INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY

BA (Sociology)

Semester First

Paper I

RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY
Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

About IDE

The formal system of higher education in our country is facing the problems of access, limitation of seats, lack of facilities and infrastructure. Academicians from various disciplines opine that it is learning which is more important and not the channel of education. The education through distance mode is an alternative mode of imparting instruction to overcome the problems of access, infrastructure and socio-economic barriers. This will meet the demand for qualitative higher education of millions of people who cannot get admission in the regular system and wish to pursue their education. It also helps interested employed and unemployed men and women to continue with their higher education. Distance education is a distinct approach to impart education to learners who remained away in the space and/or time from the teachers and teaching institutions on account of economic, social and other considerations. Our main aim is to provide higher education opportunities to those who are unable to join regular academic and vocational education programmes in the affiliated colleges of the University and make higher education reach to the doorsteps in rural and geographically remote areas of Arunachal Pradesh in particular and North-eastern part of India in general. In 2008, the Centre for Distance Education has been renamed as "Institute of Distance Education (IDE)."

Continuing the endeavor to expand the learning opportunities for distant learners, IDE has introduced Post Graduate Courses in 5 subjects (Education, English, Hindi, History and Political Science) from the Academic Session 2013-14.

The Institute of Distance Education is housed in the Physical Sciences Faculty Building (first floor) next to the University Library. The University campus is 6 kms from NERIST point on National Highway 52A. The University buses ply to NERIST point regularly.

Outstanding Features of Institute of Distance Education:

(i) At Par with Regular Mode

Eligibility requirements, curricular content, mode of examination and the award of degrees are on par with the colleges affiliated to the Rajiv Gandhi University and the Department(s) of the University.

(ii) Self-Instructional Study Material (SISM)

The students are provided SISM prepared by the Institute and approved by Distance Education Council (DEC), New Delhi. This will be provided at the time of admission at the IDE or its Study Centres. SISM is provided only in English except Hindi subject.

(iii) Contact and Counselling Programme (CCP)

The course curriculum of every programme involves counselling in the form of personal contact programme of duration of approximately 7-15 days. The CCP shall not be compulsory for BA. However for professional courses and MA the attendance in CCP will be mandatory.

(iv) Field Training and Project

For professional course(s) there shall be provision of field training and project writing in the concerned subject.

(v) Medium of Instruction and Examination

The medium of instruction and examination will be English for all the subjects except for those subjects where the learners will need to write in the respective languages.

(vi) Subject/Counselling Coordinators

For developing study material, the IDE appoints subject coordinators from within and outside the University. In order to run the PCCP effectively Counselling Coordinators are engaged from the Departments of the University, The Counselling-Coordinators do necessary coordination for involving resource persons in contact and counselling programme and assignment evaluation. The learners can also contact them for clarifying their difficulties in then respective subjects.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE
Introduction to Sociology

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

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

The basic principles of sociology are as follows:

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

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

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

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

UNIT 1 NATURE AND SCOPE OF SOCIOLOGY

Structure

1.0 INTRODUCTION

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

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

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

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

1.2 SOCIOLOGY: MEANING AND DEFINITION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Popular definitions of Sociology

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

—Auguste Comte

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

—Max Weber

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

—Morris Ginsberg

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

—Henry Fairchild

1.3 NATURE AND SCOPE OF SOCIOLOGY

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

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

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

Check Your Progress

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

(iii) **Sociology is a categorical and not a normative discipline:** Sociology does not make any kind of value judgments. Its approach is neither moral nor immoral but amoral. It is ethically neutral. It makes no recommendations on matters of social policy or legislation or programme. Sociology cannot deal with problems of good and evil, right and wrong, moral and immoral.

(iv) **Sociology is a pure science and not an applied science:** The main aim of pure science is acquisition of knowledge, irrespective of whether the acquired knowledge is useful or can be put to use. On the other hand, applied science applies acquired knowledge into life.

(v) **Sociology is relatively abstract and not concrete science:** It is not interested in concrete manifestation of human events. It is more concerned with the form of human events and their patterns. For instance, sociology is not specifically concerned with wars and revolutions but in the general social phenomena, as types of social conflict.

(vi) **Sociology is not based on particular subjects or individuals, but is a general science:** Sociology tries to find out general laws or principles about human interaction and associations about the nature, forms, and content and structure of human groups and societies. It adopts a general approach on the basis of a study of some selected events.

(vii) **Sociology is a rational and empirical science:** There are two broad ways of approach to scientific knowledge: one is empiricism and the other is rationalism. Empiricism emphasizes experiences and facts that result from observation and experiment. Rationalism stresses on reason and theories that result from logical inference. In sociological inquiry, both are significant.

1.3.1 Scope of Sociology

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

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

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

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

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

    (i) Formal school

    (ii) Synthetic school

(i) Formal school

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

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

    (i) Associative processes that are related to contact, approach, adaptation, and so on.

    (ii) Disassociate processes like competition and conflict

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

Criticism of formal school

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

(ii) Synthetic school of sociology

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

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

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

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

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

1.3.2 Sociology as a Science

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

(i) A body of organized, verified knowledge which has been secured through scientific investigation

(ii) A method of study whereby a body of organized and verified knowledge is discovered

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3.3 Importance of Sociology

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

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

- **Sociology has contributed generously to enhance the value of human culture:** Sociology has trained us in building a rational approach to questions that concern ourselves, our religion and customs. It teaches one to have an object-oriented and balanced approach. It emphasizes the importance of ignoring petty personal prejudices and ambitions that are influenced by ego and envy.

- **Sociology studies the role of institutions in the development of the individual:** The home and family, school and education, church and religion, states and government, and marriage and family are important institutions through which a society functions. Furthermore, they are conditioners of an individual's knowledge of sociology.

- **Sociological knowledge is indispensable for understanding and planning of the society:** Sociological planning has been made easier by sociology. Sociology is often considered a vehicle of social reform and social organization. It plays an important role in reconstruction of the society.

- **The need for sociology in underdeveloped countries:** Sociologists have drawn the attention of economists regarding the social factors that have contributed to the economic backwardness of a few countries. Economists have now realized the importance of sociological knowledge in analysing the economic affairs of a country.

- **Study of society has helped several governments to promote the welfare of tribal people:** Not only civilized societies but tribal societies also have several socio-economic problems. Studies conducted by sociologists and anthropologists regarding tribal societies have helped many governments in undertaking various social measures to promote the welfare of tribal people.

1.4 SOCIOLOGY AND ITS RELATION WITH OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES

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

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

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

Check Your Progress

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

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

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

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

1.4.1 Sociology and Social Anthropology

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

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

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

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

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

1.4.2 Sociology and Social Psychology

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

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

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

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

1.4.3 Sociology and History

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

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

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

1.4.4 Sociology and Political Science

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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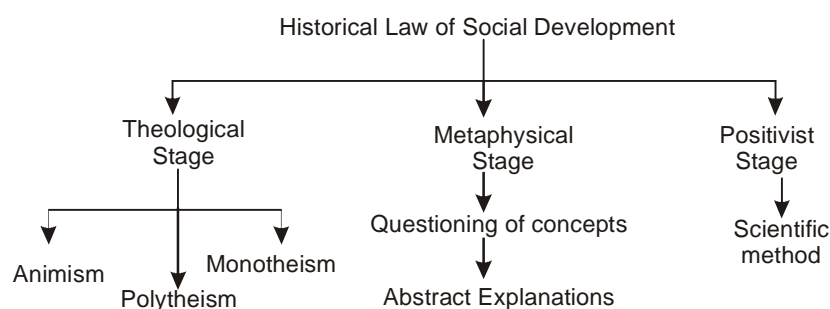
Fig. 1.2 Comte's Law of Three Stages

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(i) A form of activity that centres around the quest for competitive advantage between groups, individuals or societies

(ii) A form of activity conditioned by the fact that it occurs within a situation of change and relative scarcity

(iii) A form of activity in which the pursuit of advantage produces consequences of such a magnitude that they affect, in a significant way, the whole society or a substantial portion of it

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

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

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

(i) Political structures (social class/caste, elite, interest groups, bureaucracy, political parties and factions)

(ii) Political life (electoral process, political communication, opinion formation, and so on)

(iii) Political leadership (bases, types and operation of community power structure)

(iv) Political development (concept and indices of its measurement, its social bases and prerequisites, and its relationship to social change and modernization)

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

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

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

(i) The socio-political formation of the modern state.

(ii) 'Who rules?' How social inequality between groups (class, race, gender, and so on) influences politics.

(iii) How public personalities, social movements and trends outside of the formal institutions of political power affect politics.

(iv) Power relationships within and between social groups (e.g., families, workplaces, bureaucracy, media, and so on). Contemporary theorists include Robert A. Dahl, Seymour Martin Lipset, Theda Skocpol, Luc Boltanski and Nicos Poulantzas.

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

1.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Sociology is a relatively new academic discipline among the social sciences, which include economics, political science, anthropology, history and psychology.

- Sociology emerged as a scientific discipline in the early 19th century as a fundamentally new type of society based on new principles of social organization and new ideas of enlightenment.

- Auguste Comte invented the term 'sociology' in the year 1838. He was a French philosopher and sociologist. Comte attempted to combine all the faculties of mankind, including history, psychology and economics.

- On a broader platform, sociology is the study of human interactions, their conditions and consequences. It is a type of science that comprises investigative techniques which are objective and systematic.

- Sociology involves a systematic and objective study of human society. Sociologists study individuals' social actions.

Check Your Progress

7. Define ethnomethodology.

8. State the concept of social psychology.

9. What are the fields of concern of the institutionalists and behaviouralists?

10. State the broad aim of political sociology.

- Sociology comprises a variety of apprehensions and interests. It is aimed at providing classified forms of relationships within societies, institutions and associations.

- The formal school defined sociology as a social science that has definite characteristics. This school was advocated by George Simmel, Ferdinand Tonnies, Alfred Vierkandt and Leopord Von Wiese.

- The synthetic school defines sociology as a combination of social sciences. It stresses on widening the range of sociology.

- Sociology could be considered to be a method of objective inquiry that involves testing of beliefs against evidence. Sociology and other social sciences focus on certain aspects of human behaviour.

- While sociology has its roots in philosophy and history, anthropology began as a study of physical measurements of humans.

- Social psychology involves the study of social and mental processes and how they act together to determine action. Essentially, it studies the interaction between psychological and sociological processes.

- Political sociology seeks to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision-making authorities, and conflicting social forces and interests.

- The broad aim of political sociology is to study and examine the interactions between social and political structures.

- Although sociology may appear to be a rerun of common sense, there is a significant difference between the two. Common sense views are built upon people's limited experiences and give an inaccurate view of society. Sociological views, on the other hand, are based on thorough qualitative or quantitative research and evidence.

- A social anthropologist uses qualitative methods to collect information, usually by immersing himself into the society that is being studied. Sociologists generally collect quantitative data based on which they make their conclusions.

- Psychologists look at the mental processes and personality characteristics that make people act in a certain manner. Sociologists tend to look at the social setting and structure, the processes that go on within them, and the influence they exert upon individuals.

- History is concerned with the past and looks at the changes that take place over time. A sociologist looks for patterns to build generalizations.

- Political science is largely focussed on the study of the state, while sociology may be understood as the study of society.

1.6 KEY TERMS

- **Sociology:** It is a method of objective inquiry that involves testing of beliefs against evidence.

- **Social anthropology:** It is the immersive study of small, isolated societies.

- **Political sociology:** It is the study of the process of interaction between government and society, decision-making authorities, and conflicting social forces and interests.

- **Politicology:** It is an alternative term offered for political science which argues that politics is more of a cultural aesthetic than a science.

- **Positivism:** It is a philosophical system recognizing only that which can be scientifically verified or which is capable of logical or mathematical proof, and, therefore, rejecting metaphysics and theism.

- **Historical materialism:** It is a methodological approach to the study of human societies and their development over time first articulated by Karl Marx (1818–1883) as the materialist conception of history.

1.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Sociology emerged as a scientific discipline in the early 19th century, as a fundamentally new type of society based on new principles of social organization and new ideas of enlightenment.

2. French philosopher and sociologist Auguste Comte invented the term 'sociology' in the year 1838. Comte defined sociology as the science of social phenomena, subject to natural invariable laws, the discovery of which is the object of investigation.

3. Sociology has been labelled as a 'debunking science' because a sociologist is interested in looking beyond the commonly accepted meaning of social phenomenon and understands reality as a social construction; that is, how reality gets established in the way we understand it.

4. Empiricism emphasizes experiences and facts that result from observation and experiment. Rationalism, on the other hand, stresses on reason and theories that result from logical inference. In sociological inquiry, both are significant.

5. The formal school defined sociology as a social science that has definite characteristics. This school was advocated by George Simmel, Ferdinand Tonnies, Alfred Vierkandt and Leopord Von Wiese.

6. Comparative sociology basically deals with identical historical changes and tries to highlight the general features by comparing them. It also separates general features from industrial features. Social dynamics is concerned with the interrelations that exist among different social factors and institutions in a given society, for example in an ancient society.

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

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

9. The institutionalists have been concerned primarily with institutional types of political organization, and their study has been characterized by legality and formality. The behaviouralists have focussed on the individual actor in the political arena; and their central concern has been the psychological trait, namely, motives, attitudes, perception and the role of individuals.

10. The broad aim of political sociology is to study and examine the interactions between social and political structures.

1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

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

Long-Answer Questions

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

1.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 BASIC CONCEPTS

Structure

2.0 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

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

2.2 CONCEPT OF SOCIETY

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

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

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

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

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

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

Definitions

Society has been differently defined by different sociologists. Here are a few definitions:

American sociologist Gerhard Lenski defined society as is a form of organization involving:

(1) Relatively sustained ties of interaction among its members.

(2) Relatively high degree of interdependence among its members.

(3) A high degree of autonomy.

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

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

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

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

Michael Howard and Patrick McKim (1983) Contemporary Cultural Anthropology

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

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

Social Contract Theory

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

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

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

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

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

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

Organismic Theory

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

Ñ Evolution

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

Ñ Systems

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

Ñ Structural differentiation and function integration

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

Ñ Cellular formation of both society and individual

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

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

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

Criticism

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

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

1. Pre-industrial societies

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

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

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

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

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

2. Industrial societies

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

3. Post-industrial societies

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

2.3 COMMUNITY

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

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

Other definitions of community

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

–Karl Mannheim

Check Your Progress

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

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

–**Morris Ginsberg**

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

–**Kingsley Davis**

MacIver's conception of community

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

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

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

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

Integral elements of community sentiments

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

2.3.1 Characteristics of Community

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Traditional, socialist and liberal conceptions of community

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

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

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

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

2.3.2 Community and Association

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

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

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

2.3.3 State and Community

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

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

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

2.3.4 Communitarianism and Social Order

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.3.5 Community Power and Social Structure: Status and Role

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Institutions

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

Social Interaction

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

2.4 INSTITUTION

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

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

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

2.4.1 Features of Social Institutions

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

(i) Many members of the social system accept the norm.

(ii) Many of those who accept the norm take it seriously. In psychological terms, they internalize it.

(iii) The norm is sanctioned. This means that certain members of the system are expected to be guided by the norm in appropriate circumstances.

However, the process of institutionalization involves the following characteristics:
- Institutions emerge as largely unplanned products of social living. People struggle to search for practical ways of meeting their needs; they find some

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Check Your Progress

4. What are the integral elements of community sentiments?

5. Give a key characteristic of community.

6. Define communitarianism.

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

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

2.4.2 Functions of Social Institutions

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

Manifest functions of social institutions

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

Latent functions of social institutions

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

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

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

2.5 ASSOCIATION AND GROUPS IN SOCIETY

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

2.5.1 Association

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

Associations may be formed on several bases, for example, on the basis of duration, i.e., temporary or permanent, such as Flood Relief Association which is temporary and State which is permanent; or on the basis of power, i.e., sovereign like state, semi-sovereign like university and non-sovereign like club, or on the basis of function, i.e., biological like family, vocational like Trade Union or Teachers' Association, recreational like Tennis Club or Music Club, Philanthropic like charitable societies, and so on.

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

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

Ginsberg writes, 'An association is a group of social beings related to one another by the fact that they possess or have instituted in common an organization with a view to securing specific end or specific ends.'

G. D. H. Cole says, 'By an association, I mean any group of persons pursuing a common purpose by a course of corporative action extending beyond a single act, and for this purpose, agreeing together upon certain methods of procedure, and laying down, in however, rudimentary a form, rule for common action.'

2.5.2 Groups

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

Check Your Progress

7. Define institution.

8. State the conditions required for institutionalizing social norms in a particular social system.

9. What do you mean by ideology?

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

Primary groups

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

Secondary groups

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

2.6 CULTURE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Culture can be characterized in the following ways:

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

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

Folkways

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

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

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

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

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

Diffusion

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

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

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

Custom

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

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

Culture in the Northeast

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.6.1 Types of Culture

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

Ethnocentrism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acculturation

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

2.6.2 Cultural Lag

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

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

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

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

2.6.3 Culture and Personality

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

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

The following are the characteristics of personality:

- It is influenced by social interaction.

- It is acquired.

- It refers to persistent qualities of an individual.

- It is an individual unit.

- It is not related to bodily structure alone.

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

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

Studies in culture and personalities

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

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

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

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

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

    (i) Real culture (Actual behaviour)

    (ii) Ideal culture (philosophical and traditional culture)

    (iii) Culture construct (what is written about culture)

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

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

2.6.4 Culture and Civilization

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

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

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

- **Civilization is always advancing, but not culture:** Civilization not only marches, but it marches continuously, provided there is no catastrophic break of social continuity in the same direction. An achievement of civilization is generally exploited and improved, until it is superseded or rendered obsolete by some new invention. It is true that in the past, some achievements of civilization have again been lost. Men forgot the art which raised the pyramids of Egypt, and constructed the roads and aqueducts of Rome. The reason for this was that these losses were a result of catastrophic changes which blotted out the records of civilization. With a wide area of civilization and superior methods of recording discoveries, any utilitarian or technical gain becomes a permanent possession within the social heritage. It then conditions further gains. It is otherwise a cultural achievement. Since man first invented the automobile, it has continuously improved. Our means of transportation develop constantly. They are much superior to those which the ancient Greeks employed. But the same cannot be opined about our dramas and sculptures, our conversation and our recreation, and so on. Here certitude fails us. There are no automobiles which are today comparatively inefficient as the first vehicle of Henry Ford. His work and that of other inventors inevitably prepared the way for better cars. But our plays are not necessarily better today because of the achievements of Shakespeare. Culture is subject to retrogression as well as advancement. Its past does not assure its future.

- **Civilization is passed on without effort, but not culture:** Culture can only be assimilated by the like-minded. It can be had only by those who are worthy of it. No one can appreciate art without the quality of an artist. Civilization, in general, makes no such demand. We can enjoy its products without sharing the capacity which creates them. Civilization is the vehicle of culture; its improvement is no guarantee of finer quality in that which it conveys. Television can show movies, but there is no guarantee of their quality.

- **Civilization is external and mechanical, while culture is internal and organic:** Civilization is inclusive of external things. Culture is related to internal thoughts, feelings, ideals, values, and so on. According to MacIver, 'Civilization is what we have, culture is what we are.'

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

2.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Like an organism, a society is a system of relations between organisms themselves rather than between cells. Like the organism, a society has a determined structure and the parts of this structure, when in operation, contribute to the existence of the whole.

- A society, or a human society, is a group of people related to each other through persistent relations, or a large social group sharing the same geographical or

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

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

- The social contract Theory is unique, giving importance to individuals as architects of society. This theory was propounded by three eminent philosophers: Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and J. J. Rousseau.

- Organismic theory is another vital theory about the origin of human society. Plato, Aristotle, Herbert Spencer and Novicow were the exponents of this theory.

- The societies that were formed after the industrial revolution were mostly dominated by services, high technological advancement and information, more than surplus production.

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

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

- Communitarianism is the 'advocacy of a social order in which human beings are bound together by common values that foster close communal' (community) bonds.

- Community power is a theory of power that promotes the view that the elites no longer enjoy a monopoly over decision-making.

- Socially established ways of doing things are called institutions. Generally, the term 'institution' refers to a group of people who have some specific purpose.

- Culture is not a simple accumulation of folkways and mores; it is an organized system of behaviour. Culture is always organized with cultural traits and complexes.

- Cultural relativism is a concept of analysing various societies of cultures in an objective way without comparing them with each other.

- Culture lag is the duration or gap of time that exists between the emergence of a new material invention and the process of adapting it to the corresponding non-material culture.

- Community is an important concept in social and political life. The social life people lead is affected and influenced by the kind of community in which they live.

- The state is frequently confused with the community. MacIver has stressed the associational character of the state.

- Communitarianism is the 'advocacy of a social order in which human beings are bound together by common values that foster close communal' (community) bonds.

- Community power is a theory of power that promotes the view that the elites no longer enjoy a monopoly over decision-making.

2.8 KEY TERMS

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

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

2.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. A society, or a human society, is a group of people related to each other through persistent relations, or a large social group sharing the same geographical or virtual territory, subject to the same political authority and dominant cultural expectations.

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

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

4. The integral elements of community sentiments are as follows:
   (a) We-feeling: This is the feeling that leads men to identify themselves with others so that when they say 'we', there is no thought of distinction and, when they say 'ours', there is no thought of division.
   (b) Role-feeling: This involves the subordination to the whole on the part of the individual.
   (c) Dependence-feeling: This refers to the individual's sense of dependence upon the community as a necessary condition of his own life.

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

6. Communitarianism is the 'advocacy of a social order in which human beings are bound together by common values that foster close communal' (community) bonds.

7. An institution is a system of norms aimed at achieving some goal or activity that people feel is important. It focuses on major human activities. Institutions are structured processes through which people carry on their activities.

8. A social norm is said to be institutionalized in a particular social system when three conditions are fulfilled. These are as follows:

    (a) Many members of the social system accept the norm.

    (b) Many of those who accept the norm take it seriously. In psychological terms, they internalize it.

    (c) The norm is sanctioned. This means that certain members of the system are expected to be guided by the norm in appropriate circumstances.

9. An ideology may be defined as any set of ideas that explains or justifies social arrangements, structures of power, or ways of life.

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

11. A family, a village, a political party or a trade union are all social groups. However, it should be noted that these groups are different from social classes, status groups or crowds, which not only lack structure but whose members are also less aware or even unaware of the existence of the group. These have been called quasi-groups or groupings.

12. A small group in a society who share a close relationship is termed as a primary group. There is a concern for each other among the members of this group and they share a common culture. Herein, the groups usually comprise family members, close friends or highly influential social groups.

13. Folkways are established ways in which a social group behaves. This pattern of behaviour is exhibited to counter the problems faced by a group which lives in a society.

14. For diffusion to prevail on a large scale, the societies should be segregated and their origin should be old enough so as to support the development of unique cultures. In addition to this, it is important for these societies to be in touch mutually. This would provide options for substantial borrowing.

15. Cultural relativism can be defined as the function that measures trait on the basis of its cultural environment.

2.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Briefly describe the social contract theory.

2. Write a short note on the categories of societies as pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial.

3. Summarize MacIver's conception of society.

4. What are the characteristics of community?

5. Outline the major differences between communitarianism and liberalism.

6. List the features of social institutions.

7. Distinguish between primary group and secondary group.

8. What do you mean by ethnocentrism? How does it contribute to the maintaining of social order?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the important theories of the origin of society.

2. Define institutions. Also, explain its important features.

3. What is culture? Discuss the characteristic features of culture.

4. Define and explain the types of cultures.

5. What is acculturation? How is it different from cultural lag?

6. Analyse the relationship between culture and personality.

2.11 FURTHER READING

Horton, Paul Chester, L. Hunt. 1984. *Sociology.* New York, USA: McGraw-Hill.

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UNIT 3 SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Structure

3.0 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

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

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

3.2 FAMILY

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

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

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

3.2.1 Forms of Families

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

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

Table 3.1 *Forms/Types of Family*

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

3.3 MARRIAGE

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

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

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

3.3.1 Functions of Marriage

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

(a) Functional division of labour: With marriage, there is a functional division of labour. The wife may take care of the household work and the children, while the husband goes out to work. This way, both can devote time fully to their responsibilities.

(b) Financial security: When two people get married, they bring together all the savings and assets accumulated over the years. This combined wealth increases the purchasing power and subsequently leads to a higher standard of living.

Check Your Progress

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

(c) **Emotional support:** When a partner is depressed, he or she will have the spouse who will provide support through words of encouragement. In fact, it is believed that married people live substantially longer and have better health compared to individuals who never marry.

(d) **Rearing children:** There is no better option than getting married in order to have children. The children benefit in that environment and grow up into healthy adults. They get emotional support from their parents, which is very healthy for their psychological development. Generally, the father ensures discipline, while the mother offers intimacy and affection.

(e) **Social and legal recognition:** Marriage is an institution accepted by law and society, unlike live-in relationships. Marriage is also recognized by the law. If the partners want to split, there are specific procedures to follow related to division of assets, child custody, and so on, apart from the divorce itself.

3.3.2 Forms of Marriage

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

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

When one woman gets married to more than one man simultaneously, the practice is known as polyandry. Polyandry may be of two types: fraternal or adelphic polyandry and non-fraternal polyandry. When one woman marries several brothers at the same time, the practice is known as fraternal polyandry. This practice is prevalent among the Toda community in India. When a woman has several husbands, none of whom are necessarily brothers, the practice is known as non-fraternal polyandry.
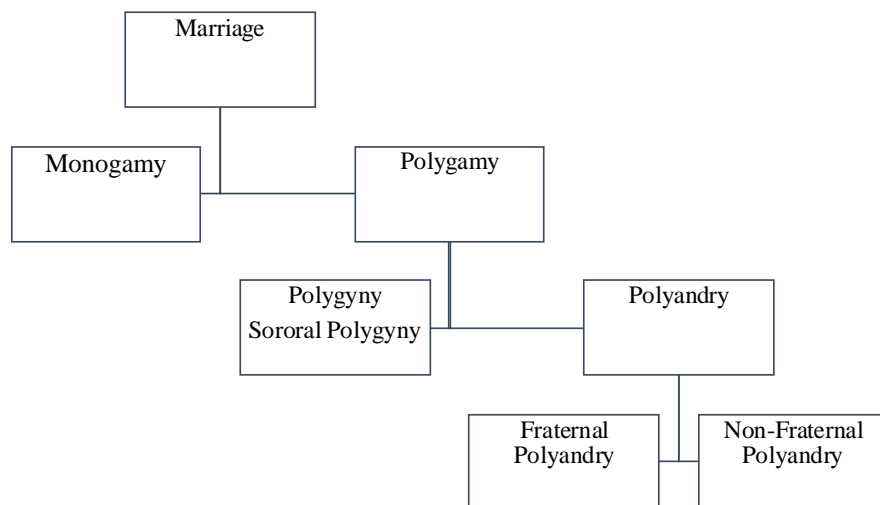
Fig. 3.1 *Forms of Marriage*

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

Levirate and Sororate

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

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

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

3.4 RELIGION

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

3.4.1 The Origin and Evolution of Religion

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

Check Your Progress

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

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

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

The sacred and the profane

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

3.4.2 Functions and Dysfunctions of Religion

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

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

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

3.5 EDUCATION

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

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

Education as a social process

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

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

NOTES

Check Your Progress

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

Sociological perspectives on education

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

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

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

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

Education as an instrument of social control and social change

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

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

3.6 POLITY

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

The state

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

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Check Your Progress

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

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

Nature of power

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

Power of random groups

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

Voting behaviour

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

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

Pressure groups and political parties

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

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

Political participation

A political system functions on the basis of political participation. Well-known environmentalist Lester Milbrath has suggested that members of the society can be divided into four categories, in terms of their degree of political participation. Firstly, the politically apathetic who are literally unaware of the politics around them; secondly, those involved in spectator activities, which include voting and taking part in discussions about politics; thirdly, those involved is transitional activities, which include attending a political meetings or making financial contributions to a political party; and finally, those who enter the political arena and participate in activities, such as standing for and holding public and party offices.
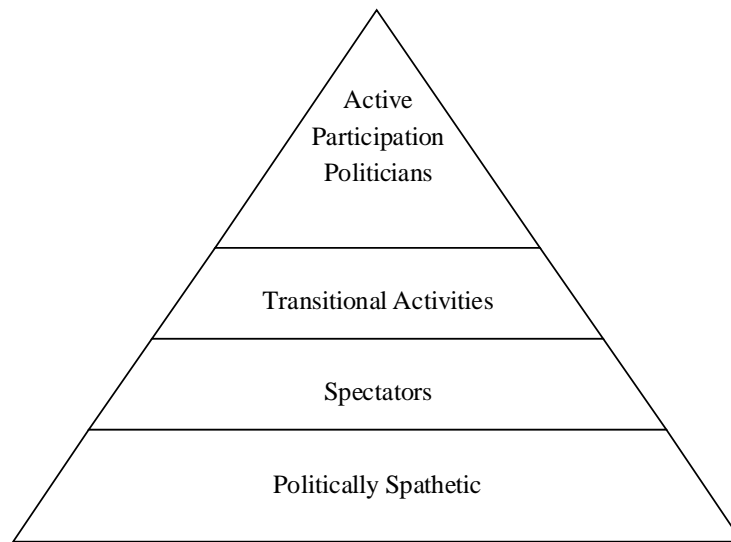
Fig. 3.2 Degree of Political Participation

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

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

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

Democratic and authoritarian forms

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

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

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

3.7 ECONOMY

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

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

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

Check Your Progress

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

Emile Durkheim: Solidarity as an active force in economic life

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

Max Weber: The origins and sustaining conditions for capitalism

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

Social aspects of division of labour and types of exchange

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

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

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

Types of exchange

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

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

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

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

3.8 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Marriage is a socially approved way of acquiring a family. It is only through the establishment of culturally controlled and sanctioned marital relations that a family comes into being.

