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**SOCIOLOGY, THEORY AND
CONCEPT**

CONTENT

Chapter 1: The nature of Sociology

Chapter 2: Basic concepts

Chapter 3: Institutions

Chapter 4: The individual and Society

Chapter 5: The use of Sociology

Chapter 6: The structure and composition of Indian Society

Chapter 7: Basic Institutions of Indian society

Chapter 8: Social movement

Chapter 9: Theories of Social Change

Chapter 10: Social Control

Chapter 11: The Emergence of sociology

Chapter 12: Development of Sociological Thought in India

Chapter 1

The nature of Sociology

The meaning of Sociology: Origin, Definition, Scope, Nature and relation of sociology with other social Sciences. Humanistic orientation,

Sociology is the study of human social behavior and its origins, development, organizations, and institutions. It is a social science which uses various methods of empirical investigation and critical to develop a body of knowledge about human social actions, structure and functions. A goal for many sociologists is to conduct research which may be applied directly to social policy and welfare, while others focus primarily on refining the theoretical understanding of social processes. Subject matter ranges from the micro level of individual agency and interaction to the macro level of systems and the social structure.

The traditional focuses of sociology include social stratification, social class, mobility, religion, secularization, law, and deviance. As all spheres of human activity are affected by the interplay between social structure and individual agency, sociology has gradually expanded its focus to further subjects, such as health, medical, military and penal institutions, Internet, environmental, political economy and the role of social activity in the development of scientific.

The range of social scientific methods has also expanded. Social researchers draw upon a variety of qualitative and quantitative techniques. The linguistic and cultural turns of the mid-twentieth century led to increasingly interpretative, hermeneutic, and philosophic approaches to the analysis of society. Conversely, recent decades have seen the rise of new analytically, mathematically and computationally rigorous techniques, such as agent-based modeling and social.

Definition

1 Kingsley Davis says that "Sociology is a general science of society".

2 Harry M. Johnson opines that "sociology is the science that deals with social groups".

3 Emile Durkheim: "Science of social institutions".

4 Park regards sociology as "the science of collective behavior".

5 Small defines sociology as "the science of social relationships".

6 Marshal Jones defines sociology as "the study of man-in-relationship-to-men".

7 Ogburn and Nimkoff : "Sociology is the scientific study of social life".

8 Franklin Henry Giddings defines sociology as "the science of social phenomena".

9 Henry Fairchild: "Sociology is the study of man and his human environment in their relations to each other".

10 Max Weber defines sociology as " the science which attempts the interpretative understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a casual explanation of its course and effects".

11 Alex Inkeles says, "Sociology is the study of systems of social action and of their inter-relations".

12 Kimball Young and Raymond W. Mack say, "Sociology is the scientific study of social aspects of human life".

13 Morris Ginsberg: of the various definitions of sociology the one given by Morris Ginsberg seems to be more satisfactory and comprehensive. He defines sociology in the following way: "In the broadest sense, sociology is the study of human interactions and inter-relations, their conditions and consequences".

Origins

Sociological reasoning predates the foundation of the discipline. Social analysis has origins in the common stock of Western knowledge and philosophy, and has been carried out from as far back as the time of ancient Greek philosopher Plato if not before. The origin of the survey, i.e., the collection of information from a sample of individuals, can be traced back to at least the Domesday Book in 1086, while ancient philosophers such as Confucius wrote on the importance of social roles. There is evidence of early sociology in medieval Islam. Some consider Ibn Khaldun, a 14th-century Arab Islamic scholar from North Africa, to have been the first sociologist; his *Muqaddimah* was perhaps the first work to advance social-scientific reasoning on social cohesion and social conflict. Most sociological concepts were used in English prior to their adoption as the technical language of sociology.

The word sociology (or "sociologie") is derived from both Latin and Greek origins. The Latin word: *socius*, "companion"; the suffix *-logy*, "the study of" from Greek *-λογία* from *λόγος*, *lógos*, "word", "knowledge". It was first coined in 1780 by the French essayist Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès (1748–1836) in an unpublished manuscript. Sociology was later defined independently by the French philosopher of science, Auguste Comte (1798–1857), in 1838. Comte used this term to describe a new way of looking at society. Comte had earlier used the term "social physics", but that had subsequently been appropriated by others, most notably the Belgian statistician Adolphe Quetelet. Comte endeavored to unify history, psychology and economics through the scientific understanding of the social realm. Writing shortly after the malaise of the French Revolution, he proposed that social ills could be remedied through sociological positivism, an epistemological approach outlined in *The Course in Positive Philosophy* [1830–1842] and *A General View of Positivism* (1848). Comte believed a positivist stage would mark the final era, after conjectural theological and metaphysical phases, in the progression of human understanding. In observing the circular dependence of theory and observation in science, and having classified the sciences, Comte may be regarded as the first philosopher of science in the modern sense of the term.

SOCIOLOGY and other SOCIAL SCIENCES:

In today's modern world it is the desire of the practitioners of the social sciences or social scientists as they are called to be clearly distinguished one from the other, instead of being placed into one general

category as suggested by a “Professor Small” in his manifesto entitled “The Relation Between Sociology and the Other Social Sciences”.

An anthropologist would certainly not want to be identified as a Psychologist or vice versa, and since the need for clear distinction exists in respect to titles relative to academic disciplines, then this leads me to answer in the affirmative, the question: is there a clear distinction of sociology from the other social sciences?

To begin discussing this argument one must first ask the question: What is sociology?

Sociology can be defined as, “the systematic study of human society”. More technically, sociology is the analysis of the structure of social relationships as constituted by social interaction, but no definition is entirely satisfactory because of the diversity of perspectives.

Sociology then, is a systematic approach to thinking about, studying and understanding society, human social behaviour and social groups. It is based on the premise that these areas of social life can be better understood through systematic study and observation.

The term sociology was coined in 1838 by French social thinker, Auguste Comte. Comte along with other early pioneers of modern sociology, such as Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and Karl Marx were not known as sociologists then. Weber was a German Economist, Durkheim, a French social theorist and Marx, a German philosopher.

The work of these early pioneers gave rise to sociology, a social science which was distinctly different from the other social sciences of the day, as it focused on analyzing groups that formed society and society as a whole, while the others tended to be individualistic in their approaches.

A brief look at some other social sciences includes:

Anthropology: looks at cultures within society and not the society as a whole

Psychology: takes the individual out of the society to examine mental processes.

Economics: deals with the production and distribution of society’s goods.

Management Studies: evaluates human behaviour in an organizational setting.

Political Science: deals with society’s present and future governments.

Is there a need for a clear distinction of one social science from the others? The answer is yes and is supported by Hoxie, who stated, “the real ground of distinction between modern social sciences is, I take it, the fact that human experience presents to the observer a number of distinct problems. That is to say, human experience is capable of being viewed, and is habitually viewed, from the standpoint of many different interests and presents thus many different aspects”.

Individuals are faced with many different challenges, and the attendant problems see some individuals incapable of effectively dealing with them. According to Hoxie, to one man it is all a matter of ethical relations, to another a struggle for wealth, to a third a process of political institutional development while the fourth may be having struggles with his individuality”. Each individual presents with a different case

and needs a solution. One individual sees suicide as a way out; another uses traditional methods (obeah, prayer, etc) while the others opt to seek professional help. Each individual has a specific problem but the individual who may be contemplating suicide needs more urgent attention. The potential suicide victim could not be referred to the economist but to a social worker, a psychologist or a sociologist.

Sociology differs in key ways from the other social sciences in their approaches to understanding human behaviour. It focuses heavily on the influences of social groups and the wider society, the operative word being society. This social science differs from the others in that it seeks ways and uses methods to improve society as a whole, not just the individual and also to understand how society operates. It looks at the individual in the context of society.

The need exists to find out what is that that sets sociology apart from earlier social thought.

Prior to the birth of sociology, philosophers and theologians mostly focused on imagining the ideal society. None attempted to analyze society as it really was. Pioneers of the discipline such as Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim and Ferdinand Toennies reversed these priorities. Although they were certainly concerned with how human society could be improved, their major goal was to understand how society actually operates.

From the previous paragraph one concludes that sociology, the baby of the social sciences, was birthed with one major goal in mind, the understanding of how society functions from an analytical perspective. It was not enough to just picture what the ideal society should be in the mind's eye.

The social sciences which are comprised of academic disciplines concerned with the study of the social life of human groups and individuals include, anthropology, criminology, economics, history, psychology, geography, political science, communication studies and sociology.

Each academic discipline focuses on a specific area of study of human life, and is meant to benefit individuals and communities within society which would inevitably benefit society as a whole.

Sociologists examine the ways in which social structures and institutions such as class, family, community and power, and social problems such as crime and abuse influence society. Social interaction or the responses of individuals to each other is the basic concept of sociology, because such interaction is the elementary component of all relationships and groups that form human society.

Sociology, though different in its approach, cannot be divorced from the other social sciences as it shares deep ties with a wide array of other disciplines that deal with the study of human society. The fields of economics, psychology and anthropology for instance have influenced and have been influenced by sociology, and these fields share a great amount of history and common research methods.

Sociologists who concentrate on details of particular interactions occurring in everyday life are termed micro-sociologists, while those that are concerned with larger patterns of relationships among major social sectors, such as the state and the economy and even with international relations are called macro-sociologists. Has anyone ever heard of a micro-psychologist or a macro-anthropologist?

In psychology, we study the way the brain functions and how it affects the way people behave, whereas in sociology we study groups of people in communities, be it church, school, prison, to name a few and the

way they are affected by external sources. It can be posited that psychology is more about the individual or small groups and sociology is more concerned with communities and larger groups of persons. The perception of the difference between psychology and sociology is that psychology is optimistic (“believing in a cure”) in that the individual may be helped and may function independently in personal relationships and within the community appropriately. Sociology on the other hand assists individuals and families through the hardships and the crises they face through continuous support as needed or deemed necessary.

Psychology might be perceived as a goal toward independence while sociology might be perceived as the support necessary to sustain families and society. This however does not mean that sociology does not provide programs of support towards independence; it does, as is seen in parenting classes. Sociology, though an independent social science can also be deemed an interdependent discipline as it gives support to and is supported by other social sciences.

Anthropology is the study of humankind in all its aspects, especially human culture and human development.

Both anthropology and psychology differ from sociology, in that they have forensic components that deal with the anatomy and other types of laboratory research. Sociological research methods are diverse and include case studies, interviewing, participant observation, surveys, historical research and statistical analysis with results more often than not portrayed in a statistical format.

One distinct difference between sociology and the other social sciences is, sociology is a discipline that mainly nurtures, and its nurturing has a much stronger influence on human behaviour than, let’s say psychology, which focuses on the nature aspect. Where sociology focuses on an individual’s behaviour in relation to society, psychology places more importance on the genetic framework that influences an individual’s behaviour.

A case in point is Emile Durkheim’s demonstration of how social factors affect human behaviour, in his research done on suicide. Durkheim’s study showed how rates of suicide were based on certain variables in the society. The study concentrated on the variables in the society that were influencing individuals to commit suicide rather than study the individuals themselves.

Sociology takes a broad approach to helping us understand human interactions while other social sciences focus on specific areas. As a discipline, sociology does not focus on certain specific areas of human behaviour as do political science and economics, but rather seeks to explain the broad range of human behaviour as it is influenced by society and human groups.

James Augustus Cotter Morrison wrote, “it is hardly necessary to add that a broad distinction must be made between history and what has been called the philosophy of history, a term now replaced by the far better one “sociology” invented by Comte.

Sociology has the purely scientific aim of investigating the nature and constitution of societies, to discover the laws which regulate their growth and decay, to do in short for them what biology has already done for the animal and vegetable kingdoms. History, while it can never again dispense with the assistance of sociology, remains occupied with the description of the social organism (at a given period)

in its ensemble and the term “descriptive sociology” has been suggested as an improvement for the old one, history.

We may question whether the innovation will be accepted or is needed. The human interest attaching to the story of man’s past fortunes will always provoke the means of his own satisfaction, and there is little that history, the name and the thing, as the highest form of prose literature, will continue to instruct and console mankind to the remotest generations”.

Sociology, as a generalizing social science, is surpassed in its breadth only by anthropology—a discipline that encompasses archaeology, physical anthropology, and linguistics. The broad nature of sociological inquiry causes it to overlap with other social sciences such as economics, political science, psychology, geography, education, and law. Sociology's distinguishing feature is its practice of drawing on a larger societal context to explain social phenomena.

Sociology devotes most of its attention to the collective aspects of human behavior, because sociologists place greater emphasis on the ways external groups influence the behaviour of individuals.

The field of social anthropology has been historically quite close to sociology. Until about the first quarter of the 20th century, the two subjects were usually combined in one department (especially in Britain), differentiated mainly by anthropology's emphasis on the sociology of preliterate peoples. Recently, however, this distinction has faded, as social anthropologists have turned their interests toward the study of modern culture.

Two other social sciences, political science and economics, developed largely from the practical interests of nations. Increasingly, both fields have recognized the utility of sociological concepts and methods. A comparable synergy has also developed with respect to law, education, and religion and even in such contrasting fields as engineering and architecture. All of these fields can benefit from the study of institutions and social interaction.

There are also distinct similarities shared among sociology and the other social sciences.

All social sciences are concerned with human behaviour, relationships and interactions, the methods of study and research (both qualitative and quantitative) are similar across social sciences and most social sciences, (including sociology, psychology, social work, economics an others) are concerned with solving society’s problems.

The social sciences though distinct, are interconnected and share symbiotic relationships. There is no structure of hierarchy, making none subordinate to the other, they all work together to benefit individuals and the societies in which they live.

The Humanistic Orientation

Development of a humanistic orientation at West Georgia was but one expression of fundamental social changes in America which had been gaining momentum for some time. Relative economic and technological success had not brought with it concomitant progress towards the personal or collective experience of fulfillment. The very attitudes which accompanied victory in the battle at the survival level were proving inadequate or inappropriate in discovering means for greater personal and social realization.

