Programme for minority welfare which was initially mooted by late PM **Indira Gandhi**. A need has been felt to review and recast the 15-Point Programme, to sharply focus action on issues intimately linked with the **social, educational and economic uplift of the minorities**.

Points relating to prevention of communal riots and provision of relief to victims of such riots continue to have an important place in the revised programme, but additional points more closely linked with the development of backward minorities, specifically related to provision of employment, improvement of educational opportunities and better living conditions have been included. Based on the above, the "Prime Minister's New 15-Point Programme for Welfare of Minorities" has been formulated as under:

- 1. Equitable availability of ICDS Services:** A certain percentage of the Integrated Child Development Services (**ICDS**) projects and **Anganwadi Centres** will be located in blocks/ villages with a substantial population of minority communities.
- 2. Improving access to School Education:** Under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Scheme, and other similar Government schemes, a certain percentage of such schools are located in villages/ localities having a substantial population of minority communities
- 3. Greater resources for teaching Urdu:** Central assistance will be provided for recruitment and posting of Urdu language teachers in primary and upper primary schools that serve population in which at least 1/4th belongs to that language group.
- 4. Modernizing Madarsa Education:** Central Plan Scheme of Area Intensive and Madarsa Modernization Programme that provides basic educational infrastructure for modernization of Madarsa will be strengthened & implemented effectively.
- 5. Scholarships for meritorious students from minority communities** will be formulated and implemented for pre and post-matric students.
- 6. Improving educational infrastructure through Maulana Azad Education Foundation.**
- 7. Self-Employment and Wage Employment for the poor:** A certain percentage of the physical and financial targets under Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojna (SGSY), Urban Self-Employment Programme (USEP), Urban Wage Employment Programme (UWEP) and Sampurna Grameen Rozgar Yojna (SGRY) will be earmarked for beneficiaries belonging to the minority communities living below the poverty line.
- 8. Upgradation of skill through technical training:** a certain proportion of all new ITIs will be located in areas predominantly inhabited by minority communities and a proportion of existing it is to be upgraded to 'Centres of Excellence'.
- 9. Enhanced credit support for economic activities:** National Minorities Development & Finance Corporation was set up in 1994 with objective of promoting economic development activities among minority communities will be strengthened.

It will be ensured that an appropriate percentage of the priority sector lending in all categories is targeted for the minority communities.

- 10. Recruitment to State and Central Services:** In the recruitment of police personnel, special consideration will be given to minorities. An exclusive scheme will be launched to provide coaching in Government institutions as well as private coaching institutes with credibility.
- 11. Equitable share in rural housing scheme:** A certain percentage of the physical and financial targets under Indira Awaas Yojna will be earmarked for poor beneficiaries from minority communities living in rural areas.
- 12. Improvement in condition of slums inhabited by minority communities:** It would be ensured that the benefits of Integrated Housing & Slum Development Programme and Jawaharlal Nahru Urban Renewal Mission flow equitable to members of the minority communities and to cities/ slums, predominantly inhabited by minority communities.
- 13. Prevention of communal incidents:** In the areas, which have been identified as communally sensitive and riot prone, districts and police officials of the highest known efficiency, impartiality and secular record must be posted.
- 14. Prosecution for communal offences:** Severe action should be taken against all those who incite communal tension or take part in violence.
- 15. Rehabilitation of victims of communal riots:** Victims of communal riots should be given immediate relief and provided prompt and adequate financial assistance for their rehabilitation.

INDOLOGY: G. S. GHURYE

Indology literally means a systematic study of Indian society and outline. Indologists claimed that incuriam of Indian civilization cannot be fitted into the framework of European society. They claimed that Indian Society could be understood only through the concepts, theoris and framework of Indian civilization. They give more importance to the culture of Indian Society than to the empirical structure; Indology is an independent discipline in itself as well as an approach in Indian Sociology. Under the influence of Indology, G. S. Ghurye and Louis Dumont have explained the culture o Indian Society.

The reviewers of Indian Sociology generally trace its origin to the works of several British civil servants, missionaries and Western Scholars during the 18 and 19 centuries. British administrators wanted to understand the customs, manners and institutions of people of India to ensure the smooth running of their administration. Christian missionaries were interested in learning local languages, folklore and culture to carryout their activities. The origin, development and functioning of the various customs and traditions, the Hindu systems of caste and Joint family, and the economy and polity of the village, tribal community were some of the prominent themes of study by the British administrators and missionaries as well as other British, European and Indian intellectuals. Many British and European writings on Indian Society and culture used conceptual categories which were Eurocentric it cognitive and value terms; some of these also tended to distort history and imputed meaning to Indian reality in the abstract as if to perpetuate colonialism concepts such as 'caste', 'tribe' village community, family and kinship were defined as segmentary entities often analogous to their socio-historical equivalents in European society. The emphasis was on showing how each of these social entities affirmed the principles of segmentation and autonomy rather than being parts of an organic whole. The elements of discreteness were over emphasized and the linkages, both social and cultural, which bound these entities into an organic system of social structure and civilization, were neglected. The bias, which had its roots probably in the colonial ideology of the British social anthropologists and administrators, is obvious in their treatment of 'caste and tribe' as discrete structural and cultural formations. G. S. Ghurye drew attention to this way back in 1943 in his book. The Aborigine- so called and their future. He attempted to demonstrate continuities and linkages between the tribal and caste structure and tradition in Indian society.

Govind Sadashiv Ghurye is a towering figure in intellectual and academic life of India for his unique contribution in the field of Indian sociology; he has often been acclaimed as the "father of Indian sociology". His persistent research endeavor, wide ranging interest and upholding of the best of academic tradition made him the centre of sociological creativity and research .for several generations of Indian Sociologists. Ghurye's broad area of interest was the general process of evolution of culture in different civilizations iii general, and in Indian (Hindu) civilization in particular. The origin and subsequent proliferation of the different varieties of Indo European Civilization constitute the range of Ghurye's study.

Ghurye, Kapadia, Karve the giants in the field of Indian Sociology, all of them endeavored to explore Hindu social institutions and practices, either with reference to religious texts or through the analysis of contemporary practices. Outstanding

research work of these sociologists have tremendously enriched the field of Indian sociology and helped it to stand on a firm footing. Indian society, through its long historical process of growth presents a picture of a vast mosaic of culture held together by religion, values and norms of Hinduism. As sociologists, Ghurye feels the imperative of exploring this unifying and synthesizing process. In spite of many diversions, explorations and analysis of the process of cultural unity in Indian through ages constitutes the major thrust of Ghurye's writing. And to establish his thesis he moves, with perfect ease- Back and forth, from the Vedic to the present day India.

In deciphering Ghurye, the entire range of Ghurye's writings is divided into a number of broad themes and each of these items shows how Ghurye has discussed the institutions and processes. Thus (i) Castes, (ii) Tribes, (iii) Family and Kinship (iv) Culture and Civilization, (v) Religions institutions, (vi) Social tensions are the broad categories of Ghurye's writings. For the present lesson only caste system as an indological perspective has been discussed.

RESTRICTIONS ON MARRIAGE

The endogamous principle has been recognized by Ghurye as the key factor behind caste system. Every caste forbids its members to marry persons from outside it. The principle of strict endogamy is such a dominant aspect of caste-society that an eminent sociologist is led to regard endogamy as "the essence of the caste system". Ghurye also considers the role of hypergamy in caste. He has mentioned that a large no. of caste follow this principle even today. There are, however a few exceptions to this general rule of marrying within one's own group which are due to the practice of hypergamy. In some parts of the Punjab, especially in the hills, a man of a higher caste can take to wife a girl from one of the lower castes, while in Malabar, the younger son of Nambudiri and other Brahmins consort with the Kshatriya and Nayar women, among whom mother right prevails.

Various castes by contributing their respective services towards the maintenance of civil life developed a sense of participation which counteracted fissiparous tendencies and caste patriotism, Ghurye mentions the examples of participation by Doms, Kumbhais, Mahars, and Barbers etc in various types of Hindu rituals. Ghurye has rightly emphasized upon the ritual aspects of caste in maintaining village solidarity.

CASTE THROUGH THE AGES

G. S. Ghurye has given a picture of Hindu Caste society as it was functioning before modern ideas. G. S. Ghurye breaks up the Indian history into 4 periods.

1. Vedic period ending about 600 B.C. and comprises the literary data of Vedic Samhitas and Brahmins.
2. Post Vedic period - In this period the sacred laws of the Aryans present the orthodox and the more or less idealistic standpoint.
3. Dharma Shastras and ends with the tenth or 11th century AD. In this period many Yajnavalkya and Vishnu are the chief exponents.
4. Modern period this period brings us down to the beginning of 19th century.

RIGVEDA

In the Rigveda, 3 classes are frequently mentioned. Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya. The first 2 represented the 2 professions of the poet priest and warrior chief. The third division Vis comprises of common people. It is only in one of the later hymns that Brahman, Rajanya, Vaishya and Shudra are mentioned who have come from the mouth of the creator. G.S. Ghurye says that the particular limbs associated with these divisions and the order in which they are mentioned-probably indicate their status in the society. Ghurye holds the view that the fact the four classes are described as of divine origin, although in a later hymn, must be taken as a sufficient indication that they were of long duration and very well defined, even though the exact demarcation of their function the regulations guiding their interrelations and the extent of their flexibility may not be referred to in the main body of the Vedic literature. These orders of class are referred to in literature as Varnas so much so that Hindu religion has come to be defined as Varnasrama Dharma yet in the Rigveda the word is never applied to any one of these classes.

POST VEDIC PERIOD

The Brahminic literature of the post-vedic period while reiterating that there are only 4 varnas, mentions certain mixed castes (Sankara Jati) and also a group of outcaste classes (Antya Vasayin). In this period the text books are analysed into 4 parts. Ashram's (four stages in individual life) and their duties; Varna-Dharma - much of the past describes duties of the Kshatriya; the two other parts deals with Expiatory acts & Inheritance. Though the main bulk of the law is treated under yet the "Shudra" does not figure much in these texts.

Among the four Varnas, the old distinction of Arya and Sudra now appears predominantly as Dvija and Sudra, though the old distinction is occasionally mentioned. The first three varnas are called Dvijns (twice born) because they have to go through the inflation ceremony which is symbolic of rebirth. This privilege is denied to the Sudra who is therefore called "Ekajati" (once born). Mixture of castes is regarded to be such a great evil that it must be combated even though the Brahmins and Vaishyas have to resort to arms, a function which is normally sinful for them. Of the mixed castes those, that were the outcome of hypergamous unions, were proposed to be treated in, two different ways. Gautama excludes from the Brahminic law only the issue of a Sudra female by males of the first three orders. It is not clear how he would like to treat the remaining three possible groups. Person born of unions in the inverse order of castes-technically known as the "pratiloma" (reverse) caste are of course, outside the pole of the sacred law, with the possible exception of one, viz, the suta. This period sees a great consolidation of the position of the Brahmin class, while the degradation of the Sudras comes, out in a marked contrast to the growing superiority of the Brahmins. Prof. Ghurye says that the post Vedic period testifies to the rigid stratification and internal solidarity of the four varnas. Each group -was recognised as distinct, almost complete in itself for its social life. Endogamy was being sought to be rigorously prescribed and was followed to a large extent. The epics contain some examples of inter caste marriages, but they illustrate the practice prevailing among the aristocracy and the sages e.g. Dasahratha had a Sudra female as one of his wives. But the Ramayana does not drop any hint that the children of the union were regarded as in any way different from the Kshatriya Santnu married Satyvati, the daughter of a fisherman. In the story of the Mahabharata no suggestions is made that the issue would be considered lower than the Kshatriyas.

The third period of Indian history as conceived by Prof. Ghurye is marked by two developments in the ideals of the Hindu Dharma, which had an important bearing on the theory and practice of caste. The glorification of gifts to Brahmins, which became so absorbing a feature of later Hinduism, was largely the contribution of this age. Another noteworthy development is the schematic growth of imaginary hells as punishment for certain offenders and the progressive application of the doctrine of rebirth. According to Maim the Brahmin is the lord of this whole creation, because he is produced from the purest part of the Supreme 'Being, namely the mouth. Both the gods and manes have to receive their offerings through them. Feeding the Brahmins is one of the acknowledged ways of gaining us religion merits. A Brahmin is entitled to whatever exists in the world. Infact, the whole world is his property, and others live on his charity. Vishnu is more audacious than Manu in asserting the worth of the Brahmins. He observes the Gods are invisible deities, the Brahmins are visible deities, A householders when sipping water for personal purification, must not use it if brought by a Sudra. A member of the first three castes must not travel in the company of Sudras. Ghurye feels it seems that the Sudras were considered to impart some sort of defilement to objects like bed & seat by their touch.

The state of caste organizations as revealed by literature and the inscriptions of the fourth period is strikingly similar to that which we noticed as prevailing about the middle of the 19th century. The leading authorities of this period arc Parasara, Hemadri, Madhava and Kamalakara. As regards the regulations of marriage, the four caste and the other groups are regarded as completely endogamous units, hypergamy being positively discouraged. Thus by the end of this period Ghurye visualise caste organization, as revealed in the literature of the period, to be not at all different in any essential point from the one which are described as prevailing in the middle of the 19th century.

CASTE AND SUB-CASTE

Ghurye agrees that sub caste possess many properties of the caste, But a sub-caste is not to be identified with a caste. As a group the sub-caste is not entirely independent of the structures, obligations and liabilities which are attached to the caste. The ranking of a sub-caste in a particular social milieu is largely dependence on its caste affiliation. Moreover, the sub caste is a group known mostly to the people of the caste while caste is a grouping known to the society at large Ghurye thinks that sub caste groupings are the result of fragmentation occurs as a result of occupational diversification, migration, rise of a new sect, some peculiarities or some nicknames etc.

CASTE AND RACE

Ghurye's conclusion with regard to caste-race relationship may be summarized as: -

- (1) In U. P. & Punjab the Indo Aryan race has largely maintained its purity of blood.
- (2) The differential index (in physical traits) between the high castes of this region and the high castes of to other places is very high, indicating that there has been a wide racial admixture in latter regions.
- (3) In Northern India, where racial purity has been maintained, there is a correlation between ranking and physical tanking
- (4) In other parts of India, the situation is very complex and confusing so that anthropometry does not help us much in accounting for caste - ranking.

Ghurye holds the view that caste is mainly a product of race and Hypergamy. The Indo Aryans first entered India in about 2500 B.C. the Conquered aborigines were included within their caste fold but the Aryans took all steps to keep their blood from intermixture. Endogamy became the essential device to maintain such racial purity. The lead in this respect was given by the Brahmins and they became the sole guardian of this society. As Brahmins were having the superior image, all her groups tried to follow the Brahmanical practices. Group solidarity and group prestige enabled all of them to close their ranks. Thus, what was earlier initiated by the Brahmins as a device to maintain their racial purity was subsequently followed by other groups. These groups also became endogamous.

CASTE IN MODERN INDIA

Contemporary Indian society, Ghurye maintains, is heading towards the dangerous path of plural society and the seeds of it were implanted during the British period. So Ghurye makes an analysis of the forces affecting the operation of caste in British India. In this period there were various changes in the legal sphere in relation to unsociability. They were granted the right of admittance in government - aided institutions. Also, it was at this period that reservations of seats in various political bodies were made. Caste wise, the population was divided into different groups and specialized provisions for recruitment were made for the backward castes. Ghurye admits the necessity of this type of observation and says that "there is much justification for demanding some representation for the untouchable classes in the local legislative bodies. Industrialization and the introduction of new technology also accelerated the pace of disintegration of castes. As communication system improved it became quite difficult for people to observe rules relating to pollution and purity.