- The forms of marriage are diverse in nature; on the basis of the number of mates, marriage is classified into two types: monogamy and polygamy.

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

- The institution of a family is the basic and fundamental institution in the life of an individual.

- Families can be divided into conjugal and consanguineous types, based on the relations between the members. In a conjugal family, relations between the husband and the wife are private and their ties with the extended family are voluntarily. A consanguine family consists of close relatives other than parents and children.

- Education means developing of and cultivating various physical, intellectual, aesthetic and moral faculties of an individual.

- Education is viewed as an integral fragment of socialization. Such a process of social learning is continuous. Education is also considered an agent of cultural transmission. The elements of culture are transmitted from one generation to another through education.

- Any division of labour which leads people to pursue diverse and possibly conflicting lines of economic activity may generate conditions of social dislocation and inequity.

- Most of the insights of Durkheim that concern economic integration are found in his book, *The Division of Labour in Society*. In this book, he has analysed the integration of social life. Durkheim set up a dichotomy between two types of societies, segmental and complex.

- One of the best known works of Durkheim is his study of division of labour, in which he analysed social functions of the division of labour. He also sought to show how in modern societies, it is the principal source of social cohesion or solidarity.

- Our political institutions are amalgamations of modern superstructure, historical delegation of authority, decentralization and inculcation of the basic level of Panchayati system. These are characterized by the traditional consensus pattern of decision making and are held together by a charismatic leadership.

- Pressure groups are associations or groups which have objectives that are different from political parties. These pressure groups or interest group have important political functions in all modern societies.

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

3.9 KEY TERMS

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

3.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The institution of a family is the basic and fundamental institution in the life of an individual. It is the basic primary group and an important agency of socialization.

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

3. In a conjugal family, relations between the husband and the wife are private and their ties with the extended family are voluntarily. A consanguine family consists of close relatives other than parents and children.

4. Marriage is a universal social institution. It is a deep personal commitment to another human being, and a public celebration of the ideals of mutuality, companionship, fidelity and family. Marriage is a socially approved way of acquiring a family.

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

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

7. Religion is the expression of the manner and type of adjustment that is effected by people in terms of their conception of the supernatural.

8. The early sociological studies of religion had three distinctive methodological characteristics, these were evolutionist, positivist and psychological. These are shown in the works of Comte, Tylor and Spencer.

9. Religion has various social functions. It is an agency of social control. It disciplines human behaviour in terms of sacred and profane. Religion has unified the principles of every society. It is an integrating and unifying force of the human society.

10. Education means developing of and cultivating various physical, intellectual, aesthetic and moral faculties of an individual. Its objective is to awaken and develop in the child, those physical, intellectual and moral values which are required of him, both, by his society as a whole and by the milieu for which he is specially destined.

11. In India, the historical roots of educational institutions are referred to in the *guru-shishya* tradition. In this tradition, students had the advantage of being in personal contact with the teacher. The image of the guru was personified and the students were obliged to the guru or teacher.

12. Two steps are involved in the process of reproducing labour. The first step is reproduction of skills that are required for a capable labour force. The second step is reproduction of the ideology of the ruling class and socialization of workers. These processes combine to reproduce a technically efficient, submissive and obedient workforce.

13. Education in modern societies inculcates freedom of thought and values that have an important role in streamlining the attitude of an individual.

14. State is viewed as a community agency that is charged with the responsibility of coordinating and adjusting the claims and activities of various associations. This distinctive function gives the state its unique character.

15. Party is a united category of organizational structure that focuses on a common interest. This interest may be on the basis of a class, a status or any similar type.

16. Pressure groups are associations or groups which have objectives that are different from political parties. These pressure groups or interest group have important political functions in all modern societies.

17. Interest groups and pressure groups use a number of strategies to influence the government and to get their demands accepted. These strategies include threats of direct action like boycott, threat of holding back essential services, protest closure of shops, and agitations such as street demonstrations and strikes.

18. French sociologist David Émile Durkheim wrote the book *The Division of Labour in Society*. In this book, he has analysed the integration of social life. Durkheim set up a dichotomy between two types of societies, segmental and complex.

19. There are six possible kinds of exchanges, according to the items exchanged. These are goods for goods, services for services, goods for services, money for goods, money for services and money for money.

20. Reciprocative exchange is the most common form of exchange among primitive people. It is illustrated by ritualistic gifting practice among families, clans and tribes.

3.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. State the various forms of family.

2. What are the functions of marriage?

3. List the functions and dysfunctions of religion.

4. Write a short note on education as a social process.

5. Briefly describe the role of state as an important social institution.

6. What do you mean by democracy?

7. Summarize Weber's concept on the origins and sustaining conditions for capitalism.

8. Write a brief note on Durkheim's study of division of labour.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Analyse the various types of institutions.

2. 'The forms of marriage are diverse in nature.' Explain.

3. Discuss the origin and evolution of religion in detail.

4. Examine the sociological perspectives on education.

5. Evaluate the role of pressure groups and political parties in societies.

6. Describe the various types of exchange.

3.12 FURTHER READING

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NOTES

UNIT 4 SOCIALIZATION

Structure

4.0 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the importance and processes of socialization

- Discuss the theories and types of socialization

- Assess the relationship between individual and society

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

4.2 MEANING AND DEFINITION

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

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

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

Importance of socialization

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

4.2.1 Processes of Socialization

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

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

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

4.2.2 Theories of Socialization

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

Charles Horton Cooley

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

(i) Our perception of how we look to others

(ii) Our perception of their judgement of how we look

(iii) Our feeling about these judgements

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

George Herbert Mead

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

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

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

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

(i) **Preparatory stage (1–3 years):** In this stage, a child imitates adult behaviour without any real understanding.

(ii) **Play stage (3–4 years)**: In this stage, children have some understanding of the behaviour but switch roles erratically. At one moment, the boy is a builder who is pilling blocks and a moment later, he knocks them apart. Similarly, at one moment, he is a policeman and a moment later, he becomes an astronaut.

(iii) **Game stage (4–5 years):** This stage is one where the role behaviour becomes consistent and purposeful, and the child has the ability to sense the role of the other players. To play baseball, each player must understand his

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

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

Sigmund Freud

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

(a) The Id

(b) The ego

(c) The super ego

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

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

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

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

4.2.3 Types of Socialization

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

(i) **Primary socialization** is the most fundamental and essential type of socialization. It takes place in early childhood. In this stage, a child internalizes norms and learns language and cognitive skills.

(ii) **Anticipatory socialization** is where human beings learn the culture of a group of which they are immediate members. They also learn the culture of a group

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

(iii) **Developmental socialization** is the kind of socialization that is based on the achievement of primary socialization. It builds on already acquired skills and knowledge as the adult progresses through new situations, such as marriage or new jobs. These require new expectations, obligations and roles. New learning is added to and blended with old in a relatively smooth and continuous process of development.

(iv) **Re-socialization** takes place mostly when a social role radically changes. An individual not only changes roles within a group but also changes groups.

4.2.4 Re-socialization

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

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

Total institution and re-socialization

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

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

4.2.5 Stages of Socialization

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

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

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

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

(i) First stage—the oral stage

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

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

(ii) Second stage—the anal stage

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

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

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

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

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

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

(iii) Third stage—the oedipal stage and latency

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

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

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

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

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

(iv) Fourth stage—adolescence/adult socialization

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

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

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

4.3 RELATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

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

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

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

Case I

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

Case II

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

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

Case III

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

4.3.1 Individual Dependence on Social Heritage

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

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

4.3.2 Individual and Society

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

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

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

(i) **The nature of social unity:** The unique quality of social unity is revealed when it is contrasted with other types of unities. Various forms of unities may be distinguished by viewing the nature of the functional relations of the units or parts of the whole. A type of unity is the organism, to which the society itself is assigned, mistakenly. In this type, one can interpret the cells, organs and various systems that these compose, for instance, circulatory, glandular, nervous, and so on. These derive their significance solely from their utility to the life of the organism, as a whole. Mechanism is another type of unity, the specific form of which is a man-made machine. The machine is not autonomous or self sustaining or self reproducing, like the organism. However, its various parts like wheels, gears, transmission belts, and so on, can be understood in terms of their contribution to the functioning of the whole machine. Like organic unity, mechanical unity has been attributed to the society or parts of it. However, the social system must be distinguished from these types. For a social system, social relationships grow and change in accordance with the changing attitudes and interests of its members of some or all of the units or individuals who compose it. Here, the system derives its significance from its support of and contribution to the final purpose of individuals themselves. Without this purpose, social unity cannot be envisaged. This principle makes the harmonization of society and individuality possible.

(ii) **Understanding individuality:** When we extend the meaning of individuality to man, we find it essential to use the term in its sociological reference. Here, one can argue that a social being has more individuality in the following circumstances:

  (a) His conduct is not imitative nor is it the result of suggestion.

  (b) He is not entirely the slave of custom or even of habit.

  (c) His responses to the social environment are not altogether automatic and subservient.

  (d) His personal purpose are factors in his real-life activities.

  (e) Individuality in sociological sense is that attribute which reveals the member of a group as more than merely a member.

  (f) He is a self, a centre of activity and response, expressive of a nature that is his own. This concept supports the admonition that we often give to others or to ourselves.

  (g) The factor of 'being yourself'. Being oneself need not mean just originality; it certainly does not mean eccentricity. A strong individuality may, in fact, express more fully the spirit or quality of his country or his time, but he does so, not because he is quickly imitative or easily suggestible, but because of his sensitivity to the age itself.

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

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

4.3.3 Life of Individuals—Heredity and Environment

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

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

- **Physical adaptation:** Purely physical adaptation is independent of our striving and our aims. The sun will tan our skin if we expose ourselves to it. This is a form of physical adaptation, irrespective of whether it helps us or not. Similarly, fresh air will stimulate our lungs and poisonous gases will destroy them. Strength or weakness, health or sickness is an equal expression of natural law. Everywhere, nature makes such demands; death itself being the final statement of physical adaptation. Irrespective of the conditions, whether wild or civilized, poor or prosperous, favourable or unfavorable, good or evil, this unconditional physical adaptation remains with all its compulsion.

- **Biological adaptation:** Biological adaptation means that a particular form of life is suited to survive or to prosper in environmental conditions. One can argue that fish is adapted to marine environment or tigers to the conditions of life in a jungle. In this sense, we can also speak of the inability to adapt. For instance, when it is said that a tiger is unable to adapt to the conditions of the desert or those of the polar snows, it means that the conditions do not permit adequate functioning of the organism. This implies that inevitable physical adaptation is detrimental to biological demands. In order to attain certain equilibrium, which involves the survival or fulfilment of an organism, environment support is required.

- **Social adaptation:** Social adaptation reveals an extension of biological use. Social adaptation is conditional adaptation when it involves some standards of value. When various sociologists speak about the process of adjustment or of

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

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

Heredity and environment

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4 AGENCIES OF SOCIALIZATION

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

There are various agencies of the socialization process. These are as follows:
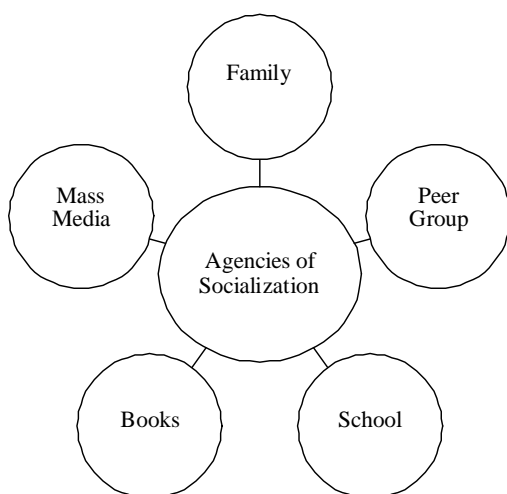
Fig. 4.1 Agencies of Socialization

Check Your Progress

4. What does the Systems Approach of Talcott Parsons state?

5. What is the criterion of individuality?

6. What do you mean by biological adaptation?

7. Define social heritage.

(i) Family

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

(ii) Peer group

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

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

(iii) School

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

(iv) Books

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

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

(v) Mass media

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

4.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The process that teaches an individual his culture is called socialization. This process goes on throughout one's life and it develops a sense of self and converts the individual into a member of society.

- Socialization teaches us language as well as the roles that we are expected to play or fit into, in society. Socialization also teaches individuals about the norms of the society of which one is a member.

- Socialization involves the processes by which an individual is taught the skills, behaviour patterns, values and motivations needed to competently function in a culture one is part of.

- Cooley, in his book *Social Organization,* writes that the construction of self and society are twin-born and that we know one as immediately as we know the other.

- G. H. Mead, basically a psychologist, agreed completely with Cooley that it is absurd to look at the self or the mind from the viewpoint of an individual organism. Although it may have its focus on the organism, it is undoubtedly a social product and a social phenomenon.

- Mead's theory of role taking is an essential learning process in socialization. Both Cooley and Mead explain the process of interaction. They saw personality as shaped through our social interaction with others.

- Sigmund Freud saw the self and society in basic conflict, not harmony. He believed that the self is the product of the ways in which basic human motives and impulses are denied and repressed by the society.

- Freud believed that the rational portion of human motivation was like the visible part of an iceberg. The larger part of human motivation that rests within the unseen forces has a powerful effect on human conduct. He divided the self into three parts:
  - o The Id
  - o The ego
  - o The super ego

- Primary socialization is the most fundamental and essential type of socialization. It takes place in early childhood. In this stage, a child internalizes norms and learns language and cognitive skills.

- Anticipatory socialization is where human beings learn the culture of a group of which they are immediate members.

- Developmental socialization is the kind of socialization that is based on the achievement of primary socialization. It builds on the already acquired skills and knowledge as the adult progresses through new situations, such as marriage or new jobs.

- Re-socialization takes place mostly when a social role radically changes. An individual not only changes roles within a group, but also changes groups.

- A total institution is an enclosed space where many people situated in near-by locations lead a life cut-off from the society for a particular time and, hence, lead a formerly administered life.

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

- There are four stages of socialization from infancy to adulthood. The names given to these stages have become fixed in usage and they are fairly appropriate, although far from being adequately descriptive. They are as follows:
  o First stage—The oral stage
  o Second stage—The anal stage
  o Third stage—The oedipal stage and latency
  o Fourth stage—Adolescence or adult socialization

- In the womb, the foetus is presumably warm and comfortable. At birth, the infant faces its first crisis—it must breathe, exert itself to be fed, it is susceptible to cold, and other discomforts; it cries a lot. The essential goal of the first stage of socialization is to establish oral dependency.

- The crisis with which this stage begins is caused by the imposition of new demands. These are the demands for the child to take over some degree of care for himself. Toilet training is the main focus of new concern.

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

- The fourth stage is adolescence which is roughly at puberty. This is the stage during which young boys or girls are ordinarily more and more 'emancipated' from parental control.

- The family gets the baby first. Therefore, the process of socialization begins in the family. The child is born with some basic abilities that are genetically transmitted from his parents.

- As the child grows older, his contemporaries begin to influence him. He spends most of his spare hours outside his work and study schedule, with his peers in the playground and places outside his/her home.

- The school is the second agency of socialization. When a child comes to school, his/her formal indoctrination into the culture of the society begins.

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

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

4.6 KEY TERMS

- **Socialization:** The process by which somebody, especially a child, learns to behave in a way that is acceptable to the society is called socialization.

- **Interaction:** The activity of communicating is referred to as interaction.

- **Assimilation:** Assimilation is the activity of someone becoming a part of a group rather than a separate entity.

- **The Id:** The Id is the pool of instinctive and unsocial desires and impulses, which are selfish and anti-social.

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

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

- **Developmental socialization:** Developmental socialization is a kind of socialization that is based on the achievement of primary socialization. It builds on already acquired skills and knowledge as the adult progresses through new situations, such as marriage or new jobs.

4.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Socialization involves the processes by which an individual is taught the skills, behaviour patterns, values and motivations needed to competently function in a culture one is part of.

2. The fundamental process of socialization is the emergence and gradual development of the 'self'. It is in terms of the self that a personality takes shape and mind begins to function. The notion of self begins to arise as a child learns about the feeling of sensation.

3. Anticipatory socialization is where human beings learn the culture of a group of which they are immediate members. They also learn the culture of a group with the anticipation of joining that group. This is referred to by R. K. Merton as 'anticipatory socialization'.

4. The Systems Approach of Talcott Parsons claims that the governance of individual relationships at the micro level is taken care of by the macro level. Moreover, the functional contribution of an individual to the society is so indispensable that the society cannot live without the individual and vice versa.

5. The criterion of individuality is not the extent to which each individual differs from the rest. It is rather, how far each acts autonomously in his own consciousness and with his own interpretation of the claims of others.

6. Biological adaptation means that a particular form of life is suited to survive or to prosper in environmental conditions.

7. Outer environment specifically refers to material culture. Inner or social environment consists of organizations and regulations, traditions and institutions, repression and liberation of social life. This is collectively referred to as social heritage.

8. The process of socialization begins in the family. The child is born with some basic abilities that are genetically transmitted from his parents. These abilities and capacities are shaped in a way that is determined by culture.

9. Both authoritarian and equalitarian relationships are equally significant to the growth of the child. He acquires the virtues of respect, constraint and obedience from the first type of relationships and the virtues of cooperation that is based on trust and mutual understanding, from the second.

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

4.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

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

Long-Answer Questions

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

4.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Structure

5.0 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

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

5.2 MEANING OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

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

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

Society compares and ranks individuals and groups

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

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

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

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

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

Definitions of Stratification

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. **Ogburn and Nimkoff:** The process by which individuals and groups are ranked in a more or less enduring hierarchy of status is known as stratification.

2. **Gisbert:** Social stratification is the division of society into permanent groups of categories linked with each other by the relationship of superiority and subordination.

3. **Melvin M. Tumin:** Social stratification refers to arrangement of any social group or society into a hierarchy of positions that are unequal with regard to power, property, social evaluation and/or psychic gratification.

4. **Lundberg:** A stratified society is one marked by inequality, by differences among people that are evaluated by them as being lower and higher.

5. **Raymond W. Murry:** Social stratification is a horizontal division of society into high and lower social units.

The universality of social stratification

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

Social differentiation and stratification

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

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

5.2.1 Characteristics of Social Stratification

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

Social

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

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

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

Universal

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

Diverse forms

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

Consequential

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

5.2.2 Principles of Social Stratification

Some of the principles of social stratification are as follows:

- **Social stratification is a trait of society, not of an individual:** Social stratification reflects social traits and not individual traits. For example, irrespective of individual traits, children born into wealthy families enjoy better health, better schooling, better career opportunities and improved life chances vis-à-vis those children who are born in poor families.

- **Social stratification continues from generation to generation:** The division of society into a hierarchy is not a one-generation affair; it continues from generation to generation. People who are in higher strata of society pass on their land, properties and titles to their inheritors. There could be upward and downward

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

- **Social stratification is universal but varies from society to society:** Social stratification is found in all societies but the basis of stratification may vary. In primitive society, social stratification was carried out on the basis of physical strength. However, in industrial society and socialist society, the basis of stratification are wealth and power, respectively.

- **Social stratification includes not just inequality but beliefs:** Social stratification not only stratifies society on the basis of inequality but also establishes beliefs and norms among the people. People who are in the lower strata of the society believe that they are in the lower position and behave according to their class position.

5.2.3 Social Stratification: Social Difference and Social Inequality

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

Social difference

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

Social inequality

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.4 Major Dimensions of Social Stratification

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.5 Bases of Social Stratification

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

(i) Ascribed or biological bases of stratification

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

- **Race/Caste stratification:** Discrimination on the basis of race or caste is the prime example of ascribed stratification. Here, race refers to the aspects of your physical appearance that make you a part of a particular group which is recognized by the society. Throughout history, people's caste and the colour of their skin have determined their social status. Today, racism and casteism are considered extreme forms of discrimination.

- **Gender stratification:** Gender is also an important basis of social stratification. In many societies, men are considered more powerful and authoritative than women. Women are considered victims of social inequality. Some feminists point out that women do not form a homogenous group as their social status is also determined by their race, age, sexual preference and class. However, there are other feminists who believe that irrespective of these differences, there are some common characteristics among women across the world.

- Professor Lesley Doyal (University of Bristol, the UK) states that the women's physique is the real constraint in their lives; and she explains this statement by saying, 'this is evidenced by the fact that the fight for bodily self-determination has been a central feature of feminist politics across very different cultures.'

(ii) Achieved or socio-cultural bases of stratification

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(iii) Closed and Open Stratification Systems

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

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

Ascribed Status ⟶ Closed Stratification System ⟶ Low/No Mobility

Achieved Status ⟶ Open Stratification System ⟶ High Mobility

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

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

Importance of studying social stratification

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

- It helps in understanding the type of life people live. Knowing what type of life individuals in a given social group or stratum live is very important for sociological analysis.

- It helps in understanding the bases on which a society is stratified.

- It helps in understanding the kind of interaction and relationship that exist between individuals of different strata.

- It assists in investigating the relationship between individuals or groups belonging to the same hierarchy.

- It helps in understanding which type of social system gives rise to a particular type of hierarchy. It implies that the type of social stratification varies across cultures, times and types of social systems.

5.3 FORMS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

This section will examine four major systems of social stratification — slavery, social castes, social classes and estate. These systems can be seen as ideal types for analytical purposes. It may be pointed out that any social stratification system may include elements of more than one type.
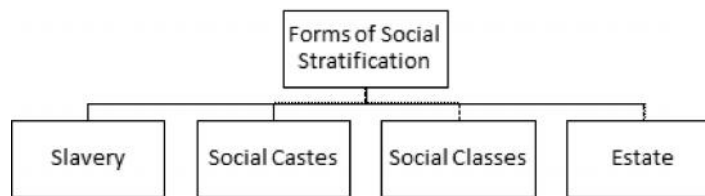
Fig. 5.1 *Forms of Social Stratification*

5.3.1 Slavery

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3.2 Social Class

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

Class is a relatively open stratification system

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Impact of class system in India

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

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

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

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

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

(i) Bourgeoisie
(ii) Proletariat

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

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

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

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

5.3.3 Caste

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

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

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

   In reality, however, political and economic factors do play a significant role in determining the position of the caste. Sociologists have pointed out that high ritual status does not actually translate into a higher social status. For example, while a Rajput may not have as important a role in ritual matters as the Brahmins, it is unlikely that he will give a higher status to the Brahmin in other matters. According to sociologist, M. N. Srinivasan, a dominant caste is that caste in the community that has a sufficiently high ritual status, numerical strength and material resources like land, wealth and access to power. It is the combination of these factors which keeps a caste high in the hierarchy. The dominant caste often has a major role to play in the village politics and its social life.
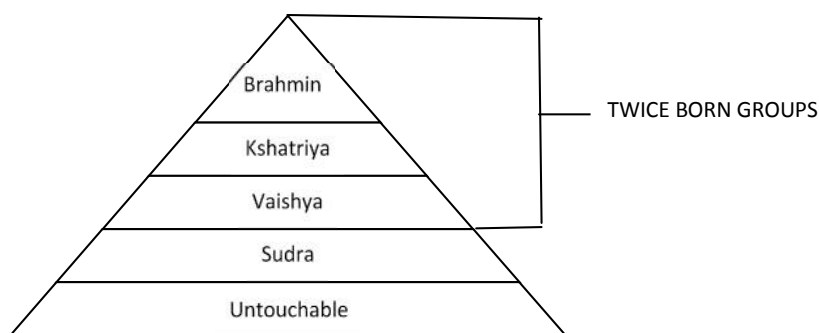
Fig. 5.2 Hierarchy of Indian Caste System

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Caste in other religions

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

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

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

Mythological background of Indian caste system

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

Historical background of Indian caste system and Varna

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

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

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

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

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

Theories of caste system

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Social Stratification

NOTES

Check Your Progress

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

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5.4 THEORIES: FUNDAMENTAL, MARXISM AND WEBERIAN

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

5.4.1 Natural Superiority Theory

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

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

5.4.2 Functionalist Theory of Social Stratification

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.4.3 Marxian Theory of Social Stratification

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

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

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

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

5.4.4 Weberian Theory of Social Stratification

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

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

    (i) Propertied upper class

    (ii) Property-less white-collar workers

    (iii) Petty bourgeoisie

    (iv) Manual working class

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

5.5 FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

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

Encourages hard work

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

Ensures circulation of elites

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

Serves an economic function

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

Prevents waste of resources

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

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

Stabilizes and reinforces the attitudes and skills

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

Helps to pursue different professions or jobs

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

Social control

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

Controlling effect on the 'shady' world

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

5.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

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

- Social stratification is ubiquitous. In all societies, population is socially differentiated on the basis of age, sex and personal characteristics.

- All societies exhibit some system of hierarchy whereby its members are placed in positions that are higher or lower, superior or inferior, in relation to each other.

- The two concepts — 'social differentiation' and 'social stratification' — are made use of to refer to such classification or gradation and placement of people in society.

- Differentiation may be considered the first stage preceding stratification in society, sorted and classified into groups. It does not, however, mean that all differentiation leads to stratification in society.

- Stratification is social in the sense it does not represent biologically caused inequalities.

- The stratification system is quite old. According to historical and archaeological records, stratification was present even in the small wandering bands. Age and sex were the main criterion of stratification then.

- The stratification system has its own consequences. The most important, most desired, and often, the scarcest things in human life are distributed unequally because of stratification.

- The most radical, legalized, social inequality for individuals or groups is slavery. The most unique feature of this crushing system of stratification is that one human being owns another.

- A social class is a group of individuals who have more or less a similar wealth. The possession of wealth enables the individual to obtain those goods and services that are scarce and are valued by others.

- Any society is said to be relatively open or closed depending on the number of opportunities available to its members for upward social mobility. Equally important, is the attitude of the society towards the mobility of its members.

- Social hierarchy in traditional societies is formed by ascription, while in class based societies, achievement plays an important role.

- The word 'caste' refers to the Spanish word *Casta* which means 'breed' in Spanish. In the Indian context, it represents caste and its related social practice.

- The caste system influences the social life of the Indian in a number of ways, as it assigns ascribed status to its members.

- When a higher caste man marries a low caste women, it is called hypergamy, and when a lower caste man marries a higher caste woman, it is call hypogamy.

- Natural superiority theory, also referred to as social Darwinism, was a popular and widely accepted theory of social stratification in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

- The functionalist theory is a theory that is most concerned with how societies maintain order.

- Generally, the functionalist theorists have tended to stress stability, consensus and integration in society.

- Functionalists assume that the society is similar to that of a human body, comprising several parts which form an integrated whole. Like the human body, the society's

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

- The Marxist perspectives generally regard modern society as being divided primarily into two classes— the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—on the basis of property ownership or non-ownership of property.

- Marx and Frederich Engels have divided history into five distinct epochs of production: primitive communism, Slave society, feudal societies and socialist society.

- Three terms—class consciousness, class solidarity and class conflict — are important in understanding the dynamics of class conflict in the Marxist approach to the study of stratification.

- The work of the German sociologist Max Weber represents one of the important developments in the stratification theory. According to Weber, stratification is based on three types of social formation, namely class, status and power or party.

5.7 KEY TERMS

- **Patrician:** It refers to a person of noble or high rank; aristocrat; a member of the original senatorial aristocracy in ancient Rome.

- **Plebeians:** It refers to someone belonging or pertaining to the common people; of, relating to, or belonging to the ancient Roman plebs.

- **Life chances:** It is a social science theory of the opportunities each individual has to improve his or her quality of life. The concept was introduced by German sociologist Max Weber.

- **Social Darwinism:** It is a 19th-century theory, inspired by Darwinism, by which the social order is accounted as the product of natural selection of those persons best suited to existing living conditions and in accord with which a position of laissez-faire is advocated.

- **Proletariat:** In Marxist theory, it refers to the class of workers, especially industrial wage earners, who do not possess capital or property and must sell their labour to survive.

- **White-collar workers:** In many countries (like Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom or the United States), a white-collar worker is a person who performs professional, managerial or administrative work.

5.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. All societies assign their members to roles in terms of superiority, inferiority and equality. This vertical scale of evaluation and placement of people in strata, or levels, is called stratification. Thus, stratification is simply a process of interaction of differentiation whereby some people come to rank higher than others.

2. The attributes of social stratification are as follows:
   (a) Unequal distribution of power, privileges, prestige, resources and rewards
   (b) Rank-status groups based on the criteria by which power, privileges and prestige are distributed

(c) The notion of high and low positions in the interaction and relations between these groups

(d) Prevalence of step-wise social inequality among different social groups in a given society.

3. The term 'social inequality' means unequal distribution of privileges and resources in the society, whereby some people possess more wealth, power and privileges than the rest of the people in the society.

4. Power is classified into two categories:
    (a) Individualistic power situations
    (b) Organizational power situations

5. Some of the characteristics of slavery, as practised in the United States, are as follows:
    (a) Slavery was hereditary in nature, that is, children of slaves were also considered slaves.
    (b) Slaves were not treated like human beings as they were considered the owners' property.
    (c) They did not have any rights.
    (d) They were treated in a cruel manner.

6. A social class is a group of individuals who have more or less a similar wealth. The possession of wealth enables the individual to obtain those goods and services that are scarce and are valued by others.

7. There are three methods which are used for the determination of social class. These are as follows:
    (a) Objective method: Under this method, sociologists use 'hard facts' for the determination of social class.
    (b) Subjective method: Under this method, sociologists ask various questions from people to know their perception about their own class.
    (c) Reputational method: In this method, various questions are asked from people of different social classes to know their perception about other classes.

8. When a higher caste man marries a low caste women it is called hypergamy and when a lower caste man marries a higher caste woman it is call hypogamy. Hypergamy is allowed whereas hypogamy is strictly forbidden.

9. The main advocate of social Darwinism was Herbert Spencer, an English sociologist, who saw social organization as an environment.

10. The Marxist perspectives generally regard modern society as being divided primarily into two classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—on the basis of property ownership or non-ownership of property.