Humanistic or "3rd Force" Psychology focused attention on assumptions and methods which promised to move beyond previously limiting conceptions of human potential without, however, denying to those conceptions their value within appropriate contexts. Not antagonistic towards the two dominant forces in psychology - Behaviorism and Psychoanalysis - representatives of the "3rd Force" Psychology rather saw themselves as naturally emerging from them. They took issue only with the limitations built into the assumptions and methods of their parent schools, notably the mechanistic assumptions of human functioning and the limiting vision of scientific methodology which amounted to little more than an attempt to imitate 19th Century physics.

Some consequences of these assumptions and methods - e.g., the great emphasis placed on animal research and on testing, proved wanting when confronted with realities inherent in America's concern with education and business. It was, in fact, in the business and industrial contexts that "3rd Force" Psychology gained much of its early impetus - at such centers as the Sloan Institute (M.I.T.), the Harvard Business School, and the National Training Laboratories.

As an academic research, Humanistic Psychology is not "anti-scientific"; rather, it encourages the scientific approaches to the study of human being which are the most compatible with that unique subject matter. Hence humanistic psychologists view "empiricism" as more fundamental to an exploratory science than "experimentalism" in that the former grounds observations in experience, while the latter gives preeminence to an assumptive methodology. The humanistic emphasis on experience explains its appreciation of phenomenology, a rigorous approach which takes human experience of phenomena as its primary source of data. Likewise, this stress naturally aligns Humanistic Psychology with the arts, humanities, and philosophy. Commentary from these sources upon the nature and state of human being is given credence in Humanistic Psychology, whereas historically, it has been denied essential relevance by Behaviorists and other positivists who viewed experimental psychology as having grown such "pre-scientific subjectivism."

While Humanistic Psychology loosely embraces a very wide range of views, methods, theories, and specialties, Giorgi (1973) suggests that persons moving in a humanistic direction may broadly be characterized as follows: emphasizing fundamental uniqueness of human life; stressing integration of the "whole person"; concerned with the need to balance reductionistic/mechanistic "visions" of life with organism, holistic ones; giving attention to topics such as love, choice, self-realization, fantasy, and creativity - dismissed by other psychologies; aware of intentionality and values as crucial to understanding human action; committed to the development of methods of understanding and expanding human experience; giving attention to the experiencing person and to experience as primary to understanding humans; having concern with the unique, the exceptional, rather than seeking to study only the regular, the universal, the conforming; stressing research based on significance of phenomena studied; dedicated to the exploration of "synergistic" relationships in groups, communities, and institutions; rejecting only those assumptions which restrict enquiry; and holding on to a fundamental commitment to psychology as both art and science.

By "acting its age" and not pretending to be an old and accomplished science, psychology can infuse its methodology with rich, humanistic insights and, as increasingly is the case in programs such as our own, can provoke fruitful research into human potentials for expanded consciousness - e.g., research into altered states of consciousness and expanded capacity for and exercise of individual freedom and choice.

Beyond research, however, Humanistic Psychology reaffirms in all areas of human endeavor a dignity which has been assaulted over the past few centuries, and almost obliterated in recent psychology by an excessive stress on rationalism and determinism. Under dominance of such ultrarationalist positions, the human individual has been seen as reducible to merely an expendable commodity, a predictable laboratory datum, or a controllable social pawn. The philosophy fostering such outcomes is sometimes called "humanism," and B. F. Skinner is an often-quoted representative of that school. Skinnerian "humanism" obviously is quite different philosophically from Humanistic Psychology with which, by name, it sometimes is confused. The latter is represented by the views of, among others, Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, Rollo May, Sidney Jourard, and Victor Frankl.

Reaffirmation of personal uniqueness, of choice, of individual responsibility offers a refreshing new (or, better, rediscovered) point of departure for education and educators. Broad humanistic educational objectives rest firmly on traditional Greek views of opening mind (consciousness). Self-knowledge is considered the basis for all knowledge, where "self," above all, signifies "meaningful." Socratic-like dialogue or its modern psychological counterparts are seen to foster this type of understanding, where teacher and learner are fellow travelers in the learning venture and where deeper personal and collective insight are the ultimate goals. In this venture, the teacher can be the gadfly (recently called the facilitator) whose skills go beyond the simple transfer of data via lecture format towards questioning the fixed assumptive reference point in order to "make room" for broader and deeper experience and insight into the permutations of "reality." Learning is viewed as a shared search for understanding including - but moving well beyond - that needed merely for gaining a trade or for appearing "well-educated." The job situation for the fully-functioning person must be viewed in the larger context of human welfare. Thus, as Dr. Maurice Townsend notes in a 1976 address, change itself must be prepared for. A humanizing education seeks to transcend the narrow specialization needed to perform a task, and humanistic psychologists emphasize the interdisciplinary nature which greater human sensitivity or insight can be fostered. The current term humanistic psychologists use to characterize this insight-centered education is "personal growth."

Chapter 2

Basic concepts

Society, community, Institution, Association, Group, Social structure, status and role, Human and Animal Society.

The Concept of Society

The development of the concept of society From Leon H. Mayhew's article, ". 'society' is frequently used merely to refer to an encompassing network of social relationships that enclose some more specific phenomenon which is the primary object of analysis. . . . It is only when analysis begins to isolate the attributes of the larger whole which we term 'a society' that analytical treatments of the concept begin to emerge.

"Analytical definitions usually treat a society as a relatively independent or self-sufficient population characterized by internal organization, territoriality, cultural distinctiveness, and sexual recruitment.

"It is not surprising that definitions of society are so closely articulated with conceptions of the nature and functions of sociological thought, for from the beginning of the analytical development of the concept, social theorists have found in 'society' a convenient foundation for relating their specific problems to a larger context. . . .

"History of the concept. In the Western world the concept of society as an entity distinct from the state emerged rather late. The age of reason, when philosophers began to search for secular foundations for critical analysis of existing political institutions, was one of the earliest periods when Western thinkers came to view society as something clearly prior to and outside of the state. The vehicle used to establish this differentiation was the social contract doctrine. . . .

The utilitarian conception of society. . . .

he liberal thinkers of the Enlightenment wished to justify secular rational criticism of the state. In developing a critical doctrine, such thinkers as Locke began to distinguish the law of nature from the social contract that had formed the state. For Locke there is a layer of natural order guaranteed by man's interdependence and his sense of the natural rights of all.

"By a similar logic the critical philosophers sought to establish analytical distinctions between society and church and to separate church and state. . . .

". . . The idea of society developed during the Enlightenment was not entirely satisfactory, for the ultimate premises of argument continued to be the same premises from which Hobbes had derived the war of all against all. Enlightenment thought was founded on the concept of reason. The method of reason is analytical reduction; complex wholes must be reduced to their fundamental particles and the whole reassembled by a process of deduction from the laws governing the particles. For society, the particle is the individual, and the law governing particles derives from the most essential quality of individuals, their

natural reason. Each man uses his reason to rationally pursue his chosen ends. . . . The utilitarians could protect their Achilles heel, that is, the problem of conflicting ends, only by arbitrarily postulating such metaphysical concepts as the 'natural identity of interests,' 'natural rights,' and 'the spirit of sociability.'"The more perceptive figures of the Enlightenment -- Hume, for example -- recognized the inner weakness of the utilitarian conception . . .

"Romanticism and organism conceptions. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, and especially in the period after the French Revolution, many social theorists became disillusioned with individual reason and the reductive methods of the analytical philosophers. As the philosophy of romanticism became more influential . . . [society came to be viewed as an organic whole, embodying the practical and profound wisdom of convention and tradition. Being a cumulative organic product, society has an organic unity. Abstract analytical segments cannot be separated from the whole and arbitrarily changed; to do so is to destroy the complex interdependence of the web of social life"The organism conception . . . drew attention to a new element, cultural tradition, as a functionally necessary part of society. The idea of a cultural order as a constituent part of a society was developed further by August Comte in the early nineteenth century. . . . At the same time he refused to derive the larger society from individual reason and the concurrence of interests. Drawing on organism conservatism, he found in cultural tradition the specifically collective factor in society. For Comte, the formation of any society presupposed a system of common opinions about nature and man. The Enlightenment philosophers, by destroying the normative order of the religiously based society, had loosed anarchy upon the world.

"The economic conception of society. . . .

"According to Marx, society exists in the concrete relations between social groups and not in the concepts used by philosophers to summarize these relations. The Geist is a mere analytical construct of the observer. The real foundations of society and the real springs of social development lie in the economic relations between men. . . .

" conception of society starts with the assumption that man's most fundamental problem is to provide for his material needs. To do so, man must cooperate with other men by entering into relations of production. Stable relations of production constitute economic structures. Economic structures are variable, but they generally involve two crucial phenomena: the division of men into classes and the exploitation of one class by another. . . . The state, law, religion, and ideology function to bring temporary stability into inherently unstable situations. Since economic structure is more basic, it can be termed the 'substructure' of society; and the supporting institutions may be termed the 'superstructures' . . . In the theory of substructure and superstructure, we see one of the first and most comprehensive theories of society as an institutional order.

Concepts and Principles Community

Introduction

In social work profession there are three basic methods of working with people (individuals, groups and communities). We have already studied the two methods namely, social casework and social group work. The third basic method is community organization. As we are aware, social casework is aimed at helping

individuals on one- to-one basis and social group work seeks to facilitate the development of individuals through group activities.

Meaning

Before we get to know more about community organisation as a method of social work, let us first understand the meaning of the term we use. The term community organisation has several meanings. It is being often used synonymous to community

Definition

To study and to be able to engage in community organisation practice it is necessary to have a clear definition

Murray G. Ross (1967) defines community organization as a “process by which a community identifies its needs or objectives, gives priority to them, develops confidence and will to work at them, finds resources (internal and external) to deal with them, and in doing so, extends and develops cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community”. In this definition by “process” he meant a movement from identification of a problem or objective to solution of the problem or attainment of the objective in the community. There are other processes for dealing with community problems, but here he called the community organization process as one by which the capacity of the community to function as an integrated unit grows as it deals with one or more community problems. The task of the professional worker in community organization is to help, initiate, nourish, and develop this process. His task is also to make this process conscious, deliberative, and understood. “Community,” in the sense in which it is used here, refers to two major groupings of people. Firstly it may be all the people in a specific geographic area, i.e., a village, a town, a city, a neighborhood, or a district in a city. In the same manner it could Social Work Intervention with Communities and Institutions refer also to all the people in a province or a state, a nation, or in the world. Secondly, it is used to include groups of people who share some common interest or function, such as welfare, agriculture, education, or religion. In this context community organization may be involved in bringing these persons together to develop some awareness of, and feeling for their “community” and to work at common problems arising out of the interest or function they have in common.

The second definition we will discuss here is by Kramer and Speech (1975), which is in more technical terms. They defined that “Community organization refers to various methods of intervention whereby a professional change agent helps a community action system composed of individuals, groups or organizations to engage in planned collective action in order to deal with special problems within the democratic system of values.”

The analysis of both these definitions reveals that they cover the “Need-Resources Adjustment” approach, “the Social Relationships” approach and a combination of the two ideas of meeting needs and development of co-operative attitudes .Community Organization: Concept and Principles The distinguishing features of community organization practice are derived largely from the three dimensions.

(1) The nature of its setting and focus– the community and its problems,

2) from the nature of its goals – enhanced functional capacity of the community and its ability to influence the social welfare policy,

3) From the techniques it employs towards effecting the inter-personal and inter-group relationships of the members of the community . The value orientation of community organization as of all social work methods derives from acceptance of certain basic concepts and principles as a foundation for work with people. Among these are the essential dignity and worth of the individual, the possession by each individual of potentials and resources for managing ones own life. The importance of freedom to express one’s individuality, the capacity for growth within all social beings, the right of the individuate these basic physical necessities (food, shelter r and clothing) without which fulfillment of life is often blocked, the need for the individual to struggle and strive to improve own life and environment, the right of the individual for help in time of need and crisis, the importance of a social organization for which the individual feels responsible are very basic.

Principles of Community Organization

Principles of community organization, in the sense in which the term is used here, are generalized guiding rules for sound practice. Principles are expressions of value judgments. The principles of community organisation, which are being discussed here, are within the frame of reference, and in harmony with the spirit and purpose of social worin a democratic society. We are concerned with the dignity and worth, the freedom, the security, the participation, and the wholesome and abundant life of every individual. This implies practice of following principles of democracy, such as betterment of the marginalized, transparency, honesty, sustainability, self - reliance, partnership s , cooperation , etc .In the literature of community organization we find various sets of principles. Dunham (1958) has presented statement of 28 suggested principles of community organization. He grouped them under seven headings.

i) Democracy and social welfare

ii) Community roots for community programmers,

iii) Citizen understanding, support, and participation a n d professional service ,

i v) Cooperation,

v) Social welfare Programmes ,

vi) Adequacy, distribution, and organisation of social welfare services , and

vi i) Prevent o n .10 Social Work Intervention with Communities and institutions

Ross (1967) outlined specific principles –the elementary or fundamental ideas regarding initiation and continuation of community organization processes. These principles have been discussed in terms of the nature of the organization or association and the role of the professional worker. The twelve principles identified by Ross are

- 1) Discontent with existing conditions in the community must initiate and / or nourish development of the association.
- 2) Discontent must be focused and channeled into organization, planning, and action in respect to specific problems.
- 3) Discontent which initiates or sustains community organization must be widely shared in the community.
- 4) The association must involve leaders (both formal and informal) identified with, and accepted by, major sub-groups in the community.
- 5) The association must have goals and methods and procedures of high acceptability -ty.
- 6) The programmes of the association should include some activities with an emotional content.
- 7) The association should seek to utilize the manifest and latent goodwill which exists in the community.
- 8) The association must develop active and effective lines of communication both within the association and between the association and the community.
- 9) The association should seek to support and strengthen groups which it brings together in cooperative work.
- 10) The association should develop a pace of work in line with existing conditions in the community.
- 11) The association should seek to develop effective leaders.
- 12) The association must develop strength, stability and prestige in the community.