But, as already stated, the British rule generated forces which ran at opposite directions. Infact, the British rulers were never seriously interested in liquidating the social and economic basis of caste. They used the caste divisions to foremen a sense of distrust and suspicion among various sections. Firstly, the caste customs were allowed to remain in tact. Rules relating to untouchability continued to exists. Ghurye declares untouchability as a positive curse and the government was never seriously interested in fighting it out.

THE SCHEDULED CASTES

It can never be gainsaid that during the British period a set of new values based on equality, freedom and humanitarianism were introduced. Broadly speaking, there were three types of reactions as a result of these developments. First, the Brahma Samaj Movement, Second, the Arya Samaj Movement and the third and more significant reaction which Ghurye calls the 'depressed classes movement'. Western values and ideals based on the spirit of equality inspired these people to demand a fair treatment of them. In so far as the benefits of Westernization only reached the upper castes, it also increased the feeling of deprivation among the lower castes. That is why Backward classes Movement started precisely in those areas where they were subjected to maximum exploitation and injustice. Ghurye says that largely the direction of the movement was 2 fold. First, the lower castes demanded-and became successful in their demands-separate political representation for them and reservation of jobs for them in various services. Second, ideologically they challenged the genral tenets of Brahmanic superiority and dominance. Ghurye's assertion that the protective discrimination policy

has failed to realize its objectives, is perfectly, justified the social, economic and political condition of these people has not improved considerably. What is worse, the benefits provided to the scheduled castes have all gone to a few top castes among them.

THE BACKWARD CLASSES

The backward classes constitute other focus of tension in modern India. As in the case of SC and ST, they have organized themselves to protect their constitutional facilities. Far from moving toward the objective of integration this has led to progressive atomization of our society. Ghurye analyzes the whole development relating to backward classes and says that it shows that "special treatment which was intended to be special privilege of restricted duration is being tried to be turned into a both right of a permanent nature:" What is worse, many of the so-called backward classes are becoming economically more affluent and politically more resourceful. Even within a particular caste, those who are economically better off, care very little for the rest of the community.

These developments confirm Ghurye's fear that Indian Society is being progressively atomized into different groups who are determined to realize their sectional economic and political demands at the expense of the interest of the nation and, the government measures to deal with the situation have been insufficient. Ghurye concludes that instead of realizing the goal of a casteless society, our society is heading towards the dangerous rocks of a 'plural society'.

Ghurye says that the endogamous nature of caste has remained almost the same today. He regards caste and endogamy as injurious to the cause of society. He thinks that caste has become positively injurious today. It has definitely produced harmful and antagonistic to the birth of real community and nationality feeling.

Formerly, the activities of caste were strictly controlled by religion and the local society. Today the various caste groups are not complementary to each other nor do they contribute to the integration of community. They have become self-seeking organizations who are going all out to realize their sectarian interest. These are all pretenses of a 'plural society', which Ghurye concludes, has created a dangerous situation for India.

TRIBES AS BACKWARD HINDUS

Ghurye presented his thesis on tribes at a time when a majority of the established anthropologists and administrators were of the opinion that the separate identity of the tribes is to be maintained at any cost. Ghurye on the other hand believes that most of the tribes have been Hinduized after a long period of contact with the Hindus. He even maintains that originally these people were Hindus who somehow lost connection with the parent body. An analysis of their language, economy and religious tradition shows that they are not necessarily the autochthones of the regions where they now live. He criticizes the use of the word 'Adivasi' to denote them because the various stories and mythological accounts prevalent among them show elements of Hindu Culture. Ghurye holds that it is futile to search for the separate identity of the tribes. They are nothing but the 'Backward Hindus': Ghurye presents a huge data on the thought, practices and habits of the tribes inhabiting the central Indian region. He quotes extensively from various writings and reports to show that Kataris, Bhuiyas, Oraons, Khonds, Gonds, Korkus etc. have substantially adopted Hinduism as their religion. Ghurye suggests that the economic motivation behind the adoption of Hinduism is very

strong when the tribals adopt Hindu religion, they can come out of: their tribal crafts and adopt a specialized type of occupation which is in demand in society. Ghurye also says that among the tribals there is a section which is comparatively better off.

Thus, regarding the relationship between the tribals and Hindus, Ghurye holds that a grand historical process of merger between two communities has almost been completed as a result of which the tribes may now be regarded as 'backward Hindus'.

KINSHIP IN HINDU SOCIETY

In the analysis of kinship, Ghurye has successfully combined Indology and Sociology. Ghurye is concerned with Kinship as an institution regulating the marriage in Hindu society that reads him to discuss (i) the relation between kinship and caste (ii) the origin, development and social implications of (Gotra, Charana and Pravara in Brahmanic literature and society; and (iii) the operation of Sapinda Exogamy.

CASTE AND KINSHIP

The relationship between caste and kinship is very close because (i) Exogamy in our society is largely based on kinship, either real or imaginary and (ii) the effective unit of caste, sub-caste is largely constituted of kinsmen. To Ghurye, there are three types of marriage restrictions in our society which shape the relationship between caste and kinship. These are Endogamy, exogamy and hypergamy. Exogamy can be divided into 2 parts (1) Sapinda or prohibited degrees of kin (ii) Sept or Gotra exogamy. Ghurye undertakes this task in details and on a gigantic scale in his two Brahmanic institutions

Gotra and Charana (1972) - There are three underlying ideas which prompted Ghurye to take up this work. First, sociological categories like Gotra, Charana and Pravara have been the most important ones regulating the Brahmin's social relations for centuries, Secondly, all these Brahmanic institutions have penetrated the social organization and behavioral pattern of the non-Brahmin Hindus. And thirdly, that these rules relating to gotra and Pravara exogamy still govern substantially the social relations of the Hindus. It is on the basis of these assumptions that it is claimed that Ghurye has combined Indology and sociology in an efficient way.

Culture and Civilization: There are two conflicting views on the growth and accumulation pattern of culture. One theory maintains that in any community culture grows quite independently of similar events happening elsewhere or that culture grows predominantly with reference to local needs and local situation. The other group believes that culture grows by diffusion. A single invention or discovery is made at one place and ultimately this cultural trait diffuses throughout the world. The most ardent advocate of the diffusionist school was Sir G. E. Smith.

There are two articles of Ghurye "The Disposal of Human Placenta", published in 1937, examines the practices of human beings with regard to the disposal of discarded human body parts like first out hair, nail airings, first fallen teeth and the after birth. The purpose of this article of Ghurye is as he says, "to compare the methods of disposal of the human placenta in the different regions of the world to see if they shed any light on the problem of diffusion of culture. Culture Diffusion is essentially an anthropological theory which is concerned with the nature of culture contact operating principally among the preliminary people. According to Ghurye, culture constitutes the central or core element for understanding society and its evolution, In fact, culture is a totality involving

the entire heritage of mankind" Ghurye's abiding interest was to analyze the course of cultural evolution and the nature of heritage which mankind has denied from the past.

Ghurye was more concerned with the process of evolution of Hindu Civilization which has been termed as a 'Complex Civilization'. And Ghurye thought that for analyzing the dynamics of culture in such a long historical civilization, the process of acculturation is more relevant than the process of diffusion. Ghurye thinks that the challenging task of a sociologist is to analyze this complex acculturation process in India, Ghurye says: India has been the home of many ethnic stocks and culture from pre-historic times. In his analysis of caste (Ghurye has shown how caste system was developed by the Brahmins and how it spread to other sections of the population. The operation of the process of Hinduisation also provides the general backdrop of his analysis of the tribal phenomenon.

Ghurye was prompted by the belief that there is a "common heritage of modern civilization" and that civilization is a 'collective endeavour of humanity'. Ghurye holds that behind the rise and fall of civilizations, there has occurred a steady growth of culture. Cutting across the vicissitudes of civilizational growth, there are certain values which have been established as final. These values have been termed by Ghurye as the 'foundations of culture'. He delineates five such values or foundations of culture. These are -

- (i) Religious consciousness
- (ii) Conscience
- (iii) Justice
- (iv) Free pursuit of knowledge and free expression
- (v) Toleration

According to Ghurye, "Civilization is the sum total of social heritage projected on the social plane". As civilization is an attribute of the society, different societies can be differentiated with reference to their civilization attainment. Ghurye makes four general conclusions with regard to the nature of civilization. Firstly, as yet, there has been no society which has been either completely civilized or very highly civilized. Secondly, Ghurye believes in the law of continuous progress. Thirdly, the gradation of civilization is also correlated with the distribution of values. In a high civilization, the humanitarian and cultural values will be accepted by a wide cross section of population. Fourthly, every civilization, high or low possesses some qualities.

Now, after discussing about culture and civilization, if we are to identify what is culture and what are its points of distinction with civilization? Ghurye says: Those two terms are used interchangeably and those who have made distinction between the two are not all agreed regarding their exact meaning. To Malinowski, "culture comprises inherited artifacts- Goods, technical processes) ideas, habits and values." Bottomore says: 'Civilization has remained largely a historian's term and is often used to describe what anthropologists would refer to as culture. But Toybee has used the term, 'civilization' as an attribute of developed societies as distinguished from the primitive one. Maclver says that "our culture is what we are, our civilization is what we use", According to Toybee, cultural attainment and excellence is related with individual capacity whereas to them, civilization is what is possessed in common by a particular society or a number of societies. Ghurye says culture is a matter of individual attainment. Culture and civilization are related in the sense that the more the individuals excel in their individual attainments, the richer will become the civilization.

According to Ghurye, if we want to improve the general level of attainment of the people, we have to popularize humanistic studies as an antidote to scientific and

mechanical studies and to ensure the autonomy of the universities- The institution of imparting education in society. Ghurye underlies the fact that the man has been cut up from his past and tradition, while the spirit of innovation and novelty are good change must not be so sudden as to uproot man from his social moorings. The imbalance can be corrected by suitable change in the education system and by restoring the value of humanistic studies in universities.

RELIGION: The Perspective of Ghurye's Sociology of Religion:

Religion is fundamental to man and man becomes conscious of some power beyond his comprehension almost at the dawn of civilization. This field has drawn the attention of sociologists like Weber (*The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*, 1930) and Durkheim (*The Elementary Form of Religious Life*, 1915). Ghurye thinks religion is at the centre of total cultural heritage of man. Ghurye gave the fine foundations of culture, part of which religious consciousness is most important and it moulds and directs the behaviour of man in society. -.

There are three works of Ghurye which are of interest from the standpoint of sociology of religion. These are *Gods and Men*, *Religious Consciousness* and *Indian Sadhus*. In the first work Ghurye has discussed the nature of the Hindu ideas of godhead and the relations, 'if any between the climates of an age and the type of Godhead favoured. In *Religious Consciousness* Ghurye analyzes the three oldest human civilizations, the Mesopotamian, the Egyptian and the Hindu, in their various aspects: mythological beliefs, speculation cosmology, life after death, view of Godhead, temple architecture, etc.

Ghurye's analysis of religion is relevant as any student of Indology knows that. Hinduism, particularly the Brahmanic version of it, passed through a career of long vicissitudes. In fact, for a major part of the period, Hinduism had been deprived of royal patronage. It has survived the attacks of the Buddhists, the Jains, the foreign invaders and lastly about the 700 years of Muslim rule. The structure of Hinduism is so vast and diverse that it calls for systematic analysis of this heterogeneity and the factors which account for it. That's why Dube, Srinivas and many others. Sociologists have done a study at various levels.

Ghurye has analyzed the evolution & role of Godheads in Hindu society. In Hinduism from the standpoint of the number of godheads, we find that there are five principal godheads around which Hindu religion practices and rituals have evolved. These five deities are Surya, Siva, Vishnu, Ganesha and Devi. This Hindu view of godhead may be called according to Ghurye, "monolatrous pantheism". Regarding the origin of Vishnu, Ghurye thinks that when the institutions of Yajna or ritual sacrifices became more arid more costly in the late Vedic period. Yajna was anthropomorphized 'into Vishnu so that people could do costly Yajna rituals. The thing which is sociologically most relevant in case of Vishnu and which has created enormous influence on our society in every age is the theory of Vishnu's incarnations. Every Hindu believes that God Vishnu incarnates himself from age to age to uphold the socio ethical order. The two incarnations of Vishnu which have caught people's imagination are Rama and Krishna respectively. Both of them are being worshipped as man God and their lives and activities have enthralled the minds of millions and millions of Hindus.

Thus, Ghurye has shown the idea of pentad, of five Gods in Hindu society is primarily Brahmanic in nature. Ghurye's recognition of the importance of the concept of incarnation in Hindu society and his assertion that this sociology of incarnations should be analyzed in details is fully justified. The dominating theme of Ghurye is the changing

concept of Godheads in Hindu society and their role in evolving and maintaining the normative structure of Hindu society.

SOCIAL TENSIONS

In this section, we shall be concerned with the examination of Ghurye's ideas regarding the nature of national unity in India. Ghurye holds that though groups play an integrational role in society, this is true only upto a certain extent. In modern Indian Society, there are five sources of danger for national unity coming as they do form a sense of excessive attachment with groups.

- (i) The Scheduled Castes
- ii) The Scheduled Tribe
- iii) The Backward Classes
- iv) The Muslims as religious minority groups.
- v) The linguistic minorities.

As we have discussed the validity of Ghurye's assumption with regard to first three, here we shall be primarily concerned with the analysis of the last two aspects, viz., the religious and linguistic groups and the nature of challenges which they create for Indian society. As we know the main focus of Ghurye's interest is on culture. Ghurye's this to revision the problems associated with the working of the common culture foundation. His concept of cultural unity is of a new one and is not secular in orientation. He is concerned with India of Hindu culture and uses the term 'Indian Culture' and Hindu culture synonymously. Hinduism in traditional India, he says provided an excellent normative base for maintaining social and political unity in the country. Hinduism had brought within its fold widely different groups living in India. The various sects of Hinduism constitute vast mosaic holding together millions of people in different parts of India. He analysed the normative structure of Hinduism, the teaching of sacred religious texts the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Brahmana's etc. to show how they provide the common cultural foundation. Second) the Role of such great Hindu thinkers as Panini, Patanjali, Tulsidasa etc. has also been discussed by Ghurye.

Ghurye thinks that it is largely as a result of Brahmanical endeavour that cultural unity in India has been built up. All, the major institutions of Hindu Society he shows, originated among the Brahmins and gradually they were accepted by other sections of community. Though Ghurye calls it process of acculturation, it was basically a one way flow, in which the Brahmanical ideas and institutions infiltrated among the non-Brahmins. It is in the background of such an approach that Ghurye analyses the problem and prospects of Indian unity in contemporary India.

He blames the political leaders for this because the country's leader followed a course of action which was more or less exactly the one which should have been avoided but the foundation for this National Cultural unity had been built and maintained by the Hindu for 100's of years. According to Ghurye society is not just an aggregation of isolated individuals but that group life which provides the bridge between the individual and society. An individual acquires social attributes and is socialized through groups. This is the integrative functions of group in society. When groups perform the function efficiently, integration is achieved. Tensions in the process of this integration in India arise today because the various groups of people have failed to transcend their narrow group loyalties. Religious and linguistic minorities are the most potential source of danger to Indian unity in modern India. According to Ghurye Religious and linguistic lesions are the crucial areas causing disintegration of the country.