11. Class conflict is divided into two types:
    (a) The involuntary conflict between the workers and the capitalists for shares in the productive output at a time when class consciousness is not developed
    (b) The conscious, deliberate and collective struggle between the two classes when the workers become aware of their historic role

12. Weber distinguishes four class groups in the capitalist society:
    (a) Propertied upper class
    (b) Property-less white-collar workers

(c) Petty bourgeoisie

(d) Manual working class

13. One of the main functions of class stratification is to induce people to work hard to live up to the values. Those who best fulfil the values of a particular society are normally rewarded with greater prestige and social acceptance by others.

14. Social stratification has a kind of economic function in that it helps to ensure the rational use of available talent. It is also functionally necessary to offer differential rewards if the positions at the top are largely ascribed as it is in the case of the caste system.

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

5.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Distinguish between social differentiation and social stratification.

2. What are the principles of social stratification?

3. Write a short note on social inequality.

4. What are the major dimensions of social stratification?

5. State the importance of studying social stratification.

6. Briefly describe the impact of class system in India.

7. Summarize the role of the four Varnas in the *Rig Veda*.

8. Compare the Marxian theory of social stratification and the Weberian theory of social stratification.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Analyse the characteristics of social stratification.

2. Critically evaluate the bases of social stratification.

3. Discuss the various forms of social stratification.

4. Describe the characteristics of caste system in India. Also, give a detailed account on the theories of the origin of caste system in India.

5. Examine the importance of the functionalist theory of social stratification.

6. Explain the functions of social stratification.

5.10 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 6 SOCIAL CHANGE

Structure

6.0 INTRODUCTION

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

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

6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

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

6.2 MEANING AND DEFINITION

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

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

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

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

6.2.1 Meaning and Definational Analysis of Change

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

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

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

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

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

6.2.2 Characteristics of Social Change

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

1. **Social change is universal:** As discussed in the above section, social change is inevitable. It is not only inevitable but also universal. It is found in every society. From primitive society to the post-industrial one, change is found everywhere. No society or culture remains static forever. Human beings changed themselves from nomads, food gatherers to agriculturists and later modern, industrial beings.

2. **Social change is continuous:** Right from the time mother earth came into being to the present times, society/life has been in a continuously changing mode. No society or people can be stopped from the influences of change. It is a never-ending process.

3. **Social change may produce chain reactions:** Change in one aspect of a system may lead to changes of varying degrees in other aspects of that system. As to Biesanz and Biesanz (1964, 63), the change from hunting and food gathering to agriculture was a revolution in technology that led eventually to the development of civilization by making large and diversified societies possible. Similarly, the Protestant emphasis on Bible reading as a road to salvation led to a great rise in literacy. Further, the introduction of the system of reservation for backward communities in government institutions and offices in India has brought changes in their socio-economic status, interpersonal relationships, and also in the social and economic structure of the country. Similarly, improvement in literacy in the country leads to economic independence of women which in turn brings changes in the whole notion of family, marriage and husband-wife ties.

4. **Social change may be planned or unplanned:** Change may occur with or without proper planning. People, government or any other agent may initiate change through plans or programmes and may determine the degree and direction of change. The Government of India after Independence devised several socio-economic developmental programmes to bring the country out of poverty and unemployment through the broader provision of Five Year Plans. In the 68 years of Independence, the country has seen phenomenal improvement in literacy, health, infrastructure and industry, and considerably managed to overcome poverty, hunger and unemployment problems. Apart from the planned social change, there can be

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

5. **Social change is temporal and directional:** Change can be directional. It happens in a particular direction. In several instances, such direction is planned, predetermined and is fixed ideally. Such changes are called as progress. However, change in general may happen in any direction. Similarly, the rate or tempo of change varies from time to time and place to place. Some changes may take months and years, while some may occur rapidly. Social change is temporal in the sense that it involves the factor of time. It denotes time sequence. It can be temporary or permanent. Time is an important component in the process of change.

6. **Social change is value-neutral:** The concept of social change is not value-laden or judgemental. It does not advocate any good or desirable and bad or undesirable turn of events. It is an objective term which is neither moral nor immoral. It is ethically neutral.

6.2.3 Forms of Social Change

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

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

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

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

2. **Social change and social progress:** Progress is a change in a desirable direction. It can also refer to change for the better. It involves value-judgement because it implies betterment or improvement. Progress involves change that leads to certain well-defined goals. It is also a type of social change. However, there are differences between the two. Every change is not progress, but every progress can be called as a change. Moreover, change is a value-free concept, while progress always denotes change for the better. In that sense, progress is a value-laden concept. It has been discussed before that change can be planned and unplanned. Nonetheless, progress is always planned and ideally fixed. Besides, change is obvious and certain. Small or big, slow or fast, change takes place in every society, but progress is uncertain (Mohanty 1997, 21).

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

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

4. **Demographic change:** Demography deals with the size, distribution, growth, and so on, of population over a period of time. Demographic change is change in the patters of fertility, mortality, age structure, migration, and so on. High fertility or high mortality can have important implications in any society. The same can happen if the rate of such indicators are too slow. High fertility might lead to large-scale instances of poverty and unemployment, and might affect the developmental efforts of a state. Over-population also leads to greater use of natural resources and affects environmental sustainability. High birth and death rates bring about change in the attitude of people towards family and marriage. In India, demographic change in the form of high fertility led to the adoption of family planning programmes and following which there was a decrease in the population growth rate. The small family norm has introduced change in social relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, the status of women, and so on.

5. **Technological change:** Human civilization is moving from the most rudimentary technology of bow and arrow to the modern and highly sophisticated instruments of the present day. The invention of computers, Internet, mobile phones, jet planes, atomic bomb and discoveries of men like Vasco da Gama and Columbus have changed the socio-cultural space of the modern man dramatically. Ancient man walked on bare feet. Then came the bullock cart which made movement comparatively faster. Subsequent technological innovations brought about bicycles, automobiles, jet planes, and so on. These have helped the movement of people faster than ever before. These technological changes have enormous societal implications. The introduction of high-yield seeds in the form of Green Revolution in India that ensured massive increase in foodgrains like rice and wheat managed the hunger situation in the country quite well. Dramatizing the fact that technological change may lead to social change, sociologist William F. Ogburn once attributed the emancipation of women to the invention of the automobile self-starter, which enabled women to drive cars, freed them from their homes and permitted them to invade the world of business (Biesanz and Biesanz 1964, 64). The modern means of entertainment and communication like TV, Radio, Internet, cell phones, and so on. have drastically changed the family life in India and substantially affected the role of women in society. Not only they are empowered and emancipated but also the husband-wife ties are now being seen as that of co-partners rather than that of superiors and inferiors. Although technological changes have not spread equally everywhere in the country, still phenomenal improvement in this respect cannot be ignored.

6. **Economic change:** Economy plays a cardinal role in man's daily life. Noted sociologist and philosopher Karl Marx pointed out the significance of economy as a factor in social change. He propounded that economy which constitutes the means of production like labour, instruments, and so on, and the relations of production is the infrastructure and all others like family, legal system, education, religion, polity, and so on are the superstructure. As he says, a conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed, haves and the have-nots brings change in the society and the society transforms to a new mode of production. In this manner,

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

6.3 PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT

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

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

6.3.1 Nature of Development

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

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

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

(ii) Development is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves a lot of economic, behavioural and institutional rearrangements. It involves equity, socio-economic and political participation, and so on.

(iii) Development is a systematic process. Change in one aspect brings chain reaction and corresponding changes in other aspects also.

(iv) Development is a lengthy process. The process of development needs substantial level of efforts over a long period of time.

(v) Development is an irreversible process. It always moves forward. Although some aspects of the process might have some occasional downfalls, the whole process of development is irreversible.

(vi) Development is a universal process. Developmental ideas and know-how are diffused from centre of origin to other parts of the world. There are transformations of ideas and techniques between nations world over.

(vii) Development is directional. It is a process that moves in a direction. In that sense, development is also called an evolutionary process. As stated by Spencer, it can be from simple to complex. As stated by Marx, it can be from class-less primitive communism to capitalistic mode of production and finally to socialism. As discussed by Durkheim, it can be from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity, and so on.

(viii) Development is a value-loaded concept. Qualitatively, it talks about improvement of something over some other. It talks about improvement in lifestyle, infrastructure, education, health system, and so on. Quantitatively, it always advocates for more (of anything) in number. So it is a process that involves value judgement.

6.3.2 Interrelationship between Change and Development

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

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

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

6.3.3 Indicators of Development

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

(i) **Literacy or education:** Education is the medium through which the members of society are socialized and the modern means of knowledge, skill and technique are imparted to them. Formal education and training expands opportunities for people and increase their capacities. Availability of educated labour force in a country is a prerequisite for development, better governance system and healthy functioning of democracy. In India, to eradicate illiteracy, the successive governments have come out with policies like 'Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan' (SSA), 'Mid-day Meal Scheme', 'Mahila Samakhya Scheme', 'Teacher Education Scheme', and so on. Following the National Literacy Mission (NLM), set up in 1988, the 'Total Literacy Campaign' was initiated to eliminate illiteracy. India's soaring literacy helped the country to become a knowledge economy. From a mere 12 per cent during independence, India's literacy has reached at 65 per cent (2001 census). This is a strong indicator of development.

(ii) **Health:** Health is, as the World Health Organisation (WHO) defines it, 'a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.' Good physical health is the basic requirement for a stable society. Low maternal and infant mortality, good quality of life, and availability of proper health facilities to all sections of a society are necessary conditions for a healthy and developed society. In India, although phenomenal improvements in various health indicators have been witnessed in post-independence period, still several facts need wide attention. Year 2007 data show, in India, the infant mortality rate (IMR)—the probability of a child dying before the first birthday—is still high, i.e., 55 per one thousand live births, although it has shown continuous decline over the years. Again, 43 per cent of children in India under age five are underweight (India 2010, 519–522). According to UN World Food Programme report released in 2009, more than 27 per cent of the world's under-nourished population lives in India. Besides, 40 per cent of women are found with chronic energy deficiency and around 30 per cent of babies in India are born underweight (Bhattacharya 2010). Development of any country with such bad health indicators will be difficult.

(iii) **Income:** Adequate level of employment generation is essential for a country to raise income level of its populace. High incomes per capita and increased GNP makes a country economically healthy. When a country has enough economic resources and its per capita income is high, it can invest in social sectors like health and education. Therefore, income and economic welfare are most important indicators of the development process.

(iv) **Democratic participation:** Participation in the political process of a state is a rational thing every citizen would want to carry out. The political process can

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

(v) **Scientific and technological advancement:** Technological prowess makes a country advanced and that enables for creating better facilities for its citizens. When a country is technologically advanced, its people have larger choices for scientific and technological knowhow. There are very few countries who can afford substantial amount of resources devoted for Research and Development (R&D) since it is very expensive and involves complicated processes. However, a country with adequate and latest technology can manage its various needs well and make facilities available for its masses.

(vi) **Strong and sustained cultural civilization:** A country for its true development needs not only scientific tools and economic growth but also a strong urge to sustain its traditional heritage and cultural civilization. The very notion of HDI devised by UNDP is that progress and development is no longer to be measured just in terms of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) or per capita income but also in terms of human well-being, which includes a number of factors like cultural identity, a sense of security of both one's personal safety as well as safety of one's culture and one's place in this world. In that sense, Bhutan's has very high indicators of human happiness. This is due to Bhutan's flourishing craft activities, linking craft to Bhutan's sense of identity (Chatterjee and Ashoke 2005). So traditional cultural ethos and values are major parts of a country's development. In India, it is the traditional skill (local knowledge) of the handicraft artisans that is a major basis of their identity. However, in post-liberalization India, this identity is either getting vanished or getting diluted and the skill/local knowledge is very much influenced by the market forces (Jena 2008, 22). Sustaining one's own cultural heritage of any form in modern globalized times is one of the greatest challenges for any country. Without this, true development of nation and humanity is impossible.

6.3.4 Change in Structure and Change of Structure

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4 FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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

(i) First, the causes of social change are inherent either in social system in general or in particular kinds of social system.

- **Conflicts:** No society is free from conflict. Any attempt to resolve the conflict would lead to some kind of change in the society. Some undercurrents of conflict always exist between different groups in the society on the issue of who gets more benefits in the existing system.

- **Social problems:** For example, unemployment, juvenile delinquency, poverty and overpopulation lead to a lot of conflict in the society, which may lead to social change in the present apparatus. The measures to solve or tackle social problems may also lead to changes in society. To deal with overpopulation, government may ask people to follow family control method, which may lead to changes in value systems, institution of marriage and family.

Check Your Progress

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

- **Revolutions and disturbances:** The most intense conflict may result in a revolution in the society like the Russian Revolution, the French Revolution and the American Revolution, and bring about wide ranging changes. These revolutions were the result of exploitation of a large majority by a small minority, the suppression of freedoms, tyranny, corruption and bad policies of the state.

- **Cultural change**: Cultural innovations (innovation is a new combination of old elements), which may come from innovator's own society or from the other, can cause changes. The diffusion of culture from one society to another has been a great source of social and cultural change in every society, like colonialism. Cultural change can also occur if a new religion or sect comes into being. The origin of a new religion or sect affects the social system and leads to the spread of a new cult/religion vis-à-vis modifications in the existing social order by the cleansing of old, outdated social mores and traditions. To give an example, in India, the rise of Buddhism and Jainism modified Hindu conservatism of that time.

(ii) Second, the change may be due to some impact from the social environment of the social system of reference. The influence of the social environment is more significant in bringing about social changes. Shifts of political alliance, military invasions, origin of a new religion or sect, and peaceful immigration and trade shifts can present problems of adjustment to the social system. Any of these changes will have an effect on parts of social structure and then on the society as a whole as well.

(iii) Finally, the change may also be due to some impact from the non-social environment. Changes in the non-social environment, which may be due to human engineering, such as soil erosion, deforestation and exhaustion of natural mineral resources, can also cause some social changes. Changes in the non-social environment due to nature, for example floods, cyclones and volcanic eruptions, may also cause adoptive social changes. Longevity or average life span also affects composition of population and the social system. When due to natural disasters, wars and diseases, people die at an early age, there are always a majority of youngsters, and/or those who are alive, who are open to new innovations and new ideas for their survival/better living. On the other hand, when due to medical facilities and peaceful life people live long, they do not welcome change or new ideas and innovations and prefer status quo. This affects speed of social change adversely.

The causes of social change can also be classified into:

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

6.4.1 Demographic Factors

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

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

- Birth rate
- Death rate
- Immigration and emigration
    (i) Rise in the birth rate in a society (when it exceeds death-rate) leads to a rise in the population. A rapid rise in population can lead to problems like poverty and unemployment. Birth rates can rise because of illiteracy, early marriage, poverty, lack of family planning programmes or fall in death rate.

    (ii) A low birth rate leads to decrease in the size of the society's population. Low population can mean fewer trained personnel available and non-utilization of available natural resources, which can also affect social relations due to the small size of the family. Low birth rates may arise as a result of scientific advancements, modern education, better healthcare and preventive medicines, increase in agricultural productivity leading availability of food which raises the standard of living, control over nature to avoid tragedies, and so on.

    A change in the sex ratio also leads to changes in the structure and social relations in the society. An almost equal proportion of men and women leads to monogamy in society. Polygamy sets in the society if the number of males and females is disproportionate. If the number of women goes up (more than men), polygyny develops, but if the opposite happens, i.e., there are more men than women, the result often is polyandry. Polygamy sets in the society if the number of women goes up (more than men). Polyandry is often the result, if there are more men than women.

    (iii) Migration has played a significant role in population growth in the history of mankind. Increase in the growth of population hastens the process of migration. Migration refers to the process of movement of population from one place to another. There are primarily two forms of migration:
    - o Immigration is migration into a country/state/area
    - o Emigration is migration out of a country/state/area

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

        The factors contributing to the process of migration are as follows:
    - o Better transport facilities
    - o Disasters of nature calamities like earthquake, flood, famine, and so on
    - o Better job opportunities in the area of migration

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

Positive effects

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

Negative effects

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

6.4.2 Economic Factors

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

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

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

6.4.3 Religious Factors

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

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

Weber's theory in simple terms means:

- The protestant religion supported individuals to follow a secular vocation with as much zeal as possible. A person living according to this world view was more likely to accumulate money.

- The new religions (in particular, Calvinism and other more austere Protestant sects) effectively forbade wastefully using hard earned money and identified the purchase of luxuries as a sin. Donations to an individual's church or congregation were limited due to the rejection by certain Protestant sects of icons. Finally, donation of money to the poor or to charity was generally frowned on as it was seen as furthering beggary. This social condition was perceived as laziness, burdening their fellow man and an affront to God; by not working, one failed to glorify God. The investment of this money gave an extreme boost to nascent capitalism, according to Weber.

- Reformation reforms in the 16th century Europe, to rid Christianity of its superstitions, and corruption that had plagued the church and its officials led to the rise of scientific temperament and rationality. It finally led to Industrial Revolution in the later era.

- Most of the churches of southern US supported the civil rights movement for African-Americans and helped in abolishing racism in the US.

- In medieval India, socio-religious movements like the Bhakti and Sufi movements helped in spreading tolerance among both Hindus and Muslims as their leaders came from all castes and classes, and preached an ideology of tolerance.

- In India, social movements for change have always had a religious colour to them. Mahatma Gandhi during the Freedom struggle used religious symbols to make it popular with the masses.

6.4.4 Bio-Technology Factors

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

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

- Agricultural advancements, for example, in India, due to the introduction of high-yielding variety led to the Green Revolution. It made India self-sufficient in food and led to the development of the states like Punjab and Haryana, which also gained a higher per capita income.

- Biological pesticides are injected into various crops so that they grow pesticide-free. These have led to the increase in production.

- Scientific advancements in medicine have led to the cure of various serious diseases and have led to a rise in population worldwide. Health care facilities have led to increase in population as well.

- Cloning in biotechnology refers to processes used to create copies of DNA fragments (molecular cloning), cells (cell cloning) or organisms. Cloning organs in human-beings has led to people suffering from ailments to not wait for a donor to get the diseased organ replaced. However, at present, the technology of cloning is at initial/experimental stage and is not available for the masses.

- Cloning of animals is now being tried on extinct species or on endangered species. Scientists have successfully cloned species like the sheep, cattle, cat and rabbit. This will lead to a rise in livestock for domestication and for nutritional purposes in the future.

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

6.4.5 Info-Technology Factors

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

- Cases of natural calamities like floods, cyclones, earthquakes and droughts are no more viewed as God's punishments against man's sins. Modern technology based on computers can predict natural disasters, as a result of which the degree of gaining control over them has increased. Modern technology using computers can warn people and save their lives by migrating to other safe areas.

- Communication has reduced distances as people can talk and can even video-chat over long distances. As a result, the world has become closer.

- Social inequalities have gone down as technology cannot be prejudiced/biased against a race, caste or religion.

- Social evils like corruption have gone down as a result of technology, especially in India, as everything is computerized and the number of people involved in the

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

- Technology has also helped in the spread of democracy by making people more conscious of their rights.

- Law and order has improved, for example, with the use of close circuit television cameras (CCTV) for traffic for keeping a watch, and this has led to the reduction in crime and accidents.

- Technology has helped in the spread of knowledge and literacy in far flung areas.

- Technology has also helped in empowering women, and has also given power and voice to the weak and backwards, as anybody can use technology to show if he/she faced any exploitation and can give his/her side of the story.

- Technology has helped in changing political systems by overthrowing autocratic regimes.

- It has provided more employment opportunities based on skill and expertise.

- Technology has made globalization possible. The world is now a more integrated place now, thanks to communication satellites and the Internet, and events in one place can have an effect on the entire world.

6.4.6 Media Factors

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

- The media shapes and influences public opinion on any matter or issue.

- The media can attract attention to problems and can offer informed solutions as well.

- The media can entertain people and can spread useful information.

- The media can create conditions for mobilization of the public. For example, the anti-corruption agitation by Indian social activist Anna Hazare in 2012 or the anti-rape marches.

- The media has empowered citizens by giving a voice to the poor and the backward by showing their side of the story.

- The media helps in increasing public knowledge by informing and educating them about issues.

- The media can help bring smooth transition in the society from traditional to modern through its programming content.

- Through its various programmes, the media's influence has led to consumerism and changes in lifestyles.

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

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

6.5 THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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

Marx's theory of social change

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

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

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

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

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

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

Parsons' theory of social change

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

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

- The system units are classified into patterns that display dependence on each other in order to complete system functions.

- In differentiating systems, new components and principles that facilitate integration are established.

- Within given environments, the adaptive capacity of these systems of differentiations are increased.

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

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

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

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

6.5.1 Linear or Evolutionary Theories of Social Change

There have been various theories and studies conducted to understand the phenomenon of social change in various eras by different thinkers. This section looks at one of the earliest theories of social change collectively known as linear theories of social change.

Linear theory refers to the theories of social change which discuss a society's progress or evolution in a linear direction. Earlier sociological thinkers believed that human societies were meant for development, and change was always progressive and led to further civilization and ethical enhancement of society. Such theories were influenced by Darwin's general theory of evolution which states that natural species evolve through variation and natural selection, a process which is not essentially progressive.

The conception of evolution involves three essential characteristics:

- Evolution is viewed as an irreversible process of unidirectional growth and development.
- Every society will go through a limited number of fixed stages of development.
- Evolution necessarily involves progress and every succeeding stage is considered to be better and higher than the preceding one.

Auguste Comte, considered by many to be one of the pioneers of sociology, through his theory on the 'laws of three stages' talked about social change in terms of evolution of the society (also referred to as the theory of socio-cultural evolution). According to Comte, societies can be seen developing through three different stages of evolution/ development. They are as follows:

    (i) The theological stage

   (ii) The metaphysical stage

  (iii) The positive stage

The **theological stage** refers to the belief in embodied deities. This stage was sub-divided into three sub-stages:

- *Fetishism* is a major stage of the theological stage. Also known as animism, in this stage, people believe that inanimate objects have living spirits in them. For example, people worshipping non-living objects like trees, stones, water, volcanic eruptions, and so on.
- *Polytheism* is the belief in many gods. In this stage, people believe that different gods control all natural forces; for example, the god of rain, god of fire, god of air, god of water, god of earth, and so on.
- *Monotheism* refers to the belief in one supreme God; everything is attributed to a single entity.

The **metaphysical stage** can be seen as an extension of the theological stage. In this stage, people believe that God is an abstract entity/being. The basic belief is that an

unseen force or abstract power guides and determines events in the world. Faith in a concrete God is rejected. For example, metaphysical notions can be seen at work in Hindu mythology's conception of the soul and of rebirth.

The **positive stage**, or the scientific stage, refers to the rational scientific belief which is based on the methods of observation, experiment and comparison. This belief, by establishing cause and effect relationships, relies upon the scientific method. It indicates an intellectual way of understanding the world as it stresses objectivity through classification of data and facts.

Comte was followed by Herbert Spencer, another major thinker of sociology in the 19th century. Spencer defined sociology as the study of the evolution of society and held that the final goal of societal evolution is complete harmony and happiness, as homogeneous systems or societies would grow to become heterogeneous.

Spencer's theories may be summarized as follows:

- Spencer applied the theory of biological evolution to sociology.

- According to Spencer, evolution had a direction and a goal or an end-point, which was the attainment of a final state of equilibrium.

- He stated that the human mind had evolved in a similar manner; according to him, the human mind evolved from formulating animal like animated responses to the process of reasoning and logic symptomatic of the thinking man.

- He believed that just as in the theory of biological evolution, society was the product of change from lower to higher forms; the lowest forms of life always evolved into higher forms.

- In the development of society, Spencer argued that evolutionary progression from simple, undifferentiated homogeneity to complex, differentiated heterogeneity was exemplified.

- He developed a theory of two types of society, which corresponded to this evolutionary progression:
  o The militant
  o The industrial

For Spencer, militant society is structured around the relationships of hierarchy and obedience, mostly simple and undifferentiated. On the other hand, industrial society is complex and differentiated, as it is based on voluntary, contractually assumed social obligations. Spencer conceptualized society as a social organism. This society, according to the universal law of evolution, evolved from a simpler state to the more complex state.

American anthropologist and social theorist Lewis H. Morgan in *Ancient Societies,* published in 1877, differentiated between three eras based on the relationship between technological and social progress:

- **Savage era:** Characterized by fire, bow, pottery

- **Barbaric era:** Characterized by agriculture, metalworking and the domestication of animals

- **Civilization era:** Exemplified by the alphabet and writing

Morgan rejected the three-age system of pre-history, namely, the Stone-Age, the Bronze-Age and the Iron-Age, as being an insufficient characterization of progress. He further sub-divided the savage, barbaric and civilization era into sub stages. This subdivision is seen in Table 6.1 below:

Table 6.1 *Sub-division of the Savage, Barbaric and Civilization Era*

Savagery: *Natural Subsistence, at least 60,000 years.*	Lower	First distinction of man from the other animals. *Fruits and Roots*, tropical or subtropical habitats, at least partial *tree-dwelling, gesture language, intelligence, Consanguine Family.*
	Middle	*Fish Subsistence, Use of Fire*, spread of man worldwide along shorelines, *monosyllabic language, Punaluan Family.*
	Upper	Weapons: bow and arrow, club, spear; addition of game to diet, cannibalism, *syllabical language, Syndyasmian Family, organization into gentes, phratries and tribes, worship of the elements.*
Barbarism: *Cultivation, Domestication,* 35,000 years.	Lower	*Horticulture:* maize, bean, squash, tobacco; *art of pottery,* tribal confederacy, *finger weaving, blow-gun, village stockade, tribal games, element worship, Great Spirit,* formation of *Aryan and Semitic families.*
	Middle	*Domestication of animals* among the *Semitic and Aryan families:* goat, sheep, pig, horse, ass, cow, dog; milk, *making bronze,* irrigation, *great joint tenement houses in the nature of fortresses.*
	Upper	*Cultivation of cereals and plants* by the Aryans, *smelting iron ore,* poetry, mythology, walled cities, wheeled vehicles, metallic armor and weapons (bronze and iron), the forge, potter's wheel, grain mill, loom weaving, forging, *monogamian family, individual property, municipal life, popular assembly.*
Civilization: *Field Agriculture,* 5000 years.	Ancient	*Plow with an iron point,* iron implements, animal power, *unlimited subsistence, phonetic alphabet, writing, Arabic numerals,* the military art, the city, commerce, coinage, *the state, founded upon territory and upon property,* the bridge, arch, crane, water-wheel, sewer.
	Mediaeval	Gothic architecture, feudal aristocracy with hereditary titles of rank, hierarchy under the headship of a pope
	Modern	Telegraph, coal gas, spinning-jenny, power loom, steam engine, telescope, printing, canal lock, compass, gunpowder, photography, modern science, religious freedom, public schools, representative democracy, classes, different types of law.

Morgan's theory influenced Marxist theorists like Engels, as he believed that any change in the form of technology can lead to social change—in social institutions, organizations or even in ideologies.

Emile Durkheim, in his book *Division of Labour in Society* (1893), talked about the concept of social solidarity. Here, he discussed evolution in terms of society progressing from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. The most important factor in this social growth was the division of labour.

Mechanical solidarity can be seen in a society where division of labour is simple, where people are self-sufficient, where there is little integration, and to keep the society together, sometimes force can be used. Organic solidarity refers to a society where there is more integration and interdependence due to a complex division of labour, and specialization and cooperation is extensive.

Progress from mechanical to organic solidarity is based on:

- The division of labour (from simple to complex)
- Population growth and increase in population density
- On the development of more complex social interactions
- On the increase in specialization in the workplace

These theorists saw the society moving in only one direction, i.e., towards progress and development in a manner of unilineal evolution, i.e., evolution in one direction.

The German sociologist and philosopher Ferdinand Tönnies discussed social evolution theory in terms of development. According to him, the society moved from an informal society, where there are few laws and obligations, and people have many liberties to a formal rational, modern society, dominated by traditions and laws which restrict people from acting as they wish.

Tonnies also pointed at the tendency of modern society to absorb all smaller societies into a single, large unit through standardization and unification (presently referred to as the process of globalization). Tonnies' work became an inspiration for the rise of theories on neo-evolutionism. He:

- Rejected the linear ideas of evolution

- Claimed that the social development or progress is not perfect

- Asserted that the right direction for the evolution of society cannot be pointed out and that societies do not necessarily follow the same paths

- Believed that instead of social progress, the evolution of society could even be called a regress as newer, more evolved societies develop only after paying high costs, resulting in decreasing satisfaction of individuals making up that society

The theories of Tonnies are also seen as the foundation of the social theory of neo-evolutionism. Briefly, neo-evolutionism tries to explain the evolution of societies by drawing on Darwin's theory of evolution and discarding some dogmas of the previous social evolutionism. Neo-evolutionism is concerned with long-term, directional, evolutionary social change and with the regular patterns of development that may be seen in unrelated, widely separated cultures. Tonnies was one of the first sociologists to assert that the evolution of society was not necessarily going in the right direction and that social progress is not perfect; it can even be regressive since newer, more evolved societies are established only after paying a high costs, resulting in decreasing satisfaction of individuals making up that society.

6.5.2 Cyclical Theories of Social Change

The theory of social evolution views the evolution of society and human history as progressing in a distinctive linear course, whereas the cyclical theory of social change claims that events and stages of society and history are generally repeating themselves in cycles. According to the cyclical theory, growth and decay are both phases which affect every society from time to time.

The first cyclical theory in sociology under the title *The Mind and Society* (1935) was developed by the Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto; in it, Pareto discussed the notion of the circulation of elites (the few who rule the many in society). Although in 1896, Italian political scientist Gaetano Mosca had commented on the many ruled by the few, it was Pareto who came up with the term 'elites'. In his theory, Pareto propagated the superiority of elites (psychologically and intellectually) and emphasized that elites were the highest accomplishers in any field.