Chapter 3

Institutions

Family and kinship, religion, education, State.

Marriage

Marriage is one of the universal social institutions established to control and regulate the life of mankind. It is closely associated with the institution of family. Infact both the institutions are complementary to each other. It is an institution with different implications in different cultures. Its purposes, functions and forms may differ from society to society but it is present everywhere as an institution. Westermarck in 'History of Human marriage' defines marriage as the more or less durable connection between male and female lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of offspring. According to Malinowski marriage is a contract for the production and maintenance of children. Robert Lowie describes marriage as a relatively permanent bond between permissible mates. For Horton and Hunt marriage is the approved social pattern whereby two or more persons establish a family.

Type of Marriages

Polygyny:

It is a form of marriage in which one man marries more than one woman at a given time. It is of two types --- Sororal polygyny and non sororal polygyny

Sororal polygyny:

It is a type of marriage in which the wives are invariably the sisters. It is often called sororate.

Non-sororal polygyny:

It is a type of marriage in which the wives are not related as sisters.

Polyandry:

It is the marriage of one woman with more than one man. It is less common than polygyny. It is of two types---- Fraternal Polyandry and non fraternal polyandry.

Fraternal polyandry:

When several brothers share the same wife the practice can be called alephic or fraternal polyandry. This practice of being mate, actual or potential to one's husband's brothers is called levirate. It is prevalent among Todas.

Non - fraternal polyandry:

In this type the husband need not have any close relationship prior to the marriage. The wife goes to spend some time with each husband. So long as a woman lives with one of her husbands; the others have no claim over her.

Monogamy:

It is a form of marriage in which one man marries one woman .It is the most common and acceptable form of marriage.

Serial monogamy:

In many societies individuals are permitted to marry again often on the death of the first spouse or after divorce but they cannot have more than one spouse at one and the same time.

Straight monogamy:

In this remarriage is not allowed.

Group Marriage:

It means the marriage of two or more women with two or more men. Here the husbands are common husbands and wives are common wives. Children are regarded as the children of the entire group as a whole.

Hindu Marriage

The Hindu community has been giving great importance for marriage since time immemorial. There are different forms of marriage -

- Brahma Vivaha is where a father marries his daughter to a learned man of good moral character.
- Asura Vivaha is marriage by paying bride price.
- Rakshasa Vivaha is by capture or abduction without obtaining the consent of a girl or her parents.
- Gandharva Vivaha is based on mutual love.
- Prajapatya Vivaha is where no ceremony is performed but the groom is honoured.

Muslim Marriage

In the Muslim community marriage is universal for it discourages celibacy. Muslims call their marriage Nikah. Marriage is regarded not as a religious sacrament but as a secular bond. The bridegroom makes a proposal to the bride just before the wedding ceremony in the presence of two witnesses and a maulavi or kazi. The proposal is called ijab and its acceptance is called qubul. It is necessary that both the proposal and its acceptance must take place at the same meeting to make it a sahi Nikah. It is a matter of tradition among the Muslims to have marriage among equals. Though there is no legal prohibition to contract marriage with a person of low status, such marriages are looked down upon. The run-away marriages called kifa when the girls run away with boys and marry them on their own choice are not recognized.

Marrying idolaters and slaves is also not approved. There is also provision of preferential system in mate selection. The parallel cousins and cross cousins are allowed to get married. Marriage that is held contrary to the Islamic rules is called batil or invalid marriage. Meher or dower is a practice associated with Muslim marriage. It is a sum of money or other property which a wife is entitled to get from her husband in consideration of the marriage. Muta is a special type of marriage for pleasure which is for a specified period only. Iddat is the period of seclusion for three menstrual periods for a woman after the death /divorce by her husband to ascertain whether she is pregnant or not. Only after this period she can remarry. Muslim marriage can be dissolved in the following ways: Divorce as per the Muslim law but without the intervention of the court: They are of two types-Kula where divorce is initiated at the instance of the wife and Mubarat where initiative may come either from the wife or from the husband. Talaq represents one of the ways according to which a Muslim husband can give divorce to his wife as per the Muslim law by repeating the dismissal formula thrice. The talaq may be affected either orally by making some pronouncements or in writing by presenting talaqnama. Divorce as recognized by Shariah Act 1937 provides for three forms of divorce: Illa, Zihar and Lian. There is also provision of divorce as per the Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act 1939.

Kinship

Kinship is the relation by the bond of blood, marriage and includes cindered ones. It represents one of the basic social institutions. Kinship is universal and in most societies plays a significant role in the socialization of individuals and the maintenance of group solidarity. It is very important in primitive societies and extends its influence on almost all their activities. A.R Radcliffe Brown defines kinship as a system of dynamic relations between person and person in a community, the behavior of any two persons in any of these relations being regulated in some way and to a greater or less extent by social usage.

A final and Consanguineous kinship

Relation by the bond of blood is called consanguineous kinship such as parents and their children and between children of same parents. Thus son, daughter, brother, sister, paternal uncle etc are consanguineous kin. Each of these is related through blood. Kinship due to marriage is affinal kinship. New relations are created when marriage takes place. Not only man establishes relationship with the girl and the members of her but also family members of both the man and the woman get bound among

themselves. Kinship includes Agnates (sapindas, sagotras); cognates (from mother's side) and bandhus (atamabandhus, pitrubandhus, and matrubandhus).

Sociological Theories of Religion

The ideas of three early sociological theorists continue to strongly influence the sociology of religion: Durkheim, Weber, and Marx.

Even though none of these three men was particularly religious, the power that religion holds over people and societies interested them all. They believed that religion is essentially an illusion; because culture and location influence religion to such a degree, the idea that religion presents a fundamental truth of existence seemed rather improbable to them. They also speculated that, in time, the appeal and influence of religion on the modern mind would lessen.

Durkheim and functionalism

Emile Durkheim, the founder of functionalism, spent much of his academic career studying religions, especially those of small societies. The totemism, or primitive kinship system of Australian aborigines as an “elementary” form of religion, primarily interested him. This research formed the basis of Durkheim's 1921 book, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, which is certainly the best-known study on the sociology of religion. Durkheim viewed religion within the context of the entire society and acknowledged its place in influencing the thinking and behavior of the members of society.

Durkheim found that people tend to separate religious symbols, objects, and rituals, which are sacred, from the daily symbols, objects, and routines of existence referred to as the profane. Sacred objects are often believed to have divine properties that separate them from profane objects. Even in more-advanced cultures, people still view sacred objects with a sense of reverence and awe, even if they do not believe that the objects have some special power.

Durkheim also argued that religion never concerns only belief, but also encompasses regular rituals and ceremonies on the part of a group of believers, who then develop and strengthen a sense of group solidarity. Rituals are necessary to bind together the members of a religious group, and they allow individuals to escape from the mundane aspects of daily life into higher realms of experience. Sacred rituals and ceremonies are especially important for marking occasions such as births, marriages, times of crisis, and deaths.

Durkheim's theory of religion exemplifies how functionalists examine sociological phenomena. According to Durkheim, people see religion as contributing to the health and continuation of society in general. Thus, religion functions to bind society's members by prompting them to affirm their common values and beliefs on a regular basis.

Durkheim predicted that religion's influence would decrease as society modernizes. He believed that scientific thinking would likely replace religious thinking, with people giving only minimal attention to rituals and ceremonies. He also considered the concept of “God” to be on the verge of extinction. Instead, he envisioned society as promoting civil religion, in which, for example, civic celebrations, parades, and

patriotism take the place of church services. If traditional religion were to continue, however, he believed it would do so only as a means to preserve social cohesion and order.

Weber and social change

Durkheim claimed that his theory applied to religion in general, yet he based his conclusions on a limited set of examples. Max Weber, on the other hand, initiated a large-scale study of religions around the globe. His principal interest was in large, global religions with millions of believers. He conducted in-depth studies of Ancient Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Taoism. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904/1958), Weber examined the impact of Christianity on Western thinking and culture.

The fundamental purpose of Weber's research was to discover religion's impact on social change. For example, in Protestantism, especially the "Protestant Work Ethic," Weber saw the roots of capitalism. In the Eastern religions, Weber saw barriers to capitalism. For example, Hinduism stresses attaining higher levels of spirituality by escaping from the toils of the mundane physical world. Such a perspective does not easily lend itself to making and spending money.

To Weber, Christianity was a salvation religion that claims people can be "saved" when they convert to certain beliefs and moral codes. In Christianity, the idea of "sin" and its atonement by God's grace plays a fundamental role. Unlike the Eastern religions' passive approach, salvation religions like Christianity are active, demanding continuous struggles against sin and the negative aspects of society.

Marx: Conflict theory

Despite his influence on the topic, Karl Marx was not religious and never made a detailed study of religion. Marx's views on the sociology of religion came from 19th century philosophical and theological authors such as Ludwig Feuerbach, who wrote *The Essence of Christianity* (1841). Feuerbach maintained that people do not understand society, so they project their own culturally based norms and values onto separate entities such as gods, spirits, angels, and demons. According to Feuerbach, after humans realize that they have projected their own values onto religion, they can achieve these values in this world rather than in an afterlife.

Marx once declared that religion is the "opium of the people." He viewed religion as teaching people to accept their current lot in life, no matter how bad, while postponing rewards and happiness to some afterlife. Religion, then, prohibits social change by teaching nonresistance to oppression, diverting people's attention away from worldly injustices, justifying inequalities of power and wealth for the privileged, and emphasizing rewards yet to come.

Sociology of Education

Education is a social institution that sociologists are very interested in studying. This includes teaching formal knowledge such as reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as teaching other things such as morals, values, and ethics. Education prepares young people for entry into society and is thus a form of

socialization. Sociologists want to know how this form of socialization affects and is affected by other social structures, experiences, and outcomes.

Sociology of education is a field that focuses on two separate levels of analysis. At a macro-level, sociologists work to identify how various social forces, such as politics, economics, culture, etc., creates variation in schools. In other words, what effects do other social institutions have on the educational system? At a micro-level, sociologists look to identify how variation in school practices lead to differences in individual-level student outcomes. That is, when schools have different teaching methods or have different practices, how does that affect the individual students and what are the individual outcomes?

Example of Sociological Studies on Education

A classic study by sociologist James Coleman done in 1966, known as the “Coleman Report” looked at the performance of over 150,000 students and found that student background and socioeconomic status were much more important in determining educational outcomes than were differences in school resources, such as per pupil spending. He also found that socially disadvantaged black students benefited and did better in school when they were in racially mixed classrooms rather than black only classrooms. This ignited controversy that still continues today.

Major Sociological Theories of Education

Like any other topic in sociology, the three major theoretical perspectives (functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interaction theory) each have different views on education.

The functionalist perspective argues that education serves many important functions in society. First, it socializes children and prepares them for life in society. This is not only done by teaching “book knowledge,” but also teaching the society’s culture, including moral values, ethics, politics, religious beliefs, habits, and norms. Second, education provides occupational training, especially in industrialized societies such as the United States. Unlike in less complex societies or in the United States prior to 1900 when most jobs and training were passed on from father to son, most jobs in the United States today require at least a high school education, and many professions require a college or post-graduate degree. The third function that education serves, according to functionalist theorists, is social control, or the regulation of deviant behavior. By requiring young people to attend school, this keeps them off the streets and out of trouble.

The symbolic interaction view of education focuses on interactions during the schooling process and the outcomes of those interactions. For instance, interactions between students and teachers can create expectations on both parts. The teacher begins to expect certain behaviors from students, which in turn can actually create that very behavior. This is called the “teacher expectancy effect.” For example, if a White teacher expects a black student to perform below average on a math test when compared to White students, over time the teacher may act in ways that encourage the black students to get below average math scores.

Conflict theory looks at the disintegrative and disruptive aspects of education. These theorists argue that education is unequally distributed through society and is used to separate groups (based on class, gender, or race). Educational level is therefore a mechanism for producing and reproducing inequality in our society. Educational level, according to conflict theorists, can also be used as a tool for discrimination, such as when potential employers require certain educational credentials that may or may not be important for the job. It discriminates against minorities, working-class people, and women – those who are often less educated and least likely to have credentials because of discriminatory practices within the educational system.

Chapter 4

The individual and Society

Culture, Socialization, Relation between individual and society.

Socialization

Socialization (or socialization) is a term used by sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists and educationalists to refer to the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs and ideologies, providing an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within his or her own society. Socialization is thus 'the means by which social and cultural continuity are attained.

Socialization describes a process which may lead to desirable, or 'moral', outcomes in the opinion of said society. Individual views on certain issues, such as race or economics, are influenced by the view of the society at large and become a "normal and acceptable outlook or value to have within a society. Many socio-political theories postulate that socialization provides only a partial explanation for human beliefs and behaviors, maintaining that agents are not slates' predetermined by their environment Scientific research provides some evidence that people might be shaped by both social influences and genes. Genetic studies have shown that a person's environment interacts with his or her genotype to influence behavioral outcomes.

Theories

Socialization is the process by which human infants begin to acquire the skills necessary to perform as a functioning member of their society, and is the most influential learning process one can experience. Unlike other living species, whose behavior is biologically set, humans need social experiences to learn their culture and to survive. Although cultural variability manifests in the actions, customs, and behaviors of whole social groups (societies), the most fundamental expression of culture is found at the individual level. This expression can only occur after an individual has been socialized by his or her parents, family, extended family, and extended social networks. This reflexive process of both learning and teaching is how cultural and social characteristics attain continuity. Many scientists say socialization essentially represents the whole process of learning throughout the life course and is a central influence on the behaviour, beliefs, and actions of adults as well as of children

Klaus Hurrelmann

From the late 1980s, sociological and psychological theories have been connected with the term socialization. One example of this connection is the theory of Klaus Hurrelmann. In his book "Social Structure and Personality Development" (Hurrelmann 1989/2009), he develops the "Model of Productive Processing of Reality (PPR)." The core idea is that socialization refers to an individual's personality development. It is the result of the productive processing of interior and exterior realities. Bodily and

mental qualities and traits constitute a person's inner reality; the circumstances of the social and physical environment embody the external reality. Reality processing is productive because human beings actively grapple with their lives and attempt to cope with the attendant developmental tasks. The success of such a process depends on the personal and social resources available. Incorporated within all developmental tasks is the necessity to reconcile personal individuation and social integration and so secure the "I-identity."