As mentioned above, Ghurye gives great importance to the role of language in the process of nation building in India. Even, in case of tribes, tribal life and culture, may be improved only when they pick up developed language of a neighbouring community. Ghurye holds the view that the regional language has a symbolic integrational value for the region. The regional languages ensure the unity of the territory at the local level and all efforts should be made to improve that. The regional languages ensure the vicinity of the territory at the local level and all efforts should be made to improve that. The range of Ghurye's interest is encyclopedic. His abiding interest is in the course of world civilization in general and in Hindu civilization in particular. He has analyzed various aspects like the origin and evolution of caste, the evolution of Indo-Aryan family structure and its connections with the Indo-European family structure, of specific institutions like gotra etc. Analysis of the diverse aspects of the evolution of Indian social history and culture thus constitutes the major preoccupation of Ghurye.

Ghurye has been concerned not merely with the past evolution of Indian society and culture but also with its present tensions and problems. The task of sociologists according to him is to explore the social history of the past. He says 'one cannot understand the present without reference to the past.'

WEAKNESSES OF GHURYE'S WRITINGS

Ghurye fails to recognize that a qualitative change in the dynamics of Indian unity has occurred in modern India, His knowledge of India's past instead of helping him has stood in the way of this realization on his part. Admitting that the past is important for present, the question is how much of the past is useful for this purpose? And what should be the sociologist's method of looking at history? Ghurye could not solve these questions in a satisfactory manner? Ghurye fails to appreciate that the political involvement of castes is a result of Collective mobilization process that has occurred in modern India. Another criticism leveled against Ghurye is his answer that the development of regional language is conducive to disunity at the national level or that it is an obstacle for national unity is a simple one. Nevertheless, with his deep knowledge of Hinduism; Ghurye has contributed significantly in some spheres of sociology at least.' His writings on caste, kinship terminologies, the social factors behind the creation of Gods, come 'immediately in mind in this connection. As from the above discussion, we have seen, Ghurye laid significant contributions. He 'sowed the seeds in many respects and the posterity are enjoying the rich harvest. It may be 'rightly said that no single person did so much' for sociology as Ghurye. He emphasized that 'sociology' in India must have a fully INDIAN orientation. Sociology in India would not have come to its present shape without Ghurye.

TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN INDIA

Definitional Problem

"Who are the tribals in India? It has been an interesting and vexing question. None of the Indian languages have an appropriate term for tribe. The concept of tribe emerged in India with the coming of the British. The problems for the British were how best to protect the tribal areas for the 'time being' and how to distinguish them from castes. Gradually the concept of reservation emerged and through that emerged the idea of scheduled tribe in independent India".

Definitional problem of Tribe deals with two interrelated problems. Firstly, highlighting the problem in the definition of tribe; secondly, evolving an understanding of tribes in Indian context.

Problem in the definition

Commonly, Tribes have been defined as a group of indigenous people with shallow history. Having common name, language and territory, tied by strong kinship bonds, practicing endogamy, having distinct customs, rituals and beliefs, simple social rank and political organisation, common ownership of resources and technology.

The imperial Gazetteer of India has defined tribes as "collection of families bearing a common name, Speaking a common dialect occupying and processing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous though it might have been."

According to **D.N. Mazumdar**, A Tribe is a social group with territorial integration, endogamous with no specialization of functions, united in language or dialect and recognizing social distance with other tribes or castes without any obligation attaching to them.

A tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialization of functions, rules by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognizing social distance from tribes or castes but without any stigma attached in the case of a caste structure, following tribal traditions, beliefs and customs, illiberal of naturalization of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of a homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration."

Such definitions are not very helpful because when the situation of tribes is examined carefully not only do we find a lot of variations in their life styles but also many of these features are shared by the caste people. The people of India include a very large number of tribes who exhibit high degree of variation in terms of variety of features. Defining such people must face the challenge of these variations, which manifest in terms of economic, linguistic socio cultural or even racial differences. This raises the problems as to how to distinguish them from castes.

Historically, various authorities have described them by different names, Sir Herbert Risley and Lacey, I: Elwin and A.V. Thakkar called them "aboriginals" Grigson regards them as "hill tribes or wilder aboriginals". Hutton call them as "Primitive tribes" Elwin calls the Baigas, the "Original owners of the country". The eminent Indian anthropologist and socialgist, G.S. Ghurye calls them "backward Hindus". Dr. Das renamed them as "submerged humanity". Despite these differences, the tribal groups are presumed to form the oldest section of the national population hence the term

"Adivasis" (original inhabitants) has recently become current to designate these groups. The term aboriginal, aboriginal primitives have been used in this context.

In the pre independence period tribal groups were understood through mainly view points.

Firstly, the people called tribals were thought to live in remote forests and hilly areas, enjoying a free life of their own. The geographical isolation has been considered the central theme of such understanding of tribe.

Secondly, the tribes were considered groups were living in the close association with the caste groups or other groups and what differentiated them from other groups were these typical socio-cultural features unlike the caste system. In this understanding those groups which were not considered part of caste hierarchy or belonging to other mainstream groups were considered as tribes. This understanding came from vast number of anthropological accounts generated with respect to various tribes in India in Pre Independence period.

Historically the tribal groups have also undergone a process of transformation in terms of their typical features like language, religion, culture, economic situation etc. Particularly in the post independence period there has been a change in the tribes to an extent that it has posed a problem of defining the tribe. The diversity and heterogeneity among various groups have been seen in following terms.

GEOGRAPHICAL ISOLATION

Firstly, now, a day's tribes are no longer considered geographically isolated there are only few primitive tribal groups who are living isolated geographically, rest of the tribal population is living in close association with the adjoining groups 'Ghurye', 'Dubey', 'Srinivas', 'Sinha', 'Srivastav'. For example, the Dublas of Surat District (Gujarat) do not live forests. They live in fertile plains in the midst of advanced communities like the Anavils and Baniyas; nevertheless, they are included in the list of Scheduled tribe. On the other hand, the Pankas found in the Jungles living with the Marias near Chitrakot and Kutumsar in Bastar are excluded. Therefore, Geographical mis-location, in the case of majority of tribes does not fit in the case of Indian society.

Linguistic separation

A large number of the tribes, the Santhals, the Mundas, the Oraons, the Khonds, the Korkus, speak languages which either belong to the Khewari or Mundari group of language or to the Dravidian family, and are, more often than not, different, different from the languages of the plains people among whom they have their being or with whom they have a large amount of social intercourse. The languages of the latter in most cases belong to the Indo Aryan family.

Many of these tribes, though they have preserved their tribal languages, can and very often do employ the Indo Aryan languages of the surrounding people in their routine intercourse. Many of them thus are bi-lingual, having their own mother-tongue and having more or less acquired the language of the neighboring people. There are others, like the Baigas, who have taken up the Indo-Aryan tongue of the locality in place of their own language, whatever it might have been. Other Like the Bhils speak languages which are dialects of the local languages. In all cases the languages spoken by the so-called aborigines were till recently only spoken tongues and had no scripts of their own. Needless to say, they had no literature, the only kind of it being what is known as folk-literature. Vix, folk songs and folktales. There is some poetry enshrined in some of the

folk-songs make a strong appeal to the aborigines who have been accustomed from their childhood to listen to end to chant their tunes.

Social organisation of tribe

Thirdly, the social organisation of tribe is considered unique in terms of absence of cast type of organisation. Specific kinship organisation distinct marriage rules and diverse social arrangement tribe in this sense are definitely distinct but at the same time there are various other groups also which are distinct socially but still are not tribe.

Social interdependence

Fourthly, tribe can also identify functional interdependent within their own community. This also calls for interactional autonomy with respect to adjoining groups. This point towards the self sufficiently and independent venture of the tribe but in this case again the process of assimilation has made functionally dependent on the others group. Dr. Conducts an in –depth research on this aspect and concludes that tribes were always in a state of functional interaction with caste Hindus.

Administrative notion

Fifthly, the administrative notion of tribe considered them as a scheduled also suffer with a number of problems the criteria of backwardness use of such definition may apply only part of the tribe. In the same way numbers of tribes have adopted a Christian faith still they are recognized as tribes. For tribes of North East Apart from this other ingredients type homogeneity, territorial integrity also suffers with the same problem.

Economic backwardness

Sixthly, tribes are generally considered as economically backward as comparing to adjoin groups. In this sense the presence of a traditional economy (Non-monetized). Primitive means of resources and primitive means of exploiting and are often takes as indicator of tribal group particular occupations, dependence of forest produce shifting cultivation, use of traditional technology are some of the example but again there are huge population in India which have shifted to settled agriculture, taking employment in industry and even government and other jobs by taking modern education Negi of Uttar Pradesh and Meena of Rajasthan show their visible presence in civil services. This again proposes a definition of tribe problem. In some areas they were just advanced as the rest of the population; for example the Gond in Nagpur Tehsil is no different from the Kumbi, the Raj Gond in Jabalpur is just as advanced as the Lodhi, and so on.

Therefore, Backwardness is a relative term, and very caste or community may be more or less backward as compared to other castes or communities.

Scheduled status as tribes

In the Constitution the criteria have not been clearly stated. They are listed as scheduled tribes because of the "Kind of life led by them which is considered as peculiar". A tribe may be "scheduled" or may not be. The scheduled status is given for the purpose of providing certain benefits. Article 342 of the Constitution attributes

“isolation, backwardness and cultural distinctiveness” as the characteristics of the Scheduled Tribes.

Therefore, certain groups though may be tribes may not be considered so. Moreover, A tribe may be converted to Christianity/ Hinduism, but it still remains a tribe’ but may not get scheduled tribe status.

Finally the typical Attitude of tribe in distinct political organization, psychological conversation etc cannot test regional variability.

Understanding of tribes in Indian context

Bailey (1960) has suggested that the only solution to the problem of definition of tribes in India is to conceive of a Continuum of which at one end are tribes and at the other are castes. Sinha (1965) too thinks of tribe and caste in terms of a continuum but his ideas are more elaborates and he brings in the concept of civilization. For him, the tribe is ideally defined in terms of its isolation from the networks of social relations and cultural communications of the centres of civilization. It has been suggested that wherever civilizations exist, tribes can be described, defined and analysed only in contrast to that civilization which it may fight, serve, mimic or adopt but cannot ignore.

In India, there are numerous examples of tribes transforming themselves into the larger entity of the caste system; other have become Christian or Muslim. They also join the ranks of peasantry and in modern times become wage labourers in plantations, mining and other industries. Thus, in our concept of tribe we should not overlook these changing aspects. Evolving and understanding of tribes necessitate the due consideration of such diversity and variation. The possibility of a community having all the typical features of tribes has remote. These typical features as discuss include geographically isolation, common dialect, common social organization, typical cultural attribute like totemic economic specifically and backwardness.

Therefore, it is very difficult to given an exact criterion for distinguishing tribe. Scholars have tried to define the term tribe by enumerating their characteristics features, by considering them as a stage in the evolutionary framework, by distinguishing them from castes and by considering them as a part of Indian civilization.

In this way instead of generating a single definition of tribe various sociologist and committee have identified tribal group rather than a single definition of tribe.

Shrikant committee divided the tribes into four categories: Tribals, semi –tribals, Acculturated tribals and Assimilated tribals Ghurye divided them into three classes: first, member of fairly high status within Hindu society, Raj Gonds; second, partially Hindu zed and, thirdly, hill sections. Assimilation of the tribals attracted a number of anthropologists. Ghurye characterized the tribal as backward Hindus (1963) and argued that may attempt to isolate them from the mainstream of India life would be meaningless.

Majumdar (1974) “Hindu influence” responsible and gave a threefold classification: (i) real primitive, (ii) primitive tribe with a degree of association with Hindu caste and (iii) Hinduzed tribes whereas Elwin (1943) talked about it as the “external influence” and suggested four types of tribes, viz, (i) most primitive, (ii) individualistic and used to outside life, (iii) detribalized and (iv) tribal aristocrats. In the Indian Conference of Social work in 1952, four divisions of tribals were made: (i) tribal communities, (ii) semi –tribal

communities, (iii) acculturated tribal communities and (iv) totally assimilated tribals. Dube (1960) classified them into five categories considering the present habitation and behaviour of the new communities which come in contact. According to this classification they are: (i) aboriginals living in seclusion, (ii) tribal group with some village folk association, (iii) tribals living in mixed villages, (iv) tribals who have been forced to live as untouchables, and (v) tribals enjoying a high social status.

These classifications reveal that the process of assimilation has been a part and parcel of the Indian tribal culture. Many anthropologists have explained in their own ways. Sanskritization of Srinivas (1957) and tribe –caste continuum model given by Sinha (1965) for the Bhumijis, by Srivastava (1966) for the Bhutias by Sachidananda (1970) for the Gonds explain the phenomenon. L. K. Mahapatra (1968) feels that there was an age –old process of cultural assimilation in Orissa especially among the tribes like the Binjhal, Bhuiyan, Gond, Kond, etc. the Hos (Majumdar, 1950 and Rai., 1967) have exclusiveness as an important character but much has been adopted from the Dikkus (the Hindus neighbours). In the Dikku Andi way of marriage, a Brahman presides over the ceremony. The Parhayas feel proud to be called Hindus. The Bhumijis are now Hinduized (Sinha, 1965). Thus the definition of tribe depends on their habitat, cultural customs, beliefs, ways of living dialect and social and economic conditions.

Reviewing the literature on tribes and peasantry Andre Beteille wrote in 1987 that there was no satisfactory way of defining the tribal society. Arguing that it was difficult to call any one a tribal in Indian society, rather the agrarian society was comprised of a heterogeneous body of peasants cut up into various ethno –linguistic categories. In a similar vein Gurha also argues that historically informed anthropologists like G.S.D. Ghurye and D.R. Gadgil were justified in repudiating the categories of aboriginals and tribals and that historical record supported such skepticism, there is a continuum. There are multiplicity of definitions. There are tubers of tribes.

GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD

India has the largest concentration of tribal people anywhere in the world except perhaps in Africa. The lifestyle of tribal is conditioned by the Eco-system. India, with a variety of Eco-system, presents a varied tribal population throughout its length and breadth. The different tribal communities are found in most of the states of India covering nearly 8 percent of India's total population. However, exact ethnographic data on a number of tribal communities are lacking. Some of the large tribal communities are distributed in a wide region and often profess varied occupations. Again, a few tribal groups are divided into a number of sub-group which are practically distinct tribal groups. In many cases, some distinct tribal groups have identical names. Besides these, the scheduling of tribes has also created a problems as in many cases, a tribe may be scheduled in one state and not so in another state. For all these reasons, any classification needs careful endeavour. Still it can be said that the tribal communities belong to different racial stocks, speak languages of different families and show considerable variation in their basic economy.

Though the tribal communities are distributed in most of the status on India, there are a few concentration points of regional distribution. Vidyarthi (1977) has suggested a five-fold classification on the basis of regional distribution of the tribal population. Dube (1960) and Atal (1965) have suggested a four-fold classification while Chaudhuri (1982) has suggested a six-fold classification.