Pareto divides the elites into two types:

- Governing elites

- Non-governing elites

Pareto labelled the two groups as lions (those who rule by force, like in a military dictatorships) and foxes (those who rule by cunning and guile, example, politicians in democracies). According to his theory, every society is founded in aggression and, therefore, 'lions', but as it settles down the need for their courage and strength declines. In due course, this necessity is replaced by even more persuasive need, the need for the subtler skills of the foxes, who then become the rulers. The rule of the foxes remains in place until the society's identity and sense of direction become so unclear that a requirement for the qualities of 'lions' rises once again. This is how society is ruled by elites in circulation.

Another cyclical theory of social change was developed by Russian American sociologist Pitirim A. Sorokin (1889–1968) in his *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (1937, 1943). Sorokin classified societies according to their cultural mentality or cultural status, which could be ideational (religious way of thinking, or reality as spiritual), sensate (emphasizing the role of the senses in understanding realty, or reality as material), or idealistic (a synthesis of the two). He interpreted the contemporary West as a sensate civilization dedicated to technological progress and prophesied its fall into decadence and the emergence of a new ideational or idealistic era.

It is important to note that the concept of society moving in cycles was not new. Similar ideas were conceptualized in ancient China, Egypt and in Babylon as well, as among the classical philosophers and historians. Cyclical theories have also contributed to the development of the comparative historical method in the social sciences.

German historian and philosopher Oswald Spengler gave another cyclical theory of social change. His book *The Decline of the West*, published in 1922, covered all of world history. According to Spengler's theory, the lifespan of civilizations was limited and ultimately all civilizations perished. In *The Decline of the West,* Spengler rejected the division of history into the 'ancient-medieval-modern' rubric, which he saw as linear and Euro-centric. According to Spengler, the meaningful units for history are whole cultures which evolve as organisms. He recognized eight high cultures:

- Babylonian
- Egyptian
- Chinese
- Indian
- Mexican (Mayan/Aztec)
- Classical (Greek/Roman)
- Arabian
- Western or European-American

For Spengler, the lifespan of a culture, where each culture becomes a 'civilization' in its final stage, can be stated to be around a thousand years. He asserted that the Western world was ending and that we are witnessing the last season or the 'winter time' of the Western civilization. Spengler represents the Western Man as a proud but tragic figure since what he strives for and creates, he secretly knows that the objectives may never be achieved.

British historian Arnold J. Toynbee's ten-volume *A Study of History* came out in three separate instalments published between 1934 and 1954. It can be stated that Toynbee's ideas and approach to history falls into the discipline of comparative history. In response to Spengler's theory:

- Toynbee affirmed that a civilization may or may not continue to prosper, depending on the challenges it might face and in the way it responses to them.

- He followed Oswald Spengler's book *The Decline of the West* in taking a comparative topical approach to independent civilizations.

- Toynbee rejected Spengler's deterministic view that civilizations rise and fall according to a natural and inevitable cycle in which they live for 1,000 years.

- He identified historical civilizations according to cultural or religious rather than national criteria.

- Thus, 'Western Civilization', was treated as a whole, and distinguished from both the 'Orthodox' civilization of Russia and the Balkans, and from the Greco-Roman civilization that preceded it. Western civilization comprised all the nations that have existed in Western Europe since the collapse of the Western Roman Empire.

- Toynbee identified 21 civilizations, of which by 1940, sixteen were dead and four of the remaining five were under severe pressure from Western Christendom or the West.

- According to Toynbee, the ideas and methods for meeting challenges in a society come from a creative minority. The ideas and methods developed by the creative minority are copied by the majority. Thus, meeting challenges in society entails generation of ideas by a minority and imitation by the majority. If either of those two processes ceases to function, then the civilization breaks down.

- In the breakdown of a civilization, the society splits into three parts: the dominant minority, the internal proletariat (the working masses which are part of the civilization) and the external proletariat (the masses which are influenced by the civilization but are not controlled by it).

- The disintegration of a civilization involves a 'time of troubles', for example, a war between nations that are a part of the civilization. This time of troubles is followed by the establishment of a universal state, an empire. For Toynbee, the existence of a universal state, such as the Roman Empire, is an evidence that the civilization has broken down.

- Ultimately, the universal state collapses and there follows an interregnum in which the internal proletariat creates a universal religion and the external proletariat becomes involved in a migration of peoples.

Linear theories of social change are very simplistic and cyclical theories neglect the interrelations between civilizations, and have been criticized for conceiving of civilizations as natural entities with sharp boundaries.

Curvilinear Social Change Theory

When the variables under consideration are observed at certain periods, it implies curvilinearity. Although history does not repeat itself, it shows some particular trends, which help in generalizing some trends that can lead to a curve. Curvilinearity depends on the time period and observational units of generalizable trend, which can show a curvilinear impression (as opposed to a cyclical trend). Models of one-directional change assume that change in a certain direction induces further change in the same direction; on the other hand, models of curvilinear or cyclical change assume that change in a

certain direction creates the conditions for change in another (perhaps even the opposite) direction. More specifically, it is often assumed that growth has its limits, and that in approaching these limits, the change curve will inevitably be bent. Ecological conditions such as the availability of natural resources, for instance, can limit population, economic and organizational growth.

Shorter-term cyclic changes are explained by comparable mechanisms. Some theories of the business cycle, for example, assume that the economy is saturated periodically with capital goods; investments become less necessary and less profitable, the rate of investments diminishes, and this downward trend results in a recession. After a period of time, however, essential capital goods will have to be replaced; investments are pushed up again, and a phase of economic expansion begins.

All theories of social change generally assume that the path of social change is not random or arbitrary, but is, to a certain degree, regular or patterned. The three traditional ideas of social change have unquestionably influenced modern theories. Although, these theories are not scientifically based, they do not make an explicit distinction between decline and progress. In fact, from empirical observations, the qualities of decline and progress cannot be derived scientifically alone but are instead identified by normative evaluations and value judgments. If the study of social change is to be conducted on scientific and non-normative terms, then only two basic patterns of social change can be considered: the cyclic and the one-directional/linear. Often, the time span of the change determines which pattern is observed, as linear shows the trend over a small period as compared to cyclical which compare trends over a long period of time.

It would be pertinent here to emphasize that since social change is an abstract and complex phenomenon that occurs due to the interplay of various factors and forces. There cannot be one or two universal laws of pattern of change, whether cyclic or linear. To give an example, one part of culture may change progressively (like technology), but at the same time, another part may show cyclical change (like fashion). Further, as neo-evolutionists claim, the change takes a parabolic curve where a certain institution regains its importance but with different ideology (e.g., promiscuity > monogamy > loose sex morality).

6.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Change and continuity are the inevitable facts of life. Not only do people undergo the process of change but so does the habitat they live in.
- Sociology as a separate discipline emerged in the middle of the 19th century as an effort to explain the socio-cultural and economic changes that erupted in Europe, following the industrialization and democratization processes.
- 'Change' refers to any alteration or transformation in any object, situation or phenomena over a certain period of time.
- 'Social change', on the other hand, indicates the changes that take place in human interactions or interrelationships. Society is regarded as a 'web of social relationships', and in that sense, social change refers to change in the system of social relationships.

Check Your Progress

15. What is dialectical interpretation of change?
16. What is the driving force of social evolution for Parsons?

- The concept of social change is not value-laden or judgemental. It does not advocate any good or desirable and bad or undesirable turn of events.

- Economy plays a cardinal role in man's daily life. The noted sociologist and philosopher Karl Marx pointed out the significance of economy as a factor in social change. He propounded that economy which constitutes the means of production like labour, instruments, and so on, and the relations of production is the infrastructure and all others like family, legal system, education, religion, polity, and so on are the superstructure.

- Karl Marx, from a conflict perspective, provided a dialectical historical approach for the study of social change. Marx's interpretation of social change has something in common with evolutionary theories.

- Marx believed that social change is brought about not by a slow process, but by a revolutionary transformation. Slow changes in the balance of social power alternates with violent, revolutionary transformation. This has been referred to as dialectical interpretation of change.

- Talcott Parsons became increasingly concerned with social change. He orgued that the energetic information exchanges among action systems provide the potential for change within or between the action systems.

- Linear theory refers to the theories of social change which discuss a society's progress or evolution in a linear direction.

- The metaphysical stage can be seen as an extension of the theological stage. In this stage, people believe that God is an abstract entity/being.

- Organic solidarity refers to a society where there is more integration and interdependence due to a complex division of labour, and specialisation and cooperation is extensive.

- Neo-evolutionism tries to explain the evolution of societies by drawing on Darwin's theory of evolution and discarding some dogmas of the previous social evolutionism.

- All theories of social change generally assume that the path of social change is not random or arbitrary, but is, to a certain degree, regular or patterned.

- The causes of social change are inherent either in social system in general or in particular kinds of social system.

- The change may also be due to some impact from the non-social environment. Changes in the non-social environment, which may be due to human engineering, such as soil erosion, deforestation and exhaustion of natural mineral resources, can also cause some social changes.

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

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

- Technology has also helped in the spread of democracy by making people more conscious of their rights.

- Mass media can be said to be diversified media technologies that are intended to reach a large audience by mass communication. The technology through which this communication takes place varies.

NOTES

6.7 KEY TERMS

- **Change:** 'Change' refers to any alteration or transformation in any object, situation or phenomena over a certain period of time.

- **Cultural lag:** A cultural lag occurs when one of the two parts of culture which are correlated changes before or in greater degree than the other parts does, thereby, causing less adjustment between the two parts than existed previously.

- **Demography:** Demography deals with the size, distribution, growth, and so on, of the population over a period of time.

- **Demographic change:** Demographic change is change in the patters of fertility, mortality, age structure, migration, and so on.

- **Linear theory:** Linear theory refers to the theories of social change which discuss a society's progress or evolution in a linear direction.

- **Fetishism:** Fetishism is a major stage of the theological stage. Also known as animism, in this stage, people believe that inanimate objects have living spirits in them.

- **Polytheism:** Polytheism is the belief in many gods. In this stage, people believe that different gods control all natural forces.

- **Monotheism:** Monotheism refers to the belief in one supreme God; everything is attributed to a single entity.

- **Organic solidarity:** Organic solidarity refers to a society where there is more integration and interdependence due to a complex division of labour, and specialization and cooperation is extensive.

- **Neo-evolutionism:** Neo-evolutionism tries to explain the evolution of societies by drawing on Darwin's theory of evolution and discarding some dogmas of the previous social evolutionism.

- **Information technology:** Information technology (IT) is the application of computers and telecommunications equipment to store, retrieve, transmit and manipulate data.

6.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Sociology as a separate discipline emerged in the middle of the 19th century as an effort to explain the socio-cultural and economic changes that erupted in Europe following the industrialization and democratization processes.

2. According to Morris Ginsberg, there are two types of changes:
    (a) Changes in the structure of society
    (b) Changes in the value system of society

3. Change can be directional. It happens in a particular direction. In several instances, such direction is planned, predetermined and is fixed ideally. Such changes are called as progress.

4. Progress involves change that leads to certain well-defined goals. It is also a type of social change. However, there are differences between the two. Every change

is not progress, but every progress can be called as a change. Moreover, change is a value-free concept, while progress always denotes change for the better.

5. Social change is temporal in the sense that it involves the factor of time. It denotes time sequence. It can be temporary or permanent. Time is an important component in the process of change.

6. Economy plays a cardinal role in man's daily life. Karl Marx pointed out the significance of economy as a factor in social change. He propounded that economy which constitutes the means of production like labour, instruments, and so on, and the relations of production is the infrastructure and all others like family, legal system, education, religion, polity, and so on, are the superstructure.

7. Development refers to the improvement in the quality of life and advancement in one's state of condition. It may refer to the improvements in one's well-being, living standards and socio-economic opportunities.

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

9. There can be two types of change related to social structure—the change that is witnessed inside the structure and the change of the societal system or structure as a whole. Among these two types of changes, structural change or change of structure is the most important and relevant.

10. The term 'Sanskritization' was coined by Indian sociologist M. N. Srinivas. He defines Sanskritization as the 'process by which a low caste or tribe or other group takes over the custom, rituals, beliefs, ideology and life style of a higher caste and in particular "twice-born" (dwija) caste' (Srinivas, 1966).

11. The three causes of social change as given by Harry Johnson are as follows:
    (a) The causes of social change are inherent either in social system in general or in particular kinds of social system.
    (b) The change may be due to some impact from the social environment of the social system of reference.
    (c) The change may also be due to some impact from the non-social environment.

12. The negative effects of demographic factors or population growth are as follows:
    (a) Decrease in the standard of living of the people
    (b) Leads to problems like poverty, unemployment, child labour, crime, and so on
    (c) Leads to disorder and social conflict, and affects migrants too

13. The media is useful in bringing social change in the following ways:
    (a) The media shapes and influences public opinion for any matter or issue.
    (b) The media can attract attention to problems and can offer informed solutions as well.
    (c) The media can entertain people and can spread useful information.

14. Reformation reforms in the 16th century Europe to rid Christianity of its superstitions and corruption that had plagued the church and its officials led to the rise of scientific temperament and rationality.

15. Marx believed that social change is brought about not by a slow process but by a revolutionary transformation. Slow changes in the balance of social power alternates with violent, revolutionary transformation. This has been referred to as dialectical interpretation of change.

16. Parsons regards changes in adaptation as a major driving force of social evolution. Such change may be brought about by excess energy or information during the process of exchange within action systems.

6.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Define change and social change.
2. Differentiate between social and cultural changes.
3. What is the role played by technological changes in social change?
4. What are the two elements of social life that have a predominant place in Marx's theory of social change?
5. List the elements of processes of evolution as put forward by Parsons.
6. List the sub-categories of the theological stage of evolution.
7. What is neo-evolutionism?
8. Write a short note on curvilinear social change theory.
9. List the important factors that determine the rise or fall of population.
10. What are the ways in which economic factors have acted as drivers of social change?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the meaning and the characteristics of social change. Describe using examples the different forms of social change.
2. Evaluate Marx's and Parsons' theory of social change.
3. Explain the linear and cyclical theories of social change.
4. Examine the various factors of social change.
5. 'Social change is temporal and directional.' Discuss.
6. Discuss the nature of development. Also, explain the importance of the indicators of development.
7. 'Max Weber regarded religion as an important contributor to economic development or stagnation.' Discuss.

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UNIT 7 SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Structure

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Social problems are undesirable situations, conditions or behaviour concerning society, social institutions, social relationships, social structure, social organization, and so on. They affect society to such as extent that it earnestly tries to find a solution for eliminating them. The society is organized in a way that conflicts of interests cannot be avoided. These conflicts result into problems that demand the society's attention. The list of problems as recognized by the policymakers and framers of law is quite different from those problems identified by the society. Consensus or agreement is difficult to reach at as far as the forms of social problems are concerned.

Today, we all witness an array of problems surrounding us. We read about them in newspapers, listen about them while tuned to the television or radio, and witness or experience them in our neighbourhoods or in our own families. Of these, many of the problems are personal problems and relate to an individual and do not affect others around him or her. Yet a few of them register a strong presence and impact the larger society as they take the shape of social problems.

This unit deals with social problems like alcoholism and drug abuse. Alcohol is increasingly produced, distributed and promoted in India. This is why it is an easily available commodity. Drugs, though not so freely available, can still be procured easily if one has 'contacts'. Alcohol acts as a sedative which calms down nerves. It relieves tension and lessens aggressive inhibitions. It is one of the six types of drugs, others being sedatives, stimulants, narcotics, hallucinogens and nicotine.

Drugs are substances that can alter a person's state of mind by influencing the way one thinks and behaves. While there are certain drugs that can be procured legally with a prescription, there are a few that are solely used for getting high and are illegal. The excessive consumption of alcohol and drugs has several adverse effects. The government claims that the revenues generated by alcohol sale are used for the society's development. Various national and local level studies also indicate that at least 20–40 per cent of men falling in the age group of 15 to 60 years in India are regular consumers of alcohol.

This unit begins by making the concept of alcoholism and drug abuse clear to the learners, and then discusses the harmful consequences of consuming alcohol and drugs. The unit also suggests the preventive measures against these two evils lurking in our society.

Indian policymakers have time and again framed policies and laid down plans that concentrate on the youth. But what happens if many of them remain unemployed? The educated youth in our country is bearing the brunt of large-scale unemployment. Population explosion and the absence of proper manpower planning have aggrandized the problem of unemployment in such a way that it has assumed alarming proportions. The problem of unemployment continues to plague and escalate despite governmental efforts in the direction of preventing it. Though unemployment is widespread in rural India, urban India poses the problem of educated unemployment. Also, all capitalist economies face the problem of unemployment to a certain extent, but the case of unemployment is severe in developing and poor countries. Unemployment has adverse effects on the psyche of the youth. It often leads to an increase in crime rates. This unit deals with the problems concerning unemployment in India. It focusses on its forms, causes extent and remedies.

Similarly, there is another problem that pervades the Indian society. This is the problem of corruption. One of the most distinctive features of corruption is that it is immune to all measures that are undertaken to contain it, especially because it prevails at all levels of our administration and society.

This unit deals with the concept of corruption, especially political and bureaucratic corruption. Further, this unit will also inform you about the causes behind corruption and of the government's intervention in the issue.

Traditionally, women have always been considered to be weak and inferior to men. The patriarchal society has constructed a social reality that has relegated women to a more dependant role in the society. The cultural, political and religious discourse reinforces this dependant position of the women. You might be appalled to know that several religious texts justify hitting women. Though we have numerous laws in place that are meant to keep violent practices against women in check, the validity of domestic violence is hard to prove because such cases mostly go unreported. The issue of violence against women is of central concern to many health and human rights activists, social scientists and psychologists. The anticipation of physical, mental and sexual abuse by women takes a toll on their mental health because they are aware of the fact that they are nowhere safe, not even in their homes. This restricts their freedom as they live in the constant fear of being assaulted.

The issue of gender-based violence is quite important because such violence is getting out of hand. This unit concludes with a discussion violence against women. In order to gain an understanding of the concept, we must first define as to what constitutes such violence. Then, we can study the forms in which such violence may be encountered and the ways in which it can be tackled.

7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Describe the concepts, causes, harmful consequences and preventive measures of alcoholism and drug abuse
- Evaluate the various forms of unemployment and their causes
- Discuss the concept of crime from a sociological perspective
- Analyse the problem of juvenile delinquency
- Examine corruption as a critical social problem and describe the issues related to political and bureaucratic corruption
- Evaluate the constituents of violence against women

7.2 YOUTH UNREST

The term 'unrest' simply refers to the 'disturbed condition of the present'. For instance, the lack of proper education may lead to social unrest in society. Social unrest is an indication of collective disillusionment and frustration of a particular group in a society. For example, if there is unrest among the students of a particular educational institute or university, then it is not perceived as the problem of student unrest as such. However, when students all over the country express their frustration on a particular issue, for

example, examination, placement in jobs, content of any syllabus, and so on, then the unrest prevailing due to these problems are termed as student unrest. In the same way, youth unrest exists in our society where there is a disagreement or frustration on common social issues in the society.
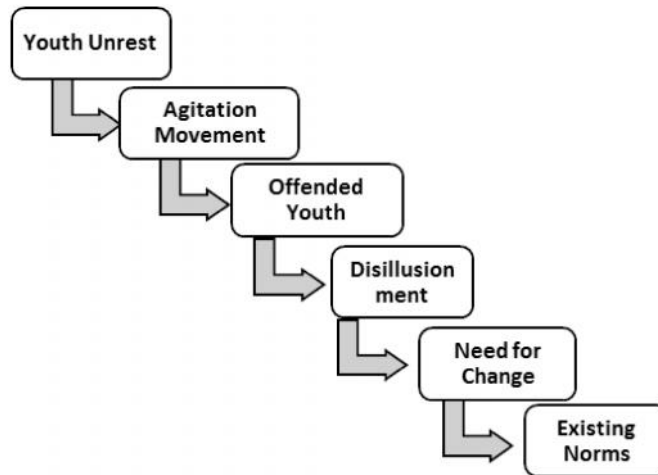
7.1 Youth Unrest

7.2.1 Classification of Youth Unrest

The characteristics of youth unrest are based on four important standards. These are as follows:

  (i) Public concern

 (ii) Collective discontent

(iii) Change in the existing norms

(iv) Activity based on the feelings of injustice

In order to better understand the concept of youth unrest, let us classify it into the following groups:

1. Resistance agitation

The primary aim of resistance based on agitation is to keep the power holder in his/her place. For example, if university shows reduced marks on the mark sheet of some students, after a re-evaluation. This step can be resisted by students group through agitation, which may force the university to keep the original marks (i.e., the marks would not be reduced). Such a resistance agitation expresses the disappointment and concern of the students at the direction in which the university is moving or acting.

2. Persuasive agitation

In this case, the youth make an effort to change the attitude of the power holders towards a particular issue by generally discussing their problems with them directly and making them accept their points of view. This type of agitation ranges from relatively minor issues to major issues. The anger and injustice expressed through this method of agitation not only provokes support for the students but also mobilizes the passive youth to actively participate in the movement and express their discontent through harmless emotional outlets.

3. Revolutionary agitation

The major objective of revolutionary agitation is to bring unexpected extensive changes in the educational and social system. For example, in this type of agitation, the students may force the authorities to decide that no student will be declared as failed and will also be promoted to higher classes. Moreover, the student should also be given opportunities to appear in the failed paper or the subject till the time he/she clears it. In this type of agitation, the revolutionary leaders believe in overthrowing the existing system and replacing it with a new system. Some examples of revolutionary agitation are the youth agitation in china in 1987, the AASU (All Assam Students Union) agitation in Assam in 1994, Uttarakhand agitation in Uttar Pradesh in 1994 and Bodo agitation in Assam during 1989-96.

Generally, there are five types of youth who take up agitational activities. These are as follows:

   (i) **Socially isolated:** Youth who feel alienated and cut off from the larger society.

   (ii) **Unattached to family:** Youth who lack intimate relationships with their families are encouraged to participate in agitation. Young persons with warm and satisfying family bonds have no emotional need to join an agitation.

   (iii) **Personally maladjusted:** Youth who have failed to find a satisfying life role, for example, those who have not developed an adequate interest in studies, are unemployed or under-employed, or are unsuccessful, join agitation because of an emotional need to fill the void in their lives.

   (iv) **Migrants:** Such youths have little chance of getting integrated into the larger community, thus, joining an agitation acts as refuge for them.

   (v) **Marginals:** Youth who are not fully accepted and integrated with their caste, religious and linguistic group feel uneasy, insecure and resentful. They find it difficult to resolve the discrepancy in their self-image and public image which necessitates them to join agitation to get some recognition.

7.2.2 Major Theories on the Cause of Youth Agitation

Generally, there are three important theories which clearly explain the concept of youth unrest. These theories are discussed as follows:

   (i) **Personal maladjustment theory:** It is true that there will be no youth agitation if there is no discontent amongst the youth. If the youth is satisfied with whatever they have then they are likely to have no interest in agitation. However, the angry and the discontent youth who are not satisfied with the existing systems or norms, or those who feel even slightly annoyed with the existing structure will collectively act to pressurize the power holder to introduce some changes. In reference to this kind of youth behaviour, the personal maladjustment theory sees agitation as a refuge from personal failure. It is possible that young people who feel maladjusted and unfulfilled are generally more involved in agitational activities. In short, the agitational supporters are those people who are frustrated misfits in the society.

   (ii) **Relative deprivation theory:** The prominent American sociologist Samuel Andrew Stouffer introduced the relative deprivation theory. According to Stouffer, a group feels deprived if it is prevented from achieving its goal. He further believes that attractive relative deprivation is increasing all over the underdeveloped world.

In India the youth in general feels deprived of opportunities, experiences unemployment, faces the system of reservation, lacks scope of higher education, and so on. As a result of such deprivations, youth agitation increases, which is easy to infer but difficult to measure.

(iii) Resource mobilization theory: According to the views of eminent sociologists in this theory, in the absence of grievances and discontent, there would have been few agitations. However, mobilization is required for directing the discontent amongst the youth towards an effective and harmless agitation. However, this theory does not explain all kinds of youth agitation. If we categorize agitation as persuasive, revolutionary and resistance agitations, then this theory does not fit into resistance based agitation.

Process of the growth of agitation due to youth unrest

Youth agitation can be defined as a social protest wherein the behaviour of the youth is not aimed at either injuring a person not destructing public property. It is a learned behaviour. The preconditions of youth agitations are as follows:

- To create collective consciousness
- To organize the youth to work for new programmes and new plans
- To provide opportunities to young individuals for expressing their feelings and make some impact on the course of social change

However, in today's scenario, student-oriented agitations are actually problem-oriented agitations and not value oriented. For example, students will start an agitation for the removal of a particular vice chancellor of a university but will not fight for a change in the system of selecting the vice chancellors of universities in India as a whole. In the same way, in a society-oriented agitation, they will stand and raise their voice against any form of wrong treatment of any state administrator, but will hardly stand for changing the system of the state.

7.3 ALCOHOLISM

Alcoholism, according to Johnson (1973), 'is a condition in which an individual loses control over his alcohol intake in that he is constantly unable to refrain from drinking once he begins.'

Alcohol use disorders are medical conditions that doctors can diagnose when a patient's drinking causes distress or harm. In the United States, about 18 million people have an alcohol use disorder, classified as either alcohol dependence—perhaps better known as alcoholism—or alcohol abuse.

Alcoholism, the more serious of the disorders, is a disease that includes symptoms such as the following:

- **Craving:** A strong need or urge to drink.
- **Loss of control:** Not being able to stop drinking once drinking has begun.
- **Physical dependence:** Withdrawal symptoms, such as nausea, sweating, shakiness and anxiety after stopping drinking.
- **Tolerance:** The need to drink greater amounts of alcohol to feel the same effect.

The data from NIAAA's (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism) National Epidemiological Study on Alcohol and Related Conditions has shown that more than 70 per cent of people who develop alcohol dependence have a single episode that lasts on average three or four years. Data from the same survey also show that many people who seek formal treatment are able to remain alcohol free, and many others recover without formal treatment.

However severe the problem may seem, many people with an alcohol use disorder can benefit from treatment.

Alcohol and drug dependence often go hand in hand; research shows that people who are dependent on alcohol are much more likely than the general population to use drugs, and people with drug dependence are much more likely than the general population to drink alcohol.

Patients with both alcohol and other drug use disorders:

- May have more severe dependence-related problems
- Are more likely to have psychiatric disorders, and are more likely to attempt suicide and suffer health problems
- Are at risk for dangerous interactions between the substances they use, including fatal poisonings

Because many people suffer from both alcohol and drug dependence, scientists speculate that these disorders may have some common causes and risk factors.

7.3.1 Types of Drinking

Drinking is not always discouraged because of its consequences. Drinking too much alcohol can harm one's immune system, making one's body an easy target for diseases. This is why heart patients and pregnant women should avoid the consumption of alcohol. Therefore, if a person drinks alcohol, moderate consumption is the best suggestion. However, many people drink in different situations and degrees. Dr Don Cahalan, a retired professor at the University of California at Berkeley's School of Public Health, has given the following classification of drinkers:

   (i) **Rarer user:** Rare users are those who drink once or twice a year.
  (ii) **Infrequent user:** Infrequent users are those who drink once or twice in two or three months. These users drink less than once a month.
 (iii) **Light drinker:** Light drinkers consume alcohol once or twice a month.
 (iv) **Moderate drinker:** Moderate drinkers are those who consume alcohol three to four times in a month.
  (v) **Heavy drinker:** Heavy drinkers consume alcohol every day or drink incessantly during the day. These types of drinkers are also referred to as hard-core drinkers.

7.3.2 Effects of Alcoholism

Drinking too much—on a single occasion or over time—can take a serious toll on one's health. However, alcohol can have several social effects also. The following are some of the ways in which alcohol can affect the individuals and society:

- **Personal life:** Gururaj et al (2004) observed that an alcohol user, in comparison to a non-user, experienced higher incidence of negative life events: poor health status, getting injured, involvement in different types of abuse (physical, emotional

and sexual; against spouse, children, family members and friends), greater problems in workplace, psychological problems, economic problems, and so on.

- **Work related:** Alcohol consumption affects work by absenteeism, decreased productivity and unemployment (Green facts, 2006), and work place injuries and accidents (Murthy et al, 2004). In the Indian context, although alcohol use in employed individuals is described, the consequence on the process of work is inadequately documented.

- **Family level:** Alcoholism has been considered as a family disease. An individual's alcohol indulgence makes the family go through intense psychological suffering. In a community based study, Gururaj et al (2004) observed that nearly 40 per cent of the households surveyed had at least one alcohol consumer. Isaac (1998) reviewing Indian literature on contemporary trends of alcohol consumption in India noted the growing evidence of alcohol as a 'major cause of family disruption and marital discord'.

- **Alcohol and family violence:** Even though acute states of alcohol intoxication can lead to death or hospitalization of self or other family problems, domestic violence due to alcohol is a slow killer. Various dimensions of domestic violence like physical violence (hitting, kicking, shoving, and so on), sexual abuse, emotional abuse, violence against children, elderly and youth are frequently associated with alcohol consumption.

- **Impact on children:** As the vulnerable members of the family, the negative impact of alcohol use in the family is greater on children. Children within these families are at a higher risk of becoming alcohol users and dependents; develop a host of emotional and behavioural problems including difficulties in social adjustment.

- **Family finances:** The family of an alcohol user is at a twin disadvantage: firstly, unemployment or underemployment of the productive member results in lesser financial resources; secondly, the already available meagre resource needs to be either voluntarily or forcibly shared for buying alcohol. This impoverishment can push families downwards in the presence of a negative event in the family.

- **Alcohol and crime:** At the societal level, alcohol abuse or its ban (consequence of prohibition) results in several anti-social activities, ranging from petty thefts to homicides to organized crime.