Lawrence Kohlberg

Lawrence Kohlberg's (1981) theory of moral development studied moral reasoning (how individual's judge situations as right from wrong) within three stages of young childhood. The first is the pre-conventional stage, where children experience the world in terms of pain and pleasure. Second, the conventional stage appears in the teen years of maturation. Teenagers learn to define right and wrong according to the desires of their parents and begin to conform to cultural norms resulting in a decrease of selfishness. The last stage of moral development is the post-conventional level where people move beyond society's norms and consider abstract ethical principles.

Carol Gilligan

Carol Gilligan compared the moral development of girls and boys in her theory of gender and moral development. She claimed (1982, 1990) that boys have a justice perspective meaning that they rely on formal rules to define right and wrong. Girls, on the other hand, have a care and responsibility perspective where personal relationships are considered when judging a situation. Gilligan also studied the effect of gender on self-esteem. She claimed that society's socialization of females is the reason why girls' self-esteem diminishes as they grow older. Girls struggle to regain their personal strength when moving through adolescence as they have fewer female teachers and most authority figures are men.

Erik H. Erikson

Erik H. Erikson (1902–1994) explained the challenges throughout the life course. The first stage in the life course is infancy, where babies learn trust and mistrust. The second stage is toddlerhood where children around the age of two struggle with the challenge of autonomy versus doubt. In stage three, preschool, children struggle to understand the difference between initiative and guilt. Stage four, pre-adolescence, children learn about industriousness and inferiority. In the fifth stage called adolescence, teenagers experience the challenge of gaining identity versus confusion. The sixth stage, young adulthood, is when young people gain insight to life when dealing with the challenge of intimacy and isolation. In stage seven, or middle adulthood, people experience the challenge of trying to make a difference (versus self-absorption). In the final stage, stage eight or old age, people are still learning about the challenge of integrity and despair.

George Herbert Mead

George Herbert Mead (1863–1931) developed a theory of social behaviorism to explain how social experience develops an individual's self-concept. Mead's central concept is the self: It is composed of self-awareness and self-image. Mead claimed that the self is not there at birth, rather, it is developed with social experience. Since social experience is the exchange of symbols, people tend to find meaning in every action. Seeking meaning leads us to imagine the intention of others. Understanding intention

requires imagining the situation from the others' point of view. In effect, others are a mirror in which we can see ourselves. Charles Horton Cooley (1902-1983) coined the term looking glass self, which means self-image based on how we think others see us. According to Mead the key to developing the self is learning to take the role of the other. With limited social experience, infants can only develop a sense of identity through imitation. Gradually children learn to take the roles of several others. The final stage is the generalized other, which refers to widespread cultural norms and values we use as a reference for evaluating others.

Judith R. Harris

Judith R. Harris (b. 1938) graduated magna cum laude with her masters degree in psychology from Harvard University. She received the George A. Miller Award for her proposed theory of group socialization (GS theory). This theory states that a child's adult personality is determined by childhood and adolescent peer groups outside of the home environment and that "parental behaviors have no effect on the psychological characteristics their children will have as adults." Harris proposes this theory based on behavioral genetics, sociological views of group processes, context-specific learning, and evolutionary theory. While Harris proposed this theory, she attributes the original idea to Eleanor E. Maccoby and John A. Martin both of whom are doctors at Stanford University and wrote the chapter on family socialization found in the fourth edition of the Handbook of Child Psychology. After extensively reviewing the research conducted on parent-child interactions, Maccoby and Martin (1983) state that their findings suggest that parental behavior and the home environment has either no effect on the social development of children, or the effect varies significantly between children. Behavioral genetics suggest that up to fifty percent of the variance in adult personality is due to genetic differences. The environment in which a child is raised accounts for only approximately ten percent in the variance of an adult's personality. As much as twenty percent of the variance is due measurement error This suggests that only a very small part of an adult's personality is influenced by factors parents control (i.e. the home environment). Harris claims that while it's true that siblings don't have identical experiences in the home environment (making it difficult to associate a definite figure to the variance of personality due to home environments), the variance found by current methods is so low that researchers should look elsewhere to try to account for the remaining variance. Harris also states that developing long-term personality characteristics away from the home environment would be evolutionarily beneficial because future success is more likely to depend on interactions with peers than interactions with parents and siblings. Also, because of already existing genetic similarities with parents, developing personalities outside of childhood home environments would further diversify individuals, increasing their evolutionary success

Stages of Socialization

Richard Moreland and John Levine (1982) created a model of group socialization based upon the assumption that individuals and groups change their evaluations and commitments to each other over time. Since these changes happen in all groups, Moreland and Levine speculate that there is a predictable sequence of stages that occur in order for an individual to transition through a group.

Moreland and Levine identify five stages of socialization which mark this transition; investigation, socialization, maintenance, resocialization, and remembrance. During each stage, the individual and the group evaluate each other which leads to an increase or decrease in commitment to socialization. This socialization pushes the individual from prospective, new, full, marginal, and exmember.

Stage 1: Investigation This stage is marked by a cautious search for information. The individual compares groups in order to determine which one will fulfill their needs (reconnaissance), while the group estimates the value of the potential member (recruitment). The end of this stage is marked by entry to the group, whereby the group asks the individual to join and they accept the offer.

Stage 2: Socialization Now that the individual has moved from prospective member to new member, they must accept the group's culture. At this stage, the individual accepts the group's norms, values, and perspectives (assimilation), and the group adapts to fit the new member's needs (accommodation). The acceptance transition point is then reached and the individual becomes a full member. However, this transition can be delayed if the individual or the group reacts negatively. For example, the individual may react cautiously or misinterpret other members' reactions if they believe that they will be treated differently as a new comer.

Stage 3: Maintenance

During this stage, the individual and the group negotiate what contribution is expected of members (role negotiation). While many members remain in this stage until the end of their membership, some individuals are not satisfied with their role in the group or fail to meet the group's expectations (divergence).

Stage 4: Resocialization –

If the divergence point is reached, the former full member takes on the role of a marginal member and must be resocialized. There are two possible outcomes of resocialization: differences are resolved and the individual becomes a full member again (convergence), or the group expels the individual or the individual decides to leave

Stage 5: Remembrance

In this stage, former members reminisce about their memories of the group, and make sense of their recent departure. If the group reaches a consensus on their reasons for departure, conclusions about the overall experience of the group become part of the group's tradition.

Types

Primary socialisation

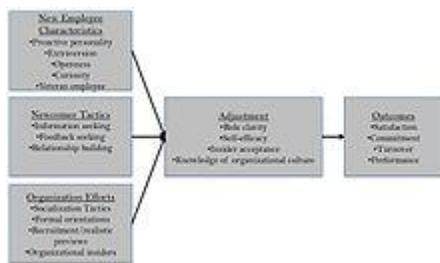
Primary socialization for a child is very important because it sets the ground work for all future socialization. Primary Socialization occurs when a child learns the attitudes, values, and actions appropriate to individuals as members of a particular culture. It is mainly influenced by the immediate family and friends. For example if a child saw his/her mother expressing a discriminatory opinion about a minority group, then that child may think this behavior is acceptable and could continue to have this opinion about minority groups.

Secondary socialization Secondary socialization refers to the process of learning what is the appropriate behavior as a member of a smaller group within the larger society. Basically, it is the behavioral patterns reinforced by socializing agents of society. Secondary socialization takes place outside the home. It is where children and adults learn how to act in a way that is appropriate for the situations they are in. Schools require very different behavior from the home, and Children must act according to new rules. New teachers have to act in a way that is different from pupils and learn the new rules from people around them. Secondary Socialization is usually associated with teenagers and adults, and involves smaller changes than those occurring in primary socialization. Such examples of Secondary Socialization are entering a new profession or relocating to a new environment or society.

Anticipatory socialization Anticipatory socialization refers to the processes of socialization in which a person "rehearses" for future positions, occupations, and social relationships. For example, a couple might move in together before getting married in order to try out, or anticipate, what living together will be like. Research by Kenneth J. Levine and Cynthia A. Hoffner suggests that parents are the main source of anticipatory socialization in regards to jobs and careers

Re-socialization Re-socialization refers to the process of discarding former behavior patterns and reflexes, accepting new ones as part of a transition in one's life. This occurs throughout the human life cycle. Re-socialization can be an intense experience, with the individual experiencing a sharp break with his or her past, as well as a need to learn and be exposed to radically different norms and values. One common example involves re-socialization through a total institution, or "a setting in which people are isolated from the rest of society and manipulated by an administrative staff". Re-socialization via total institutions involves a two step process: 1) the staff work to root out a new inmate's individual identity & 2) the staff attempt to create for the inmate a new identity. Other examples of this are the experience of a young man or woman leaving home to join the military, or a religious convert internalizing the beliefs and rituals of a new faith. An extreme example would be the process by which a transsexual learns to function socially in a dramatically altered gender role.

Organizational socialization



Organizational Socialization Chart

Organizational socialization is the process whereby an employee learns the knowledge and skills necessary to assume his or her organizational role. As newcomers become socialized, they learn about the organization and its history, values, jargon, culture, and procedures. This acquired knowledge about new employees' future work environment affects the way they are able to apply their skills and abilities to their

jobs. How actively engaged the employees are in pursuing knowledge affects their socialization process. They also learn about their work group, the specific people they work with on a daily basis, their own role in the organization, the skills needed to do their job, and both formal procedures and informal norms. Socialization functions as a control system in that newcomers learn to internalize and obey organizational values and practices.

Group socialization Group socialization is the theory that an individual's peer groups, rather than parental figures, influences his or her personality and behavior in adulthood. Adolescents spend more time with peers than with parents. Therefore, peer groups have stronger correlations with personality development than parental figures do. For example, twin brothers, whose genetic makeup are identical, will differ in personality because they have different groups of friends, not necessarily because their parents raised them differently.

Entering high school is a crucial moment in many adolescent's lifespan involving the branching off from the restraints of their parents. When dealing with new life challenges, adolescents take comfort in discussing these issues within their peer groups instead of their parents. Peter Grier, staff writer of the Christian Science Monitor describes this occurrence as, "Call it the benign side of peer pressure. Today's high-schoolers operate in groups that play the role of nag and nanny-in ways that are both beneficial and isolating."

Gender socialization Henslin (1999:76) contends that "an important part of socialization is the learning of culturally defined gender roles." Gender socialization refers to the learning of behavior and attitudes considered appropriate for a given sex. Boys learn to be boys and girls learn to be girls. This "learning" happens by way of many different agents of socialization. The family is certainly important in reinforcing gender roles, but so are one's friends, school, work and the mass media. Gender roles are reinforced through "countless subtle and not so subtle ways"

As parents are present in a child's life from the beginning, their influence in a child's early socialization is very important, especially in regards to gender roles. Sociologists have identified four ways in which parents socialize gender roles in their children: Shaping gender related attributes through toys and activities, differing their interaction with children based on the sex of the child, serving as primary gender models, and communicating gender ideals and expectations

Racial socialization Racial socialization has been defined as "the developmental processes by which children acquire the behaviors, perceptions, values, and attitudes of an ethnic group, and come to see themselves and others as members of the group". The existing literature conceptualizes racial socialization as having multiple dimensions. Researchers have identified five dimensions that commonly appear in the racial socialization literature: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, egalitarianism, and other. Cultural socialization refers to parenting practices that teach children about their racial history or heritage and is sometimes referred to as pride development. Preparation for bias refers to parenting practices focused on preparing children to be aware of, and cope with, discrimination. Promotion of mistrust refers to the parenting practices of socializing children to be wary of people from other races. Egalitarianism refers to socializing children with the belief that all people are equal and should be treated with a common humanity.[33]

Planned socialization Planned socialization occurs when other people take actions designed to teach or train others—from infancy on.

Natural Socialization Natural socialization occurs when infants and youngsters explore, play and discover the social world around them. Natural socialization is easily seen when looking at the young of almost any mammalian species (and some birds). Planned socialization is mostly a human phenomenon; and all through history, people have been making plans for teaching or training others. Both natural and planned socialization can have good and bad features: It is wise to learn the best features of both natural and planned socialization and weave them into our lives.

Positive socialization Positive socialization is the type of social learning that is based on pleasurable and exciting experiences. We tend to like the people who fill our social learning processes with positive motivation, loving care, and rewarding opportunities

Negative socialization Negative socialization occurs when others use punishment, harsh criticisms or anger to try to "teach us a lesson;" and often we come to dislike both negative socialization and the people who impose it on us There are all types of mixes of positive and negative socialization; and the more positive social learning experiences we have, the happier we tend to be—especially if we learn useful information that helps us cope well with the challenges of life. A high ratio of negative to positive socialization can make a person unhappy, defeated or pessimistic about life

Social institutions

In the social sciences, institutions are the structures and mechanisms of social order and cooperation governing the behavior of a set of individuals within a given human collectivity. Institutions are identified with a social purpose and permanence, transcending individual human lives and intentions, and with the making and enforcing of rules governing cooperative human behavior Types of institution include:

- **The Family** The family is the most important agent of socialization because it is the center of the child's life, as infants are totally dependent on others. Not all socialization are intentional, it depends on the surrounding. The most profound affect is gender socialization, however the family also shoulders the task of teaching children cultural values and attitudes about themselves and others. Children learn continuously from the environment that adults create. Children also become aware of class at a very early age and assign different values to each class accordingly
- **Religion** Agents of socialization differ in effects across religious traditions. Some believe religion is like an ethnic or cultural category, making it less likely for the individuals to break from religious affiliations and be more socialized in this setting. Parental religious participation is the most influential part of religious socialization—more so than religious peers or religious beliefs.
- **Peer group** A peer group is a social group whose members have interests, social positions and age in common. This is where children can escape supervision and learn to form relationships on their own. The influence of the peer group typically peaks during adolescence however peer groups generally only affect short term interests unlike the family which has long term influence.
- **Economic systems** Socialization within an economic system is the process of learning the consequences of economic decisions. Socialization impacts decisions regarding "acceptable alternatives

for consumption," "social values of consumption alternatives," the "establishment of dominant values," and "the nature of involvement in consumption". Unfortunately, one and the same word, Socialization, in this context is used to describe counterposed phenomena: the growing centralization and interdependence of capitalist society under the control of an elite; and the possibility of a democratic, bottom-up control by the majority. Thus, "socialization" describes two very different ways in which society can become more social: under capitalism, there is a trend toward a growing centralization and planning that is eventually global, but takes place from the top down; under socialism, that process is subjected to democratic control from below by the people and their communities.