Broadly, the tribals are concentrated in the following regions of India:

- a) **North – Eastern region:** in the mountain valleys and other areas of north –eastern India covering Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura live tribes like the Abor, Garo, Khasi, Kuki, Mismi, Naga, etc. who mostly belong to Mongolian racial stock.
- b) **Himalayan region:** In the hilly areas and sub-himalayan areas covering parts of North Bengal, Sikkim, U.P., Himachal Pradesh, etc. live a number of tribal groups like the Lepcha, Bhotia, Rabha, etc. belonging to Monoglian racial stocjk.
- c) **Central India :** In the older hills and Chotanagapur Plateau, along the dividing lines between peninsular India and the Indo-Gangetic basin, live many tribal communities like the Bhumij, Gond., HO. Oraon, Munda, Santal, etc. covering the states of Bihar, Orisa, M.P. and West Bengal and mostly belong to proto Australoid racial stock.
- d) **Western region:** Covering the states like Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, Dadra and Nagar Haveli live a number of tribal communities the most important of them being the Bhi racially belonging to the Proto – Astraloid group.
- e) **Southern region:** covering the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala, in the Nilgiri Hills and covering lines the Chenchu, Irula, Kadar, Kota, Kurumba. Toda etc. having Negrito, Caucasoid, Proto –Australoid or mixed physical features.
- f) **Island region:** Covering Andaman, Nicobar and Lakshadweep Islands live a number of small tribes like the Andamanese, Onge, Sentinilese, etc.

Administrative view

The areas inhabited by the tribals constitute a significant part of the under developed areas of the country. The tribals live mostly in isolated villages or hamlets. A significant portion of their population has now settled in permanent villages as well as in towns and cities. On the whole, as per rough estimates, the prominent tribal areas constitute about 15 percent of the total geographical area of the country.

There are 533 tribes (with many overlapping types in more than one State) as per notified Schedule under Article 342 of the Constitution of India in different States and Union Territories of the country with the largest 62 being in the State of Orissa.

Among the notified tribes, a group is still at most primitive stage. They continue to live in isolated areas and practice either primitive agriculture or no agricultural or no agricultural practice and most of them are still in food gathering stage with almost stagnating population. Such groups (75Nos.) are named as Primitives Tribal Groups (PTGs). They are spread over 15 States/UTs.

Colonial policies and Tribes

Historically there have been main types of policies towards the tribes:

1. Policy of Segregation/ Isolation.
2. Policy of Assimilation: A result of constant contact of the Tribes with the rest of Indian population and the efforts of Social Reformers.
3. Policy of Integration of the Tribes in Regional and National setting. These approaches may be viewed in some detail.

Historically, the people considered tribals were living forest and hilly areas as part and parcel of Indian population. They had enjoyed a free life of their own. It was only in the immediate past in the British period of Indian history that these people were approached in quite a different way. Need for a policy towards tribes was felt after the consolidation of British rule in Bengal in the later half of 18th Century. Initially Colonial powers extended Politico-Administrative rule in Bengal which had considered Tribal concentration. The revenue administration was extended to villages through gradual institution of land tenure systems.

The initial efforts from the Britishers have extended revenue administration of tribal areas through either Britishers administration or local attribute could not be much successful. The notion of the "Tribe" held by the Britishers was one of primitive, barbaric or uncivilized people. Conforming to civilizational ideal, initially British tried to interference in the socio-culture life of the tribals. Both these efforts were registered by the labor in the form of number of revolts which started from the end of the 18th century. Towards the beginning of the 19th century, by an act, the Christian missionaries were legally allowed to operate in Tribal areas. Religious missionaries followed a policy which was a mix of isolation, assimilation and integration.

Therefore initial efforts of the British did not bear much fruits. In the middle of the 19th century a policy of administration segregation which result beginning of policy of administrative isolation toward the tribes. Because the British tribal policy was political and colonial, the British administrators feared, that if these tribals (bow-and-arrow armed tribals were often labeled as militant, unruly and jungle) were to have contact with the mainstream of Indian society, the freedom movements would gain further strength. In this background it seemed logical to them to isolate, administratively and politically, the religious that had predominantly tribal populations.

Excluded and partially excluded were created from keeping the tribes in isolation. As tribal habitations coincided with the forests, they had to formulate a separate policy for the forests in order to facilitate the appropriation of the forests for satisfying the commercial interests. In pursuance of this need, they systematically took away the traditional rights of the tribes to appropriate the forests. Through various forests acts tribes were confined to small pieces of forests. This led to further impoverishment of the tribes.

Apart from all these efforts certain benevolent administrators, social reformers also approached the tribes from the humanistic angle. They contributed towards the improvement of the health, education economic, status of the tribes.

It must be mentioned here; the tribe in India never shared homogenous conditioned features. Certain tribes were geographically isolated living in hills, forests, in isolation on one stream and in close association with the Hindu population on the other. They different highly in terms of the degree of socio-cultural segregation vis-à-vis others groups. The segregation was quite visible in North East India but least in Central India. The colonial policy towards tribes only considered these groups as tribes. Thus, the colonial policy towards the tribals had two major elements. Firstly, it favoured **isolation** of the tribal areas from the mainstream (Bhowmick 1980); Chaudhuri (1982). Thus was given the concept of 'excluded' and or 'partially excluded areas'.

Secondly, at the level of reform, the British administration was interested in 'civilizing' these people. In their ethno-centric assessment, the tribals were viewed at par, with stage of bestiality. In the words of Sir E.B. Taylor these people inhabiting the hilly or forested terrain with sparse population and difficult communication were 'social fossils'; a study of who would illuminate the prehistoric phases of human existence.

Policy of Segregation

Administrative segregation

The foremost policies which were adopted by the British rulers were to isolate these people from the general mass and separate the tribal areas from the purview of the normal administration. The policy of isolation by the British Government was largely affected by their deliberated efforts not to develop communication in the tribal areas which, as a result remained cut off from the rest of the population. A few roads that were constructed were for security purpose and to enable contractors to exploit the forest produce, communication with the other groups of people, e.g., plain people, was also discouraged as the tribal areas were made secluded by the authority. The most burning example that can be cited in this respect is of the north-eastern Himalayan tribes. They had no communication with the rest of India and consequently a sense of separatism had developed in them.

In isolated tribal areas a very small number of people were allowed some contractors, government officials and a few businessmen. They grouped together and started business on their own terms. This isolation led to much exploitation by non-tribals added to their strain of fighting a lone battle against nature in the hilly and forest areas.

In some areas the British rules also created "excluded" and "partially excluded" area and then separate political representation. In fact the area-wise isolation began with the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1870 and a few tracts were specified as 'scheduled tracts' viz., in the Himalayan region, the then Assam Darjeeling, Kumaon and Garhwali, the then Tarai Paragana, Jaunsar-Bawar, Lahaal, and Spiti; in middle India, Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana, Angul Mahal, Chanda, Chhattisgarh, Chhindwara, Mapur (Indore) Jhansi, Mirzapur, Ganjam; in western India, Panch Mahals, Mewasi (Khandesh); and in south India. Vizagapatam (Visakhapatnam) Godavari, and Lakshadweep, in 1874 the scheduled District Act gave effect to the Government of India Act 1870. A number of Acts were enforced from time to time till 1919 when certain territories were declared "Backward Tracts" under the Government of India Act of 1919 the areas were more or less, the same as those of 'scheduled tracts' and 'scheduled districts' with certain additions and omissions

They considered certain areas to be backward, the people, being primitive without political institutions as so on. Again in 1936 two areas were created "Excluded Areas" and "Partially excluded Areas" Under sections 91 and 92 of the Government of India Act of 1935. The list of the areas was embodied in the Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas) order, 1936. On the whole the list of excluded areas or partially excluded areas largely left the situations as it was in 1874 barring only certain areas on the then frontiers. The main features of distinguish an Excluded Areas from a partially Excluded Areas were:

1. The governor functioned in his own discretion in an "excluded area".

2. The expenditure in regard to the former was non-votable while the demands in the latter case were subject to a vote of the Legislature,
3. The discussion of any matter regarding the excluded areas needed prior consent of the Governor.

In 1939 Elwin advocated (1939: 511 -519) for the "establishment of a sort of National Park" of the tribals and advice that their contact with the outside world should be reduce to the minimum. Again in 1941 he (Elwin: 1941) supported the idea of "isolationism" to a great extent.

Forest Policy and tribes

Before the advent of the British rule the regulation of people's use of forest was mainly through local customs. Their own beliefs regarding both plantation and feeling of trees, contributed much to the conservation and expansion of forests. The forest policy followed by British administration in India has entailed hardship on the so called aborigines. The forests adjoining the village are the natural grazing grounds for the cattle of the agriculturists, who resort to them also for collecting cow dung and firewood. The manure of the village fields is provided by the cow -dung, dry leaves, and dry wood to be procured from the forests.

The relationship between the tribal communities and the forest is extremely close. The tribals are generally called Vanya Jati or forest dwellers. The relationship is symbiotic i.e. a close and multi faceted inter independence. The main aspects of the relationship are economic, religio-cultural and emotional. Economically, certain groups of tribals heavily depend on forests. These groups are the food gatherers, hunters and shifting cultivators. A majority of the remaining tribal communities also support and supplement their economy from forests by way of collection and sale of minor forest produce (MFP), materials uses in crafts, fuel. Wage-earning in the forest work is another vital supplementary source. The religion-cultural life of the tribes dwelling in the forests revolves round the forests. Their benefits, abode of gods and the spirits, taboos etc., are all forest, linked. Emotionally, many tribal communities are so much attached to the forest life that they find it difficult to imagine a meaningful existence bereft of the forests.

The British saw Indian forests as a valuable resource to be exploited for the purpose of revenue and export combined with a general policy to increases the agricultural land at the cost of forest. They started heavy deforestation for the needs of their Navy, much before initiating a forest policy in 1855. Governor General Dalhousie issued a memorandum on forests conservation to curtail the previous access enjoyed by rural communities declaring teak as state property the felling of which was to be strictly regulated. Restrictions were also placed on the collection of MFP. As a follow up of the policy, an inspector General of Forest was appointed by the Government of India in 1856. Forest Act of 1865 was made to regulate forest exploitation, management and preservation. The hitherto socially regulated practices of the locals were to be restrained by law. The law was applicable only to the forests notified as government property, and not private forests. At this movement, three distinct strands of thinking manifested within the colonial bureaucracy on the question of customary common property rights. The first section, called 'annexationist' by Gadgil and Guha, wished for a total state control over all forest areas.

Baden-Powell and the then Secretary of the Agricultural Department A.O Hume took this position that state monopoly of forests and wasteland was an undisputed

feature of 'Oriental' Sovereignty and the colonial state by its 'right of conquest' inherited this monopoly right. The second prominent position mainly held by forest officials of Madras government, denied the legitimacy of any state intervention in the customary rights of use exercised by the rural communities. The legitimacy position, represented by the Inspector – General of Forests, Dietrich Brandis and some officials, held the view that the state had undisputable right in certain cases but favoured retention of customary rights of villagers to freely graze their cattle, cut wood, etc, subject to some restriction by the state. The passing of Indian Forest Act (1878) clearly resolved the question in favour of an 'annexationists' position.

Forest Act of 1878 aimed to remove the existing ambiguities about the absolute proprietary rights of State. It increased government control over forests. The classification of forests into reserved, protected and village forests was introduced. The acts like grazing of cattle and entry for collection of fuel in reserved forest were abolished and declared punishable offenses. Thus, it meant total exclusion of right holders from forest management. The area under reserved forests was increased gradually.

Forest Policy Resolution 1894 was more favourable disposed to village needs to assuage widespread discontent. It declared that forests would be administered in public interest, but went on to further restrict the claims of the local communities in the larger interest and in consistence with imperial interest. The rights of the forest dwelling communities were changed to rights and privileges. A new four –fold classification was introduced – (a) Such forests the preservation of which was essential on economical and fiscal grounds; (b) Forests which supplied valuable timbers for commercial purpose; (c) Minor forests; and (d) Pasture land. The resolution also allowed freely the conversation of forests into cultivable lands and made some suggestions for utilization of wastelands. Conversation of forest land facilitated tea and coffee plantation by Europeans and increased entry of outsiders into tribal areas.

Under the Indian Forest Act of 1927, the government increased its control over the forest and strengthened the forest department with a view to regulate people's claims to forest land and produce and increase its commercial exploitation. Certain MFP became commercially valuable and hence there was a need to further reduce traditional rights and codify all the practices of the forest officials. The rights were classified as concessions, rights, privileges and an emphasis was led on detailed codification regarding these. By and large, the private forests could also now be taken over by the government. The machinery to punish offense under the Act was strengthened and the powers of the forest officials enlarged. Large areas in the princely states were also drawn into forest management.

The British policy relating to forest management had thus been fashioned to satisfy the needs in England as well as India, and earn large revenues. The result was a loss of cohesion in the rural communities, utter misery for tribal groups depending on forests, opening up of their areas to outside elements and fast decline in their traditional management systems and in –born sense of ecology. Even at the time of framing the 1874 law, the government of Madras Presidency also led to unrest and uprising in different parts of country.

Policy of reform

In a colonial assessment, the tribals were viewed at par with stage of bestiality. They treated the 'contemporary primitives' as the remnants or survivals of the early stages of humanity, savagery and barbarism. In the words of Sir E.B. Taylor, these people inhabiting the hilly or forested terrain with sparse population and difficult communication were 'social fossils' a study of whom would illuminate the prehistoric phases of human existence. Consequently, Missionaries were sent to some of the difficult areas inhabited by these people. Animism, as the tribal religion was often characterised, was replaced by one or the other denomination of Christianity. Beginning with the conversion of the Khasi of Assam in 1813, of the Oraon of Chotanagpur in 1850 and of the Bhil of Madhya Pradesh in 1880 by Christian missionaries, Christianity brought about many changes in the cultural life of the tribals in India. Schools were opened up, and obviously English was opted as the main language of instruction. Along with come the Western medical system, which slowly started exorcising the traditional practices of cure, styles of life and ways of behaviour began changing. And they became very conspicuous in dress patterns, especially of men.

And this evaluation – the tribal culture must be 'museumified' lest it disappear with the onslaught of modernity promoted the classical ethnographic studies. In them, the way they were changing was not attended to. The attempt was to record as meticulously as possible the tradition, or better the dying tradition of the people.

Issues of integration and autonomy

Historically, the people considered were living in remote forest and hilly areas as part and parcel of India population. They had enjoyed an autonomous life of their own. Colonial policy towards tribe resulted in exploitation of the tribes and breakage of their nexus with ecological environment. The past experience of the policies of isolation and assimilation followed by the colonial government introduced disparities in tribal situation. The western notion of modernity followed by the administrators and missionaries resulted in attempts to assimilate and then to the national mainstream. Certain tribes were left isolated and some other like parts of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and north east got modern education.

This forced by thinkers and social reformers to go a midway which might have been more fruitful. The ideal of "unity in diversity" was followed in order to reconcile divergent interests with Indian nationalism. The social reformers, politicians, anthropologists as experts on the tribal ways of life and the administration combined their skills and adopted an integrated approach towards the tribals. Therefore, policy of integration has found acceptance particularly, after independence. The fundamental premise of this policy is to integrate the tribal groups in the national mainstream without compromising with their own identity. This policy gets its broad conception from the late Jawaharlal Nehru's "Tribal Panchsheel", i.e., five fundamental principles for the tribal upliftment, as an integrational approach which was later confirmed by the research of anthropologists. The principles are:

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
2. Tribal rights to land and forests should be respected.