- **Mass tragedies:** Methanol, an industrial solvent, is often an adulterant in illicit alcohol brews, and has been responsible for the death of several people and a cause of the periodic 'hooch tragedies' across the country.

- **Community violence:** Indicative of the growing recognition of adverse effects of alcohol use in the social sphere, Murthy (2007) observes greater mental morbidity after events of mass violence. Substance use disorders are acknowledged in these events, but are poorly documented.

Media frequently reports the growing involvement of communal violence as being often linked to alcohol. There is no specific data available in the country linking alcohol with violence. The huge amounts of alcohol seized during elections, time after time, is testimony of the penetration of alcohol in societies and its 'democratic' values.

- **Social cost of alcohol consumption:** The fact that alcohol is imposing a high economic cost on Indian society is now well recognized. However, the accuracy of costing depends on the extent of monetizing the economic impact of alcohol use. It should include both direct and indirect costs, and tangible and intangible costs. The direct cost includes medical costs (acute and long-term) and lost earnings due to death and disability. The indirect costs include loss of work, loss of school, meeting the burden, loss of savings, extra loans made, assets sold, work replacement/support, cost to the employer/society, low self-esteem, social costs of postponed events and lost productivity.

7.3.3 Causes of Alcoholism

Regular alcohol users are dependent on alcohol and suffer from withdrawal symptoms when they abstain from it. However, dependence upon alcohol is not the only reason for its addiction. There are other factors that might cause alcohol dependence. These are discussed as follows:

(i) Genetic factors

Genetics has a significant role to play in alcoholism because the presence of certain genes makes one more vulnerable to alcoholism. Research has shown that addiction to alcohol and other substances might be related to genetic variations in 51 different chromosomal regions. The following are some of the factors that have been found as having probable connection with alcoholism:

- The family members of families that have a history of alcoholism were found to have a smaller amygdala, the part of brain that controls emotions and feelings.
- It is possible that an individual inherits a lack of the warning signals that usually make people stop drinking. Regular drinking makes one immune to the effects of drinking larger amounts before exhibiting behavioural impairment.
- An important neurotransmitter called serotonin has been found to be lacking in alcoholics. Individuals with high levels of this chemical have been shown to have high levels of tolerance for alcohol.
- Another important neurotransmitter found in high levels in alcoholics is dopamine. Research shows that high levels of the D2 dopamine receptor may help inhibit behavioural responses to alcohol and protect against alcoholism in people with a family history of alcohol dependence.

Even when we can identify many of these genetic factors in alcoholics, these cannot be used to explain all cases of alcoholism. Irrespective of the fact that alcoholism is an inherited trait, alcoholics have to act responsibly. The inheritance of these factors cannot be said to fix that a child is bound to become an alcoholic. Other factors which are explained later in this unit, have an equally valid role to play in this regard.

(ii) Brain chemical imbalances after long-term alcohol use

The deleterious effects that alcohol can have on the users' brain impacts neurons (nerve cells), brain chemistry and blood flow within the frontal lobes of the brain. It has been found that alcohol affects the neurotransmitters in the brain. Even when a person quits, these neurotransmitters might behave differently because of the long-term alcohol use. This might either induce dependency or a person may relapse. This is so because of the following reasons:

- These neurotransmitters augment one's need to reduce agitation.
- They also make the individual increase the desire to restore pleasurable feelings.

The brain activity of an alcohol user who stops drinking will show that chemical responses have created an overexcited nervous system by changing the level of chemicals that inhibit stress and excitation. It is believed that when a person stops drinking, high levels of norepinephrine are produced in his brain. These can induce withdrawal symptoms, including an increase in blood pressure and heart rate. The brain responds to such overexcitement by increasing the need to calm it down. Alcoholics feel the need to do so by drinking.

When one drinks alcohol, neurotransmitters (serotonin, dopamine and opioid peptides) are released in the brain. These are responsible for producing pleasurable feelings in an individual. Regular intakers of alcohol appear to have depleted the stores of dopamine and serotonin. This is why in the course of time, heavy drinking is unable to lift spirits for a person.

(iii) Social and emotional causes of alcoholic relapse

A majority of alcoholics relapse even after being treated, or even if they have successfully abstained away from it. People close to alcoholics should realize this aspect. The following are the factors that expose a person to a higher risk of relapsing even after treatment:

- Frustration and anxiety
- Societal pressure
- Inner temptation

    (a) *Mental and emotional stress:* Many alcohol users drink to tackle difficult emotions. They see it as an alternative to failed social relationships and as a recourse to the rut of daily life. Quitting drinking habits becomes difficult because it interferes with the alcoholics' loss of mental equilibrium. This induces natural responses such as depression, anxiety and stress caused by the brain's chemical imbalances. Finding themselves caught in a whirlpool of negative moods and emotions, alcoholics struggle against it and return to their past way of dealing with these emotions.

    In this context, one might say that all changes, regardless of the fact that they are good or bad, might trigger temporary grief and anxiety. However, the passage of time and indulgence in healthier pleasures will weaken one's response and one can get past these negative feelings.

    (b) *Co-dependency:* Persons who have a history of alcoholism would often find it difficult to form meaningful and mutually enriching relationships. They find it difficult to demonstrate normal social behaviour when they try to abstain. The following points explain this:

        o They often find it hard to spend time with occasional drinkers who lack any form of addiction. They might feel alienated and isolated and might find it difficult to deal with the other person's attitude.

        o They may not find the same degree of acceptability among friends because of his newly found sobriety. This might encourage the ex-addicts to continue their past behaviour.

        o Spouses of alcoholics often act in opposition with their true wishes to preserve their marriage. However, when these alcoholics and drug

abusers become sober, they find it hard to adapt to the new reformed selves of their spouses.

(c) *Social and cultural pressures:* The media, time and again, delineates alcohol to be a pleasure-giving beverage. Even publications have been seen to publicize reports claiming that light-to-moderate drinking is not harmful to a person's health. This may provide the regular users of alcohol an excuse to indulge in their addiction. It is important to ignore such messages and acknowledge them as mere gimmicks by beverage companies to incur profits.

(d) *Other reasons:* A person consumes alcohol for a variety of self-proclaimed reasons. An alarming trend over the past decade is the process of normalization of drinking activities in the Indian society. Drinking usually starts in social circles, progressing later to compulsive individual drinking in urban areas, while solitary drinking leads to habitual and addictive drinking in rural areas.

Ghulam et al (1996) from Madhya Pradesh observed that while introduction to alcohol was predominantly through friends in 93 per cent of users (families 3 per cent), 62 per cent started using alcohol for being sociable, 6 per cent for curiosity, 8 per cent to relieve psychological stress and 24 per cent for overcoming fatigue. Similarly, Meena et al (2002) noticed that 26 per cent consumed alcohol to overcome worries, 15 per cent to think and work better, 14 per cent for cheering up and 8 per cent to relax. Singh et al (2000) from Amritsar observed that three-fourths of the men consumed alcohol more to be in the social company of their friends.

Gururaj et al (2005) observed that the attributions for drinking are several, but primarily include social reasons, overcoming fatigue and to relieve stress, aches and pains. Similarly, with the impact of globalization, urbanization, industrialization, media influence and changing lifestyles, alcohol has entered into the lives of Indians in a big and unrestricted manner.

7.3.4 Governmental Efforts and Policies in the Treatment of Alcoholism

In 1977, the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India, appointed an Expert Committee in the wake of reports suggesting growing substance use. This Committee recommended the setting up of treatment centres for the identification, treatment, aftercare and rehabilitation of substance users. A second expert committee in 1986 recommended the following:

- Development of a National Centre under the Ministry of Health and equivalent centres in various states
- Strengthening of existing general hospitals to provide de-addiction services
- Making state health departments responsible for the treatment of patients
- Priority to be given to manpower development

Based on the expert committee and a subsequent cabinet subcommittee recommendation in 1988, de-addiction centres were set up in five central government institutes and two regional centres in two state capitals, Kolkata and Mumbai, under the Ministry of Health. A National Master Plan to control drug abuse was formulated in 1994, largely subsequent to the enactment of the Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances Act (1985). The health

sector's current response to manage the problem resulting from growing alcohol use in the society has been by providing tertiary treatment to individuals with serious addiction.

From an intervention point of view, long-term care and rehabilitation services need to be provided to these dependent users many of whom do not reach the dedicated de-addiction centres and other tertiary care centres. Further, early detection and prompt treatment measures across different categories of health settings need to be instituted for nearly 55 million harmful and hazardous users, who are at greater risk of developing long-term complications of alcohol use.

The Ministry of Health (through government organizations) and the Ministry of Social Justice (through non-government organizations) have established centres across the country in medical colleges or district hospitals or some community health centres in consultation with state health departments. However, many of the centres do not have adequately trained staff, medicines and supportive facilities.

The Ministry of Social Justice has supported public awareness campaigns, media publicity and community based treatment, and aims at mobilizing community resources and participation. One of the major focus of both the ministries is to increase awareness regarding the problems of alcohol in the society. However, if such educational activities are not accompanied with suitable changes in availability, timings, distribution and sales, these programmes are not likely to be effective or have a major impact. Though the National Master Plan, formulated in 1994, recommended specific activities for prevention, treatment and rehabilitation, the complete implementation of this plan is yet to occur.

The Government of India supports 401 detoxification and 41 counselling centres countrywide, under the auspices of the National Drug De-addiction Programme (DDAP) to treat people with substance abuse disorders (MSJE, 2010). Nearly 45 per cent of people seeking treatment in these centres are for alcohol dependence.

The following are some treatment mechanisms for alcoholism:

   (i) **Pharmacotherapy for detoxification and relapse prevention:** Conventionally, pharmacotherapy involves the use of benzodiazepines for the detoxification and disulfiram for relapse prevention. A systematic review from Higher Income Countries [HIC] showed that benzodiazepines remain the agents of choice for treating alcohol withdrawal during detoxification [Ntais et al, 2005]. A recent Randomized-Control-Trial (RCT) from India that compared lorazepam and chlordiazepoxide found that these benzodiazepines had comparable attenuating effects on uncomplicated withdrawal [Kumar et al, 2009]. Thus, lorazepam can be used in Low and Middle Income Countries (LMIC) settings where it is difficult to test liver function status, an essential preamble to using long-acting benzodiazepines in patients. Large multisite RCTs from the HICs have concluded that the aversive agent disulfiram might help prevent relapse in compliant patients but is ineffective at promoting continuous abstinence [Fuller et al, 1986].

  (ii) **Psychosocial interventions to prevent/delay relapse:** These interventions fall into two main categories: structured interventions and self-help groups. Two large US and UK-based RCTs that compared psychosocial therapies differing widely in conceptual framework, intensity, duration and location (Motivation Enhancement Therapy [MET], Cognitive Behavior Therapy [CBT], Twelve Step Facilitation [TSF] therapy, and Social Behaviour and Network Therapy [SBNT]) found minimal long-term difference between

inpatient/residential treatment and outpatient counselling approaches (Babor et al, 2003; UKATT 2005). These trials also found approximately equivalent (and reasonably good) outcomes with both brief, non-intensive treatments (MET) and intensive treatments (CBT, TSF, and SBNT) for moderately severe alcoholics.

A systematic review that considered evidence collected in HICs concluded that manual-guided specific treatments with a theoretical base (e.g., MET, CBT) are better than non-specific treatments (supportive therapy and social work interventions), but that among the specific therapies, none was superior (Berglund et al, 2003). The same review found that marital therapy and family intervention yielded positive results. A meta-analysis of behavioural self-control training found that this intervention reduced alcohol consumption and alcohol-related difficulties (Walters, 2000).

Very few studies have examined psychosocial interventions in LMICs, but one RCT in dependent drinkers in Korea found that culturally modified cognitive behavioural therapy increased the drinkers' insight into their condition (Im et al, 2007). A Cochrane review of studies investigating the effectiveness of strategies adopted by Alcoholics Anonymous and other self-help groups to reduce alcohol dependence provided no definitive evidence that these approaches are effective in HICs; there are no data from LMICs about the effectiveness of self-help groups (Ferri et al, 2006).

(iii) Alternative treatments: Comparing the effect of yoga therapy and physical training exercise in alcohol dependence, Raina et al (2001) concluded that a 24 week follow-up, yoga therapy had positive effects in mild and moderate cases but did not prevent relapse in severe cases of alcohol dependence. Another study (Vedamurtachar et al, 2006) documented the reduction in depression along with stress-hormone levels (cortisol and ACTH) in patients with alcohol dependence compared to controls.

While the study did not examine whether this translated into better outcome (such as abstinence), the finding is significant in that elevated stress hormones in recovering alcoholics are thought to be a major mediator of relapse.

One should keep in mind the following points while helping alcoholics and drug abusers:

- One should always be supportive. This support will help the person become more confident. One has to be deeply invested in the rehabilitation process to affect a major change.
- One has to be equipped to deal with high-risk situations.
- While helping someone in the process of de-alcoholism and de-addiction, one needs to consider that change can be a lengthy process.

7.4 DRUG ADDICTION

India, with a population of over 1.2 billion people, spread over an area of 3.28 million sq. km, has about 3 million (about 0.3 per cent of total population) estimated victims of different kinds of drug usages, excluding alcohol dependents. Such a population comes from diverse socio-economic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds. The use of dependence-producing substances, in some form or the other, has been a universal

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Check Your Progress

4. List the symptoms of alcoholism.

5. Identify the factors that expose a person to a higher risk of relapsing even after treatment.

6. What points should one keep in mind while helping alcoholics and drug abusers?

phenomenon. In India also, the abuse of alcohol, opium and cannabis had not been entirely unknown.

India is the biggest supplier of licit demand for opium, required primarily for medicinal purposes. Besides this, India is located close to the major poppy growing areas of the world, with the 'Golden Crescent' on the Northwest and 'Golden Triangle' on the Northeast. These make India vulnerable to drug abuse, particularly in poppy growing areas and along the transit/trafficking routes.

The scenario

According to eminent sociologist Joseph Jullian, 'Drug is any chemical substance which affects bodily function, mood, perception or consciousness which has potential for misuse and which may be harmful to the individual or the society.' Drug addiction refers to 'a condition characterized by an overwhelming desire to continue taking a drug to which one has become habituated through repeated consumption because it produces a particular effect, usually an alteration of mental status'. Over the years, drug addiction is becoming an area of concern as traditional moorings, effective social taboos, emphasis on self-restraint, and pervasive control and discipline of the joint family and community are eroding.

The processes of industrialization, urbanization and migration have led to loosening of the traditional methods of social control, rendering an individual vulnerable to the stresses and strains of modern life. The fast changing social milieu, among other factors, is mainly contributing to the proliferation of drug abuse, both of traditional and new psychoactive substances.

Types of drugs

Drugs come in various forms and can be taken numerous ways. Some are legal and some are not. Drug abuse and misuse can cause numerous health problems, and in serious cases, death can occur. Treatment for drug abuse is often sought to aid in recovery. The following are the most common types of drugs:

1. Stimulants

These drugs speed up the body's nervous system and create a feeling of energy. They are also called 'uppers' because of their ability to make you feel very awake. Stimulants have the opposite effect of depressants. When the effects of a stimulant wear off, the user is typically left with feelings of sickness and a loss of energy. Constant use of such drugs can have very negative effects on the user. In order to prevent extreme negative side effects of these drugs and the impact they have on life, drug treatment centres are often recommended. These kinds of drugs include:

- Cocaine
- Methamphetamines
- Amphetamines
- Ritalin
- Cylert

2. Inhalants

Inhalants are sniffed or huffed and give the user immediate results. Unfortunately, these immediate results can also result in sudden mental damage. When inhalants are taken,

the body becomes deprived of oxygen, causing a rapid heartbeat. Other effects include liver, lung and kidney problems, affected sense of smell, difficulty walking and confusion. These include:

- Glues
- Paint thinner
- Gasoline
- Laughing gas
- Aerosol sprays

3. Cannabinoids

These drugs result in feelings of euphoria, cause confusion and memory problems, anxiety, a higher heart rate, as well as staggering and poor reaction time. These include:

- Hashish
- Marijuana

4. Depressants

Depressants slow down activity in the central nervous system of your body. These drugs are also called 'downers' because they slow the body down and seem to give feelings of relaxation. Depressants are available as prescription drugs to relieve stress and anger, although drowsiness is often a side effect. The 'relaxation' felt from these drugs is not a healthy feeling for the body to experience. Therefore, to stop abuse of this drug, drug treatment is suggested.

These include the following:

- Barbiturates
- Benzodiazepines
- Flunitrazepam
- GHB (Gamma-hydroxybutyrate)
- Methaqualone
- Alcohol
- Tranquillizers

5. Opioids and morphine derivatives

Opioids and morphine derivatives can cause drowsiness, confusion, nausea, feelings of euphoria, respiratory complications and relieve pain.

These include the following:

- Codeine
- Fentanyl and fentanyl analogs
- Heroin
- Morphine
- Opium
- Oxycodone HCL
- Hydrocodone bitartrate, acetaminophen

6. Anabolic steroids

Steroids are taken to improve physical performance as well as to enlarge muscles and increase strength. Negative effects of steroids include baldness, cysts, oily hair and skin, acne, heart attack, stroke, and a change in voice. Hostility is also a frequent side effect of anabolic steroids.

These include the following:

- Anadrol
- Oxandrin
- Durabolin
- Stanozol
- Dianabol

7. Hallucinogens

When taking hallucinogens, switching emotions is frequent. These drugs change the mind and cause the appearance of things that are not really there. Hallucinogens affect the body's self-control, such as speech and movement, and often bring about hostility. Other negative side effects of these drugs include heart failure, increased heart rate, higher blood pressure and changes in the body's hormones.

These types of drugs include:

- LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide)
- Mescaline
- Psilocybin
- Cannabis
- Magic mushrooms

8. Prescription drugs

Prescription drugs can be very helpful drugs when used properly and when under the guidance of a qualified physician. These drugs can be used as aids in surgery, to treat medical conditions and while controlling various symptoms. Misuse and abuse of prescription drugs, however, can be very dangerous.

These drugs include:

- Opiods: Codeine, Oxycodone, Morphine
- Central nervous system depressants: Barbiturates, benzodiazepines
- Stimulants: Dextroamphetamine, methylphenidate

7.4.1 Causes of Drug Addiction

There is no one predominant factor that can presage that an individual will turn out to become a drug addict. However, some of us are more at risk than others. This is determined by various biological, environmental and physical factors. If a person falls in the high risk group, there are more chances of his/her becoming a drug addict. The following are some of the causes that can lead one to become a drug addict:

- **Biological factors**: As stated earlier in this unit, genes in combination with environmental influences have an important role in determining a person's

propensity or vulnerability to become an addict. Other biological factors such as one's gender, ethnicity and the presence of other mental disorders might expose a person to a greater risk for drug abuse and addiction.

- **Environmental factors**: The environment in which a person lives and grows up, such as the family one is born in, or the peers one has, or one's status in the society, can also determine an individual's tendency to become an addict. Other factors like peer pressure, physical and sexual abuse, anxiety and parental involvement can greatly impact the course of drug abuse and addiction in an individual's life.

- **Stage of development**: While genetic and environmental factors are at work, the stage of development that an individual is going through, also determines whether or not he might be addicted to drugs in life. The truth is that those who begin early in the path to drug addiction have to face bigger challenges while rehabilitating, and are more likely to become a drug abuser. Drug usage in adolescents has also been seen to be more prevalent.

Drug addiction can be prevented. Research has proven that prevention programmes that concern the family, schools, communities and the media can help in dealing with drug abuse effectively. The youth, who are particularly at higher risk, should be made aware of the toll that drug abuse can take on their life and health.

7.4.2 Demand Reduction Strategy: A Welfare Approach

The issues relating to drugs are tackled by the Government of India through its two-pronged strategy, viz., supply reduction and demand reduction. While the supply reduction is under the purview of the enforcement agencies with the Department of Revenue as the nodal agency, the demand reduction strategy is under the domain of social sector. The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment in Government of India is responsible for the implementation of the demand reduction strategy in the country.

Over the years, it was realized that the drug abuse is not only a problem arising out of the availability of such intoxicating drinks and drugs but it also has a great deal to do with the social conditions which create the demand for or the need for consumption of such substances. The vulnerability of the modern society plays a catalytic role in promoting the consumption and abuse of narcotic and psychotropic drugs.

With this, the need arises for implementing strategies for the prevention of drug abuse, educating the people about its ill effects and the rehabilitation of addicts. The findings of studies/reports indicate the relationship of drug abuse with the socio-economic conditions or the social dynamics of the population.

Therefore, the approach should be to recognize drug abuse as a psycho-socio medical problem, which can be best handled through community based interventions.

Keeping the aforesaid approach in view, the Government of India has a three-pronged strategy for demand reduction consisting of:

- Building awareness and educating people about ill effects of drug abuse
- Dealing with the addicts through programmes of motivational counselling, treatment, follow-up and social-reintegration of recovered addicts
- Imparting drug abuse prevention/rehabilitation training to volunteers with a view to build up an educated cadre of service providers

The objective of the entire strategy is to empower the society and the community to deal with the problem of drug abuse.

7.4.3 Treatment and Rehabilitation of Addicts

The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, as the focal point for drug demand reduction programmes in the country, has been implementing the Scheme for Prohibition and Drug Abuse Prevention since the year 1985–86. As the implementation of programmes for de-addiction and rehabilitation of drug addicts requires sustained and committed/ involved effort with a great degree of flexibility and innovation, a state-community (voluntary) partnership appears to be particularly strong mechanism for service delivery. Accordingly, under the scheme, while major portion of the cost of services is borne by the government, the voluntary organizations provide actual services through the counselling and awareness centres, de-addiction cum rehabilitation centres, de-addiction camps and awareness programmes.

Under this scheme, the Ministry is assisting around 390 voluntary organizations for maintaining more than 400 Integrated Rehabilitation Centres for Addicts (IRCAs) spread all over the country. The average annual allocation for this programme has been to the tune of ₹ 40 crore.

The basic objective in creating facilities for treatment, at centres run through voluntary organizations, is to ensure that the support of the family and the community is mobilized to the maximum. These centres adopt a wide variety of approaches, systems and methodologies for the treatment and rehabilitation of the addicts suitable and adaptable to the social customs, traditions and culture. However, this does not in any way undermine the adoption of scientific, modern and established systems of treatment.

All centres are equipped with a cadre of experts from various fields including doctors, counsellors, community workers, social workers, and so on. Thus, it is a multi-disciplinary approach being applied according to the needs of individual cases. They work in coordination with the community resources as well as infrastructure and services available under other related agencies.

To facilitate the medical treatment of hard-core addicts who require intensive long-term medical attention, 100 de-addiction centres are being run in government hospitals/primary health centres.

7.4.4 Awareness and Preventive Education

The counselling and awareness centres are engaged in a wide range of awareness generation programmes in varied community settings, including village panchayats, schools, and so on. Besides these centres, the Ministry has been actively utilizing the various media channels, print as well as audio-visual for educating the people on the ill effects of drug abuse and also disseminating information on the service delivery.

The overall approach is based on the need to comprehensively address the widespread ignorance and lack of information on the ill-effects of drug abuse prevention/ rehabilitation services and to build up a climate of abstinence from drugs through sensitizing the community at large.

In this perspective, the strategy for public awareness about the damaging consequences of drug abuse takes into account the culture-specific aspects of the problem. A differential approach has been adopted towards educating the public vis-à-vis groups at risk.

7.4.5 Inter-Sectoral Collaboration

The problem of alcoholism and drug abuse is a social malaise and is dealt holistically by targeting all spheres of human activity. The Government of India has been following an integrated approach involving all concerned ministries and departments who could complement and supplement the initiatives being taken by each other. The initiatives being taken include the following:

- Imparting education on drugs and positive alternative to the youth through appropriate modification in school curriculum and sensitization of school environment.

- Programmes are being developed for the sensitization of the teachers, parents and the peer groups in a school environment through the participation of the non-government organizations.

- The cooperation of the media and various youth organizations has also been solicited for the dissemination of information on ill effects of alcohol/drugs and in engaging the community in positive/healthy alternatives.

- Available government infrastructure and services have been integrated with the services offered by the NGO (non-governmental organization) sector for dealing with associated health problems such as TB, HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis, and so on.

Efforts are also being made to provide the medical professionals in the health sector with the knowledge on rehabilitation and after-care of alcohol and drug dependents. Simultaneously, steps have been initiated for providing training to the NGO professionals on various medical inputs for providing effective service to the clients. One of the successful initiatives towards inter-sectoral collaboration has been the integration of HIV/AIDS prevention programme into the substance abuse programme of one hundred NGO-run de-addiction centres supported by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment.

7.4.6 Measures to Combat Drug Trafficking

The Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985 (NDPS Act), sets out the statutory framework for drug law enforcement in India. This Act consolidates the erstwhile principal Acts, viz., the Opium Act, 1857; the Opium Act, 1878; and the Dangerous Drugs Act, 1930. The NDPS Act also incorporates provisions designed to implement India's obligations under various International Conventions. Certain significant amendments were made in the Act in 1989 to provide for the forfeiture of property derived from drug trafficking, and for control over chemicals and substances used in the manufacture of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. In order to give effect to the statutory provisions relating to these substances, an order, namely the NDPS (Regulation of Controlled Substances) Order, was promulgated by the Government of India in 1993 to control, regulate and monitor the manufacture, distribution, import, export, transportation, and so on, of any substance which the government may declare to be a 'controlled substance' under the Act. The statutory regime in India consequently covers drug trafficking, drug related assets as well as substances which can be used in the manufacture of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. Some further amendments were incorporated in the NDPS Act in 2001 mainly to introduce a graded punishment.

The primary counter narcotics focus areas in India include:

(i) Surveillance and enforcement at import points and land borders

(ii) Preventive and interdiction efforts along the known drug routes

(iii) Control measures at export points, such as air-passenger terminals, cargo terminals and foreign post offices

(iv) Improved co-ordination between the various drug law enforcement agencies

(v) Identification and eradication of illicit cultivation and the wild growth of cannabis and the opium poppy

(vi) Strengthening of the intelligence apparatus to improve the collection, collation, analysis and dissemination of operational intelligence

(vii) Increased international co-operation, both in operational and long-term intelligence as well as in investigations and mutual legal assistance

7.5 UNEMPLOYMENT

One of the most acute challenges that the Indian economy has been facing is the mounting rate of unemployment. It promotes poverty and inequalities, lowers social standards, and is a huge loss of manpower resources to the nation. Unemployment is a chronic malady in India that deprives able bodied people to work on the current wages. It lowers the standard of living of the people since unemployed people do not have enough purchasing power. They face social degradation and suffer from inferiority complex. Therefore, some economists call the unemployment problem as a socio-economic challenge to the society.

Unemployment is becoming a serious problem in India, though accurate estimate is difficult to obtain. About 7 million people are added to the labour force every year and the number is also increasing at faster rate. However, on the contrary, the economy growth is not creating enough jobs.

The number of unemployment in India increased from 2.01 crore in 1993–94 to 2.66 crore in 1999–2000. The labour force in 1999–2000 was about 363.33 million (36.33 crore), which has gone up significantly during tenth plan period. According to the data released by the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), employment on Current Daily Status (CDS), basing during the periods 1999–2000 and 2004–05, had increased considerably in comparison to the augmentation registered during the periods 1993–94 and 1999–2000. During this period, about 47 million work opportunities were created compared to only 24 million in the period between 1993–94 and 1999–2000. Employment growth accelerated from 1.25 per cent per annum to 2.62 per cent per annum. However, the labour force grew at faster rate of 2.84 per cent than the work force and unemployment force also rose. The incidence on unemployment on CDS basis increased from 7.31 per cent in 1999–2000 to 8.28 per cent in 2004–05.

Employment growth in the organized sector, public and private combined declined during the period 1994–2007. This can be attributed to the increase in employment rate in the public organized sector.

The compound annual unemployment growth rate in the organized sector, including public and private sectors, in the country during 2008 to 2011 was 1.72 per cent. It was –0.24 for the public sector and 5.06 for the private sector.

7.5.1 Unemployment and Underemployment: Definitions

Unemployment is defined as a situation wherein able bodied persons fail to find a job even though they are willing to work at the prevailing wage rate. Unemployment is a two-fold phenomenon:

  (i) An individual is not currently employed.

  (ii) He/She is ready to work at the prevailing wage rates.

  (iii) An individual must make an effort to find work.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, USA, the unemployed include people who do not have a job, have actively looked for work in the past four weeks, and are currently available for work. It also includes people who were temporarily laid off and are waiting to be called back to that job. In another sense, workers are considered to be the producer of services and when they are unable to sell their services, they are said to be unemployed. Underemployment, however, refers to a situation when a worker does not work for full hours (normally 8 hours a day). It is again the under-exploitation of manpower resources of the country. The Indian agriculture sector is facing such a type of unemployment.

7.5.2 Extent of Unemployment in Developing Countries

It should, however, be mentioned that the problem of unemployment and underemployment represents a challenge to the developing countries just as the problem of cyclical unemployment is a challenge to the countries where advanced industrial development has taken place. The major problems of employment in the developing countries have been conceived of as follows:

  (i) The provision of productive work for the farm population during long periods of seasonal unemployment has not been addressed properly.

  (ii) The prevention of the annual increase in employable population from further aggravating the situation of chronic underemployment and disguised unemployment in agriculture—which in many parts of these countries have already reached the point of saturation—has not been taken seriously. This occurs in urban areas also.

  (iii) Indian planning has not paid any attention to manpower planning. It had always concentrated on the development of agriculture and industry. The eradication of unemployment has never been the prime objective of any of the five year plans.

  (iv) The Indian education system produces simple graduates and postgraduates and not professionals. It has never matched the needs of the economy. Our education system is neither job-oriented nor skill-oriented.

  (v) Overpopulated countries like India need to stress upon the development of cottage and small-scale industries because it needs less capital and low technical skills. However, the lack of communication and knowledge creates hurdles in its performance.