- Legal systems Children are pressured from both parents and peers to conform and obey certain laws or norms of the group/community. Parents' attitudes toward legal systems influence children's views as to what is legally acceptable.[For example, children whose parents are continually in jail are more accepting of incarceration.

- Penal systems: The penal systems act as an agent of socialization upon prisoners and the guards. Prison is a separate environment from that of normal society; prisoners and guards form their own communities and create their own social norms. Guards serve as "social control agents" who discipline and provide security. From the view of the prisoners, the communities can be oppressive and domineering, causing feelings of defiance and contempt towards the guards Because of the change in societies, prisoners experience loneliness, a lack of emotional relationships, a decrease in identity and "lack of security and autonomy".Both the inmates and the guards feel tense, fearful, and defensive, which creates an uneasy atmosphere within the community

- Language People learn to socialize differently depending on the specific language and culture in which they live. A specific example of this is code switching. This is where immigrant children learn to behave in accordance with the languages used in their lives: separate languages at home and in peer groups (mainly in educational settings). Depending on the language and situation at any given time, people will socialize differently

- Mass media The mass media are the means for delivering impersonal communications directed to a vast audience. The term media comes from Latin meaning, "middle," suggesting that the media's function is to connect people. Since mass media has enormous effects on our attitudes and behavior, notably in regards to aggression, it is an important contributor to the socialization process. Some sociologists and theorists of culture have recognized the power of mass communication as a socialization device.

- Denis McQuail recognizes the argument:

... the media can teach norms and values by way of symbolic reward and punishment for different kinds of behavior as represented in the media. An alternative view is that it is a learning process whereby we all learn how to behave in certain situations and the expectations which go with a given role or status in society.

McQuail 2005: 494)

Chapter 5

The use of Sociology

Introduction.

Introduction to applied sociology-Sociology and social problems, Ecology and Environment: Pollution, Global warming and Green house effect, Impact of Industrialization and Urbanization on Environment.

What is applied sociology?

A brief introduction on applied sociology

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The aim of this paper is to broadly sketch what it means to be working as an applied sociologist. I begin with a general introduction into the discipline of sociology, before providing a definition of its applied branch. I then provide a concise background history of the different practices that might be considered under the rubric of ‘applied sociology’. Lastly, I present an outline of the professional skills that a degree in sociology can offer its graduates.

My discussion on applied sociology refers to those professionals who use the principles of sociology outside a university setting in order to provide their clients with an in-depth understanding of some specific facet of society that requires information gathering and analysis. Applied sociologists work in various industries, including private business, government agencies and not-for-profit organisations. The work of applied sociologists is especially concerned with changing the current state of social life for the better. This can include anything from increasing the health and wellbeing of a disadvantaged community group; working with law enforcement organisations to implement a rehabilitation program for criminal offenders; assisting in planning for natural disasters; and enhancing existing government programs and policies. I will show that a degree in sociology has several career benefits, but I specifically focus on the strong communication, research and interpersonal skills that prove advantageous to sociology graduates looking for work. I argue that applied sociology can help to improve any professional sector that might benefit from a critical evaluation of how a particular social issue, group or organisation works.

A definition of applied sociology

in a very general sense, sociology can be defined as the study of ‘the bases of social membership’ (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner 2000: 333). That is, sociology is the study of what it means to be a member of a particular society, and it involves the critical analysis of the different types of social connections and social structures that constitute a society. This includes questions about how and why different groups are formed and the various meanings attached to different modes of social interaction, such as between individuals or social networks; face to face versus online communications; local and

global discourses, and so on. Sociology also encompasses the study of the social institutions that shape social action. A social institution is a complex, but distinctive, sub-system of society that regulates human conduct (Berger 1963: 87). For example, the media acts as a social institution that can influence the way in which ‘facts’ are represented and interpreted; the law and politics impact on the ways in which different cultural groups define what is deemed ‘right’ and ‘moral’; the institutions of economy and education affect social status (that is, wealth and inequality among individuals); and the institution of family shapes our ideas about partnership, work, gender, sex, childrearing, and our bodies, as well as various other aspects of our lives.

Sociology can therefore be used to study all the social experiences that human beings are capable of imagining – from practices of childbirth, to the use technologies, to our attitudes and rituals regarding death – and everything else in between. People usually understand their problems in reference to their own personal life story and they are not always aware of the complex links between their own lives and the rest of the world’s history (Mills 1959: 5). The ‘sociological imagination’ helps us to make sense of the connections between history, biography and place (Mills 1959: 6). Sociology allows us to study individual behaviour in a broader context, to take into consideration how societal forces might impact upon individuals, as well as the ways in which individuals construct the world around them, and how they manage to resist existing power relationships in order to achieve social change. In this light, sociology represents ‘a transformation of consciousness’ (Berger 1963: 21). Sociology questions taken-for-granted assumptions about the world we live in (what we see as ‘familiar’ and ‘normal’ within the context of our everyday lives), and it provides a new and more critical perspective of the world, through the use of scientific theories, concepts and empirical evidence.

Sociology is often perceived as an academic profession, but there are many places outside of universities where sociology can be used to enhance personal and professional development. Applied sociology is a term that describes practitioners who use sociological theories and methods outside of academic settings with the aim to ‘produce positive social change through active intervention’ (Bruhn 1999: 1). More specifically, applied sociology might be seen as the translation of sociological theory into practice for specific clients. That is, this term describes the use of sociological knowledge in answering research questions or problems as defined by specific interest groups, rather than the researcher (Steele and Price 2007: 4). Applied research is sometimes conducted within a multidisciplinary environment and in collaboration with different organisations, including community services, activist groups and sometimes in partnership with universities. Some applied sociologists may not explicitly use sociological theories or methods in their work, but they may use their sociological training more broadly to inform their work and their thinking.

I will now go on to provide a broad overview of the history of applied sociology, including some of the professional roles that sociologists have traditionally taken on, and the variations of sociological practices that exist today.

Social Problems

Introduction

The term “social problem” is usually taken to refer to social conditions that disrupt or damage society—crime, racism, and the like. “Social Problems” is the title of an undergraduate course taught at many

colleges; a typical course discusses what is known about a series of conditions considered social problems. In contrast, the sociology of social problems defines social problem differently and adopts a different analytic approach. This approach—sometimes called constructionist—defines social problem in terms of a process, rather than a type of condition. It focuses on how and why people come to understand that some condition ought to be viewed as a social problem, that is, how they socially construct social problems. Typically, the social problems process begins with claimsmakers who make claims that some condition ought to be considered a problem, that this problem should be understood in particular ways, and that it needs to be addressed. Other people respond to those claims and rework them, so that the social problem is constructed and reconstructed by the media, the general public, policymakers, the social-problems workers who implement policy, and critics to assess the policy's effectiveness. The process is complex: some claims produce a speedy reaction, while others have difficulty finding an audience. The constructionist approach began to guide researchers in the 1970s and has generated a substantial literature that continues to develop in new directions.

3. URBANIZATION AND ENVIRONMENT

The effect of urbanization on nature

Complexity of environmental problems

Probably most of the major environmental problems of the next century will result from the continuation and sharpening of existing problems that currently do not receive enough political attention. The problems are not necessarily noticed in many countries or then nothing is done even the situation has been detected. The most emerging issues are climate changes, freshwater scarcity, deforestation, fresh water pollution and population growth.

These problems are very complex and their interactions are hard to define. It is very important to examine problems through the social-economic-cultural system. Even the interconnections between environmental problems are now better known, we still lack exact information on how the issues are linked, on what degree they interact and what are the most effective measures. One problem is to integrate land- and water use planning to provide food and water security (UNEP 1999).

Overpopulation

The major cause of most environmental problems is the rapidly growing human population. About 90 million babies are born each year. At this rate, by the year 2050, global population will reach 10 billion. The current world population is on average very young and has many years of reproductive life ahead. Because of this the population will grow even the fertility rate seems to decrease. The population growth takes mostly place in developing countries. These countries are in charge of 90 per cent of current population growth. It has been estimated that by the year 2025 even 84 per cent of the world's people will live in developing regions (ENCARTA 2001).

Growing demand for food and facilities

Due to the growing population, demands for water, food, housing, heat, energy, clothing, and consume goods are increasing alarmingly. Rapid population growth not only lessens available calorie supply from food per person but also risks the present food production with pollution. Increasing demand forces

farmers to exhaust the soil or to use marginal land. The only way to produce food to all this population is to create more effective agricultural production. Irrigation is the most important way, because in the future the arable land is not increasing, probably decreasing, due to erosion and land deterioration (ENCARTA 2001, Brookfield and Byron 1993). At this moment world's population is 6 billion people. The urbanization is about 50 per cent which means that half of the population is living in the urban areas and the other half in the rural areas. This means that the other half of the population, in rural areas, has to produce the food to the population in urban areas. Most of the population growth takes place in urban areas, which means more pressure to the rural people to produce food for the growing amount of urban people (Varis 1998, Vakkilainen and Varis 1999). Growing urbanization means more consumption and need of different products. The production of these needs water and creates more pollutants. In developing countries where the urbanization is occurring most rapidly the technology is not high enough to take responsibility of water treatment and clean production. Many Western companies produce their products in developing countries because of more flexible environmental law and cheaper production costs. This puts extra pressure on the environment of the developing countries (Varis 1998, Vakkilainen and Varis 1999).

Problems to food production

Plants need water, solar energy and nutrients to grow. Humans can only change few things to help plants to produce more, the amount of water and fertilizer. In the areas where these are needed there is also often uncertainty of water supply and lacking of capital for fertilizers. Water and food availability is closely linked together because of the enormous need of green water. For example, each ton of grain needs 1000 tons of water for successful growth (Allan 1997, Varis 1997b). The quality of water is often threatened in poor areas due to domestic and industrial wastes. Agriculture as well produces numerous side effects to water resources, including erosion, leaching of nutrients, accumulation and wash off of pesticides and heavy metals, increased salinity due to evaporation losses and spreading of various diseases such as schistosomiasis and malaria (Vakkilainen and Varis 1999, Varis 1997b). Until now the increasing of the fertilizers have helped to produce bigger yields. The population growth is nowadays so fast that increasing use of fertilizers is not enough. The next step in producing more food will be different crops and irrigation methods, like drip irrigation and water saver plants (Vakkilainen and Varis 1999, Varis 1997b).

Pollutants to air, soil and water

Even the industrialized countries, with higher standards of living and greater numbers of cars, produce far more air pollution and greenhouse gases than developing countries, they can reduce environmental hazards by using technology such as smokestack scrubbers, emission systems, and wastewater treatment plants. Developing countries do not have this new technology or capacity to do so. The consumption is far lower but the expensive energy-efficient or clean-up technologies are economically impractical for these countries. For these reasons environmental problems occur more often in developed countries (ENCARTA 2001).

Air pollutants

In many cities the air is already so polluted that it has been causing illnesses and premature deaths among elderly people and children. Studies show that disease rate rises when the air pollution level increases. Air

pollutants are also harmful for water and environment, for example, by causing acid precipitation and acidity of waters. Most of the ambient air-pollution in urban areas comes from the fossil fuels industry, motor vehicles, heating and electricity generation. In some cities the main air polluter is the domestic heating. Many people heat their houses with firewood and cheap coal. This kind of heating method will decrease in the future. Although, new heating methods can be even worse polluters. Instead of carbon dioxide the emissions can include various toxic and carcinogenic chemicals, heavy metals, trace organic chemicals and fibers, photochemical pollutants, lead and carbon monoxide, which are much more harmful to human health (HABITAT 1996).

Traffic

Almost all cities have changed to motorized road vehicles, which has increased the use of fossil fuels and increased greenhouse-gas emissions. This explosive growth in the number of road vehicles is a big problem in many cities. Many city centers have major difficulties trying to cope with the chaotic automobile traffic. The traffic jams are extremely bad in many cities and transport traffic in the city area at least during the rush-hours is really slow. The pollution is high due to constant traffic and causes respiratory diseases to city habitants (HABITAT 1996). Failed or non-existing urban planning is the main reason for these traffic problems. Rapid population growth has surprised the capabilities of many cities. Many urban plans have failed in practice because they have been over-ambitious considering the capabilities. The reasons for this kind of failure include the lack of proper legal and administrative framework, inadequate technical skills and financial resources (HABITAT 1996).

Water pollutants

The lack of sanitation and sewage treatment is the biggest factor regarding water pollution. Local water bodies are used as a dumping ground for untreated water from urban areas or industries. Chemical discharge is also a widespread problem. For example, in Bangkok, 90 per cent of industrial wastes, including hazardous chemicals, are discharged without treatment. On a positive note, many countries have introduced legislation to combat the problem (UNEP 1999). Many rivers in developing countries are more like open sewers than rivers. Most of the centers in these regions do not have drains or even service to collect the garbage. Fisheries are often damaged and destroyed by liquid effluents from city-based industries. Thousands of people may lose their livelihood, because of a large city situated close to the world's productive fishing regions. The cities that are close to the coast often dump untreated sewage to the sea. Most of the coastal cities have serious problems with dirty, contaminated beaches and water which is a serious health risk to the bathers and for the whole city (HABITAT 1996).