3. We should try to train and build up a term of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
4. We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry, to their own social and cultural institutions.
5. We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

The tribal development programme undertaken after Independence aimed at extending the fruits of development to the tribes without comprising of their identity. The term tribal welfare has been used to cover an all-round development of the tribals as a weaker section of the Indian population. The Constitution of India envisage that "the State shall promote with special care and educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular, of the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

Therefore, Constitutional of India gives a special status to the tribes for the purpose of their development, without interfering in their social life directly. All these initiative at the level of ideology must conform to the policy of integration.

Particular approaches, i.e. (i) single-line administration, (ii) comparatively small districts due to communicational difficulties, (iii) area development approach to develop the area in its totality in the Fourth Plan and drawing the Sub-Plans in the Fifth Five Year Plans are a clear reflection of the policy of integration with the regional and national setting. It is also a good sign that the recently all the three districts of Nagaland have been bifurcated into seven districts and one big district of Madhya Pradesh, i.e. Raipur, have been bifurcated into two districts. The single district, Bastar, has been put under a Commissioner. In Bihar, too, the number of districts has been doubled to give better administration and to speed up development.

Certain constitutional provisions like 5th schedule promise separate administration structure for Scheduled and Tribal areas. Thus keeping the tribes isolated. The sub-committee, with Shri A.V. Thakkar, as Chairman, had emphasized that the great need of the aboriginal was protection from alienation of land and virtual serfdom under the moneylender. This clearly indicates that the Constituent Assembly had never recommended isolation of some area as specific area but has simply wanted the end of the exploitation. In the different Five Year Plan of tribal development faced financial segregation. The fund meant for "tribal welfare" was kept reserved for tribal development. Even Varrier Elwin advise on tribal affairs to the Government of Assam regarding isolation of tribals groups in certain extreme cases was later, modified by him, in the second edition of this book (1959), he said, "we do not want to preserve the tribesmen as museum specimens, but equally we do not want to stop the clock of progress but we do to see that it keeps the right time. We may not believe in the myth of noble savage but we do not want to create a class of ignoble....."

There is no denying the fact that if one looks from the broader perspective in the last seventy years of planning the policy is one of integration.

Policy of assimilation

The assimilation either directly or indirectly of the tribal people with the rest of the population is another trend which has picked up firstly as a continuous process of the culture contact with the neighboring population and secondly as an outcome of government policy though not deliberate. Construction of development projects leads to submergence of land. Unfortunately, the area that comes under submergence lies in the tribal areas. Entire villages and close-knit tribal communities get displaced and uprooted from their tribal habitat. Similarly large-scale mining of coal, iron, bauxite, copper, limestone and diamond which have already come up in the tribal areas devastating large areas and displacing local communities. Exposure to same education system has also created problems like a perceived threat of identity.

FOREST POLICY 1988

It includes maintenance of environment stability; conservation of natural heritage, checking soil erosion and denudation, massive afforestation and social forestry programs to meet the needs of rural and urban population, efficient utilization of forest produce and creation of massive people's movement for achieving these objects. The policy, however, relates rights/concessions for the local communities to the carrying capacity of the forest which is a very controversial issue and a vague test. The tribals feel that defining this concept should not be left to the forest officials alone. Moreover, the resolution emphasizes social forestry as the main source for meeting the needs of the forest dwellers. But development of social forestry, again, is very much, in the hands of the Forest Department, who, it has been seen in many tribal areas like, Bastar, Nilgiris etc., have planted such commercial species as pine and eucalyptus which are of no use to the tribal households. It is also seen that while the forest produce from reserved and protected forests is given for industrial use at throw away prices, the needs of the tribal handicraft workers are fulfilled at much higher prices. There are some other difficulties with this policy. It bans totally the entry of tribals to reserved forests and to supply them rights/concessions only from forest depots. It is known that these depots are inadequate by way of number and locations and tribals face exploitation and harassment in these depots.

The 1988 policy breaks a new ground in the case of shifting cultivation. It makes a general resolve to find out way to discourage shifting cultivation and take up social forestry and plantation in the areas damaged by shifting cultivation. But shifting cultivation is not a homogeneous variety and some areas may even be suitable for shifting cultivation. Suitable packages of alternative cultivation/plantation have to be evolved for different areas at micro level. As the Working Group for VIII Plan has pointed out, these efforts are still in an initial stage.

Moreover, the tribals were finding the restrictions quite confusing. Good forests have been clear-felled to make room for industries and mines. Major river valley projects have submerged large chunks of forests. Large thermal power stations and major iron ore, coal and bauxite mines have come up in the midst of forest causing irreparable damage to the environment.

The State refuses to recognize forests as a life-support of the tribal communities living in and around them. It exercises first right on this asset and has persisted in pursuing the anti-people colonial forest policy in an even more unscientific way inimical both to sustainable management of this asset and the tribal communities who draw sustenance from it. Thus overall the government has been following a policy of

integration towards tribes. But there are other aspects of the policy which has resulted in the dissatisfaction among the tribes.

Issues of autonomy

The attempts of Integration after Independence have raised number of issues leading to *disparity in the development* of different tribes in different regions.

1. Tribes in number of areas have accused the state Government for not giving enough attention to their problem and there by developing the perception of discrimination.
2. Exposing tribes to the same education system has resulted in perception of *threat to identity*.
3. This unrest becomes aggravated by non-recognition of tribal cultural/languages at the national or the state level. Due to non-availability of written script the tribes are unable to preserve their culture heritage.
4. In some areas, the geographically boundaries tribes, do not conform to state boundaries, thereby leading to *dissatisfaction* because of differential treatment to the members of the same tribe. All these have led to the generation of social movement among tribes generally expressing their distribution through demands of autonomy.

The various all-India tribal Conference organized by the Government or actively supported by it indirectly created solidarity in tribal India. But he found in this only additional encouragement to the demands for autonomy in some parts of the country. They take the forms of movements for autonomy for creation of *sub regional autonomy, separate states, demands for secession*. Autonomy demands are also expressed in terms of freedom to pursue their own culture. Movements for demand for recognition to tribal languages for protection of the culture have been seen in different parts of the country. Autonomy has also been understood in terms of economy of the "sons of the soil" from the outside exploiters. Tribal movements find their expression in all forms of insurgency, ethnic conflicts, demands from the state, political mobilization etc.

THE WORKING CLASS: STRUCTURE, GROWTH AND CLASS MOBILIZATION

The question who & what is working class is not & easy one to answer. There are several reason of this the working class is not a cohesive entity & it has numerous differences & contradicting. There is problem of where to draw the line. Who belong to the working class & who does not? The difference further extends in terms of skills, sex, age income & caste. Hence the working class is complex, contradictory constantly changing entity. But it is an entity – in other words, there is group of people denoted as “working class” who are not just the some of people. Even though there are differences & contradiction within the working class, they need to be recognized & analysed. One can not have single definition which will be all inclusive this is the because of the blurring of boundaries between classes & the different working classes. For example of worker 1970 is the not same as the worker in 2005, that is, the composition, the size & the character of class changes over a period of time therefore the requirement is of a series of definition which have to change in accordance with the changes in social structure.

In the Marxian scheme, the capitalist society is characterized by two principal classes: bourgeoisie & proletariat. Bourgeoisie owns mean production & proletariat sell their labour for wages in order to live the Marxist meaning of these terms have been specified clearly by angles in afoot note to the “communist manifesto”. By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalist, & by the proletariat the class of modern wage labourers. Hence, bourgeoisie is synonymous with capitalist & the proletariat with working class.

In recent year, the Marxist view on the working class has been counter essentially by two views giving contradictory analysis. The first view is that working class is literally disappearing with automation of industry & apparent displacement of blue collar jobs, the working is fast shrinking in size. However, blue collar workers are disappearing. The second view states the opposite; in this view all society is becoming working class. Blue collar, white collar worker & salaried employees of various kinds are all worker. The working class is not disappearing but is infect expanding with everybody joining it expect few capitalist at the top.

India has multi-structural economy where numbers of pre-capitalists of relations of production co-exist with capitalist relation of production. Correspondingly, here a differentiated working class structure exists i.e. the numerous types of relations of production, consumption and accumulation of surplus combine to produce a variety of forms of the existence of the working class. This is further compounded by the structural features of pan-Indian society with local conditions, so the compositions of the working class is affected by the caste, tribe, ethnic origin and the gender based division of labour between male and female and associated patriarchy. This empires that despite, internal structural differences and the relations of productions through which working people have been and continues to be, there exist a groups of people denoted as “working class”. Then, it becomes pertinent to analyses the growth of “working class” in India. This is particularly so, when one considers two facts. First, in India prior to 19th century

there were vast numbers of working people not working class. Second, the growth of capitalist mode of production along with industrialization was imposed by the colonial masters.

Growth of working class in India: The modern working class came into being with the rise of capitalist mode of production. This mode of production brought with it the factory system of production and working class happened simultaneously. Conversely, without a factory industry there can be no working class but only working people.

Traditional Indian economy and encounter with colonial

In India, as mentioned above, till the middle of the 19th century, there were working people but not the working class. In other words, Indian economy was characterized by what Marx termed as small and extremely ancient Indian communities are based on the possession in common land, on the blending of agriculture and handicraft, and a unadulterated division of labour, which serve, wherever a new community is started. The colonial rule of exploitation of British imperialists completely ruined the system of production of these traditional and self-sufficient societies. Hence, colonialist followed the trading policy where by they not only flooded the Indian market with British industrial products but maintained the constant supply of Indian raw materials and agricultural products to England.

The formative period

The forced intrusion of British capital in India devastated the old economy but did not transport it by forces of modern capital economy. So, traditional cottage industry and weavers famed for their skill through the centuries were robbed of their means of livelihood and were uprooted throughout India. The loss of the old world with no new gains led to extreme impoverishment of the people. The millions of ruined artisans and craftsmen, spinner, weavers, potters, smelters and smiths from the town and the village alike had no alternative but the crowd into agriculture, leading to deadly pressure on the land. Subsequently, with the introduction of railway and sporadic growth of some industries, a section of these very people at the lowest rung of Indian society who had been plodding through immense sufferings and impoverishment in village life entered the modern industries as workers. The first generation of factory workers, it appears, came from the distressed and dispossessed section the village people.

However, other studies point out of a different pattern of migration of workers from the village. The early working class was not the poorest of the poor. Buchanan's views were based on deductions. The studies of Monis and Chandavarker show that the lowest caste did not join the industries. Kalpana Ram's study of mines workers also shows something similar. There were two reasons for this. The wages were very low and it was not possible for the poor to migrate to the city with their families and work in factories. It would be difficult to maintain a family on low wages. Hence, both monis and ram note that initially middles class-those with some land-migrated. Their families stayed behind and the workers would send small amount of money to supplement the family earning/substance from land. Dalits/ lower castes did not migrate or they could not migrate as they were required to do the unclean activities in the village. Secondly, being landless, they could not subsist on those meager earning.

Emergence of working class

With the growth of modern factory industries, the factory workers gradually shaped themselves into a distinct category. The concentration of the workers class in the cities near the industrial enterprises was an extremely important factor in the formation of the workers as a class. Similar conditions in factories and common living conditions made the workers feel that they had a similar experience and shared interest and react in similar fashion.

Side by side with these forms of protest there were also other forms of struggle characteristic of the working class. Typical working class actions such as strike against long hours of work, against wage cuts, against supervisor's extortion were increasing in numbers and the tendency to act collectively was also growing. As early as 1879/80 there was a threat of a strike in Champdani jute mill against an attempt by the authorities to introduce a new system of a single shift which was unpopular with workers. Presumably because of these strike threats the proposed system was ultimately abandoned. However, the process of class formation among workers in India was marked by fundamental differences opposed to their European counterparts. It had far-reaching consequences on the growth of the Indian working class. These differences are:

- a) Though in Europe also in artisans and the craftsmen were dispossessed of their profession, they were not forced out of towns to crowd the village economy. They found employment in the large industries as soon as they were dispossessed of their old professions. In India, after the destruction of traditional handcraft and cottage industry, modern industry did not grow up in its place. The dispossessed artisans and craftsmen were compelled to depend on the village economy and earn livelihood as landless peasants and agricultural laborers.
- b) The gap between destruction of traditional cottage industry and its partial replacements by modern industries was about two to three generations. The dispossessed artisans and craftsmen lost their age-old technical skill and when they entered the modern industries, they did so without any initial skills.
- c) When the workers, after long and close association with agricultural life, entered the modern industries and got transformed into modern workers, they did it in with the full inheritance of the legacy and various superstitions, habits and customs of agricultural life. There was no opportunity for these men to get out of casteism, racialism and religious superstitions of Indian social life and harmful influence of medieval ideas. They were born as an Indian working class deeply imbued with obscurantist ideas and backward trends. However, this feature they shared with some of their European counterparts, as well, such as the British working class who too had suffered similar problems.

These peculiarities accompanying the birth of Indian workers acted as hindrances to the development of their modern outlook and class consciousness. In fact the Indian workers were not the only workers characterized by these peculiarities; rather these were general characteristics of the working class of the colonies and sub-colonies.

Consolidation of the working class

The end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century was marked by the organized national movements and consolidation of the working class. The national movements, especially in Bengal and Maharashtra had already assumed a developed form which exerted a great impact on the later national awakening of the entire country.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 aroused bitter public indignation and gave rise to mass national upsurge. This political development worked as a favorable condition for the Indian working class too for moving ahead with its economic struggles and raising them to a higher pitch. The period from the beginning of the century till the outbreak of the First World War was marked with widespread and dogged struggles of which were not only economic struggles, but political struggles also. That is these struggle led to the laying of the foundation of the first trade unions of the country. Moreover, the turn of the country was also marked by the advance in industrialization with concomitant swelling of the working class in numerical strength.

On the eve of the First World War, the capitalist development of India got accelerated. There was increase in the number of joint stock company i.e in 1900 the number of joint stock firms was 1360, which in 1907 rose to 2166. It marked the further increase at the beginning of the first world war when the number of registered firms stood at 2553. However, with the outbreak of war the colonial exploitation of India assumed horrible proportions. The govt. widely used the country's industrial potential for the needs of war. In all these Indian bourgeoisie got opportunities to prosper.

The main advantage accruing to Indian bourgeoisie during war were less competition from major imperialist powers, a large market for the country made goods inside. And outside the country, war contracts, relatively cheaper raw agricultural materials, lower real wages and higher prices of manufactured goods. But for the working class it was a tough time. This was because the soaring up of prices reduced the living standards of working class. While rural areas were affected by the rise of prices of manufactured goods, the towns faced higher food prices. The expansion of industrialization saw swelling of numbers of factory workers. In 1919, the large scale industries of the country employed 13,67,000 workers. Of this 3,06,300 were employed in 277 cotton spinning and weaving mills; 1,40,800 in 1940 cotton ginning factories and 2,76,100 in jute factories and presses. The railway shops employed 1,26,100 workers.