  (vi) The Indian agriculture absorbs the excessive pressure of overpopulation resulting in disguised unemployment. From each family farm, if we withdraw one or two members, the total productivity will not be affected, but at the same time, alternative job opportunities must be made available which unfortunately does not happen.

  (vii) The Indian labour is attached with their families and native places. They do not move far off to search a job and source of their livelihood.

  (viii) Illiteracy creates unskilled labour. Skilled and trained labour is required in modern industries. Thus, the illiterate and unskilled labourers remain unemployed in the country.

7.5.3 Types and Causes of Unemployment in India

The following are the various kinds of unemployment that have been prevalent in our country. These points also talk about the causes of each type.

(i) **Voluntary unemployment:** Those people are known to be voluntarily unemployed who are not working by choice. They do not avail of an employment opportunity because they consider such a job as below their dignity. Sometimes, people prefer remaining idle over availing low wage employment. Besides, there are countless reasons of voluntary unemployment, but higher education is one of the major causes of being voluntarily unemployed in India.

(ii) **Disguised unemployment:** Disguised unemployment means that the number of workers employed in a job is much more than are actually required. It is invisible in nature since even if some workers are withdrawn from the work, the total production remains unchanged. Technically, disguised unemployment or invisible employment exists when marginal productivity of a labour is zero. Suppose five workers are engaged on a work; if two of them are withdrawn from it and the total work remains unaffected, the two persons are disguisedly unemployed.

It arises in India due to the following reasons:

(a) Increasing pressure of population on land

(b) Lack of alternative employment opportunities

(c) Involvement of more and more people in agriculture since it is a family occupation

The concept of disguised unemployment was introduced by well-known economist Professor Ragnar Nurkse, who claims that such kind of unemployment is very harmful for the nation and directly affects its overall productivity. It is hidden unemployment that keeps an underdeveloped country like India in a vicious circle of poverty. Disguised unemployment exists mostly in rural India, thus, keeping low productivity of this sector. It keeps the Indian farmers on subsistence level living.

(iii) **Open unemployment:** Open unemployment is said to prevail when all the unemployed have no work to do, even though they are willing to work on the prevailing wages. It is mostly found in cities and industries. Such kind of unemployment is often categorized in the following forms:

(a) *Cyclical unemployment:* Cyclical unemployment arises due to the cyclical activities in a capitalist system. Cyclical activities are found in different economic phases: boom, recession, depression and recovery. The phases of depression and recession throw many people out of job, which results into cyclical unemployment. The investment activities get discouraged and entrepreneurs cut down their level of production. The demand for labour declines and mass unemployment occurs. Such unemployment is generally found in the industrial sector in a free economy. Due to a small industrial sector, this type of unemployment is not found in India.

(b) *Structural unemployment:* Structural unemployment arises due to the changes in demand pattern and supply structure. With the passage of time, when the demand pattern of goods changes, there will be a change in the demand pattern for labour. Some labours in one sector become idle, while

there may be demand in the other sector. Since labour cannot immediately switch over to the new pattern, it causes structural unemployment. This type of unemployment is mostly found in underdeveloped countries like India. It is because of this reason that the rate of capital formation is low in these economies and the desired rapid industrialization is not possible. As a result, a vast labour force remains unemployed.

(c) Frictional unemployment: The kind of unemployment that arises due to imperfections of labour market is known as frictional unemployment. It arises due to the movement of labour from one industry to another or from one place to another. It means that there are jobs and job seekers in the economy, but unemployment arises due to rigidities and frictions in the economy. It is of temporary nature and vanishes with the removal of market imperfections.

(iv) **Seasonal unemployment**: When unemployment arises due to changes in season, it is termed as seasonal unemployment. It is found in agricultural sector and seasonal industries. Agriculture in India is a seasonal occupation. Labourers find work for five to seven months a year, i.e., during the sowing and harvesting season. They remain unemployed for the remaining period, known to be the victims of seasonal unemployment. Such unemployment is also found in sugar mills, rice mills, ice factories and cracker industries where work is limited only for a few months.

(v) **Technological unemployment**: When unemployment arises due to change in technology, it is known as technological unemployment. In this situation, the workers are put to superior technology, which is labour saving and time saving. It throws some workers out of job, as a surplus labour.

(vi) **Educated unemployment**: When unemployment arises due to the expansion of educational facilities at school and university level, it is known as educated unemployment. It arises due to the following reasons:

    (a) Expansion of educational facilities.

    (b) Educational system is not job oriented.

    (c) Educated persons consider many jobs to be beneath themselves.

This form of unemployment is seen to exist among professionals as well as people holding general educational degrees. However, this type of unemployment is very dangerous because it can bring revolutionary changes in the political sector. Figure 7.2 illustrates the broad causes of unemployment.
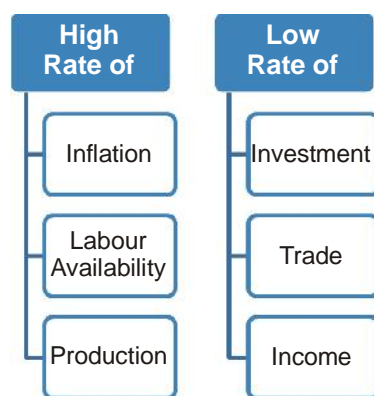

***Fig. 7.2** Broad Causes of Unemployment*

(vii) **Agricultural unemployment:** Unemployment in the agriculture sector is termed as agricultural unemployment. It can be attributed to a number of reasons: the farmers can remain employed only for some parts of the year; the farms can no longer employ the available hands; the villages lack subsidiary industries and the vagaries of monsoons and weather conditions increase the rate of agricultural unemployment; and so on.

(viii) **Industrial unemployment:** Unemployment in the industrial sector is termed as industrial unemployment. It takes place due to the following reasons: high population rate in comparison with employment opportunities in the industry; uneconomic and non-geographic distribution of the industries; conditions of depression and recession; and so on.

Consequences of unemployment

The following is a list of the outcomes of unemployment:

- The gravest problem that the unemployed have to face is the lack of financial resources. They find it difficult to make ends meet. This directly impacts their standard of living.

- They might find it difficult to pay their economic obligations such as home loans, car loans and insurance premiums, or even house rent. This can lead them to become homeless.

- One of the related problems is underemployment. Unemployment may force people to undertake jobs that are not in accordance with their skills, experience and educational qualifications.

- Unemployed people have to undergo psychological angst and anxiety. Generally, they will suffer from too much stress, and so, they might resort to drugs and alcohol.

- Unemployment is a hindrance to social progress. It relegates people to lower status than they have been in the habit of enjoying.

7.5.4 Remedies for Unemployment

Closely related to poverty, the problem of unemployment is the biggest challenge that the Indian economy is facing. It needs an appropriate in the long run that can policy provide employment opportunities to those who are willing to work. The following measures are suggested in this regard:

(i) **Increase in the rate of economic growth:** It is believed that higher economic growth rate will lead to larger production and, thereby, larger increase in employment. Therefore, the government should plan to introduce labour intensive techniques of production, which should give more emphasis on those levels of production that have high potential of employment opportunities.

(ii) **High rate of capital formation:** The rate of capital formation must be increased in India. Capital formation should be encouraged only in those areas which generate greater employment opportunities. Presently, this rate is 30 per cent of the Gross domestic Product (GDP), but it needs to be raised to a higher level.

(iii) **Education reforms:** The Indian education system should be made more employment oriented. From the very beginning, emphasis should be laid on vocational education.

(iv) **More expansion of employment exchange:** Employment exchanges are the institutions that bring together jobs and job seekers. More employment exchanges will make the labour more mobile. However, there is a need to improve the functioning of employment exchanges in the country.

(v) **Policy towards seasonal unemployment:** Indian agriculture is of a seasonal nature, due to which the Indian farmers remain unemployed for some time. The employment policy in India should act in the following direction to remove these problems:

   (a) Promotion of multiple cropping

   (b) Promotion of activities allied to agriculture

   (c) Investment programmes for rural areas

   (d) Setting up of seasonal industries

(vi) **Policy towards seasonal unemployment:** Nearly, 62 per cent people are self-employed in India, and most of them are engaged in agriculture sector. The government should provide different facilities and encouragement to the people who are engaged in their own occupations.

(vii) **Employment opportunities for women:** Presently, 12 per cent of women are employed in organized sector, which is a quite low percentage. The Government of India should take the following steps to promote women employment:

   (a) Residential accommodation for working women on a large scale

   (b) Educational and training facilities for working mothers

   (c) Availability of crèches for the children of working mother

(viii) **Promotion of co-operative industry:** The industries in cooperative sector should be encouraged. It requires lesser investment for the promotion of employment.

(ix) **Encouragement to small-scale units:** Small-scale units can provide more employment opportunities for men and women. There is need of lesser skill and training in such units. The government should encourage such units by offering them special incentives.

(x) **Special employment programmes:** The government should introduce special programmes for poor people, schedule caste and schedule tribes, landless labourers and unemployed women. These programmes should be centrally sponsored and properly monitored.
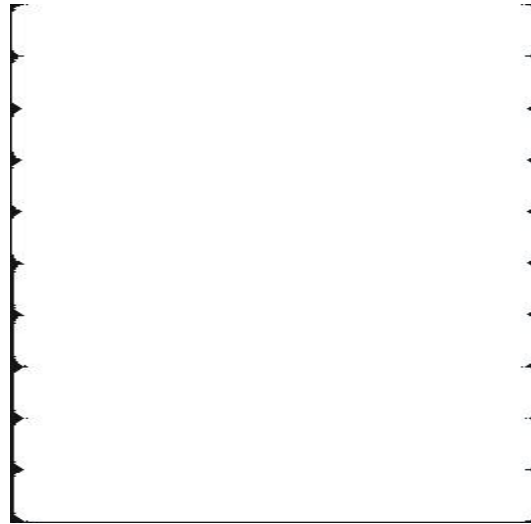
Figure 7.2 sums up some of these remedies for a quick reference.

7.5.5 Government Measures for Promoting Employment

In its five year plans, the Government of India has taken several measures to promote employment in the country. Some of these measures and schemes are as follows:

(i) **Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY):** JGSY became effective from April 1999. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojana was restructured to make it JGSY, which was a Centrally Sponsored Scheme where cost was shared between the central and state governments in the ratio of 75:25. The objective of JGSY is the creation of infrastructure and durable assets at the village level so that it may create sustained employment opportunities in the rural areas. Jawahar Rozgar Yojana was formed by merging the two erstwhile wage employment programmes: National Rural Employment programme (NREP) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP). It was started with effect from 1 April 1989 on 80:20 cost sharing basis between the Centre and the states. The main objective of the *yojana* was additional gainful employment for the unemployed and underemployed persons in rural areas. Another objective was the creation of sustained employment by strengthening rural economic infrastructure and assets in favour of rural poor for their direct and continuing benefits.

(ii) **Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY):** SGSY became effective from 1 April 1999. It combined some earlier welfare and development programmes, such as Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), Training Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM) and Million Wells Scheme (MWS). It aims at promoting micro-enterprises and helping the rural poor to form Self-Help Groups (SHG). This scheme covers all aspects of self-employment like the organization of rural poor into SHG and their capacity building, training, planning of activity clusters, infrastructure development, financial assistance, and so on. Under this scheme, Rural Self-Employment Training Institute (RSETI) has been set up in each district to help rural BPL youth. During the period of 2009–11, 73,000 rural youth were trained in 99 RSETIs.

(iii) **Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS):** Employment Assurance Scheme was started on 2 October 1993 for implementation in 1,778 identified backward Panchayat Samitis of 257 districts situated in drought prone areas, desert areas and hilly areas. It was restructured in 1999–2000 to make it a single wage employment programme, and implemented as a Centrally Sponsored Scheme on a cost-sharing ratio of 75:25 between the Centre and the states. It aims at providing 100 days of unskilled manual work to the rural poor.

(iv) **Sampoorna Gramin Rozgar Yojana (SGRY):** SGRY was launched in September 2001. The chief objective of this scheme was to provide wage employment in non-urban areas along with making provision for food and durable community, social and economic assets. The ongoing Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) and Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY) have been fully integrated within the scheme with effect from April 2002.

(v) **Swarnjayanti Gram Shahri Rozgar Yojana (SJSTY):** SJSTY has two wings to work upon: the Urban Self Employment Programme and the Urban Wage Employment Programme, initiated in December 1997, which eventually supplanted all prior schemes that aimed to alleviate urban poverty. This is funded between the Centre and the states on a ratio of 75:25. The fund allocation for the scheme was ₹ 344 crores during 2007–08. Also, ₹ 256.04 crore has been sanctioned up to 4 December 2007.

(vi) **The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGA):** The chief aim of MGNREGA was to offer livelihood opportunities to rural householders in the form of minimum one hundred days of guaranteed wage employment. In its first phase, it reached 200 districts with effect from 2 February 2006, and it was later extended to cover 130 districts more during the period 2007–08. It was extended to the entire country from 1 April 2008. This scheme offered a means of employment to more than 5.26 crore households during 2009–10. Approximately, 4.10 crore households have been offered employment opportunities during 2010–11 till December 2010. Many initiatives are being taken for better and more effective implementation of the MGNREGA.

(vii) **National Rural Employment Guarantee Bill, 2004:** Employment for a minimum of one hundred days to one unskilled adult member of a family needs to be provided by every state under this Bill. In order to achieve the said goal, the states can combine Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana with the Food for Work Programme. However, the central government shall fix the minimum wage rate. The Centre will organize a Central Rozgar Guarantee Council under which the Rozgar Guarantee Councils of all states will be executed. A standing committee will be formed by the Panchayat on district level which will supervise the working of this scheme. This scheme is meant to provide employment to those poor people who really need it. However, the financing of the scheme is to be made by the state government. It has become more operational since 1 April 2008.

Strategy of the Eleventh Plan Regarding Unemployment

The following strategies were adopted regarding unemployment in the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007–2012):

(i) Creation of employment for 58 million against the projected increase in unemployment of 45 million

(ii) Reduction in underemployment and casual employment

(iii) Employment manufacturing to grow by 4 per cent in construction; transport and communication to grow by 8.2 per cent and 7.6 per cent, respectively

(iv) Reduction in unemployment rate from 8 per cent and below

Dealing with unemployment

We cannot deny that the issue of unemployment demands our serious attention. The following are some remedies for tackling unemployment:

- The government should encourage industries and sectors that are struggling.
- The self-employed should be granted more subsidies so that people invest their capital in industry and business rather than purchasing liquid investments.
- The unemployed should receive state-sponsored training and education so that they have the skills that are needed for employment in the present day. The first step in this direction is to recognize what these skills are.
- Job centres should be better equipped to handle the queries of those who are unemployed.
- Economic growth is one of the ways in which unemployment can be reduced.

7.6 CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

The fear of crime is widespread among people in many Western societies, affecting far more people than the personal experience of crime itself; as such, it constitutes a significant social problem. Criminality has been a problem confronting India and has become an important area of research in social sciences. In his classic discussion on the 'normality of crime', Durkheim (1964) argues that crime is 'closely connected with the conditions of all social life', leading him to arrive at a conclusion that there cannot be a society devoid of crime. Therefore, criminal behaviour exists in every society, and it has become a an important area of research for criminologists, sociologists and psychologists.

So far as the meaning of the word 'crime' is concerned, it has come from Latin word 'Crimen' which means charge or offence. The *Concise Encyclopaedia of Crime and Criminals* defines crime as 'an act or default which prejudices the interests of the community and is forbidden by law under pain of punishment. It is an offence against the state, as contrasted with a tool or a civil wrong, which is violation of a right of an individual and which does not lead to a punishment.'
However, it can be said that:

- Crime is an act or omission which is punishable under law.
- It is an act which is believed to be socially harmful, to which law prescribes certain penalty on the doer.
- Crime is linked with social norms, i.e., society prepares the crime and the criminal commits it.
- Crime is not vice. It is not punished as an offence against God, but it is prejudicial to society.
- It is something done against the dictates of society or law and is due to a failure to adjust oneself to such dictates.

Therefore, crime implies a disturbance in social relationships. The nature of criminal and non-criminal conduct is determined by social values which the larger defining group considers important. Wherever the social equilibrium is upset, there develops crime.

Crime and delinquency are often used synonymously, the only difference between the two being that of age. While crime refers to offences committed at a mature age, delinquency refers to offences committed at a pre-mature age by the juveniles.

7.6.1 Understanding Juvenile Delinquency

Conflict between reason and instinct is age old in the human psyche. If crime is inherent in the social setup since the beginning of human creation, children negating and deviating are no exception. Hence, deviation from the practiced social norms among children is a part of the ongoing social system. Certainly, the emergence of the problem of 'juvenile delinquency' is acquiring greater dimension amidst the growing insanity of the modern society.

The phenomenal advances of science and technology in the modern age of speedy sputniks and guided missiles have tremendously shaken up the old order of human life. Human society is experiencing terrific convulsions of social change. The multi-sided dynamic developments in different fields of human thought and action are shattering the fundamental basis of social order. A well-knit family life is threatened, and the established standards of social behaviour, social norms and values are undergoing metamorphosis. The continuance of this process has led to increasing deviations and abnormalities in individual behaviour. The criminal in the adult and the delinquent in the juvenile are none but the upshots of this process, the process of social disorganization and maladjustment. The problem of juvenile delinquency is a complex social problem confronting almost every society.

7.6.2 Conceptualizing Juvenile Delinquency

The concept of juvenile delinquency has in fact undergone a radical change and today the term 'juvenile delinquent' has such a changed connotation that a person so labelled is not subject to the jurisdiction of the normal course of criminal procedure, but to the special laws and courts that have been recently devised for him and that deal with him differently from the adult criminal. Juvenile delinquency exhibits a specific pattern of behaviour. It involves 'wrong doing by a child or by a young person who is under an age specified by the law of the place'. French medievalist and historian of the family and childhood Phillippe Aries (1962) stated that the development of the concept of juvenile delinquency can be traced to the roots of Anglo-Saxon legal tradition. Early English jurisprudence held that children under seven were legally incapable of committing crimes (Aries, 1962). Juvenile delinquency is the manifestation of desires and urges that remain unsatisfied in the normal way. For others, it signifies misconduct but for the delinquent, it is a normal response, to inner desires and outer stimuli.

The legal definition of juvenile delinquency varies from one country to another. Delinquency is after all a legal term which denotes acts of varying degrees of social consequences from mere naughtiness to a major act punishable by law. So a child is said to be a delinquent when he involves himself in stealing, vagrancy, truancy, indulging in sexual offences, assaulting, and so on. A child is said to be regarded technically as a delinquent when his antisocial tendencies appear so grave that he becomes or ought to become the subject of official action (Cohen,1955).

In India, the legal tendency is to consider all young offenders usually ranging from the age of seven to 21 years as juveniles and the Indian Penal Code uses the expression 'Juvenile offence' rather than the term 'delinquency. According to the Juvenile Justice Act, 1986, a juvenile is defined as a male below 16 years and a female below 18 years of age. In the *Encyclopaedia of Crime and Justice* (1983), juvenile delinquency has been defined as 'such conduct by children, which is violative of prohibition of the criminal law or is otherwise regarded as deviant and inappropriate in social context'. Modern

concept of delinquency on the whole suggests that children who are called delinquent are delinquent primarily in terms of social laws and norms of conduct and also in their ability to conform to the social milieu.

However, the psychologists and psychiatrists do not consider delinquency as a unique form of behaviour, nor do they think that a sharp differentiation can be made between delinquents and non-delinquents. The psychological approach emphasizes upon deviant personality aspects, such as emotional instability, aggressiveness and neurotic tendencies. Psychiatrists viewed delinquency as a particular type of disorder on the basis of which a delinquent would be regarded as a disordered person. They consider delinquency to be an unfortunate expression of personality. According to Friedlander (1947), delinquency may mean to the offender an attempt:

(a) to escape or take flight from a tense, unpleasant situation

(b) to obtain social recognition

(c) to provide excitement and thrill

(d) to take revenge against parents and others

(e) to deny dependence on others

(f) to seek off the sense of conscious or unconscious feeling of guilt

So far as the sociological approach is concerned, Warren (1962) says 'a delinquent is essentially a criminal or social offender, viewed as a social type'. English educational psychologist Cyril Burt has defined 'a child is to be regarded as technically delinquent when his anti-social tendencies appear so grave that he becomes, or ought to have become, the subject of official action' (Burt, 1955).

Thus, the act of delinquency has been largely defined as a course of conduct of a child which is socially undesired and unrecognized. Sociologically, juvenile delinquency is regarded as an expression of internalized norms of a deviant sub-culture which places the individual in conflict with the values of society.

7.6.3 Nature and Incidence

In a developing country like India where the youth comprises a majority of population, it becomes a matter of serious concern to probe into the problem of delinquency. While commenting on the nature and extent of juvenile delinquency in India in a theoretical paraphrase, consideration is given to the peculiarities of the Indian culture and varying conditions in the Indian social institutions, which may account for differential rates of incidence of delinquency and varying societal responses.

The official source of statistics 'Crime in India' published by the National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, can provide an indication of the recent trends and dimension of the problem. It appears that in 1995, a total of 9766 crimes under IPC were registered against juveniles which constituted 0.6 per cent of the total crimes, i.e, 1695696 reported during the year, showing an increase of 13.5 per cent over 1994. There has been as increase in 1996, i.e, 10024, while in the year 2000, it has only slightly decreased to 9267.

Table 7.1 *Rate of Crime in India*

Year/State/U.T/City	Theft	Riots	Criminal Breach of Trust	Cheating	Counterfeiting	Other IPC crimes	Total Cognizable Crimes.
1991	4638	1270	21	47	2	4139	12588
1995	2835	955	33	54	1	3869	9766
1996	2356	856	18	60	-	4708	10024
1997	1975	513	16	43	1	3553	7909
1998	2143	574	19	32	-	4576	9376
1999	2172	509	13	31	7	4197	8888
2000	2388	532	24	37	3	4355	9276

Source: Statistical Abstract India, 2002

The Regional Monitoring Reports pay close attention to gender inequalities and to point to opportunities to redress historical imbalances. In case of juvenile crimes, the gender gap is being closed because of an expanding role of young female offenders. But so far as the Indian scenario is concerned, of all IPC crimes in 1991, i.e., 15927, crimes committed by boys were 13213 and girls 2714. This trend has decreased in the year 2000, i.e., of 12040 IPC crimes reported, the crimes committed by boys was 9193 and girls 2847. Women, however, are less inclined to break the law due to the sex-role socialization they undergo from birth onwards. Moreover, although girls are also encouraged to begin to grow up, they continue to be subjected to close parental attention.

On the other hand, when we make an analysis of the regional variation in delinquency it can be said that delinquency is largely an urban phenomenon. The most alarming trends in the region are the rise in the number of violent acts committed by young people, the increase in drug-related offences and a marked rise in female juvenile delinquency.

7.6.4 Theoretical Conception of Crime and Delinquency

Over the past few decades, sociological research on crime and juvenile delinquency has led to the development of some theoretical perspectives on the understanding of the phenomenon of deviance. Many theories have been propounded by psychologists, psychiatrists, lawyers, philosophers and sociologists to comprehend criminal behaviour. Generally, all the aforesaid theories may be put under three broad categories: Biogenic, Psychogenic and Sociogenic.

   (i) Biogenic Theories: Biogenic or physiological theory emphasize on heredity or biogenic aspects of criminal behaviour. According to this theory, some individuals are more prone to crime than others because of their genetic make-up. The biogenic theory of Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso is considered to be first scientific analysis of crime causation in the field of criminology. The biological type delinquent would be a special category of human being different in physique, physiognomy and mentality from the law-abiding citizen. Lombroso emphasized on the biological causes of crime and suggested overall criminal types, such as criminals by passion and occasional criminals, and also said that criminals were born as such. He talked of the 'born criminal type'. The modern supporters of genetic theories of crime are, however, more cautious than their predecessors. They do not suggest that an individual is a total prisoner of his genes. Instead, they argue that genetically based characteristics predispose an individual to criminal behaviour. Well-known psychologist Hans Eysenck too states that heredity is a very strong predisposing factor as far as committing crime is concerned (Eysenck, 1964).

(ii) Psychogenic Theories: The central hypothesis guiding psychogenic investigation is that the critical causal factors in delinquency centre around personality problems to which juvenile misbehaviour is presumed to be a response. These theories advocate criminality to be the intent of mind, which is a consequence of personality make-up of an individual. Prominent American psychologist Henry Goddard stated in 1919 that feeble-mindedness is the greatest single cause of delinquency. Feeble-mindedness, according to him, is inherited and is little affected by life events. William Healy, a psychiatrist in Chicago, found that juvenile delinquency is caused by defective personality and psychogenic factors, i.e., mental disorder or emotional disturbances. He observed that there was a greater frequency of personality disorders among delinquents than among non delinquents. Healy and eminent psychologist Augusta Bronner (1926) focussed their research on the individual, his conflicts and his early family relationship, and the way such factors influenced criminal behaviour.

Psychological theories argue that in the genesis of juvenile delinquency, something must have gone wrong in the socialization, involving emotional disturbance, which leads to the formation of maladjusted personality traits.

(iii) Sociogenic Theories: The sociogenic theories treat delinquency as inter-related with the social and cultural systems of society. Sociologists argue that delinquent behaviour is learned and is conditioned by the social environment. Some of the major sociological theories of delinquency are as follows:

Ñ Sutherland's Theory of Differential Association

American psychologist Edwin Sutherland propounded his theory in 1939 in 'Principles of Criminology'. The concept of differential association appears in his explanation of 'systematic criminality' as a result of interactional process. Sutherland hypothesized that criminal behaviour is learned in a pattern of communications as persons acquired patterns of lawful behaviour. This theory is called the theory of differential association. He felt that criminal behaviour is not inherited and he who is not already trained in crime does not indulge in criminal behaviour. Rather criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons, especially within intimate personal groups.

Ñ Merton's Theory of Social Structure and Anomie

American sociologist Robert K. Merton attempted to explain deviant behaviour in terms of social and cultural structures. The cultural system of society enjoins all members to strive for goals by means of normatively regulated or accepted forms of behaviour. However, since the members of society are placed in different positions in the social structure—for example, they differ in terms of class position—they do not have the same opportunity to reach these goals through socially approved means. Thus, means of goal realization are unequally distributed in the society. This situation can generate deviance. Merton outlined five possible way in which member of a society can respond to success goals: conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion.

Ñ Cloward and Ohlin's Theory of Differential Opportunity

American sociologist Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd. E.Ohlin combined Sutherland's and Merton's theories and developed a new theory of delinquent behaviour in 1960. Cloward and Ohlin argue that Merton has only dealt with half of the picture. He has explained deviance in terms of the legitimate opportunity structure but failed to consider the illegitimate opportunity structure.

Cloward and Ohlin have identified three types of delinquent sub-cultures: the criminal sub-culture, the conflict sub-culture and the retreatist sub-culture. Criminal sub-culture tends to emerge in areas where successful and big time criminals reside, and they have a high status in the conventional community and mutually acceptable relation with political machines and law enforcement officials. This sub-culture does not manifest violence. Criminal sub-culture is mainly concerned with 'utilitarian crime' which produces financial rewards.

Ñ Cohen's Theory of Delinquent Sub-culture

American criminologist Albert K. Cohen's work is a modification and development of Merton's theory. In Merton's view, delinquency is an individual response to his position in the class structure but in Cohen's view, delinquency is a collective response of individuals. Cohen holds that Merton has failed to account for 'non-utilitarian' crime such as vandalism and joy riding, which do not produce monetary reward. His theory mainly deals with the problems of status adjustment of working class boys. Cohen believes children learn to become delinquent by becoming members of groups in which delinquent conduct is already the accepted practice. He sees a 'delinquent subculture' persisting most conspicuously in slum areas through transmission of beliefs, values and knowledge down a succession of juvenile groups.

Ñ Howard. S. Becker's Labelling Theory

American sociologist Howard Becker propounded this theory in 1963 which does not deal with the question as to why a person becomes a criminal but agrees that the society labels some people as criminals or deviants. According to him, the criminal or deviant is one to whom the label has been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is a behaviour that people so label. Becker suggests that in one sense, there is no such thing as a deviant act. An act only becomes deviant when others perceive and define it as such. For instance, some persons who drink heavily are called alcoholics, while others are not. Thus, there is nothing intrinsically normal or deviant. It only becomes deviant when others label it as such, whether or not the label is applied will depend on how the act is interpreted by the audience. This in turn will depend on who commits the act when and where it is committed, who observes the act and the negotiations between the various actors involved in the interaction situation. Initially, the individual is labelled as deviant. This may lead to his rejection by his family and friends, lose his job, and be forced out of the neighbourhood. This may encourage further deviance. The deviant is denied the ordinary means of carrying on the routines of everyday life open to most people. Because of this denial, he develops illegitimate routines. He joins the gang that supports and justifies his activities and identities. The young person is socialized into the criminal sub-culture and becomes a full criminal.

Ñ Walter B. Miller's Lower Class Culture Theory

The theory of cultural transmission has also been developed to explain the occurrences of juvenile delinquency by American anthropologist Walter B. Miller in 1958. The theory suggests that delinquent traditions are believed to be transmitted from one generation of the youth to the next. According to Miller, delinquency is associated with class culture. The delinquent is a product of the influence of specific conditions and circumstances. Miller, in his study of lower-class structure, has attempted to show that delinquent behaviour of the lower class boys may be treated as response to a distinct lower-class sub-culture.

Miller appears to be in total disagreement with Cohen so far as the latter relates delinquent behaviour of the lower-class boys to 'reaction formation' against the middle-class values which they fail to attain. As against this, Miller propounds that delinquent behaviour of the lower-class boys is a product of their socialization into the specific type of lower-class values that are inherent in the lower class. Miller describes six 'focal concerns' of the lower-class culture. They are: trouble (avoidance of complications with official authorities), toughness (physical prowess, masculinity and bravery), smartness (capacity to outwit and dupe others), excitement (to be sought through alcohol, sexual adventure and gambling), fate (belief that life is governed by the forces beyond individual's control) and autonomy (I don't need anybody to take care of me).