Solid wastes

Solid waste management means proper collection, transfer, recycling and disposal of solid wastes. In many cities the solid waste disposal is inefficient or non-existing. Even more problematic than household wastes are the industrial, hospital and institutional wastes, which often contains hazardous and toxic chemicals, not to mention viruses and bacteria. These chemicals need special care when changing, storing, transposing and disposing them. Still they are allowed to go directly the water bodies from where they can contaminate the whole water cycle. The disposal of the solid wastes is often similar than with the liquid ones. They end up to the illegal dump on streets, open spaces, wastelands, drains or rivers. Sometimes they are collected to the land sites but the protection of water bodies and groundwater is not

active (HABITAT 1996, Ogu 2000). If solid wastes are left in the open spaces, wasteland and streets serious environmental problems will follow. With the rainwater much of this waste ends up swept into water bodies. This can lead to the pollution of ground- and surface waters because of leaching. Solid wastes are sometimes used for landfill but decomposed solid waste can similarly pollute groundwater through seepage, particularly in humid tropics. This can have enormous health impacts in developing countries where the use of well water as drinking water is common. The garbage combustion creates yet another environmental problem. People want to get rid of the wastes and they burn them in their backyards. The gases produced by burning can cause different respiratory diseases. Uncollected waste spoils also the aesthetic outlook of the city (Kasarda and Parnell 1993, HABITAT 1996, Ogu 2000). The volume of per capita of waste is increasing with the income level due to higher consumption. This is a big problem in rapidly growing cities where it is really hard to keep up with the waste production. In the big cities the daily amount of waste can be enormous and hard to handle. In the lower-income countries the amount of waste is not so big but the problems have more to do with the collection system

Noise

In the urban environment there are many sources of noise. The most serious sources are aircrafts, industrial operations, highway traffic and construction activities. Current noise levels harm hundreds of millions people and create serious health treats to tens of millions. Sleep disturbance, loss of hearing, stress, poorer work performance and increased anxiety are effects from noise. The noise levels that the inhabitants have to suffer, varies between cities and also between different areas in the city. Especially in every mega-city people are under constant stress from noise, which has harmful effects on their health and level of living (HABITAT 1996).

Water Resources and urbanization

Water resources

The water resources on the earth are locally insufficient because water is not geographically equally divided and seasonal changes are extensive. Some parts of the world's water resources are inaccessible and cannot be used. In places where the lack of water is most severe the needed water rains so intensively and such a short period during the rainy season to the ground that it will flood and cannot be stored. Heavy rain also fastens the erosion. Engineers are trying to do their best to level the uneven distribution by controlling even greater portion of nature's water cycle. Dams, water reservoirs and pipelines are also one way to store water for food production, industrial output, and urbanization (Postel 1992). Already 20 per cent of the world's population fall short of access to safe drinking water. This situation is set to worsen dramatically. If current trend holds, per capita water supplies worldwide will drop by more than a third by 2025. This means that 67 per cent of people will live in a waterstressed condition. The problem is most acute in Africa and West Asia. In Africa, 14 countries already experience water stress or water shortage. Another 11 countries will join that list in the next 25 years (Somlyódy et al. 2001, Postel 1992).

Access to water

Even if there would be enough water for world population in the earth, it is not always sure that people can reach those supplies. The most important to the habitants are access to water, the price, quality and

quantity of water. Even the people have an access to the piped water supplies it does not obviously mean that the water is pure, not contaminated and regular. Also the quantity of water available to the household and the price that has to be paid, can be even more important to a families' health than the quality of the water (HABITAT 1996). If the area has a piped water service the service is not often regular. In many areas tap water is working only every other day or twice a week. If the area has piped water it means that water is piped to a housing unit or public standpipe is as close as 200 meters. In many areas, for example, in West Africa water has to be carried from wells and pipes from backyard or further. Women or children are normally responsible of fetching the water. Carrying water for long distances needs a lot of physical effort and takes time. For example, if the water consumption of family water is 40 liters, which means 4 full buckets of water, the total weight of the carried daily water is 40 kilograms (Kasarda and Parnell 1993, Harday et.al. 2001). If people do not have an access to the water supply (public standpipes, yard taps, protected dug wells or bore holes/hand pumps), they usually rely on one of two sources; water from the wells, streams or other sources which are often very contaminated; or water purchased from the vendors where quality is not either guaranteed. Often the price that these vendors are asking from the water is 4 to 100 times the amount that is paid by richer households for publicly provided piped water. Normally people buy water from vendors only for cooking and drinking, for other purposes they use water from poorer quality supplies. It is quite normal that a poor family has to use 5 to 10 per cent of their total income on the water (HABITAT 1996, Harday et. al. 2001).

Water quantity

Water quantity needed for humans

Adequate quantities of water are required for healthy living: for drinking, cooking and washing. The WHO recommends that the minimum daily amount per person is 27 liters per day. Because of the population growth and urbanization the gap between per capita water supply and demand is getting bigger. Population growth also has an effect on demand of food and sewage disposal facilities. This means bigger demand of irrigation water and bigger water resources. These days in many countries the water demand is between 20 to 40 per cent of the total runoff, even the sustainable amount would be 5 per cent. The demand nowadays in many countries is so massive that it needs investments and a large part of GNP has to be used for the water management (Vakkilainen and Varis 1999, Kasarda and Parnell 1993)

Industrial need of water

Household and even municipal water needs are only a small part of the water supply problem. Globally the industrial water use is at least twice the domestic use. In addition to this use are vast quantities of water, which is used by power stations as cooling waters. Also from the domestic use half of the water is normally used for livestock (Clarke 1991). Many developing countries are still in the beginning stages of industrialization. These countries are likely to face severe water problems when they are trying to industrialize and modernize their economies. It is very likely that growing water scarcities will actually lead to substantial deterioration and perhaps, the demise of many existing and nebulous industries in some countries. The amount of needed water for production is sometimes really high. Because of heavy water demand from urban and industrial activities in Kuala Lumpur, water is stored in two dams upstream in the Kelang River. The stored water is rarely released which has resulted to the extremely low flows downstream of the dams. These too low flows are unable to dilute and flush the liquid and solid wastes

generated by urban centers and Kelang River has been converted into an open sewer (Kasarda and Parnell 1993, Davis 1993, Elhance 1999). Quantity of product Quantity of water consumed

Few examples about the need of water in production

Salinity

Salinity of water is mainly caused by poor irrigation practice. Water logging followed by evaporation will deposit salt in the soil. A constant flow of irrigation water will strip salt from the soil and deposit it when the water evaporates. Soil salinity can not be fixed after it has occurred. Some of the plant species are salt-tolerant but none of them are important agricultural crops. Salinity is a very big problem for agriculture and food production now and in the future. Humans cannot either stand salt water. Drinking salt water causes vomiting, and when used continuously hypertension and madness (Barke 1884).

Acidity

Coal burning in power stations, factories, and for household usage has increased the quantities of sulphur dioxide in the atmosphere. Nitrogen oxides have also been emitted in the air from engines of different machines and vehicles. These substances are moving with the wind and their influence can be global. When these substances react with water, rain and snow the results are harmful; acidity in water and soil (Bowman 1994). Acidity of the water has an impact on which substances will dissolve into the water from the surrounding rocks and pipes. The health risks for humans are not only caused by the acidity but by the metals, which acid dissolves from the rocks. The most harmful metals are heavy metals and aluminum. Those accumulate easily to plants, fishes and animals. High concentrations of these metals can be injurious to humans. Industrial wastewater is a main source of these harmful metals and in developing countries the treatment of this kind of waste is often careless (Bowman 1994).

Urban sanitation

Developing countries' major sources of pollution are untreated or partially treated domestic sewage, industrial waste effluent, and domestic and industrial garbage. In urban centers, where the size and density of the settlements are high, sanitation problems are very big. In many cities wastewater are discharged to the rivers, coastal water and water bodies often without any treatment at all. Even the city has central sewage system water can be only partially treated or just conveyed. The polluted water can travel long distances underground when conditions allow. For example laterite soils, commonly found in tropical climate, can allow the piping of water over significant distances. The safe distance between latrine and water source depends therefore on the soil conditions (Davis 1993, Kasarda and Parnell 1993). Wells and springs are open to contamination from pin latrines, septic tanks, and other waste disposal sites. Septic tanks and other sewage systems if not properly constructed, located, and maintained, can easily pollute the ground and surface water. Insufficiently treated or untreated industrial and municipal wastes discharged into water bodies pollute water supplies and pose risks to human health. Water supply facilities have advanced faster than wastewater management. In developing countries 75 per cent of urban dwellers had water supply facilities, and only 66 per cent had sanitation services (Davis 1993, Kasarda and Parnell1993). Many cities in Asia have no sewers at all. These are not only the smaller cities, many major cities with a million or more inhabitants have no sewers. If the city has sewers they often serve a small proportion of the population, typically those who are located in the richer residential, governmental

and commercial areas. Most of the city inhabitants also lack connection to septic tanks. For example, Jakarta, and some smaller Indonesian cities have virtually no sewage disposal system

Water reliability and sustainability

In most African and Asian cities recurrent supplies of piped water seem to be the norm, because of scarcity of needed equipment, material, and skilled personnel. Power outages are also normal. This irregular electricity supply causes pumps to shut down and reduces water pressure, which creates problems by damaging the water pumps and water treatment plants. In many cities in developing countries piping systems are reasonably old, and non-effective. The loss of water by leaking is enormous. Leakage of water may make up as much as 40 to 60 per cent of the total water supply in developing cities. The personnel are inadequately trained and monitoring is non-existing (Kasarda and Parnell 1993). When considering the sustainability of water infrastructure, all the pieces of the puzzle have to be taken into account: water supply, quality, quantity, sanitation and irrigation. These pieces have to be balanced with all the other different sectors, political, economical, and financial realities, social issues, human resources, institutionalization and operations management, such as pricing, water and food availability and the importance of education. The connections between water supplies, their use and sanitation has to be remembered. Unfortunately this is not often custom in municipal water policies. The all too narrow development schemes have created more problems than they have created good. For example, boring of deeper wells has led to overexploitation of groundwater resources and enhanced desertification (Varis 1997). Land use planning in and around cities and suburbs is important when protecting the local water supplies. Unplanned development can end up paving over rainwater's main point of entry in a key drinking water source. Especially in the areas dependent on local groundwater, protection of these critical aquifer recharge areas is essential to ensure that water sources get replenished. Improvements in water supply of community have also a positive effect on community's social, economic and health conditions. The social improvements are reducing the effort and time required to collect water. This is mainly female work. By this improvement the workload of women can be lightened. The amount of available water will also rise and have an effect on personal hygiene and health (Davis 1993).

Groundwater

The overuse of groundwater resources is common in all the developing countries. The countries that suffer from the bad quality of surface water rely often groundwater sources. Overusing of these supplies causes land subsidence, which is a serious problem in some cities like Mexico City and Bangkok. Especially in soil, which is clay, is really hard to maintain the water level back to where it has been, because soil dries and it is not possible to fill the waterholes for the size they have been. The growing urbanization and associated industrialization may result over-pumping of groundwater. This leads to the lower water tables and land subsidence. Groundwater levels decrease, the pumping of water from lower levels is more costly. Groundwater is in many countries used for irrigation. In coastal areas, saltwater intrusion into the aquifers can occur. This process decreases access to water supply by lowering supply and increasing contamination (Kasarda and Parnell 1993, Hillary 1984, Starke 2000). The pollution of groundwater resources is one of the biggest problems in many regions. Groundwater has often proven to be a clean and reliable source of water, but now it is threatened due to a careless disposal of organic and

chemical wastes. The groundwater resources are also often taken for granted and not being protected (Somlyay et al. 2001).

Coastal waters

In many cities, located near coast wastewater are conveyed to the sea. Therefore this many coast areas suffer from pollution. The situation is the same in all the study areas: Latin America, West Africa and South- East Asia. In addition to the wastewater from the cities and industries many areas are under oil boring, or taking of gravel. Many regions also suffer from remains of the feed and medicaments used in aquaculture. The heavy traffic in the cities has an effect on the carbon dioxin amount of the sea, which has increased near the mega-cities. Some nuclear power plants discharge radionuclides especially strontium and cesium, that can convey to the coasts (Hillary 1984).

Flooding

Construction activities increase impermeable or near-impermeable surfaces, which results in a reduction of infiltration into groundwater. Storm runoff increases and accelerates, and peak flows grow. Surface runoff from impervious areas may be hundreds of times greater than runoff from some natural areas. Coupled with the effects of soil erosion and sedimentation in rivers and canals resulting from urban construction, flooding in the low-lying areas is more frequent (Kasarda and Parnell 1993).