The October socialist revolution and subsequent sweeping mass and working class struggles formed the background under which the first organization of the Indian working class called All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was born. In other words, the end of World War 1, the success of the October revolution and the first general crisis of capitalism added new strength to the anti-imperialist struggle of India.

The working class too did not fail to occupy its own place in the anti-imperialist struggle. In this regard it is important to note that the background of political struggle during 1905-8 is the unprecedented dimension of class struggle waged by the Indian working class in the national and international set-up of the post war period against capitalist exploitation bore more significance from the point of view of workers class consciousness.

Recession on Indian industry and economy began already in the year 1922 continued intensifying. In 1929 the impact of the world economy recession and general crisis of world capitalism veritably shook the Indian economy. Though the World War 1 provided a number of industries with some temporary advantages or opportunities to expand and saw limited growth of some industries, in real sense India's industrialization was absolutely of a sprawling character and without any basic consolidation. The mill owner attempted to reduce wages of workers. It is the particular misfortune of the Indian working class that they ultimately had to fall victim to the intensive rivalry between imperialists and native capitalist. The working class of India had to proceed through a path of bitter struggle. The investigation conducted by the Bombay Labour

office into the working class. Budget of 1921-23 revealed that the quantity of daily food consumed by the Bombay workers was less than what was available to the prison inmates. An enquiry conducted by the Madras labour department also revealed a similarly shameful state of affairs.

The years 1926-29 constitute an eventful phase of the working class struggle. During this phase the Indian communist movement stood on a firm foundation poised for advance. Communist influence on the working class movement was felt to be very strong. Large scale strikes were conducted during these years. Although the govt. tried to dub these strikes as communist conspiracies. These struggles led by the communists, in many cases were in fact, a sharp manifestation of the simmering discontent of a working class afflicted with crushing problems. Sharpening of struggles, side by side acted to further widen outlook of the working class and these were borne out by the very nature of its activities at both national and international levels. The govt. in response tried to root out the militant section of the working class movement by unleashing draconian measures. With a view to keeping the speeding working-class movement under safe control, they on one hand introduced the "trade union act", 1926 and on the other passed the trade disputes act and public safety act for tightening up their suppressive designs.

The world economic crisis of 1931-36 was the most profound and destructive of all economic crises capitalism has ever known. It dealt a shattering blow to the economy, the political foundation and ideology of bourgeoisie and in total effect it further aggravated the general crisis of capitalism. In India the repercussion of this crisis was more fatal. India's economy, where 80 percent of the people were dependent on agriculture came to a breaking point due to a fall in agricultural prices. The plight of the peasantry was beyond all imagination, their purchasing power came down to an all time low. In all industries, there was mass retrenchment and wages were slashed.

World War-II broke out on 3rd Sep 1939. This had a devastating effect on the Indian economy, working class in particular. The colonial govt. reoriented the work and hereby the industrial units introduced double to triple shifts of needs of leave facilities were curtailed. This was done to cater to the war condition in England. As far as workers were concerned, their economic situation was miserable in the pre-war period. This was because of the steady fall in the wage rates. Though there was a reversal in the trends of wage rates from 1936 onwards, the abnormal rise in prices had not only offset the rise in wages, the wages of the workers in the real terms had gone down. In such a situation the working class of India had to wage a struggle for protecting the existing standards of living. Working class embarked on a series of strikes in Bombay, Kanpur, Calcutta, Bangalore, Jamshedpur, Dhanbad, Jharia, Nagpur, Madras, Digboi of Assam.

Moreover, the greatest working class action in India was the anti-war strike which was organized in Bombay on 2nd October 1939 and was joined by 90,000 workers. This event along with other struggles indicates that during this period the outlook of the Indian working class did not remain confined solely to the economic demands. The working class rather fully kept pace with the national and international political developments and played a key role in the political struggles. In such an event the imperialist government directed severe attacks to forestall the struggle of the working class.

The defeat of fascism and end of the World War II saw the emergence of the Indian working class as a highly organized, class conscious and uncompromising force against the colonialist. The upsurge of world democratic national liberation forces that followed had its impact on India too. An unprecedented and irresistible struggle for

national liberation and democratic advance engulfed the country. Side-by-side the working class had to engage in sharp economic struggles. The reason was that after war there was large scale retrenchments of the wartime recruits and reduction of wages. Against all this, the working class resolutely started the struggle. The phenomenal rise in the number of strike actions in the year 1946 was an indication of the stiff resistance. All India trade union congress raised the demand of stopping retrenchment, minimum wage, eight hours work, health insurance scheme, old age pension, unemployment allowance and several other social security measures. To suppress this, govt. took recourse to extreme measures such as police firing and several other repressive measures. In this many workers had to lay down their lives while upholding their cause.

As soon as India becomes independent, the political climate of the country changed. This was particularly so for the working class. That is, till independence political and economic struggle of the class was directed against the colonial masters. Moreover, it was a broad political front against imperialism where everybody from the national bourgeoisie to the working class rallied with one common objective. But with independence began a new political dynamics, where power was in the hands of capitalists and landlords. Their economic interest was directly counter to those of the working class. With this, the objective of the struggle of the working class also saw a change i.e. to end the rule of the capitalist and establish socialism in the real sense of the term. This was thought to be the precondition for growing class-consciousness, which the majority of working class of India had not yet realized.

NATURE AND STRUCTURE OF THE WORKING CLASS TODAY

Given such an eventful history and evolution of the working class in India it is worthless to examine the nature and structure of the working class in the present circumstances. As mentioned above, due to the existence of multi-structural economy and effect of primordial affiliations, a variety of forms of the working class exists in India. On top of all the differences, the difference in wage is also the basis of divisions of the working class. On the basis of wage, there are four types of workers. First, those workers who are permanent employees of the large factory sector and get family wage.

They are mostly employed in the public sector enterprises and modern sectors of petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals, chemicals and engineering. Second there is a large and preponderant section of the working class that does not get a family wage. This includes workers in the older industries like cotton and jute textiles, sugar and paper. Even the permanent workers in the tea plantation come in the same category because the owners refuse to accept the norms of family wage for an individual worker. Third, there is a section of the working class at the bottom of the wage scale – the mass of contract and sometimes casual labourers in industry, including construction, brick making and other casual workers. Fourth, below all these lie a reserve army of labour who work in petty commodities production, in petty trading, ranging from hawking to rag-picking. They are generally engaged in the informal sector and carry on for the want of sufficient survival wage. The existence of a majority of workers, who are not paid family wage means that either the worker gets some form of supplement from other non-capitalist sectors or the worker or his/ her family cut down their consumption below the minimum standard. This also means that there is more than one wage earner per household. At the same time they also supplement these earnings with various kinds of agricultural activities including not only cultivation as such but also poultry and milk

production. Even in the plantation workers are given plots of land with which to carry on agricultural production. It is the supplementary agriculture activities that enable wages in these sectors to be kept low.

Not only is there wage differential among the working class, there is also variation in the terms of working conditions. Hence, better paid labour has also much greater job security. However the workers on the lower end of the wage scale have not only job security but also considerable extra-economic coercion and personal bondage which lead to lack of civil rights. Similarly working conditions for the low paid workers are uniformly worse than for high paid workers. So in the same plant or site there is a clear difference in the safety measures for the two groups of workers. The situation worsens further with regard to women workers. For example, women are not allowed to work in the steel plants for safety reasons, but are not prohibited to be employed on the same site as contract labour.

With such major divisions amongst the working classes of India, one would expect that there would be large scale mobility among, the workers. So a worker would start as casual or contract labour in a firm and then would move to permanent employment either in the same or other firms. A study by Deshpande (1979) of Bombay labour found the reverse to be true. That is, around 87 per cent of the regular employees, who had changed their jobs, had started as regular employees and only 13 per cent had started as casual Labour. In this regard Harris 1982 who conducted a study in Coimbatore, reported that individuals do not move easily between sectors of the Labour market. This means that mobility to a large extent is dependent upon the way recruiters are done. The above-mentioned study of Bombay Labour, though dealing with private sector, found that recruitments are done mainly through friends and relatives. A study in Ahmedabad by Subramaniam and Papola (1973) found that 91% of jobs were secured through introduction by other workers. This in a way then denies the disadvantaged groups, access to the high wage employment. In public sector, though a substantial portion of the vacancies are filled through employment exchange, it does not in any way mean that the casual, contract or other disadvantaged groups have equal access.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF INDIAN WORKING CLASS

Indian working class, as mentioned earlier, came from diverse social backgrounds in which primordial identities such as caste, ethnicity, religion and language played very important roles. In recent years, the significance of these elements has been reduced but they do persist nonetheless. In this regard, the Ahmedabad study (1973), points out that where jobs are secured through introduction by other workers, the latter was a blood relation in 35 per cent of the cases, belonged to the same caste in another 44 per cent and belonged to the same native place in another 12 per cent. Friends helped in 7 per cent of the cases. Several other studies have pointed out the role of kinship ties in getting employment. Kinship ties not only play a significant role in securing employment, but also in the placement in the wage scale. Five studies of Pune, Kota, Bombay, Ahmedabad and Bangalore covering large number of industries found that 61 per cent of workers were upper caste Hindus (Sharma 1970). The dominant position of the workers from upper caste was also brought out in a study of Kerala. This Study points out that in higher income jobs upper castes dominate whereas Dalits / adivasis have preponderance in low wage jobs. The middle castes are concentrated in middle to

bottom ranges. Even in public sector, the representation of backward castes, schedule castes and tribes is not up to their proportion in the population.

Moreover, it seems that caste based division of labour is followed in the class III and IV jobs in government and public sector enterprises. So the jobs of Sweepers are reserved for dalits and adivasis in coal mines, hard physical labour of loading and pushing the coal tubs. In steel plants the production work in the intense heat of coke oven and blast furnace is mainly done by adivasis and dalits. This is because of pre labour market characteristic such as education and land holding. So those who possessed more land and education ended up in a higher wage sector. But then if upper and lower caste people own comparable levels of landholding and education, the upper caste worker will get into a higher segment of the wage than the lower caste worker. This is because of the continuing importance of caste ties in recruitment. Caste also serves the faction of ensuring the supply of cheap labour for different jobs with fact of not paying more than what is necessary. In other words, the depressed conditions of advises and davits helps in ensuring a supply of labour, who can be made to work at the mere subsistence level (Nathan 1987). Hence, caste on one hand plays a role in keeping the lower sections of the society in the lower strata of the working class, on the other hand, the upper caste get a privilege in the labour market. Further, caste is not only a matter of marriage and to an extent residence, but more so a continuing pool of social relation for the supply of various kinds of labour for the capitalist mode of production.

INFORMAL SECTOR IN INDIA

Approaches for Social Security

Informal sector in India is broadly characterized as consisting of units engaged in the production of goods and services with the primary objectives of generating employment and income to the persons concern. These units typically operate at low level of organization, with little or no division between labour and capital as factors of production and on a small scale. Labour relations, where they exist, are based mostly on casual employment, kinship or personal or social relations rather than contractual arrangements with formal guarantees. Thus, production units in informal sector are not constituted as separate legal entities independently of the household or house hold members that own them and for which no complete sets of accounts are available which would permit a clear distinction of the production activities of the enterprises from the other activities of their owners. The owners of their production units have to raise the finance at their own risk and are personally liable, without limit, for any debts or obligations incurred in the production process. Expenditure for production is often indistinguishable from household expenditure. For statistical purpose, the informal sector is regarded as a group of production units, which form part of the household sector as household enterprises or equivalently, unincorporated enterprises owned by households.

In India, the term informal sector has not been used in the official statistics or in the National Accounts Statistics (NAS). The terms used in the Indian NAS are 'organized' and 'unorganized' sectors. The organized sector comprises enterprises for which the statistics are available from the budget documents or reports etc. On the other hand the unorganized sector refers to those enterprises whose activities or collections of data is not regulated under any legal provision or do not maintain any regular accounts. In the unorganized sector, in addition to the unincorporated proprieties or partnership

enterprises or partnership enterprises, enterprises run by cooperative societies, trust, private and limited companies are also covered. The informal sector can therefore, be considered as a sub-set of the unorganized sector.

Magnitude of workforce engaged in the unorganized/informal sector:

The national Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) carried out a sample survey in 1999-2000 and its results showed that out of total workforce of 397 million, only 28 million workers are employed in the organized sector and remaining in the unorganized sector. It reveals that over a decade, the employment in the organized sector has been almost stagnant or slightly declined.

In the light of definition of informal sector encompassing private unincorporated enterprises as mentioned above, NSS 55th round, 1999-2000 also covered non-agricultural enterprises in the informal sector in India. As per survey, there were 44.35 million enterprises and 79.71 million workers employed thereof in the non-agricultural informal sector of the economy. Among these 25.01 million enterprises employing 39.74 million workers were in rural areas whereas 19.34 million enterprises with 39.37 million workers in the urban area. Among the workers engaged in the informal sector, 70.21 million are full time and 9.5 million part times. Percentage of female workers to the total workers is 20.2 percent.

Relevancy of the Informal Sector in Indian Context:

Broadly, the informal sector provides income-earning opportunities for a larger number of workers. In India, there is large magnitude of workforce getting their livelihood from the informal sector. The enactment of legislations and other measures to bring them under the regulatory and social protection instruments will adversely affect the existing mechanism prevailing in the informal sector as it would lead to market imperfections creating hurdles in the smooth functioning of the market led economy. Besides, it requires huge infrastructural beyond the capacity of the Government in the changing scenario all over the world. The Government has to play a role of facilitator and promoter so that the workers employed in the informal sector are able to get requisite level of protection and security to have decent work environment enabling them to express their skills fully and according to their capabilities necessary for enhancing the competitiveness of their outputs and thereby raising their income and socio-economic status.

Importance of Informal Sector in Indian Economy:

About 370 million workers constituting 92% of the total workforce in a country were employed in the unorganized sector as per NSS Survey 1999-2000. It plays a vital role in terms of providing employment opportunity to large segment of the working force in the country and contributes to the national product significantly. The contribution of the unorganized sector to the net domestic product and its share in the total NDP at current prices has been over 60%. In the matter of savings the share of household sector in the total gross domestic saving mainly unorganized sector is about three fourth.

Thus unorganized sector has a crucial role in our economy in terms of employment and its contribution to the National Domestic Product, savings and capital formation. At present Indian Economy is passing through a process of economic reforms and liberalization. During the process, merger, integration of various firms within the industry and up gradation of technology and other innovative measures take place to enhance competitiveness of the output both in terms of cost and qualitative to complete in the international market. The low inefficient units either wither away or merge with other ones performing better. In this situation, there is a special need to take care of the interests of the workers by providing them training, upgrading their skills, and other measures to enable them to find new avenue of employment, improve their productivity in the existing employment, necessary to enhance the competitiveness of their product both in terms of quality and cost which would also help in improving their income and thereby raising their socio economic status. It has been experienced that formal sector could not provide adequate opportunities to accommodate the workforce in the country and informal sector has been providing employment of their subsistence and survival. Keeping in view the existing economic scenario, the unorganized sector will expand further in the years to come. Thus, it needs to be strengthened and activated so that it could act as a vehicle of employment provider and social development.

SOCIAL SECURITY

In Indian the term social security is generally used in its broadest sense, it may consist of all types of measures preventive, promotional and protective as the case may be. The measures may be statutory, public or private. The term encompasses social insurance, social assistance, social protection, social safety net and other steps involved.