Ñ **Drift Theory of David Matza**

Well-known sociologist David Matza, also contributed and introduced new vigour into sociological discussions relating to delinquency and social deviance. In collaboration with American sociologist and criminologist Gresham Skyes, Matza published his work *Techniques of Neutralisation*, 1957, which later on became a part of the standard literature on delinquency. The delinquent, according to their theory, merely stretches a series of such defences far beyond acceptable limits, thereby, providing himself with the justification of delinquent behaviour and at the same time neutralizing both internal and external disapproval in advance. In other words, unequivocally committed to any set of antithetical values, the delinquent himself gives a series of definitions favourable to violation.

The delinquents, in spite of their out of the way behaviour, may have continuing commitment to convention. Many of the 'delinquent' values are merely expressive analogues of subterranean values embodied in the leisure activities of the dominant society. Matza holds the view that deviants of all kinds must be regarded as subjects instead of objects as acting and self reflecting, rather than merely reacting to the contact of external stimuli.

7.6.5 Causal Factors of Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency has become one of the baffling problems in India. In the trail of rapid changes, especially those of urbanization and industrialization, social and pathological problems like juvenile delinquency have manifested themselves in an alarming manner. The important factors that are mainly responsible for the causation of juvenile delinquency and anti-social propensities include economic, personality and environmental factors.

Poverty may not be the direct cause of delinquency but its unwholesome effects on the child may be disastrous. Feeling of inadequacy, frustration and emotional insecurity play a dominant role in giving rise to anti-social propensities. Truly, no child is a born anti-social and, in fact, delinquency is acquired through a learning process. In other words, techniques relating to commission of crime are learnt through association with criminals alone.

Economic factors often play an important role to indirectly give rise to the problem of delinquency and anti-social tendencies. Owing to the abject poverty, unemployment, and underemployment, social ostracism among different sections of people takes place from rural to urban, thus, swelling the enormous floating population. They settle down in undesirable areas without adequate amenities, and as such, slums grow in course of time with an unfavourable environment. A strange culture prevails without any social norms. In other words, there is total anomie or normlessness.

In developing countries like India, the problems of rural urban drift, poverty and deprivation have adversely affected substantial segments of youth population.

Like a family, which plays a dominant and primary role in socialization of child, the school also has a very important role in moulding the personality of the child. It provides the most important opportunity to a child for the development of his social attitude. The child gets his first exposure at school with the outside world, which was hitherto unknown to him. Some important factors like low-socio-economic status of the family, low intelligence, lack of motivation, poor school performance, personality defects, lack of extracurricular activities, lack of sense of belonging to the school, and so on, adversely affect the attitude of the child towards his school.

Nowadays, films in general depict intolerance and violence which have lasting effects on the impressionable minds of young children. Sometimes, the child may develop a sense of curiosity and seek to put into practice whatever they have witnessed in cinema halls and other televisions at home. Moreover, easy access to pornographic publication and trash obscene writing and paintings pollute the impressionable minds of young persons. Gradually, they may develop a tendency which is inimical to the interest of their studies and other aesthetic pursuits.

7.6.6 Remedial Measures for Delinquency Prevention

Delinquent behaviour among children has increased in spite of technological and scientific advancements in our society. The concern of the society with the problem of juvenile delinquency has two dimensions: the first focuses attention on the child, whose protection and care is the primary duty of the society, and the other is the protection of the society itself because juvenile delinquency is a symptom of social pathology and social disorganization. Therefore, efforts should be made for early treatment of juvenile delinquents. The age old traditional informal system of social, cultural and emotional society provided by joint family and a well-knit community organization is now on the verge of collapse. It has been, therefore, necessary to provide for legal safeguards to ensure protection of rights of the child and other related issues. However, two types of methods are proposed to treat delinquency: Preventive and Rehabilitative.

1. Preventive measures

These measures include the creation of a team work of private and public agencies devoted to preventive work; for instance, the establishment of schools, churches, group work agencies like scouts and guides, and so on. The careful training of members and staff of all organizations concerned with delinquency control is essential in order to enable them to recognize the potential threats and bring parents and youth in contact with the agency which has facility to help them. Apart from this, the establishment of child guidance clinics are necessary for the treatment of maladjusted children. Schools, churches and other character building agencies should be encouraged to serve the under-privileged children. Other preventive measures can be taken by propaganda, i.e., newspapers, magazines, television and motion pictures should interpret juvenile delinquency in terms of honest reports about causes and protection of youth rather than focusing on sensational issues.

2. Rehabilitative measures

Programmes before Independence

(i) **Apprentices Act of 1850:** This was one of the earliest steps undertaken in this direction which was intended for the benefit of children, especially orphans and poor children, to train them for traders, crafts and employment by which they may gain a livelihood.

(ii) **Reformatory Schools Act of 1897:** This Act empowers the courts to send a young offender sentenced to imprisonment for detention in a reformatory school for a period not less than three years or more than seven years. A person is not detained after he attains the age of 18. This Act was imbued with the spirit of reformation and provided that the reformatory schools might be established and youthful offenders might, at the direction of the sentencing court, be ordered to be detained in such a school for three to seven years instead of undergoing a sentence of imprisonment. However, this Act did not make any provision for dealing with girls, though the original Act 1876 made provisions for both boys and girls.

Programmes after Independence

(i) **Juvenile courts:** Juvenile courts have been established in some states to try and convict specifically juvenile delinquents. The main features of juvenile courts are informality of procedure, de-emphasis on deterrent or retributive justice, protection and rehabilitation of juvenile, and the use of socialized treatment measures.

(ii) **Remand homes or observation homes:** These homes are meant for the children during pendency of trial in the courts, but they are also used for keeping the homeless, destitute and neglected children. These homes are viewed more as observation homes rather than as places of detention. These homes are mostly managed by welfare agencies with government assistance.

(iii) **Certified or reformatory schools:** Juveniles given detention orders by the court are kept in reformatory schools for a period of three years and a maximum period of seven years. These schools are meant for education and vocational training of delinquent children with regard to the type of crime committed.

(iv) **Borstal schools:** Such schools were created in 1920s for the segregation of adolescent offenders from the adults so that correction services are free from the authoritarian atmosphere. Borstal schools were established for youthful offenders in the age group of 16–21 years and term in a borstal school is from 2-3 years.

(v) **Probation homes:** These institutions established under the Probation of Offenders Act are meant to provide residential care and treatment to the offenders released under probation under the supervision of a probation officer. The inmates are given complete freedom to move out and also take up certain jobs of their choice.

7.6.7 Legal Interventions

The Apprentices Act of 1850 was the first effort to introduce juvenile legislation in India. It was for the betterment of children who committed petty offences. The main purpose of this Act was to regulate the relations between employers and employees. It also dealt with the children between the ages of 10 and 18 years who had committed petty offences or were destitute. This Act empowered magistrates to commit such children as apprentices to employers and provided for controlling the relations between them. The Act was intended for the benefit of children, especially orphans and poor children brought up by

a public charity to train them for trades, crafts and employment, by which they may earn livelihood when they attain majority.

The Indian Penal Code, 1860, enacts a conclusive presumption of innocence in children under seven years of age. It has recognized separate status of children. Section 82 provides that no child under seven can be convicted of any offence.

The Code of Criminal Procedure was enacted first in 1861, which was later modified in 1898. Section 29 (B), 399 and 562 referred to children and young persons up to the age of 21 years. Section 29 (B) of the code provided that any person under 15 years of age who had committed an offence not punishable with death or transportation, could be tried by a District magistrate or Chief Presidency Magistrate or any Magistrate empowered under the Reformatory Schools Act, 1897. Thus, it restricted the jurisdiction of ordinary courts in the trial of juvenile delinquents.

The Criminal Tribes Amendment Act, 1897, provided for the establishment of industrial, agricultural and reformatory schools for the children of criminal tribes between ages of four and 18 years. The government was empowered by this Act to remove the children of this age group from the criminal tribes settlements and place them in a reformatory established under this Act.

The Indian Jail Committee (1919–1920) appointed by the Government of India under British rule brought out a detailed report of its observations and recommendations. It emphasized that the child offender should be given different treatment from that of the adult. It held that imprisonment of child offenders should be prohibited. It recommended the provision of Remand Homes, Children's Courts and Certified School, which approximate to ordinary schools.

After Independence in 1947, the government initiated various activities of nation-building. A new emphasis was laid on child development and a number of schemes were also undertaken to improve the conditions of children in distress and adequate measures were being taken to deal with those who came in conflict with law. The Government of India enacted the Children Act, 1960, for enforcement in the Union Territories.

Juvenile Justice Act, 1986

The Juvenile Justice Act, 1986, replaced the children's acts, formerly in operation in the States and Union Territories. It came into force in 1987 on a uniform basis for the whole country. The Preamble of the Juvenile Justice Act states that the Act is to provide for the care, protection, treatment, development and rehabilitation of neglected and delinquent juveniles, and adjudication of certain matters relating to disposition of delinquent juveniles. Under this Act, juvenile means a boy who has not attained the age of 16 years or a girl who has not attained the age of 18 years.

The Act has provided for the classification and separation of delinquents on the basis of their age, the kind of delinquency and the nature of offences committed by them. The Juvenile Justice Act does not directly deal with child sexual abuse but the definition of a neglected juvenile who lives in a brothel or with a prostitute or who is likely to be abused or exploited for immoral or illegal purposes. The Act binds itself only to matters regarding the relationship between the government and the children, and the parents, relatives, school and community; it does not have any role in care and nurture of the child.

Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000 (JJ Act, 2000)

The ratification of Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, by India in 1992 and the social attitudes towards criminality by children reflected in Supreme Court decisions like the cases of Amrutlal Someshwar Joshi, Ramdeo Chauhan and Arnit Das, and the need for a more child friendly juvenile justice system were some of the factors that led to the passing of the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000. In this Act, 'juvenile' or 'child' means a person who has not completed eighteenth year of age (Section 2 K), whereas the juvenile in conflict with law means a person who is alleged to have committed an offence (Section 2(1)). Thus, there are two distinct categories of children under this Act:

- 'Juvenile' for children in conflict with law
- 'Child' for children in need of care and protection

This Act also covers mentally and physically disabled children; sick children or children suffering from terminal diseases or incurable diseases having no one to support or look after them; children who are abused or tortured, and children victimized by armed conflict or natural calamity.

7.7 CORRUPTION

The prevalence of corruption in civic life is a universal experience, but recently, it has assumed alarming proportions in India. It has spread to each part of the governmental bodies, and a more speedy growth of corruption has been observed among the politicians, the political workers at all stages and even in the uppermost ranks of political leadership, both at the levels of the state and the Centre. There persists a massive public scepticism towards corruption, and there is a general feeling of acceptance of corruption in civic life by people. It is felt that people indicted of political corruption always go guiltless, and, thus, accumulate more power, status and wealth. All this has resulted in a state of affairs, where even the most resolute efforts to fight the evil of corruption have failed dejectedly. It seems that the government is already aware of its existence, and also knows the likely manner in which it can be controlled, but is lacking the will required to implement such measures successfully. American political scientist Joseph Nye states that 'corruption denotes the abuse or misuse of public offices for personal gains'.

The English dictionary defines corruption as 'an inducement to wrong by bribery or other unlawful means: a departure from what is pure and correct'.

The following are some of the characteristics of corruption in India:

- It damages the whole body politic, economic and social—whether individual groups, establishments or business organizations.
- It means exercising more demands and influences by using the power of money.
- It expands and spreads when unethical politicians, government officials and power holders get the power of making decisions and when they become pliant.
- It makes effortless headway in a lane of financial inequalities, societal backwardness and ethical decline.

- It has some major manifestations such as defection, factionalism and political bargaining, red-tapism, nepotism, white-collar crimes, blue-collar crimes and bureaucracy.

- It displaces all political systems but its offshoots mainly annihilate democracies in developing countries.

- It demoralizes the whole fabric of the social order doomed in illiteracy, poverty and backwardness.

- In India, corruption has emerged from the colonial and feudal order, which can be seen even today in the conduct of the Indian political system. Despite a drastic change in political elites and leadership, political corruption has continued until date.

- The act of corruption involves the dereliction of duty, moral and legal lapses.

- Corruption involves the practice of receiving bribes not only for getting wrong things done, but also getting right things done at the right time.

7.7.1 Political Corruption

Corruption in India has emerged as a social incident. It is extensive, and the cases of corruption are increasing at an unbelievable pace. There is barely any area of activity, which has remained totally free from the influence of corruption. As a matter fact, corruption has now become a commonly accepted practice. In India, taking bribes, under-the-table payments, gifts and commissions by the politicians or bureaucrats are not frowned upon. To legitimize them as a part of normal life activities, subtle ways have been found. In short, such an ethos has been generated in the society that corruption has stopped to be considered as a crime any longer. In simple terms, corruption is defined as the behaviour of public officials who deviate from accepted norms in order to serve private ends. In more sophisticated terms, corruption is a form of behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of a public role.

However, on the aspects of political corruption in the country, people are very much familiar with the following issues:

- The getting hold of (through fake and illegal means) large areas of farmland by the senior bureaucratic officials and political leaders

- The abuse and misuse of official position to enrich themselves directly or indirectly by employing their relations as proxies

- Granting of favours to members of their caste by superseding the due procedure, and overlooking the claim of others by using favoured officials as instruments

- The use of political position to overcome the purpose of judicial process

- Preservation of corrupt by well-entrenched political bosses to avoid the loss of power in case of a political party

- Misuse of governmental machinery for the political party purposes

- Starting businesses with the support of government and then enriching themselves

- Conducting business with the government offices in the name of firms owned by them but supposedly managed by their wives

- Exploitation of public funds managed by statutory bodies to bolster business concerns that act as financiers of public parties
- Embezzlement of public funds or the inability of governments to render accounts for public expenditure

Therefore, political corruption is a kind of wide range, multi-dimensional corruption. Political corruption refers to corrupting the political life of a country at all levels. In its broader sense, it searches for politicizing all walks of life and in its narrower aspect, it legitimizes unworthy political actions for benefiting vested interests whether they are institutional or personalized.

Various forms of political corruption

The whole infrastructure in the contemporary Indian society is built on the structure of corruption. It has come down from the top level to the bottom. Many a times, political corruption in the country happens in conspiracy with the bureaucracy in the form of huge kickbacks in big nationalized and global deals, which go unpunished for understandable reasons. In India, the link between corruption and the worsening of the basic administrative system has not been sufficiently understood and focussed upon. Corruption in post-independent India can be said to have begun with the Jeep scandal in 1948. V. K. Krishna Menon, who was the High Commissioner for India in London at that time, was involved in a deal with a foreign company, and bought jeeps amounting to Rs. 80 lakh for the Indian Army in Kashmir without following normal procedure.

At the level of states also, there are a number of such cases. The significant ones are the Fodder Scandal case in addition to the purchase scam in the Health Department of Bihar. These cases involved several hundred crores of rupees, which resulted in the collapse of Indian politician Laloo Prasad Yadav's government as he was accused in both these cases. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha Scam was another scam that institutionalized corruption because the MPs were involved in this scam, and not the bureaucrats. In 1993, the MPs belonging to the Janata Dal and JMM allegedly received bribes to defeat a no-confidence motion moved in the Lok Sabha against the minority government of P.V. Narasimha Rao. Apart from openly taking money or gifts in kind or favours, political corruption in the country has been apparent in various ways. Political corruption in our country has been seen to occur in the following forms:

- **Implementation of extra-constitutional authority:** The most significant spheres for political corruption are legislature, election and bureaucracy. The materialization of extra-constitutional centres of power exercise vast influence and power on behalf of the legally constituted institutions and authorities.

- **Raising of political funds by professional politicians:** In India, politics has come to obtain the character of a big industry in which the fund-raising qualities of a politician draw the largest premium. As elections have become an exclusive proposition, each party has shifted its focus from honesty to a capacity to raise funds regardless of the means used.

- **Kickbacks:** The most famous case of political corruption, which has presumed global impact, has been the supposed kickbacks in the purchase of Bofors 155m FH-778 guns. In 1987, the Swedish Radio claimed that an Indian firm was given a commission of 33 million Swedish Kroners (about Rs. 65 millions) regarding a deal worth billions of rupees for the delivery of the Bofors guns. It was said that the commission was remunerated in foreign exchange to the

persons and friends who were close to the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The Joint Parliamentary Committee that held an enquiry into this deal, did not find anything wrong, and pardoned Rajiv Gandhi. However, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India accused the government for improprieties in the whole negotiations and the deal. It resulted in such a public protest that it became the most important issue in the 1989 general elections and resulted in the defeat of Rajiv Gandhi's government.

- **Bribing MPs to save government from accusation against the prime minister and a few cabinet members:** The Bank Securities Scam of 1992 was a major political fallout. In 1993, the main accused in the scam Harshad Mehta had alleged in a packed press conference hall that he had himself given a suitcase containing ₹ 6.7 million to the then Prime Minister Narasimha Rao at the latter's official house at New Delhi's Race Course Road. Later, the remaining ₹ 3.3 million were given to the prime minister's men. Although many people did not believe Rao's involvement in the scandal, the opposition made it an issue. It called for a no-confidence motion against the Rao government. The speedy no-confidence motion brought out by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Communist Party (Marxist) (CPM), which were the opposition parties at that time in the Parliament was ignominiously defeated. It was alleged that the managers of the Congress Party had bought out enough votes (a dozen in numbers) to defeat the no-confidence motion. The defeat of the no-confidence motion and survival of the Rao government were the two aims accomplished by the commercial transaction. The Congress Party declared that as the motion was defeated, it proved that the people were not keen to believe that the government was fraudulent.

- **Selling Public offices:** Another way of bribing the members of parliament (MPs) and members of legislative assemblies (MLA) is by the incentive to give the legislators berths in the Council of Ministers or grant them bait of public offices to allow a party in minority or a particular political leader to remain in power. This leads to the establishment of jumbo-sized governments. It has become a common practice of specifically all governments that have coalition governments, both at the centre and states level.

- **Money laundering:** In February 1996, there occurred the $18 million Jain Hawala Case (money laundering scandal). The former Prime Minister Rao, some cabinet ministers and almost sixty politicians of different political parties and bureaucrats were involved in this scandal. These people were guilty of the violation of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA), and were receiving money in foreign countries by means of Hawala transactions through some businessmen like N. K. Jain and his brothers.

The process of politicization and criminalization of politics adds to the political corruption in the country. Democracy is threatened due to the politicization of the police. Politicians use most pernicious methods such as the use of the services of the anti-social elements during elections. There is a close nexus between criminal elements and mafia leaders and the politicians. Practices such as booth-capturing, violence, threats and victimization of voters in the electoral process are quite prevalent. These practices ruin the weaker sections of our electorate. Today, it is extremely hard to affect the conviction of culprits, who are guilty of crimes such as murder, grievous hurt, intimidation and rape.

7.7.2 Bureaucratic Corruption

The following are the examples of activities, which are generally considered corrupt practices and unethical behaviour in the part of bureaucracy:

- Bribery, graft, patronage, nepotism and influence peddling
- Conflict of interest (including such activities as financial transactions to gain personal advantage, accepting outside employment during the tenure in government)
- Misuse of inside knowledge—for example, through the acceptance of business employment after retirement or resignation, favouring relatives and friends in awarding contracts or arranging loans and subsidies and accepting improper gifts and entertainment
- Protecting incompetent people
- Regulating trade practices or lowering standards in such a manner so as to give advantage to oneself or to the family members
- Use and abuse of official and confidential information for private purposes

Such activities may produce many such costs for a society as inefficiency, mistrust of government and its employee's distortion of programme achievements, waste of public resources, encouragement of black market operations and eventual national instability. A situation is created, which tolerates white-collar crimes against the nation by those who are its employees. Such costs may or may not be acceptable by a state, but at least a society should be aware that it is incurring them, and public officials should be sensitized towards their existence.

The following factors result in corruption and unethical conduct among public servants:

- Job scarcity
- Insufficient salary
- The ever-increasing powers that they enjoy to regulate the states' economy and social affairs

Various opportunities for making money are offered by this increased regulatory authority; for instance, in the cases of the development planning, granting permits, import-export licenses, contracts for construction; collecting customs and other duties and accounting for foreign exchange. Due to a valueless polity that governs the country, the integrity of civil services has eroded. Political executives achieve their short-term objectives by deploying pliant functionaries, handpicked on lines of their caste, community or political associations to handle key assignments. Due to this, the cadres of several civil services, which include the police and judicial services, are demoralized and their functioning is badly affected.

7.7.3 Causes of Corruption

The following are some of the chief causes of corruption in India:

(i) **Scarcity of resources:** The scarcity of resources–educational, natural and monetary–leads to job scarcities, insufficient salaries, etc. This means more people need these resources. There is an increase in competition for these resources and people resort to paying bribes and other evil practices in order to avail them.

(ii) **Conflict of values in our expanding economy:** In the emerging society, with its emphasis on purposively initiated processes of urbanization and industrialization, there has come about a steady weakening of the old system of values without it being replaced by an effective system of new values. Corruption thrives in such a conflict of values simply because there is no agreement on the definition of corruption.

(iii) **Acute poverty:** The co-existence of acute poverty and confounding prosperity has also eroded the integrity of the people. The Railway Corruption Enquiry Committee (1953–1955), which was presided over by Indian politician Acharya J. B. Kripalani, observed:

> We believe that, so far as the disparity in emoluments of the lowest and the highest paid government employees is conceded, it should be narrowed down. It is argued that as long as the disparity between the lowest and highest paid employees in trade and industry remains high, the Government, if it tried to reduce high emoluments of its executive, will not get the requisite talent for public service…We believe that if the Government takes the initiative in reducing disparity of emoluments of its high paid and low paid employees, it will progressively reduce corruption as we march towards socialism, which has been declared to be the goal of government policy.

(iv) **Lack of strong public opinion against the evil of corruption:** Corruption is a consequence of the way of life of our acquisitive society, where people are judged by what they have rather than by what they are. The possession of material goods seems to have become the *sine qua non* of life. Thus, materialism, importance of status resulting from the possession of money and economic power, group loyalties and parochial affinities, etc. seem to be on the increase. This is because of the general apathy or inability of all sections of the society to appreciate in full, the need of strict observance of a high standard of behaviour. This has resulted in the emergence and growth of white-collared and economic crimes.

(v) **Economic necessity:** Inadequate remuneration or salary scales and the rising cost of living is probably one of the most important causes of corruption. In recent years, the ever-rising cost of living has brought down the real income of various sections of the community, particularly that of the salaried classes. It is, therefore, inevitable that government servants are the worst hit and have had to face an appreciable fall in the standard of living. The economic necessity has encouraged those who had the opportunities to succumb to temptations.

(vi) **The structure or system of government induces corruption to influence peddlers:** Peddlers are ostensibly designated as liaison officers, public relations officers, officers on special duty, and so on, or alternatively work independently as 'contact men', on commission basis. They are generally influential people who are either related, or otherwise closely connected with ministers and senior bureaucrats, or retired high government officers who are in a position to influence or bring pressure upon the concerned officers. These concerned officers are likely to be their erstwhile colleagues or subordinates.

(vii) **Complicated and cumbersome working of government offices:** It is alleged that the working of certain government departments is complicated, cumbersome and dilatory. This has encouraged the growth of dishonest practices like the system of 'speed money'. In these cases, the bribe giver generally does not wish to get anything done unlawfully, but only wants to expedite the process of movement of files and communications, relating to decisions.

(viii) **Collusion of commercial and industrial magnates, and so on, to serve their individual interests:** It is not always a government servant who takes the initiative in the matter of corruption. Corruption can exist only if there is someone willing to corrupt and is capable of corrupting. Both willingness and capacity to corrupt are found in ample measure in the industrial and commercial classes.

(ix) **Non-cooperation of trade associations and Chamber of Commerce:** Unscrupulous and dishonest members of industrial and commercial classes are major impediments in the purification of public life. It is quite important to fight these unscrupulous agents of corruption so as to eliminate corruption in public services. In fact, they go together. The Trade Association, the State Chambers of Commerce and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce could lend powerful support to the fight against corruption. However, it is not easy to achieve their cooperation.

(x) **Protection given to the public services in India:** There is too much security of tenure accorded to the bureaucracy by requiring that no public servant shall be dismissed or removed by an authority, subordinate to that by which he was appointed. And further, no such person shall be dismissed, or removed, or reduced in rank until he has been given a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken in regard to him.

(xi) **Lack of severe punishment for the offenders:** Anti-corruption laws in India are weak and do not empower the people since there is an absolute lack of penalties for corrupt bureaucrats.

(xii) **Get-rich-quick attitude of the masses:** The attitude of get-rich-quick has crept into the Indian society. This has resulted in several frauds, crimes and corrupt practices, especially among the youth.

(xiii) **Cut-throat competition:** Banks, political parties, companies, educational institutes–all social organizations in India are competing to become the pioneers in their respective fields. Corruption is one of the ways in which such competition is tackled.

(xiv) **Presence of black money:** Black money refers to the amount held illegitimately by an individual, organization or party. Illegal practices such as black marketeering, smuggling of drugs and illegal objects, bribery, and terrorism can lead to the accumulation of black money. The practice of not revealing the actual income for tax evasion also amounts to its amassment. Black money is often deposited in tax havens.

(xv) **System of democracy:** The system of democracy allows for public funds to be used by bureaucrats and public servants for public welfare schemes. The consortiums involved in various schemes interfere with the allocation of these funds.

(xvi) **High cost of elections:** All political parties strive hard to win voters and embark on election campaigning on a massive scale. There have been reports of the voters being bribed with liquor and money.

(xvii) **Meagre salary being paid to government servants:** The public servants are paid very low salaries, and it is not easy to shun the temptation of more funds to increase one's standard of living. This is one of the reasons that corruption is seen as indispensable by government employees.

7.7.4 Measures against Corruption

It is natural that the Indian government has despondently failed to make success in monitoring—let alone eliminating—the danger of corruption from civil life. Since Independence, the government has employed the following tools to eliminate corruption from time to time.

- Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947 (later modified in 1988)
- Commissions of Inquiries under the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952–55
- Appointment of Santhanam Committee to recommend measures for combatting corruption
- Recommendations of the Administrative Reform Commission
- Shah Commission appointed by the Janata Government after the Emergency
- Establishment of the institution of Lokayuktas in states
- Investigations by the CBI under the Delhi Special Police Establishment Act, 1946
- System of judicial review of political corruption
- Recent phenomenon of Public Interest Litigation (PIL)
- Anti-Defection Law
- Election expenditure ceilings
- Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA)

All these tools and acts have failed to make the slightest deterrent for people resorting to corrupt practices. It is time that some radical measures are adopted to check this ever-growing menace.

The strategies frequently suggested at various forums of academic and political discussions, and in various thought-provoking and scholarly writings, fall into a number of areas for action:

- Reorganization of the political system
- Overall re-orientation of the bureaucracy
- Empowerment of citizens and mobilization of the people against corruption
- Creation of continued public force for a change
- Comprehensiveness of the anti-corruption strategies to attack the causes of corruption
- Political will to implement the strategies
- Redefining the role of the state: removal of the state ownership and state discretionary controls
- Re-crafting of the electoral process to include the regulation of legitimate sources of funding of elections, which is one of the basic sources of corruption
- Better institutional framework to deal with corruption and to bring about an effective investigative machinery to bring the errant to book
- Revitalizing and strengthening the existing anti-corruption laws and agencies (e.g., the existing Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947, Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952, Delhi Special Police Establishment Act; strengthening it by a separate and comprehensive CBI Act to vest it with legal powers to investigate

corruption cases of higher-level politicians and officials throughout the country without the requirement of prior consent of the state governments, etc.)

- Strengthening and depoliticizing the existing offices of the Lokayuktas in many states, creating new institutional framework like the Lokpal at the Centre
- Strengthening the autonomy of the Chief Vigilance Commissioner and giving it the power and status of an independent autonomous authority to conduct investigations, and constitution of an Accountability Commission that is free from political control
- Simplifying administrative procedures and enactment of Freedom of Information Act
- Deregulation of monopolies
- Speedy judicial trial in cases of corruption and effective enforcement of punitive judgements
- Establishing an anti-corruption cell in the PMO to be staffed by officials, who have the courage of conviction with a missionary zeal to eradicate corruption, an impeccable integrity and personal honesty, who would have the time bound mandate to get after the most corrupt

7.7.5 Confronting Bureaucratic Corruption

The Indian Government is aware of the problem of corruption in the administrative system. It has adopted various means to check it from time to time. In the pre-Independence era, during the Second World War, the then British colonial government had established a special police force at the central level in 1941. It was called 'The Delhi Special Police Establishment (DPSE)'. Its objective was to monitor the wartime corruption confined to lower or middle-level officials of some departments keenly involved in war supplies and contracts. By enacting the DSPE Act in 1946, this was given a statutory status. As the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) was established in April 1963, the DPSE was merged with this larger anti-corruption police organization. Meanwhile, the government acquired extra-legal powers to punish corrupt public servants with the enactment of 'Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947'. These two instruments, in addition to the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952, were largely considered enough to cope up with the degree and intensity of corruption prevailing at that time. However, with time, the efficiency and efficacy of the CBI has declined, and questions are asked about its impartiality and ability as a probing and a prosecuting agency. The Santhanam Committee Report (1964) and the Administrative Reforms Commission (1967) advocated the creation of the tradition of Lokpal at the Centre and the Lokayuktas in the states in order to probe alleged corruption cases against ministers. While in the last three decades, various state governments have experimented with the Constitution, the abolition and reconstitution of Lokayuktas, the Centre is yet to set up the office of the Lokpal.