Health problems

Environmental problems in most of the urban centers are evident. Environment-related diseases or accidents remain among the major causes of illness, injury, and premature death. This is common in the poorer centers of urban areas. Most of these diseases are caused by pathogens in water, food, soil, or air. Burns, scalds, and accidental fires are common in overcrowded shelters, especially where five or more persons live in a small room (Gugler 1997). The cities have two general categories of human environmental risk: those that directly affect health, such as pollution, and those that may not be less damaging, but operate indirectly by worsen the ecosystem that human life depends on. The link between environment and health is evident. Poor environment, housing and living conditions are the main reasons to the diseases and poor health. Improvements in sanitation, sewage treatment and quality of food, will prevent diseases like cholera. The lack of these basic facilities is still general in developing countries. Because of this, diseases like tuberculosis and diarrhea continuous to be common in the developing world (Kasarda and Parnell 1993). Crime Violent crime is more visible in the cities than in rural areas and it affects people's everyday life, their movements and the use of public transportation. Crime in the city can create a sense of insecurity to its habitants. This unsafe feeling in city streets will separate the living areas of the higher-income and lower income groups, which will reduce people's solidarity and form areas with dissimilar incomes, costs and security level (HABITAT 1996). At least once every five years, more than a half of the world's population living in the cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants are victims of a crime of some kind. Only in Asia this proportion is under 50 percent. Even the overall rate of crimes fell in Asia organized violent crime and drug trafficking have increased considerably. In the whole world urban violence is estimated to grow 3 to 5 percent every year, but this differs between regions and nations. Violent crime rates have been growing in the most cities and more slowly also in the rural areas

(HABITAT 1996). Urban violence is a result of many factors and it could be considered as a public health problem. Inadequate income, poor and overcrowded housing and living conditions create fertile ground for the development of violence. Also the lack of children's social support in school and home by their hard working, usually poor parents are not provided. Immigration is also one reason to the crimes. Immigrants' original culture identity will be confound, finding an employment and housing is hard and racism will be expressed (HABITAT 1996).

Poverty

Poverty is common in developing countries, even in the countries, that are middle-income countries. For example in Thailand, which is middle-income country, about 16 per cent of people are qualified as poor. This means that their income level is below 900 baht in month (23 euros). With this amount even in Thailand it is impossible to have proper housing, food, pure water or social security. These people often live in the streets or parks, beg for food and do some temporary work in informal sector (Sajor 2001, STT 2001).

The percentage of poor people is growing in many countries. Due to such a low income the main goal for the people is to get their daily meal, water and accommodation. For these people the environmental problems are not in the front line. Because of this the solving of environmental problems in developing countries is not easy. The main questions that have to take into account are poverty and welfare of people. Before the basic level of life will be in a bearable state, improvements in environmental conditions are impossible, at least the proper co-operation is not possible (Sajor 2001).

Chapter 6

The structure and composition of Indian Society:

Indian Social Structure, Indian Culture and Heritage

INDIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

We have been discussing about the diversity in Indian culture, the various kinds of people inhabiting this country and their diverse customs and traditions. Perhaps more than in any other part of the world, India is a country where people have come to acquire multiple identities based on region (e.g. North India, North East India, Deccan and South India), language (e.g. Hindi, Tamil, and Telugu), religion (e.g. Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, Jain, and Sikh), etc. Each set of these and other densities corresponding to a distinct set of social relations, i.e., a distinct social structure. However, there are threads which bind many of them together. Therefore understanding Indian social structure is necessary because it explains our relations with each other in society. It tells us what kind of social institutions exist in society and how they got modified over a period of time. In this lesson you will read about the evolution of Indian society through the ages and the shape it took when we read about it today.

STRUCTURE OF INDIAN SOCIETY

Tribe is one of the earliest identifiable ethnic cum social organizations. A fairly good number of tribes such as Munda, Ho, Oraon, Bhil, Gaddi, Santhal, Kol, Kandh, Khasi, Garo, Mizo, Naga exist in different parts of India. These have been clubbed together in a group in a schedule of the Constitution of India and are known as the Scheduled Tribes. The pertinent question here is: Who is a tribal, and what differentiates a tribe from other groups based on caste or varna? The answer to this lies in the functioning of the institution. We can identify a tribe by the following features:

- (i) All members are related to each other by blood
- (ii) All members are equal in status
- (iii) All members believe that they have descended from a common ancestor
- (iv) All members have equal access to the resources
- (v) The sense of private property is least visible
- (vi) Social differentiation exists only on the basis of age and sex. Tribes are very often made up of more than one clan. A clan is an exogamous institution whereas a tribe is endogamous. Such tribes existed during the Vedic period. The Bharatas, Yadus, Turvasas, Druhyus,

Purus and Anus were some of the prominent Tribes. The head of the Tribe was known as Raja or King who was first among the equals. The major differentiation existed between people on the basis of 'varna' or colour. Thus, the people who did not belong to the vedic tribes were termed as dasa varna. They are said to have had an alien language, a dark complexion and worshiped different gods. This initial

differentiation later developed into a complex 'varna system', which in place of the Tribe had divided society into Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra categories. These categories emerged principally because of frequent inter-tribal and intra-tribal wars, subjugation of the vanquished, appropriation of loot by the war-leaders, and unequal distribution of wealth. The members of the Brahman 'varna' usually functioned as priests. The Kshatriyas were associated with the political functions, the Vaishyas were mostly agriculturists and the Shudras were the servile class. The first two 'varnas' exploited the most numerous and productive Vaishya varna, whereas the three in unison exploited the Shudras. The three higher 'varnas' were also entitled to the sacred (upanayana) thread ceremony and were known as 'dvijas' (twice-born). Many changes took place in the economy during the post-vedic period. These changes needed new ideological support which came in the form of numerous unorthodox religious movements such as Buddhism which ridiculed the Hindu social system. But Buddhism could not negate the caste system completely. The Kshatriyas were considered the highest 'varna' in the social hierarchy as seen by the Buddhists. The Vaishyas who were exploited Indian Social Structure Notes under Brahmanism became members of these religions in large numbers in order to gain respectability. However, there was no caste hierarchy within the Buddhist and Jain monastic communities. 'Varna/Jati' system underwent further changes when new groups such as the Shakas, Kushanas, Parthians and Indo-Greeks people arrived in India. The economy was also undergoing changes. Growth of urbanisation, craft production, and trade resulted in the rise of guilds or 'shreni' which in later times became castes. The behaviour of guild members was controlled through a guild court. Customarily the guild (shreni-dharma) had the power of law. These guilds could act as bankers, financiers and trustees as well. Generally, these functions were carried out by a different category of merchants known as the 'shreshthins' (present day Seths of North India and the Chettis and Chettiyars of South India). Thus, the period between 500 BC and 500 AD saw the crystallisation of the caste system. The number of castes increased manifold because of the growth of a number of crafts, arrival of new elements in the population, inter-caste marriages (anuloma and pratiloma) and inclusion of many Tribes into caste hierarchy. The Dharmashastras and the Smritis tried to fix the duties of each caste. The relations between castes were generally governed by the rules of endogamy, commensality and craft-exclusiveness. Between the fifth and seventh centuries further changes occurred in the varna/caste organisation. A creation of landlords through landgrants resulted in the transformation of Vaishyas into servile peasants. Large numbers of tribal cultivators were enrolled as Shudras. Consequently the Shudras now emerged as farmers like the Vaishyas. Now, the Vaishyas and Shudras were lumped together. However, in regions other than the Ganga basin, the caste system took a different shape. In Bengal, South India and other border areas mainly two castes emerged i.e. the Brahmanas and the Shudras. The Rajputs emerged as a significant factor in the society of Northern India from the seventh century onwards. In this period caste system became so entrenched in the psyche of the people that even the plants were divided on the basis of the varna/caste system. One text prescribes varying sizes of

houses according to the varnas. An important development during medieval times, particularly in South India, was the division of the Shudras into 'pure' (sat) and 'impure' (asat) categories. Also typical of the south were the so called 'left-hand' (idangai) and 'right-hand' (velangai) castes. Manu noted 61 castes whereas a later text counted hundreds of mixed castes (varnasankara). Other than the Rajputs, another caste that developed during this period was the Kayastha. The Kayasthas were traditionally scribes who got transformed into a separate caste as all types of scribes got clubbed together to form one endogamous group. Very often a large number of these castes claim origin from highly respected ancestors and explain their current lower status in terms of economic or other factors. The Khatri, an important caste in

Northern India, claim that they were of Kshatriya origin, but took to commerce, which brought them the contempt of their caste fellows and they had to accept Vaishya status. The Gurjaras, Jats and Ahirs all claim Kshatriya origin, the status they came to lose later Indian Social structure

Notes

Indian Culture and Heritage Secondary Course

Social Structure for various reasons. This process of claiming high caste origin continued till the 1950s when the Constitution of India provided for reservations for lower castes in most government jobs. The caste system has its regional variations. The formation of regions and regional consciousness after the eighth century AD contributed to this variation. The North Indian Brahmanas are divided not only on the basis of gotra but also on the basis of their residence. Thus we have Kanyakubja, Sarayuparier and Maithila brahmanas belonging to Kanauj, Sarayu river and Mithila respectively. A large number of Rajput sub-castes carry their earlier tribal names such as, Tomaras, Kacchavahas, Hadas and Chauhanas. These subcastes also acquired gotras for themselves. Thus the number of castes and sub-castes as well as that of the gotras kept increasing in medieval times. The Marathas also became a caste. In modern times the caste system acquired some new features. Thus, the idea of 'surnames' was also added. One particular caste or sub-caste came to acquire one, sometimes more, 'surnames'. However, ample variation is found in this matter. Caste and anti-caste movements of the modern period resulted in the formation of further new castes. Thus the Brahma-samajis acquired status which is very similar to a caste. The caste system, as can be seen from the above description, has a complex working method. Substantial regional variation is found and hence it has been impossible to define it in a precise manner region, sub-region, economic status, nearness to political authority, craft, vocation, following a particular deity all have come to play a role in its formation and subsequent changes. The influence of caste system has been so great that even though the egalitarian religious reformers of the medieval period such as Basava, Ramanand and Kabir, tried to abolish caste among their followers, their sects soon took on the characteristics of new castes. The Sikhs, could not overcome caste feelings. Even the Muslims formed caste groups. Syrian Christians of Kerala, earlier divided into sections, took on a caste character. The Christian converts brought their caste prejudices with them and high caste converts consider themselves aloof from those of the lower orders.

UNTOUCHABILITY

The concept of purity and pollution in Indian society is best reflected in the formation of a category known as untouchables (antyajas). These people were considered as belonging outside the Brahmanical society. This notion of untouchability took roots during the last phase of the Vedic period and became a separate social category in the age of the Buddha. Sometimes they were called the fifth varna (panchamd). Chandala is the term used loosely for many types of untouchables. They were not allowed to reside in the caste villages and had to stay in special quarters outside the main settlements. Their main task was to carry and cremate the corpses. The law-books have prescribed that they should be dressed the garments of the corpses they cremated, should eat food from broken vessels and should wear only iron ornaments. By the Gupta period their status fell so much that they were forced to further strike a wooden clapper on entering a town. The hunters (nishada), fishermen (kaivartas) leather workers (charmakaras), sweepers (kukkusa), and basket makers (vend) all became untouchables. 'Dom' and 'Domb' was a tribe which became an untouchable category after coming into contact with the caste divided groups. We also hear of domb kings apart from many Shudra Kings. Mlechhas were also considered untouchables. This untouchability

has continued till recent times. Although the practice of untouchability is considered a crime but in rural areas it still continues. Mahatma Gandhi initiated a campaign against this practice. He preferred to call them harijans. The Government of India has enacted many laws against anyone practising or promoting untouchability. Education and social movements has contributed towards bridging the large gulf between them and the others. It is hoped that this very inhuman practise is wiped out soon.

SLAVERY

Slavery as it existed in India was different both in form and essence, from the classical Greek and Roman slavery. That is why Megasthenes could not find slaves in India. And he was certainly wrong in his judgement. Slavery was an established institution and the legal relationship between the owner and slave was clearly defined. For example, if a female slave bore her master a son, not only was she legally free but the child was entitled to the Indian Social Structure

Indian Culture and Heritage Secondary Course

Social Structure legal status of the master's son. The 'Arthashastra' states that a man could be a slave by birth, by voluntarily selling himself, by being captured in war, or as a result of a judicial punishment. The sanskrit word for slave is 'dasa' which initially meant a member of the people captured by migrating Aryan hordes. Many such 'dasas' were reduced to bondage. In India, the slaves were generally employed as domestic servants and personal attendants. The slave was, in fact, a subordinate member of his master's household. The masters had no rights over the lives of their slaves. There were no slave markets in the early periods, however in the early centuries of the Christian era, there was trade in slave-girls between India and the Roman empire in both directions, and slave markets existed in the 16th century Vijayanagara empire. The Sultans of Delhi kept a large number of slaves (Bandagans). However, their situation was quite different. One of the slaves named Malik Kafur became the commander-in-chief of Alauddin Khilji. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese indulged in slave trade on a large scale. Linschoten has given harrowing accounts of the slave trade at Goa saying, "they drive slaves as we do horses here". A large number of slaves were used in Khalisa (crown land) land and in karakhanas (workshops). This kind of slavery continued during British domination and was attacked by Lord Cornwallis in a proclamation. The slave trade is now completely prohibited.