There are number of models of providing social security to the workers in the unorganized sector. These may be classified as under:

- Centrally funded social assistance programmes.
- Social insurance scheme
- Social assistance through welfare funds of Central and State Governments, and
- Public initiatives

The centrally funded social assistance programmes include the employment oriented poverty alleviation programmes such as Swarnjayanti Gram Swarojgar Yojana, Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana, and Employment Assurance Scheme. National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) comprising old age pension, family benefit and maternity benefits to address the social security needs of the people below poverty line.

The social insurance schemes include several schemes launched by the Central and State Government for the benefit of weaker sections through the Life Insurance Corporation of India and General Insurance Corporation of India. There are schemes for the employees of shops and commercial establishments and other weaker sections. 'Janshree Bima Yojana' is a group insurance scheme and covers natural/accidental death, partial or total permanent disability due to accident and the people below poverty line and marginally above are eligible to join the Scheme. Another group insurance scheme for the agriculture landless labour, 'Krishi Shramik Samajik Yojana-2001' launched in July, 2001 provides for pension and insurance besides

providing money back. The contribution of the beneficiary is Rs. 1 per day while the Government contributes Rs. 2 per day.

Several public institutions and agencies are also imparting various kinds of social security benefits to the selected groups of workers. Among these self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) has made significant achievement in promoting social security through the formation of cooperatives.

Welfare funds represent one of the models developed in India for providing social protection to workers in the unorganized sector. The Government of India has set up five welfare funds. Central funds are administered through the Ministry of Labour for the beedi and workers in certain other occupations for whom no direct employer-employee relationship exists and is implemented without any contribution from the government. The scheme of welfare fund is outside the framework of specific employer and employee relationship in as much as the resources are raised by the Government on non-contributory basis and the delivery of welfare services is affected without linkage to individual worker's contribution. These funds are constituted from the cess collected from the employers and manufacturers/ producers of particular commodity/industry concerned.

The Government has also enacted a Central legislation for the building and other construction workers towards creation of welfare funds at the level of States. There are around 20 million construction workers in the country. A small cess is collected on the basis of the cost of a construction project which makes the corpus of the welfare fund for the construction workers. All facilities as enumerated above are provided to this section of the unorganized sector workers. Presently three States in the country namely, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Delhi have started implementing schemes under this Act. However, other States are in the process of adopting.

Moreover, the welfare fund models have successfully been implemented by various States for various categories of workers. The State of Tamil Nadu is running 11 Welfare Boards for workers like construction workers, truck drivers, footwear workers, handloom and silk weaving workers. Similarly, State of Kerala are also running several welfare funds for agricultural workers, cashew workers, coir workers, fisherman, toddy-tappers etc. The model is so popular that some of the other States like Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh are in the process of bringing out their own legislation for creation of welfare funds in the unorganized sector workers for providing them social security.

REGIONALISM AND DECENTRALISATION OF POWER

Regionalism

A region is a geographically contiguous area characterized by distinctive cultural identity, even a distinctive social order, shared economic interests & problems and often also a shared history, common language, religion, castes, kinship patterns, economic aspiration and problems. Region comes close to a nation. Regional identity is sub-nation identity.

Robert Stern: Casteism is least harmful problem, India has. Caste can not constitute nation, region can be used for separation.

Regionalism is a manifestation of concern for the region. When people express social concern for their region because of its distinct character, this process is called as regionalism. It can have different forms or expressions like moderate and virulent regionalism.

Moderate: group identifies with regionalism but its interests specific to region are not antithetical to nation interests. Though there is identification with region. People believe regional interests can be acts within the framework of nation identity.

Virulent: regional interests seen as antithetical to nation interests eg. NSCN in Nagaland, Hurriyat in Kashmir.

Causes for the prevalence of Regionalism:

Parties like Shiv Sena, Akalies, TDP are regional in nature, strongly identify with regional identity. Demand for autonomy or separate statehood like Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Telangana, Vidharbha, Harit Pradesh, Khalistan. These are manifestation of regional aspiration. Violence in Bihar and Assam is due to regionalism. It has both moderate and virulent expressions in India.

Factors

1. India is a plural society and never developed homogenous nation identity, historically. Process of nation building strengthened regional identities rather than weakening. Linguistic re-organisation of status is acceptance of so many regions. Regional identities are a fact. Federal structure of Indian union must be preserved. It is healthy, otherwise result in Balkanisation of India. India is surviving because of regionalism. Regional identities are historically established identities. Regions became stronger as nation building was attempted.

2. Secondly, excessive centralization. Blatant use of Article 356. Protest against tendencies towards distortion of federalism.

3. After independence, economic development has been uneven. Some areas progressed more than other areas, inspite of avowed balanced regional planning, North vs South, FDI go to south and west. These conditions of disparity will contribute to regionalism because regional disparities create conditions similar to colonial equation. So regionalism

grows as a process against uneven growth eg. Telangana is still backward, Coastal A.P. is prosperous.

4. Regionalism is also a result of rise of new groups who have aspirations for political power. Regionalism is populist stance they adopt to stop entrenched political parties. Other grievances when they overlap with aspiration of emergent classes for political power their appeals are accepted eg. Dravid Nadu was ploy to dislodge Congress from T.N., so it is clearly an attempt to gain political power, so it is populism.

5. Regionalism is another short cut method of political mobilization. Over a period of time, consensus forged during freedom movement has broken down, this resulted in fragmentation.

Caste based parties can only be king makers. Horizontal mobilization gives support of any primordial group, should be vertical mobilization which is based on consensus among different strata. But political lack vision, so appeal to region as regionalism glosses over caste divisions eg. Khalistan: Sikhs in Punjab marginal majority because Akalis had support of Jats alone. Appealing to regionalism, they wanted to bring all Sikhs together. Regionalism is a case of vertical mobility because of fragmentation, voting public ends up being faction.

6. Changes that have taken place in India because of which needs of different sections have become divergent from formed consensus.

Moderate regionalism is not antithetical to nation unity and must be respected. Regional aspirations should be accommodated to maintain Indian entity. Federal structure must be preserved.

Decentralization of Power: Panchayati Raj and Nagar Palikas:

Decentralization of power has been considered as crucial for bringing about social development. Though the constitutional assembly debated role of local self government institutions, but did not consider it so vital for future India. Local self government were only included in DPSPs in Article 40 which leaves it to the states to take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self government. DPSPs are non-justiciable, lack of commitment in constitution itself. It was a state subject.

Different states may think differently. Only two ties: **federal and state**. High degree of centralization of power is in the hands of bureaucracy at the local level. Although leaders like M.N. Roy and even Gandhi talked about Gram Swaraj and autonomy for village communities i.e. not only administration decentralization but also devolution of powers. Most of leaders who were members of constitutional assembly did not feel need for grass root democracy. After independence, we thought in terms of rural development and therefore community development programs launched in 1952 during first five year plan. Numerous studies including those conducted by local government found largely a failure. Its benefits accrued to relatively better sections of rural society.

Whole program was envisaged to function on principle of active community participation. But no such participation took place, lack of institutional structure led to this. Bureaucracy was ill-suited for mobilizing community, suspicion and

distrust of community. Some members of constitutional assembly including Ambedkar were opposed to any attempt at devolution of power because they suspected legitimization of land owning upper class and exploitation. Though bureaucracy would act in unbiased manner and deliver benefit for all. Numerous studies have shown this. Bureaucracy tends to identify with vested interests. This is what happened to community development programs, worked for entrenched upper classes.

Balwant Rai Mehta Committee

This committee was appointed by government to review functioning of community development programs. It strongly recommended that community participation can only take place if there is an institutional framework to facilitate such participation by the people. Therefore, the need for grass root democracy was emphasized. Various other studies in other countries like Brazil, Jordan, South Africa, Botswana and States like Kerala, W.B, M.P., Karnataka etc. have clearly shown the various advantages of decentralization.

Advantages

1. Faster response to local needs. First hand knowledge of real problems of local people. Administrative delays, when decision making is centralized and correct identification of peoples' need.
2. Greater transparency and accountability. If decision making is easily accessible to people, transparency and efficiency increases. Most of primary schools in villages had improved attendance of primary school teachers.
3. Better information flow: Decentralisation provides administration with early warning of potential disasters.
4. Decentralisation makes planning more realistic and development projects become more sustainable as local people get actively involved in design, execution and monitoring the projects. There is participation budgeting and accounting.
5. Peoples' motivation increases as they are stakeholders.
6. Local self government act as nurseries of political leadership, provide opportunities for participation. Nurseries of training future political leaders.
7. it acts as safety valve to terrorism, secessionism and other kinds of protest.

Decentralization of power is essential for speedy and effective development of national unity, law & order. This was realized after **Balwant Rai Mehta Committee report**.

Recommendations

1. Establishment of a three tier Panchayati Raj Sytem i.e. Gram Panchayat at village level, Panchayat Samiti at Block level and Zila Parishad at District level.

2. They should be linked through indirect elections. Village panchayats should have direct elections, whereas Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad should have indirect elections.
3. All planning and developmental activities should be entrusted to these bodies.
4. Panchayat Samiti should be an executive body while Zila Parishad should be advisory and supervisory body.
5. Power and responsibility should be transferred to these bodies and adequate resources must be provided to enable them to discharge functions.
6. District Collector should be chairman of Zila Parishad.
7. System must be evolved for progressive devolution of powers and responsible in future.

Developmental programs should be instituted and planned at local level. As a result of this, on 2nd Oct., 1959, first Panchayat was inaugurated by Nehru in Nagaur, Rajasthan, followed by another one at Shadnagar near Hyderabad.

It was left states to design the structure of local self government and timing of their elections. By mid, 1960s almost all parts of India established Panchayati Raj System. Many of them showed encouraging result eg. AVARD in 1962: people felt that they had sufficient powers to mould their futures. Privileges earlier enjoyed by Block Development Officers have come under their control. Attendance of primary school teachers improved in these areas. People were freely able to voice their grievances to pradhans and also had remedies implemented.

Planning Commission conducted all India level study: 114 villages as sample:

Significant change in nature of rural bodies. Younger and more educated leaders were emerging as village Sarpanch. It also contribute to cooperation among groups which were earlier hostile to each other.

Yogendra Singh conducted studies in six villages in U.P.

Although, Local Self Government continued to be in hands of land owning dominant castes but they lost normative basis of right to rule. Now, they rule by winning elections, appease numerical dominance. However, because it was a state subject more than dozen committees were appease in different states to implement recommendation of Balwant Rai Mehta committee. These changes were not appreciated by political elite at state level. They would not like their monopoly over political power to be shared.

In T.N., sixteen times elections were postponed and reasons which were sighted for postponing elections were equally true for state assembly election, but they were not postponed. Where elections were held, there was no power or resources. First general panchayats proved to be a case of failure.

Even central government showed cynicism to panchayati raj institutions. In mid 1960s, idea of community development disappeared. Intensive area development programs were launched instead of Community Development Programs.

In 1967, loss of power of congress in most states (DMK, BKD, Communist party in Bengal) because of three successive rain failures. Indira Gandhi resorted to this

by populist politics "Garibi Hatao". Bangladesh war won , lot of anti poverty programs, rural development programs, centrally sponsored schemes, bureaucratic administration.

In 1977, Janta party tried to many populist things. **Ashok Mehta Committee** was appointed. This committee gave its report in 1978 and its recommendations were:

1. Two tier system should be there where population is between 15,000 to 20,000 i.e. Zila Parishad at District level and Mandal Panchayat at group level.
2. Zila Parishad was to consist of elected representatives with elected chairman.
3. Panchayat elections to be fought on party level.
4. Panchayats should be given the right to raise their own resources by taxation.
5. In case of supercession of any panchayats elections must be held in six months.
6. Judicial decentralization i.e. Nayay Panchayat should be established.
7. Developmental functions at village level should be inferred to zila parishad.
8. Every state should have ministry for Panchayti Raj Insitution.
9. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes must have representation at both levels in proportion to their population.

In 1977, in Bengal CPM government came to power. It went on massive drive for establishment base at grass root level. Shortly afterwards, in early 1980s, in Karnataka and A.P. also non-Congress governments came to power. W.B. followed by A.P. and Karnataka where Ashok Mehta Committee recommendations were adopted. In Karnataka, genuine attempts were made for infer of resources to panch. Again debate surfaced for need of Panchayti Raj Insitution. Because became obvious that tip heavy structure with centralization will collapse. Development delivery through bureaucracy controlled institutions became very insignificant.

In later 1980s, debate surfaced again. In 1985, at AICC session in Bombay, Rajiv Gandhi pointed out how poor are being exploited by power brokers. Bureaucratic administration developmental programs can not succeed. Political compulsions of elections in 1989, he gave employment to 20,000 dalits in govt. services in two months though no services needed. By the President orders, declared funds would be given to village Sarpanch directly and Panchayti Raj institution would be revived. So in 1989, it was realized constitutional support is must. Third generation panchayat with 73rd and 74th amendment bills, Narsimhan Rao passed 73rd and 74th amendment.

73rd and 74th amendments

Articles 243 to 243 (O), contain the provisions regarding panchayti raj system. In 1996, according to Bhuria Committee, these provisions were amended to extend them to tribal dominate states. Now, uniform system of panchayti raj institutions has been established.

Provisions

This constitutional amendment is not automatically binding. It envisages that every state will pass conformity Act, whereby it will provide formation off panchayti raj system in that state. It was 5000 elected representative in democracy. Now, elected representatives are upto 30 lacs. Democracy penetrated to grass root level. It will go a

long way in ensuring gender justice. Women will develop awareness of community problems.

Cases where women have proved more competent than men: Sudha Patel, Gujrat, Blind but eminent Sarpanch, Fatima Bee in Kurnool district, Ram Rati Bai in Sidhi District of M.P., Buri Hambrum of W.B.: How panchayat local self is successfully able to fight against alcoholism. When her husband, got to know of it, he thrashed her. Accommodated by few more women, went and destroy wine shop. When police came to arrest, all women joined her. As a result all wine shops closed.

Although, there have been numerous reports of how men folk tried to manipulation these women, but this is a beginning in traditional patriarchal society. This has led to mobilization of women at local level for water conservation, environmental degradation and local problems which are never reported in media.

In Goa, panchayats have fought MNCs like DuPont-Nylon factory, had to give up its plans. It posed a serious threat to environment. Kerala High Court directed Coca Cola Company to find alternative source of water for its bottling plant in Palachimade village.

Limitation and problems

1. Reluctance on part of political elites to encourage Panchayati Raj Institutions. Except for Kerala, Bengal, Tripura and Bihar, all other conform acts deal in panchayat as administration organ.
2. Procedural bye laws have not been passed to make them functional in spirit. There is nothing in legislation like time frame, resources to be given. Centralizing tendency is still persisting. Judicial and law & order decentralization has not taken place.
3. WB elections showed electoral violence at panchayat level.
4. No commensurate social and economic equality. Any attempt at assertion of their rights by middle class and lower classes is confronted with conflict. Mere reservation has not solved this problem.

Criminal-politician nexus becomes more pronounced at Panchayati Raj level.

Decentralization of corruption

Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan, Rajasthan: has brought out rampant corruption on Bhim panchayat samiti. In Punjab, Sarpanches have embezzled lot of money. In Bihar, MP, Rajasthan, Gujrat see large scale violence against women. In Gujrat (Porbandar), Lakhi Ben was beaten up by BJP workers.