An independent Central Vigilance Commission (CVC), created through a government resolution of 11 February 1964, was supposed to tackle high-level corruption in administration. Its tenure changed from a starting six years to three years (1977) and again to five years (1990). This rendered it weaker and vulnerable. The CVC's jurisdiction was extended in 1986 to include the staff and officers of the public sector undertakings. Several ministries and government offices also set up individual vigilance departments and looked into the complaints of corruption in their offices. However, despite many cases of alleged corruption and reports submitted to the legislature, just a few of them have been forwarded for prosecution.

Combatting bureaucratic corruption calls for the following steps:

- Minimizing opportunities and incentives for corrupt behaviour and maximizing the sense of responsibility on the part of civil officials.

- Effectively setting up anti-corruption measures; it would mean that steps should be rationally consistent with regard to the phasing of a time table for speedy probe and conviction; a strong political will to put into practice the strategies and enforcing anti-corruption steps and people's active contribution from below in the implementation of administrative, legal and judicial measures, thus mobilizing the people against corruption in civil life.

A growing number of government officials have realized that corruption is a tool for executing illegal orders and collecting funds for their political masters. Owing to political corruption, the law-enforcing agencies have to protect the very elements whose illegal activities they are expected to monitor. Since the politicians patronize and protect, a frightening triangular nexus has developed between criminals, government officials and politicians. Also, political instability and the progressive reduction in the values of the political system have led to the ruin of the parliamentary system, spoiling of the way the Cabinet functions, ignoring of the Indian Constitution and the rule of law leading to an erosion of values among the civil servants.

It has been lately observed that the society is openly expressing its resentment against corruption by mobilizing itself and participating in rallies, protests, etc. organized by civil society activists. The revolutionary thinking engendered in the society by the likes of Anna Hazare and Arvind Kejriwal has led to the frequent demands for the graft of the anti-corruption bill called the Jan Lokpal Bill. These activists have proposed passing the Jan Lokpal Bill to tackle corruption at all levels of the governmental structure.

7.8 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The Violence Prevention Alliance defines violence as 'the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation'. In everyday life, the kinds of violence that women endure are likely to be different from the kinds that men experience. Men are more likely to experience random violence from strangers out in the streets. Women, on the other hand, are typically violently assaulted by people whom they know. For instance, the United Nations Development Fund for Women or UNIFEM (2007) estimates that worldwide about half of women murder victims are killed by their husbands.

The United Nations defines violence against women as 'any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life' (Economic and Social Council, UN, 1992). This includes physical, sexual and psychological violence such as wife-beating, dowry burning and acid throwing; sexual abuse including rape and incest by family members, female genital mutilation, female foeticide and infanticide; and emotional abuse such as the use of coercion and abusive language. Gender-Based Violence (GBV) is not only a family occurrence generally, but it is often supported or preserved by the state through a number of policies and actions.

Violence against women, both as violent crimes (rape, sexual assault) or as domestic violence (spousal abuse, dowry deaths), which affect women's health, mental health, economic productivity, self-esteem and the welfare and nutrition of her children, are often underestimated or ignored. Any form of violence demolishes a women's self-confidence and is often used as a potent tool of subjugation and disempowerment. The 2005–06 National Family Health Survey (NFHSIII) reported that one-third of women aged 15 to 49 years had experienced physical violence, and approximately one in ten women had been a victim of sexual violence. The survey also found that only one in four abused women had ever sought help and that 54 per cent of women believed it was justified for a husband to beat his wife. A WHO report indicates that in women between the age group of 15–44 years, gender-based violence is the cause for higher number of deaths and disabilities than cancer, malaria, traffic accidents, or war put together.

7.8.1 Types and Causes of Gender-Based Violence

Violence against women is broadly divided into the following categories:

(i) Domestic or family violence

Domestic violence is a serious problem of Indian society. Domestic violence refers to violence against women, especially after marriage. Therefore, it is recognized as a significant barrier in women's empowerment. There are many types of domestic violence. These include physical attacks, sexual assault, emotional abuse, threats, economic hardships and threats of violence.

A majority of violence committed against women occurs within the home. A classic sociological study of violence against wives (Dobash and Dobash, 1979) provided some insight into 'domestic violence'. Now what is usually known as 'family violence,' includes more types of violence, and it tends to obscure the fact that women are much more likely to be harmed (Nazroo, 1999). The analysis of demographic and health survey data from several countries clearly shows that women and girls are more likely to experience violence when they are married at a younger age in adolescence (UNICEF, 2005). The precursors of domestic violence are marital conflict, male control over household wealth and decision-making, poverty and unemployment (Heise, 1998).

Domestic violence is mainly of the following types:

- Foeticide and infanticide
- Spouse abuse/Wife battering

Foeticide and infanticide

Girl children are neglected in society even prior to birth. The development of modern techniques such as amniocentesis and sex discrimination tests has facilitated people to know the sex of the foetus. These have contributed to the female foeticides. According to a study, it has been reflected that among 1,000 foeticides, 995 are those of girl foetuses. In the prosperous cities, there are provisions of sex discrimination tests and the people of upper and middle class are using these tests. This has increased the number of female foeticides.

The Census data of India, 2011 revealed that in the age group 0–6 years, the gender ratio is 914 girls to 1,000 boys. This indicates that for every 1,000 boys, there are at least about 60–70 girls under the age of 6 years who were killed before or within 6 years after birth. This is the lowest gender ratio recorded since India achieved

Independence in 1947. Historically, children are regarded as the property of their parents. A girl is considered as a burden by parents. Since customs bound a woman to move to her husband's place on marriage, the parents did not want to waste their resources on her upbringing. Again, the demand for dowry and the huge wedding expenses caused a lot of hardship to parents. So, male children were preferred, because they would be the receivers of large dowry. These considerations led to the practice of killing the girl child once she was born. Female infanticide continues to be common. Statistics also show that there is still a very high preference for a male child in states like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chennai and Punjab. Incidentally, the male to female ratio is very high in these states.

The earliest efforts to stop female infanticide were made in Kathiawar and Kutch. In 1795, infanticide was declared to be murder by Bengal Regulation XXI. The evil of female infanticide was ended by propaganda and the forceful action on the part of the British Government. Through the efforts of Keshab Chandra Sen, the Native Marriage Act of 1872 was passed, which abolished early marriages, made polygamy an offence, sanctioned widow remarriages and inter-caste marriages. In 1901, the Government of Baroda passed the Infant Marriage Prevention Act. This Act fixed the minimum age for a girl's marriage at 12 years and for a boy's marriage at 16 years. In 1930, the Sarda Act was passed to prevent the solemnization of marriages between boys under the age of 18 years and girls under the age of 14 years. However, even today, the Act remains merely on paper on account of several factors. The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act (PCMA) came into effect on 1 November 2007. According to this Act, any male over 18 years of age entering into a marriage with a minor, or anyone who directs or conducts a child marriage ceremony can be punished with up to two years of imprisonment or a fine.

Wife battering and abuse

Spouse abuse involves an exchange of physical and psychological abuse between husbands and wives. According to Ram Ahuja, author of books on social problems in India, wife battering refers to 'wilfully striking wife by her husband with or without injury'.

Dobash and Dobash acknowledge that women are usually the victims of violence within relationships, and argue that this is the case because we live in a patriarchal society that has traditionally allowed men to treat women as their property. The 2005–06 National Family Health Survey (NFHS III) reported that one out of every three women between the age of 15 and 49 years had undergone physical violence, and at least one in ten had experienced sexual violence. The survey also revealed that only one out of four abused women had ever sought help and that 54 per cent of women considered it legitimate for a husband to beat his wife.

In India, domestic violence is widespread across cultures, religions, classes and ethnicities. The abuse is often allowed by social custom, and regarded as a part and routine of married life. Statistics reveal a grim picture of domestic violence in India. The National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India reports a shocking 71.5 per cent increase in instances of torture and dowry deaths during the period from 1991 to 1995. In 1995, the torture of women constituted 29.25 per cent of all reported crimes against women.

Women are generally victims of the vicious circles of economic dependence, insecurities regarding their children's lives in addition to their own, lack of awareness of their legal rights, absence of self-confidence and excessive social pressures. These

factors effectively leave a woman with no option but to lead a life of mistreatment from which she often does not have the means to escape. The sanctity of privacy within the family also makes it difficult for authorities to intervene. Spouses consider women as their belongings. Husbands consider that this supplementary role allows them the authority to abuse their wives in order to restrict their movement and activities.

A number of studies have concluded that men who were more traditional in their attitude towards women were found to be more violent towards their wives. The data on traditionality and wife abuse reveals that there is a progressive decrease in the percentage of victims from a low level of traditionality to a high level of traditionality. There is also a direct relationship between substance abuse and family violence. Domestic violence is so pervasive that three states have adopted alcohol prohibition laws in response to women's lobbying.

Dependency is also treated as a cause of physical violence in a conjugal relationship. Researchers have utilized this explanation in two ways. In case a wife is completely dependent, both physically and socially, her husband exploits her dependency and uses violence at her to reinforce his dominant position in the conjugal relationship. A few scholars are also of the opinion that when a husband is dependent upon his wife, he resorts to physical violence as a last resort against his wife as he is afraid of losing his spouse or a person on whom he can exert his dominant position. Hence, dependency of a husband over his wife is also treated as a cause of wife abuse.

(ii) Violent crimes

There are several ways in which girls are being killed. These are explained as follows:

Homicidal violence

A 2011 report on a study on homicides carried out by the Indian Council of Medical Research, along with the Harvard School of Public Health, established the abnormally high mortality rate of girls below 5 years of age in India due to exposure to brutal physical extremities at home by their families. The study concluded that girls had 21 per cent higher chances than boys of dying before their fifth birthday, due to violence. Baby girls, who were one year old or younger, had 50 per cent more chances of dying because of violence, than boys of the same age.

Rape

Rape is a humiliating and the most shocking crime against human conscience and morality. This crime is dealt with significant penal laws in every society. Sections 375 to 376(D) of the Indian Penal Code deal with the issue of rape. Section 375 defines the statutory offence of rape. It denotes sexual intercourse with a woman:

(a) Against her will

(b) Without her consent

(c) With her consent obtained by putting her in fear of death or hurt

(d) With her consent when man knows that he is not her husband and consent is given under her misconception of his identity as her husband

(e) With her consent when at the time of giving such consent she is under the influence of unsoundness of mind or administration of some substances to make her give consent

(f) With or without consent when she is under 16 years of age

Rape is not dealt with properly under the current legal system, and the number of rapes appears to be on the rise constantly. The act of rape is a violation against the very spirit of humankind, and is the most abhorrent crime against women. Men need to realize that women have every right to live in the manner they seem fit and that rape, eve teasing and sexual assault are forms of perversion which are extremely shameful and repulsive. In contrast to popular belief, rape is almost never perpetrated for sexual gratification, but rather for sexual subjugation of women.

Dowry

Dowry refers to 'the property, money, ornaments or any other form of wealth which a man or his family receives from his wife or her family at the time of marriage'. The wider definitions of dowry include what a woman's natal family spends on the marriage celebration, the feasting and the gift giving associated with it. The real curse of the dowry system appears to lie with what the leading Indian sociologist M. N. Srinivas has called the new dowry—property or cash demanded or in various forms expected by the groom's family. This often turns out to be a grave burden on those families who have agreed to be trapped into unequal exchanges along hypergamous lines.

The problem of dowry related violence is clearly a thoroughly modern phenomenon. Thus, there is no need to re-write Hindu scriptures, because one cannot undo the past. The Hindu cultural texts are arguing from within the sphere of the *dharma*, and do not endorse cruelty to women for the sake of material possessions, that is, *arth*. Most writings use dowry in at least three senses. The first is in the form of presents, jewellery, household goods and other properties taken by the bride to her new home or given to her during the marriage rituals. These are items to be used by her, or by the couple, as a sort of foundation for the new nuclear household unit.

A second form of dowry may be constituted by what families, particularly the bride's family, conspicuously spend on the occasion of the marriage celebration. In this respect, Srinivas stated ironically that Indian weddings are occasions for conspicuous spending, and this is related to the maintenance of what is believed to be the status of the family. Such expenditure on the marriage benefits the couple indirectly, probably in terms of status rather than in a financial sense directly.

The third type of dowry is property expected or even demanded by the husband, more often by his family, either as a condition for the marriage itself, or at a later stage. There is much scope for these three forms of dowry to become intertwined and mixed up in the minds of writers as well as in social reality.

Under the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, a demand made for dowry is an offence. Section 498 of the Indian Penal Code specifically deals with a situation when coercion is a wilful conduct of the husband or a woman's in-laws of such a nature as is likely to drive the woman to commit suicide or cause grave physical or mental injury to her. The harassment of a woman by her husband or by any relative of her husband with a view to coercing her or any relatives to meet any unlawful demand of property is also dealt with in this section.

Trafficking of women and children

Trafficking in women and children is the most abominable violation of human rights. In its widest sense, it includes the exploitation of girls by pushing them into prostitution, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery and the trade in human organs. In the case of children who have been trafficked or have become victims of

child marriages, it violates their right to education, employment and self-determination. The trafficking and exploitation of women and children results in their being forced to lead a life of indignity, social stigma, debt bondage, combined with a host of health problems including HIV/AIDS.

7.8.2 Measures Pertaining to Violence against Women

Domestic violence in India takes place due to notions of gender bias and inequality. By and large, women are considered to be the 'weaker sex'. Various social and religious taboos have compounded to the unequal status that is extended to women. These inequalities have curtailed the freedom of women, and have created difficult conditions for them to survive. The concern with violence against women is not a recent preoccupation. It has always been a deep-seated problem with roots in the Indian culture. Many researchers have stressed the importance of awareness in combatting the problem of violence. The following are some of the measures that can help in curbing violence against women:

   (i) Enforcement agencies should be instructed in unambiguous terms that enforcement of the rights of the weaker and vulnerable sections including women and children should not be down played for fear of further disturbances or retribution, and adequate preparation should be made to face any such eventuality.

  (ii) The administration and police should play a more proactive role in the detection and investigation of crime against women and ensuring that there is no underreporting.

 (iii) The overall representation of women in police forces should be increased. The representation of women in police at all levels should be increased through affirmative action so that they constitute about 33 per cent of the police

 (iv) Sensitizing the law enforcement machinery towards crime against women by way of well-structured training programmes, meetings and seminars etc., for police personnel at all levels as well as other functionaries of the criminal justice system. Such programmes may be incorporated in the syllabus of various Police Training Academies at all levels.

  (v) For improving general awareness on legislations, mechanisms in place for safety and protection of women, the concerned department of the State Government must, inter-alia, take the following steps:

   (a) Create awareness through print and electronic media

   (b) Develop a community monitoring system to check cases of violence, abuse and exploitation, and take necessary steps to curb the same

   (c) Involving the community at large in creating and spreading such awareness

   (d) Organize legal literacy and legal awareness camps

 (vi) It is important to explore the possibility of associating NGOs working in the area of combatting crime against women. Citizens groups and NGOs should be encouraged to increase awareness about gender issues in the society and help bring to light violence against women and also assist the police in the investigation of crime against women. Close coordination between the police and the NGOs dealing with the interests of women may be ensured.

 (vii) There should be no delay whatsoever in the registration of FIR (First Information Report) in all cases of crime against women.

(viii) All efforts should be made to apprehend all the accused named in the FIR immediately so as to generate confidence in the victims and their family members.

- Cases should be thoroughly investigated and charge sheets against the accused persons should be filed within three months from the date of occurrence of a crime against women, without compromising on the quality of investigation. Speedy investigation should be conducted in heinous crimes like rape. The medical examination of rape victims should be conducted without delay.

- Proper supervisions at appropriate level of cases of crime against women from the recording of FIR to the disposal of the case by the competent court should be ensured.

(xi) Helpline numbers of the crime against women cells should be exhibited prominently in hospitals/schools/colleges premises, and in other suitable places.

(xii) The setting up of exclusive 'Crime Against Women and Children' desk in each police station and the Special Women police cells in the police stations and all women police thana is needed.

(xiii) Concerned departments of the state governments could handle rape victims at all stages from filing a complaint in a police station to undergoing forensic examination and in providing all possible assistance including counselling, legal assistance and rehabilitation. Preferably, these victims may be handled by women so as to provide a certain comfort level to the rape victims.

(xiv) The specialized Sexual Assault Treatment Units could be developed in government hospitals having a large maternity section.

(xv) The Health department of the State Government should set up 'Rape Crisis Centres' (RCCs) and specialized 'Sexual Assault Treatment Units' (SATUs), at appropriate places.

(xvi) Rape Crisis Centres (RCCs) set up by the Health Department could assist rape victims and provide appropriate level of coordination between the police and health department facilities for medical examination to establish forensic evidence, SAT Units and medical facilities to treat after the effects of sexual assault. Hence, these RCCs could act as an interface between the victims and other agencies involved.

(xvii) The administration should also focus on the rehabilitation of the victims and provide all required support. Counselling is required for victim as well as her family to overcome the trauma of the crime. The police should consider empanelling professional counsellors and the counselling should not be done by the police. The effectiveness of schemes developed for the welfare and rehabilitation of women who have been victimized should be improved.

(xviii) For improving the safety conditions on road, the concerned departments of the State Government must take suitable steps to:

(a) Increase the number of beat constables, especially on the sensitive roads

(b) Increase the number of police help booth/kiosks, especially in remote and lonely stretches

(c) Increase police patrolling, especially during the night

(d) Increase the number of women police officers in the mobile police vans

e) Set up telephone booths for easy access to police

f) Install people friendly street lights on all roads, lonely stretches and alleys

(xix) It should be ensured that the street lights are properly and efficiently working on all roads, lonely stretches and alleys.

(xx) The local police should arrange for patrolling in the affected areas and more especially in the locality of the weaker sections of the society. Periodic visits by Superintendent of Police will create a sense of safety and security among these sections of the people.

(xxi) Special steps should be taken for security of women working in night shifts of call centres.

(xxii) Crime prone areas should be identified and a mechanism be put in place to monitor infractions in schools/colleges for ensuring safety and security of female students. Women police officers in adequate number fully equipped with policing infrastructure may be posted in such areas.

(xxiii) Action should be taken at the state level to set up of Fast Track Courts and Family Courts.

(xxiv) Dowry related cases must be adjudicated expeditiously to avoid further harassment of the women.

(xxv) Appointment of Dowry Prohibition Officers is important. The Rules under the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 should be notified.

(xxvi) All police stations may be advised to display the name and other details of Protection Officers of the area appointed under the Domestic Violence Act, 2005.

(xxvii) Police personnel should be trained adequately in special laws dealing with atrocities against women. Enforcement aspect should be emphasized adequately so as to streamline it.

(xxviii) Special steps may also be taken by the police in collaboration with the Health and Family Welfare Department of the State to prevent female foeticide.

(xxix) Special steps should also be taken to curb the 'violation of women's rights by so called honour killings, to prevent forced marriage in some northern states, and other forms of violence'.

(xxx) Ensure follow up of reports of cases of atrocities against women received from various sources, including National Commission for Women and State Commission for Women, with concerned authorities in the state governments.

(xxxi) There are several women helpline numbers such as the following:

- Women's Helpline Number: 181
- Women Police Helpline: (011) 23317004
- Anti Obscene Calls Cell: (011) 27894455

7.9 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Alcoholism, according to Johnson (1973), 'is a condition in which an individual loses control over his alcohol intake in that he is constantly unable to refrain from drinking once he begins.'

- The causes of alcoholism include genetic factors, brain chemical imbalances after long-term alcohol use, frustration, anxiety, and so on.

- The following are some treatment mechanisms for alcoholism: pharmacotherapy for detoxification and relapse prevention; psychosocial interventions to prevent/ delay relapse; and alternative treatments such as yoga and physical training.

- Drug addiction refers to 'a condition characterized by an overwhelming desire to continue taking a drug to which one has become habituated through repeated consumption because it produces a particular effect, usually an alteration of mental status'.

- The following are the most common types of drugs: stimulants, inhalants, cannabinoids, depressants, opioids and morphine derivatives, anabolic steroids, hallucinogens, prescription drugs, and so on.

- The Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985 (NDPS Act), sets out the statutory framework for drug law enforcement in India. This Act consolidates the erstwhile principal Acts, viz., the Opium Act, 1857; the Opium Act, 1878; and the Dangerous Drugs Act, 1930.

- Unemployment promotes poverty and inequalities, lowers social standards, and is a huge loss of manpower resources to the nation. It is a chronic malady in India that deprives able bodied people to work on the current wages.

- Unemployment is a situation wherein able bodied person fail to find a job even though they are willing to work at the prevailing wage rate.

- The kind of unemployment which arises due to imperfections of labour market is known as frictional unemployment. It arises due to the movement of labour from one industry to another or from one place to another.

- When unemployment arises due to the expansion of educational facilities at school and university level, it is known as educated unemployment.

- The following measures are suggested to reduce unemployment:
  o Increase in the rate of economic growth
  o High rate of capital formation
  o More expansion of employment exchange
  o Employment opportunities for women

- The Fear of crime is widespread among people in many Western societies, affecting far more people than the personal experience of crime itself; as such, it constitutes a significant social problem.

- Conflict between reason and instinct is age old in human psyche. If crime is inherent in the social set-up since the beginning of human creation, children negating and deviating are no exception.

- In a developing country like India where the youth comprises a majority of population, it becomes a matter of serious concern to probe into the problem of delinquency.

- Juvenile delinquency has become one of the baffling problems in India. In the trail of rapid changes, especially those of urbanization and industrialization, social and pathological problems like juvenile delinquency have manifested themselves in an alarming manner.

- The prevalence of corruption in civic life is a universal experience, but recently, it has assumed alarming proportions in India.
- The English dictionary defines corruption as 'an inducement to wrong by bribery or other unlawful means: a departure from what is pure and correct'.
- Corruption demoralizes the whole fabric of the social order doomed in illiteracy, poverty and backwardness.
- The following are some of the chief causes of corruption in India: scarcity of resources, conflict of values in our expanding economy, acute poverty, lack of acute public opinion against the evil of corruption, complicated and cumbersome working of government offices, and so on.
- The Santhanam Committee Report (1964) and the Administrative Reforms Commission (1967) advocated the creation of the tradition of Lokpal at the Centre and the Lokayuktas in the states in order to probe alleged corruption cases against ministers.
- The United Nations defines violence against women as 'any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life' (Economic and Social Council, UN, 1992).
- Violence against women, both as violent crimes (rape, sexual assault) or as domestic violence (spousal abuse, dowry deaths), which affect women's health, mental health, economic productivity, self-esteem, and the welfare and nutrition of her children, are often underestimated or ignored.
- Domestic violence refers to violence against women, especially after marriage. Therefore, it is recognized as a significant barrier in women's empowerment.
- Rape is a humiliating and the most shocking crime against human conscience and morality. This crime is dealt with significant penal laws in every society. Sections 375 to 376 (D) of the Indian Penal Code deal with the issue of rape.
- The administration should also focus on the rehabilitation of the victims and provide all required support. Counselling is required for victim as well as her family to overcome the trauma of the crime.
- Crime prone areas should be identified and a mechanism should be put in place to monitor infractions in schools/colleges for ensuring safety and security of female students. Women police officers in adequate number fully equipped with policing infrastructure may be posted in such areas.

7.10 KEY TERMS

- **Alcoholism:** It is a disorder characterized by the excessive consumption of and dependence on alcoholic beverages, leading to physical and psychological harm and impaired social and vocational functioning.
- **Withdrawal symptoms:** It is any physical or psychological disturbance (as sweating or depression) experienced by a drug addict when deprived of the drug.
- **Sensitization:** It is the process of becoming highly sensitive to specific events or situations (especially emotional events or situations).

- **Man-day:** It is an industrial unit of production equal to the work one person can produce in a day.

- **Kickback:** It is a return of a percentage of a sum of money already received, typically as a result of pressure, coercion or a secret agreement.

- **No-confidence motion:** It is a parliamentary motion traditionally put before a parliament by the opposition in the hope of defeating or weakening a government, or, rarely by an erstwhile supporter who has lost confidence in the government.

- **Influence peddling:** It is the practice of using one's influence with persons in authority to obtain favours or preferential treatment for another, usually in return for payment.

- **White-collar crime:** It is a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation.

- **Amniocentesis:** It is a procedure in medicine used to detect genetic abnormalities in the foetus or to determine the sex of the foetus.

- **Honour killing:** It is an ancient tradition still sometimes observed; a male member of the family kills a female relative for tarnishing the family image.

7.11 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The characteristics of youth unrest are based on four important standards. These are as follows:
   a) Public concern
   b) Collective discontent
   c) Change in the existing norms
   d) Activity based on the feelings of injustice

2. The major objective of revolutionary agitation is to bring unexpected extensive changes in the educational and social system.

3. Prominent American sociologist Samuel Andrew Stouffer introduced the relative deprivation theory.

4. Alcoholism, the more serious of the disorders, is a disease that includes symptoms such as the following:
   a) **Craving:** A strong need or urge to drink.
   b) **Loss of control:** Not being able to stop drinking once drinking has begun.
   c) **Physical dependence:** Withdrawal symptoms, such as nausea, sweating, shakiness and anxiety after stopping drinking.
   d) **Tolerance:** The need to drink greater amounts of alcohol to feel the same effect.

5. The following are the factors that expose a person to a higher risk of relapsing even after treatment:
   a) Frustration and anxiety
   b) Societal pressure
   c) Inner temptation

6. One should keep in mind the following points while helping alcoholics and drug abusers:

a) One should always be supportive. This support will help the person become more confident. One has to be deeply invested in the rehabilitation process to affect a major change.

b) One has to be equipped to deal with high-risk situations.

c) While helping someone in the process of de-alcoholism and de-addiction, one needs to consider that change can be a lengthy process.

7. Stimulants are drugs that speed up the body's nervous system and create a feeling of energy. They are also called 'uppers' because of their ability to make you feel very awake. Stimulants have the opposite effect of depressants. When the effects of a stimulant wear off, the user is typically left with feelings of sickness and a loss of energy. Constant use of such drugs can have very negative effects on the user.

8. Cannabinoids are drugs that result in feelings of euphoria, cause confusion and memory problems, anxiety, a higher heart rate, as well as staggering and poor reaction time. These include:

    a) Hashish

    b) Marijuana

9. The basic objective in creating facilities for treatment, at centres run through voluntary organizations, is to ensure that the support of the family and the community is mobilized to the maximum. These centres adopt a wide variety of approaches, systems and methodologies for the treatment and rehabilitation of the addicts suitable and adaptable to the social customs, traditions and culture.

10. Unemployment is defined as a situation wherein able bodied persons fail to find a job even though they are willing to work at the prevailing wage rate.

11. Unemployment in the agriculture sector is termed as agricultural unemployment. It can be attributed to a number of reasons: the farmers can remain employed only for some parts of the year; the farms can no longer employ the available hands; the villages lack subsidiary industries and the vagaries of monsoons and weather conditions increase the rate of agricultural unemployment; and so on.

12. The Government of India should take the following steps to promote women employment:

    a) Residential accommodation for working women on a large scale

    b) Educational and training facilities for working mothers

    c) Availability of crèches for the children of working mother

13. Crime is an act or omission which is punishable under law. It is an act which is believed to be socially harmful to curb, and for which law prescribes certain penalty on the doer.

14. The nature of criminal and non-criminal conduct is determined by social values which the larger defining group considers important.

15. Juvenile delinquency is such conduct by children which is violative of prohibition of the criminal law or is otherwise regarded as deviant and inappropriate in social context.

16. In simple terms, corruption is defined as the behaviour of public officials who deviate from accepted norms in order to serve private ends. In more sophisticated terms, corruption is a form of behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of a public role.

17. The following factors result in corruption and unethical conduct among public servants:

    a) Job scarcity

    b) Insufficient salary

    c) The ever-increasing powers that they enjoy to regulate the states' economy and social affairs

18. Black money refers to the amount held illegitimately by an individual, organization or party. Illegal practices such as black marketeering, smuggling of drugs and illegal objects, bribery, and terrorism can lead to the accumulation of black money.

19. Domestic violence is mainly of the following types:

    a) Feticide and infanticide

    b) Spouse abuse/Wife battering

20. Dowry refers to 'the property, money, ornaments or any other form of wealth which a man or his family receives from his wife or her family at the time of marriage'. The wider definitions of dowry include what a woman's natal family spends on the marriage celebration, the feasting and the gift giving associated with it.

7.12 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What do you understand by alcoholism? Why is it considered chronic?

2. Do all alcohol takers face the same level of risk? How will you classify the types of drinkers?

3. Throw light on the harmful effects that alcoholism can have on an individual.

4. Briefly describe the phenomenon of unemployment.

5. What does political corruption involve?

6. Why is bureaucratic corruption prevalent in India?

7. Why is corruption a recurrent social problem in India?

8. Suggest some ways in which bureaucratic corruption can be tackled.

9. How does Indian law deal with gender violence relating to rape and obscenity?

10. Outline the social issues involved in the trafficking of women.

11. Emphasize the perverse social thinking that leads to wife battering.

12. Briefly describe the various forms of dowry.

13. Write a short note on juvenile delinquency.

14. What are the various measures undertaken for the prevention of delinquency?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Enumerate the causes of alcoholism. Also, comment on the treatment of alcoholics.

2. What is drug addiction? Explain its various causes.

3. Give an account of the government's role in dealing with the problems of drug addiction.

4. 'The problem of unemployment in developing countries is multi-dimensional.' Elaborate this statement in the context of India.

5. Enumerate the several forms of unemployment in India. Also, enlist the causes of unemployment in its various forms.

6. Suggest remedies that can help to handle and reduce the problem of unemployment in India.

7. Enumerate the various forms of political corruption that takes place in India. Also, discuss the steps taken by the Indian government to keep a check on corruption.

8. What does the term 'violence against women' entail? Why are women targeted as the soft victims of violence?

9. What constitutes domestic violence? What are its implications?

10. Critically analyse the measures that can help ensure women's safety.

11. Explain the difference between delinquency and crime. Also, discuss the various causes of delinquency in India.

12. Elaborate on female feticide and infanticide.

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