Social and economic equality is not being created. Education has not spread enough. Officials remain largely uncooperative, when officials are given to work under Panchayati Raj Institution, they go for stay orders in courts. Recent studies, which are survey of Panchayats working in 19 states conducted by National institute of Rural development, Hyderabad in 2002. Panchayats largely remain toothless, inspite of the fact that they are constitutional mandated bodies. Reasons:

1. Absence of national consensus across party lines on what should be the status of Panchayati Raj Institutions. Political initiatives and Will is lacking. Only in those pockets, where there has been thrust from below, they can function.
2. Political elites at national and state level are unwilling to give up contribution over financial and developmental schemes.
3. Bureaucratic control over Panchayati Raj Institutions continues.

4. Functional and financial autonomy has not been granted to Panchayati Raj Institutions. Except in Kerala and WB Panchayati Raj Institutions are seen as low level agencies of government rather than units of self government.

So, Panchayati Raj Institutions implement country and state level. Gram Sabha has not been given clear identity, functions are not defined. State governments do not give technical staff to Panchayati Raj Institutions. Thus, higher level elites are sabotaging the Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Panchayati Raj System: M.N. Roy

Decentralisation of democracy will prevent centralization of power and the function of the state will be reduced to coordination of the activities of the other autonomous social institutions.

According to M.N. Roy peoples' committees must be the basis units of an organised democracy. He is strongly against concentration of power. He advocated partyless democracy. Ambedkar considered rigidity and legalism were two serious weaknesses of federalism. Articles 249, 250, 252, 352 and 356 have been used by the union to enhance the powers of the centres, thus acting against the federal principle.

The serious flaw of the Indian Constitution was that it did not give primacy to the local governments- the panchayats and municipalities. The federal structure has only two tiers: the Union and the States; and the local bodies did not have any role- neither developmental nor governmental. It was left to the states to take steps to organize Village Panchayats and endow them powers and authority to function as units of self-government. Parliament passed the Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act 1992.

By the mid 1980s, demand for decentralization of powers became clear that with concentration of power, Indian polity could crumble. Meanwhile, the success of the second-generation panchayats as political institutions in the States of West Bengal, Karnataka and AP as well as a general demand for decentralization of power with the slogan 'power to the people' also accelerated the pace for the constitutional amendment.

Elections at the Local Bodies

The study of the Panchayat Election Process and Election issues in Karnataka in 1995 and TN in 1996 revealed some interesting facts about the democratic process at the grassroots level that caste and religion which were playing a prominent role in elections have shown signs of decline. In TN, in the 1996 panchayat elections, growing democratic consciousness of the people was clearly evident. Nearly 81% of the respondents of a survey said that the religious or caste leaders did not direct the people to exercise their voting right in one way or other. These election studies show that the local body elections lessen the intensity of casteism and parochialism. This is mainly because people in general give priority to the welfare and development activities in the villages or blocks level, transcending caste or party politics. The May 1993 elections to the WB panchayats also highlighted this positive aspect at the grassroots level.

Political Parties in Panchayat Elections

Political parties are formed not with the object of practicing democracy, but of capturing power. They are guided by the dictum that the end justifies the means and the means often amount to the corruption and destruction of democracy.

Santhanam Committee on Panchayati Raj elections stated in 1964, whether and to what extent political parties should participate in panchayat elections. However, in the given context of Indian politics and society, involvement of political parties in local government elections has become necessary. It is not without some positive aspects of social change. Studies of harassment and ill-treatment of women Sarpanches, members and office bearers belonging to the Scheduled Castes in panchayats of MP came to light only because there were political parties on the other side to take up the victim's cause. Field studies have also shown that even in a highly politicized states like WB, after the elections on party lines are over, all members cooperate for the development of the village. After all, if we have a multi-party election process for the State Assembly and Parliament, partyless elections at the base will be meaningless.

Women and Weaker Sections in Local Governance:

The new panchayats and municipalities provide opportunities for weaker sections i.e. SCs, STs, who form 25% of our population. The membership is decided by the proportion of their population in an area. The fifth and sixth schedules in the Constitution give special status and privileges to tribal areas. In reality, in tribal majority areas, non-tribals have been controlling the affairs, dominating the scene and destroying the tribal tradition. Tribal land was appropriated by non-tribals. The high-level committee under the chairmanship of D. S. Bhuria, in 1994 suggested proposal to extend the 73rd Constitution Amendment to the Scheduled Areas, had recommended:

1. to constitute a village assembly in all tribal villages because the community should be the basic unit of self-governance in tribal areas.
2. to reserve a majority of seats in all levels of the elected bodies for members of the Scheduled Tribes
3. Only a tribal could be elected as a Sarpanch.

A unique feature of the new phase in panchayats and municipalities in India is that it has ensured one-third representation for women in the local bodies and one-third of the offices of chairpersons at all level in rural and urban bodies for them.

Problems of the Third Tier of Governance:

1. In the State Panchayat and Municipal Acts after 1993, one finds that the States have accepted the letter of the 73rd and 74th Amendments rather than their spirit. In many States Acts, **civil servants** are given powers indirectly over the elected body. Transfer of activities and functions to panchayats is taking place very slowly. Only in places where strong demands from below-the Village Assembly, Village Panchayats and District Panchayats as well as enlightened citizens' organisation come up, attempts to devolve powers are taking place.
2. Another problem is that although States have enacted **Conformity Acts**, many States have not formulated rules and bye-laws for the day to day functioning. The necessary infrastructural facilities are lacking for panchayats in many states.
3. The reluctance of **State-level politicians** to recognize the importance of the governance-their autonomy, their powers and their areas of functioning-is creating a serious problem. In Orissa, when the new government came to power in early 1995 it

decided to dissolve the duly elected panchayats and municipalities. The real reason for this action was that the MLAs were impatient to wrest full control of large sums of money coming to the panchayats through the Central Government schemes for rural development.

4. The government officials and government employees prefer to work with a distant control mechanism i.e. the State Capital. They do not want to be closely **supervised** under Panchayati Raj. Therefore, their non-cooperative attitude towards elected panchayat members is a major issues.
5. The low level of **political consciousness** in many parts of the country is another factor which will pull the new APanchayati Raj backwards. The States of Bihar, MP, Rajasthan, UP and Orissa, with a population of about 370 million (1991 census), have a low Panchayati Raj performance rating. The main reason is the low level of political awareness, prevalence of feudal authority and feudal values.
6. In many places, the panchayats themselves are working as **oppressive instruments**. Absence of land reforms, low level of literacy, especially among women, patriarchal system, etc. will work against weaker sections in the villages.
7. **Serious conflicts** have taken place during elections and afterwards in their functioning in the villages. The recently held panchayat elections in Orissa and widespread violence resulting in loss of life.
8. The central government itself creates situations which are not conducive for the growth of panchayats. Any programmes, any scheme, any organization created parallel to the functioning of the panchayats, will undermine the local government system. The serious offensive against the emerging local governance is the disbursal of Rs. 800 crores out of the Consolidated Fund of India at the rate of Rs. 1 crore per MP, popularly known as MPs' Constituency Development Scheme. Now, it is 2 crores.

Distribution of Power in Village Community of India and how it is changing:

Community Power Structure

Traditionally, village community in India had hierarchy of caste. Although as many of orientalist believed that village had internal matter-village council or panchayat decided all matters. The rural power structure or distribution of power in villages was never egalitarian or democratic power, it was exercised on ascriptive basis i.e. birth, age etc.

Who wielded power

Power was held by influential family belonging to, according to Srinivas, land owning dominant caste. Every caste has its ritual and secular hierarchy. These two overlap each others but not totally.

Rampura in Mysore

Madhav Brahmins are ritually considered as highest caste i.e. in terms of Hindu notion of purity and pollution but except for ceremonial occasion when people

touched their feet in day to day they had little say and hardly mattered. In secular affairs, village communities like **Okkaligas**, a dominant landowners, dominated village council, though ritually they ranked in middle of hierarchy wielded power in village.

Dominant caste numerically preponderant vis a vis other jatis, but quite often it is jati in village which owns maximum land and also dominates village councils and exercises political power. Power is exercised by dominant caste, influential families belonging to dominant castes wield power in the village. They came close to elite model of distribution of power i.e. minority wields power. This shows that power is concentrated in very small group of elites, it is not broad based. They happen to be elite because of their control over land and village council. Elders from these were in village council. Eg. Thakurs in India wield power though less in numerical strength but are big land owners.

M.N. Srinivas and Yogendra Singh

Studied six villages in UP. Although power continues to be wielded by traditional dominant caste, by this time Panchayati Raj Institutions and electoral politics introduced. So, rights to the member of village council based on majority support and no longer ascriptive and hereditary basis. Dominant caste held power by gradually accommodating interest of other people, jati and caste. Now they had to win election. So, factional alliances developed and often individual clashes because more than one member from single family tried to gain seat in village council. Till early 70s, power continued to reside in dominant castes, though power developed factions within dominant caste and mobilisation tended to be vertical i.e. other caste mobilized behind lower section of dominant caste.

Task force by Planning Commission at All India level

In 140 villages all over India to look at pattern of distribution of power in early 70s. It has been found that in almost 95% of the cases, the village Council President was from dominant caste i.e. Dominant caste model persisted. Power in few hands resembled elite mode. Dominant caste model came to be questioned by late 70s.

Prof. Rajni Kothari: presented an alternate model, because of changes in India after independence has brought a lot of change in distribution of power, land reforms, conferring ownership rights on superior tenant which had hereditary rights or had documentary evidence of tenancy etc., abolishing zamindari system. By late 1960s, Green Revolution introduced use of hybrid variety seeds, seed-fertilizer techniques. New kind of seed converted nutrient into fruit. Output could be increased by increase in fertilizer. Brought prosperity to farmers who had access to irrigation, as irrigational facilities extended, agriculture converted into capitalist.

Middle sized farmers organized themselves are pressure group demanding increase in procurement price etc. so increase in politicization. These were numerically superior to land owning caste. Now became independent and economically well by Green Revolution, land reforms. Rise of Charan Singh in mid 1960s, Chief Minister of UP shows rise of middle size farmer. People mobilized for political power. Power in village community became broad based and competition for power.

1. Dominant caste vs. middle castes, Rajni Kothari called them as **Entrenched caste vs. Ascendant caste** respectively. Eg. Jats provided low status initially. Yadavas,

Kurmis, Koris in UP. Their rise to political power at local level and also state level led to violent conflict.

2. Factionalism within backward castes: Different sections of so called backward castes had factions among them because of personal ambitions.

3. Phase of 1980s: by 80s, the ascendant castes were largely successful in gaining power at local level. So power now shared between entrenched caste and ascendant caste. Mobilisation of dalits was initially in Maharashtra but now spread to all India level. Horizontal mobilization of Dalit castes fused together because Harijan identity was rejected. Dalit means oppressed earlier, alliance with dominant castes.

T.K. Oomen

He has presented alternative model of distribution of power- power pool. By 90s, model of power cannot be explained in terms of entrenched caste and ascendant caste because dalits have emerged where they have gained economically. At local level acquired power. Distribution of power is complex now. Now, it is not confined to one caste. In every village community, there is a power pool. No single faction alone explains power pool land ownership, politicization i.e. alliance with any political party gives organization and clout at political level, numerical strength, education (people acquire empowerment either position which command authority or lucrative jobs).

Power has become in village community broad based. No single caste can claim power now. It is power pool. In south also, power of dominant caste has declined. Dalit mobilization has taken place there also. In AP, dominant castes in Telangana region was Reddy's, who mostly wielded power as land owner which was challenged by middle class.

Paul Brass

The politics of India since independence: among the elite and middle status castes, a process of caste succession had begun before independence and was intensified after it with the adoption of adult franchise by which in election after election, new leaders from previously unrepresented or under represented castes began to emerge and the castes began themselves to be mobilized. The intermediate castes acquired increasing voting power through adult suffrage and increased economic power through Zaminidari abolition.

Dipankar Gupta: Interrogating caste: locus of power has shifted from ritually higher castes to numerically large.

STATELESS SOCIETY

These societies have no formal agency of social control. These have idea of territorial rights which are maintained through notions of age and social sanctions and social control. Power and authority are diffused in different groups in a society.

Features of stateless society

- No rigid boundary
- Oral traditions

- No Bureaucracy
- Single person holds several powers like religious, economical, political etc.
- No fixed ideology
- Simple economy

Types of stateless society

1. **Hunting and Gathering:** is largest social unit, cooperating groups of families, No gradations or stratifications, no specific political organization, authority/power is enjoyed by senior members of these families.
2. **Village Communities:** this type of society has kinship and economic ties, formally appointed councils to maintain administration, emergence of political order.
3. **Age set System:** in this authority is vested in elders one. Organization is based on principle of seniority eg. Cheyenne of America and Nuer of Africa.
4. **Political functions:** unilineal descent system prevails. There is no specific political office. Elders may exercise limited authority. Eg. Nuer, Dinka of South Sudan.

Political principles of stateless society

- Society becomes united when different groups unite. Come together for some particular cause.
- Authority delegated to a subordinate
- Mystical symbols integrated and unify stateless societies

For example, Tonga an African tribe, is a nomadic tribe. Its headman has little power. It belongs to Matrilineal kin group called as Mukowa. Principle of exogamy in Mukowa prevails. Joking relationship also exists. This society functions without political power and authority because of warning issued during joking relationships.

Stateless Tribes in India

Political institutions in Indian tribes are based on clan & lineage, village unit and group of villages eg. Lineage system of Santals, Oraon, Bhils has :

- Principle of segmental opposition.
- When hostility is over, return back and organizational position takes place.
- Territorial separateness prevents conflict between lineages

Judicial Machinery

- To deal with social offences
- Village council is a assembly of elders
- Informal control, in evening meetings through public disapproval and criticism.
- For criminals, fine and punishment are announced

State in traditional societies

- States in traditional societies lie between two poles of stateless and Modern states.
- These lack developed form of political institutions.
- Distinct and permanent political structures clearly dominated by religion and to a lesser extent by kinship.

Nature and Scope of political authority

- 1.** Chief authority as Titular head. Chief is a symbolic head, representing entire group though segmentary social structure persists. He is considered almost divine eg. Shilluk of Upper Nile (Evan Pritchard) her king reigned but did not govern.
- 2.** Secular authority endowed with sacredness. Secular authority of king is with sacredness eg. Indian Rajans ruled their kingdoms on behalf of presiding deities of their lineages. Myths of divine origin legitimize political authority of king.
- 3.** Necessity of acquiring a king. Secular authority is ritualized to raise its status above ordinary people. Territory and demography in relation to range of political authority.
- 4. Range of political authority:** Area in which residents acknowledge power of the king. Geographical limits of his administration and judicial measures.
- 5. Economy and centralization of polity:** More the level of surplus, greater the development of centralized polity. Extent to which a ruler exercises his authority over his people, defines the scope of his political power. Scope rather than range of power makes polity more centralized eg. Feudatory states of Orissa. Territory of king surrounded by segmentary clan lineage based units. They participate in main rituals and ceremonies of central kingdom. No other political authority exist i.e. minimal scope e.g. Silluks of upper Nile.
- 6.** Among loyal subjects: Relatives considered as rivals. Loyalty is rewarded by king in form of shared authority.