PURUSHARTHA, ASHRAMA AND SAMSKARA

The three concepts of 'purusharth', 'ashram a', and 'samskara' are inter linked. 'Purushartha' means aims of life which is divided into four 'ashrams' or stages of life. For each of the 'ashramas' there are prescribed 'samskaras' or rites that need to be performed. We often hear of 'varnashrama' – 'dharma' i.e., the dharma of varna and stages of life. There are four aims of life 'dharma' (right conduct), 'artha' (pursuits through which livelihood is earned), 'kama' (worldly desires) and 'moksha' (salvation). To enable a person to practice the four 'purusharthas', the life of a person is divided into four 'ashrama' or stages. A detailed rule of conduct to be observed in each 'ashrama' is also laid down. The four 'ashramas' are like the four steps of a ladder. The first 'ashrama' is known as 'brahmacharya', which a person enters after the 'upanayana samskara' or the sacred thread ceremony. During the period of this 'ashrama' he receives education and learns to discipline his will and emotions. He has to live with the guru

at his 'ashrama' in the forest and learn to obey and serve him. He begs alms for himself and his teacher and does odd jobs like fetching water and cleaning around the 'ashrama'. He practises the ideals of plain living and high thinking. Even a royal prince performed all these duties. The 'brahmacharya' stage thus prepared the individual to take on the responsibilities of a householder. The 'grihastha shrama' is the most important stage in a person's life. In this stage he

practises artha and kama in accordance with the dharma. He gets married, begets children and earns livelihood to support his family and discharge his obligations towards the society. After discharging all the duties of a householder, he enters the 'vanaprastha ashrama'. During this stage he leaves the family and retires to the forest, where he practises detachment from all worldly pursuits and interests. He had to live only on fruits and vegetables and wear clothes made of deer-skin or barks of a tree. He practices meditation and austerities as well, and if he dies in this stage he attains moksha. Otherwise, he enters the 'sanyasa ashrama' in which he practises complete renunciation. Breaking all bonds with the society, he lives like an ascetic striving constantly for the attainment moksha. This scheme represents the ideal and not the real situation. Most men never passed through the first stage of life in the form laid down, while only a few went beyond the second, This could also be an attempt to find room for the conflicting claims of study, family life, and asceticism in a single life time. It is also possible that the system of the ashramas was evolved partly to counter the unorthodox sects such as Buddhism and Jainism which encouraged young men to take up asceticism and by-pass family life altogether, a practice which did not receive the approval of the orthodox, though in later times provision was made for it. According to the scheme, the four stages of life began not with physical birth, but with sacred thread ceremony. Thus the child could become the full member of the society only after investiture with the sacred thread. This was one of the important ceremonies or 'samskara' at all the stages of life of a man from his conception to death. There are some forty such 'samskaras'. Some important ones are: 'garbhadana' (conception), 'pumsavana' (male child), 'simantonnayana' (safety), 'jatakarma' (birth ceremony) 'nishkramana' (showing the sun) 'annaprashana' (first feeding of solid food), 'chudakarma' (tonsure) 'upanayana' (investiture with sacred thread), 'samavartana' (end of the first stage) 'vivaha; (marriage), 'antyeshti' (the last rites) etc. All these 'samskaras are prescribed for the three upper varnas and not for the shudras and untouchables. In fact even the women of the higher varnas were not entitled to a large number of the 'samskaras'.

JAJMANI SYSTEM

An important institution that developed during the early medieval period and continued till modern times in the rural society was the 'Jajmani System'. It was a complementary relationship between the groups of dominant peasant castes on the one hand and service and artisan castes on the other. In this system the service castes rendered services to the land-owning peasant castes as well as to the high and dominant castes and were entitled to traditionally fixed shares of the produce and in some cases to a small plot of land. Thus, the leather-workers, the barbers, the priests, the garland makers, the ploughmen, and various types of smiths worked for the high castes or dominant landowning groups and were paid in kind on certain occasions or in the form of a land allotment. However, such service

Social Structure

castes always retained some freedom to sell their goods and services. This system of service-relationship is now breaking up under the influence of monetisation, urbanization and industrialisation. During medieval period this system of relationships acted as a safeguard in times of distress and calamities. Thus, it was noted that during famines the artisans who were not tied into the Jajmani system were harder hit than even the rural poor.

FAMILY

The traditional Indian family is a large kinship group commonly described as joint family. A joint family is one in which two or more generations live under one roof or different roofs having a common hearth. All the members own the immovable property of the line in common. This family is generally patriarchal and patrilineal, that is, the father or the oldest male member is the head of the house and administrator of the property and the headship descends in the male line. In modern towns a large number of nuclear families exist which consist of wife, husband and the children. Such families are also patriarchal and patrilineal. But there are many regions where families are matrilineal in which the headship descends in the female line such as in Kerala and the northeastern region of Nagaland and Meghalaya. Whatever be the nature of the family it is the primary unit of the society. The members of the family are bound together by 'shraddha', the rite of commemorating the ancestors. 'Shraddha' defined the family; those who were entitled to participate in the ceremony were 'sapindas', members of the family group. The bond between the members of the family gave a sense of social security to its members. In distress a man could rely on the Indian Social Structure Notes

Indian Culture and Heritage Secondary Course

Social Structure

other members of the extended family. At the time of festivals and marriages, the responsibilities were shared reinforcing the family bond. Traditionally the family in India is governed by two schools of sacred law and customs. These are based on 'Mitakshara' and 'Dayabhaga'. Most families of Bengal and Assam follow the rules of 'Dayabhaga' while the rest of India generally follows 'Mitakshara'. The sacred law made provisions for the break-up of the very large and unmanageable joint families. Such break-ups took place on the death of the patriarch. The joint family property did not include individual properties of the members at least from medieval times onwards and hence such properties could not be divided. In the post-independence period the Constitution provided that each religious community would be governed by their religious personal laws in matters of marriage, divorce, inheritance, succession adoption, guardianship, custody of children and maintenance. Thus, the Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh and Jain communities are governed by the codified Hindu Acts of 1955-56. The Muslim and Christian and Parsi families have their own set of personal laws based on religion. 19.7 MARRIAGE Families are the result of a very important 'samskara' ceremony known as marriage. Depending on its nature, marriage is of many kinds such as hypergamous (man of so called high caste and woman of low caste) or anuloma and hypogamous (man of low caste and woman of high caste) or pratiloma based on an alliance between different varna/ caste; monogamous, polygamous and polyandrous based on the number of spouses. Examples of all kinds of marriages can be found in the Indian society. Traditionally speaking, marriages were arranged by the parents of the couple who usually belong to the same caste, but of different 'gotras' (persons having common ancestor) and 'pravaras' (prohibited degree), if they were of 'dvija' category 'Gotra' and 'pravara' did not exist for the lower varna/ caste categories. However a large number of

communities have acquired 'gotras' for themselves. 'Pravara' relates to the "rules of prohibited degrees" which are very strict where marriage is forbidden between persons with a common paternal ancestor within seven generation or a maternal ancestor within five. In the southern part of India, however, this rule has never been followed and there are records of marriage between cousins and cross-cousin marriage which are considered legal and socially approved. Exemptions are provided for these groups in the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955. Commonly monogamous a time, is followed but traditionally polygamy was not prohibited. The rich and powerful could have, and often had more than one wife. Polygamy was generally, followed for a variety of reasons. In ancient time the kings needed to forge alliances with powerful people and marriage was a convenient method. Marriages of Chandragupta and Akbar are of this nature. The religious idea behind having a son also becomes a reason for taking many wives. However, under the modern laws polygamy has been rendered illegal. Only Muslims can marry four times that too with some preconditions. Indian Social Structure

Indian Culture and Heritage Secondary Course

Social Structure

The Brahmanical Sacred Law considered a marriage indissoluble once the seven steps (i.e. seven phera) had been taken together. This means that there was no place for divorce. The 'Arthashastra' however, shows that in certain cases divorce was allowed. In later times such provisions were forgotten. Among many lower castes, however, divorce is still permitted. In modern times, mutual consent, incompatibility, desertion, cruelty are considered valid reasons for getting a divorce on both sides. We all know about the case of Draupadi marrying five Pandava brothers. This kind of marriage is known as polyandrous marriage. There are a number of communities in which this type of marriage is considered a valid and preferred type of marriage. Generally the woman marries brothers and rarely men of different parentage in such communities. Such marriages are considered anti-social by the upper-varna/caste people of the plains but in the societies where such marriages are solemnized having more than one husband is considered a matter of pride and not of shame.

WOMEN

The history of women in India is the story of progressive decline. During the Vedic period even under patriarchy women participated in all the affairs of the Tribe barring wars. They were composers of hymns, they could marry the men of their choice at a mature age. In the post-vedic phase with the break-up of tribal institutions their position deteriorated. The early lawbooks reduced the women to the status of a 'Shudra'. Except some personal property ('stridhana') they were not entitled to any property. Even Vedic knowledge was closed to women. At this time the heterodox sects gave them some place of respect. The antric sects of the early medieval period gave woman an important place in their cult and instituted orders of female ascetics. In general throughout the early historical and early medieval periods women were not encouraged to take up any intellectual activity. Their true function was marriage and taking care of their families. Women belonging to upper castes received some education and a few of them are mentioned as poets and dramatists. The chief female characters in Sanskrit dramas are often described as reading, writing and composing songs. In the medieval period and till very recent times music and dancing were looked on as unfit for high caste women and were practised only by low-caste women and prostitutes. But it was not the case in early periods. Barring the Rig-Vedic period women seem to occupy very low status in society. Marriage at an early age became sanctified. 'Sati System' became quite common. However,

Ibn Battutah, a foreign traveller, mentions that in the medieval period, permission from the Sultan had to be taken for the performance of 'sati'. Widow remarriage was not permissible but right to property of the widows in certain cases was recognised. In the medieval period, the practice of keeping a veil on the faces for women became widespread among the upper class women. The Arabs and the Turks adopted this custom from the Iranians and brought it to India with them. Because of them, it became a widespread Indian Social Structure Notes

Social Structure

practice in north India. A careful look at the treatment to women shows that it was the result of a process set in motion in the Vedic period itself. In the medieval period the system of veil became a symbol of the higher classes in society and all those who wanted to be considered respectable tried to copy it. It was less prevalent among lower caste women. With the decline of the Mughal supremacy and expansion of colonial structure in India, the influence of modern ideas set in motion a process of change in a different direction. Under the influence of modern education, a set of social reformers campaigned for legislation which would uplift the status of women in society. With the efforts of Ram Mohan Roy, Radhakanta Deb, Bhawani Charan Banerji the practice of 'sati' was banned in 1829. In 1895, killing of female infants was declared a murder. In independent India through the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 set the minimum age limit for the bridegroom was fixed at eighteen years and for the bride at fifteen. In 1856, through the efforts of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar the first widow remarriage took place. Pandit Vishnu Shastri founded Widow Marriage Association in 1860. All their efforts have resulted in a considerable upliftment of women. Recently the Supreme Court of India has further recognised the daughter's share in her father's property. The condition of women is going to improve in future with growing awareness in society as well as through legislation.

TRIBAL COMMUNITIES OF INDIA

Tribe is a modern term for communities that are very old, being among the oldest inhabitants of the sub continent. In general tribal population is expected to possess some of the following characteristics: Indian Social Structure 284 Indian Culture and Heritage Secondary Course Social structure

1. Tribes have their roots in the soil dating back to a very early period.
2. They live in relative isolation in the hills and forests.
3. Their socio, economic and educational development need to be given priority.
4. In terms of their cultural ethos (language, institutions, beliefs and customs), their life style is very different from the other section of society.

Tribes are indigenous people who are termed as the Fourth World. These peoples are the descendents from a country's aboriginal population and today they are completely or partly deprived of the rights to their own territory. Indigenous peoples are strikingly different and diverse in their culture, religion, social and economic organisations. They are still being exploited by the outside world. By some they are idealized as the embodiment of spiritual values, by others they are designated as an obstacle impeding economic progress. They cherish their own distinct cultures. They are victims of past colonialism. Some live according to their traditions, some receive welfare, some work in factories, some in other professions.

They have maintained a close living relationship to the land in which they live and there exists a cooperative attitude of give and take, a respect for the earth and life it supports. In India, tribes are generally called adivasis, implying original inhabitants. The ancient and medieval Indian literature mention a large number of tribes living in India. Before the introduction of the caste system during the Brahmin Age, people were divided into various tribes. Government of India has specified 427 communities and has included them in the schedule of tribes. These tribes are known as scheduled tribes. They are entitled to special protection and privileges under the constitution of India. Numerically, the three most important tribes are the Gonds, the Bhils and the Santhals each having a population of more than 30 lakh. Next to them are the Minas, the Mundas, the Orsons each having a population of more than 5 lakh. Then there are 42 tribes each having a population between one and five lakh. The tribal people of India, who come under the category of Scheduled Tribes (ST's) in terms of the provisions of the constitution of India, number 8.43 crore, constituting 8.2 percent of the population of the country according to 2001 census. From the point of view of distribution and diversity of the tribal population, India can be divided into seven zones.

1. North Zone

This zone covers Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, sub-Himalayan Uttar Pradesh, Bihar. The prominent tribes here are Khasa, Tharu, Bhoksa, Bhotias, Gujjars and the Jaunsaris. Khasas are a polyandrous tribe. Bhotias make carpets and are involved in the Indo-china border trade.

Indian Culture and Heritage Secondary

The Gujjars are a pastoral tribe. The major problems of the tribes of this zone are inaccessibility, lack of communication, poverty, illiteracy and land alienation.

2. North-Eastern Zone

This zone includes seven north-eastern states, and the major tribal groups here are Nagas, Khasi, Garo, Mishing, Miri, Karbi and the Apatanis. Ecological degradation because of shifting cultivation and inaccessibility due to lack of communication facilities are two major problems of these tribes. Because of a high degree of isolation, the tribes of this sector have not really shared history with the mainstream Indians and have instead shared history with the neighbouring communities. This explains why there is an element of hostility of these tribes with the mainstream.

3. Central Zone

This zone has maximum concentration of tribal population. It stretches from southern Madhya Pradesh to South Bihar across northern Orissa. The major tribes lying in this zone are the Santhals, HO, Baiga, Abhujanaria, Muria, Munda and Birhor. The major problems faced by the tribes of this region are land alienation, indebtedness. Among the tribes of this region, the Santhals have discovered a script of their own, called ole chiki. Baigas are a prominent shifting cultivation tribe. Birhors are a very backward tribe of this region and because of extreme backwardness and no secure means of livelihood, they are threatened with extinction.

4. Southern Zone

This zone comprises the Nilgiris together with the adjoining hilly regions in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. It is the smallest, the most backward and the most isolated tribal communities on the mainland. Tribes of this region are Toda, Koya, Chenchu and Allars. Todas are a pastoral people who practise buffalo herding. Allars are cave dwellers, who also live on tree tops. Chencus are a very backward tribe who survive mainly on hunting gathering.

The major problem of these tribes are shifting cultivation, economic backwardness, isolation, lack of communication and threat of extinction of languages.

5. Eastern Zone This zone includes West Bengal, Orissa and tribes such as Paraja, Kondhas, Bondas,

Bhumiya, Gadabas, Bhuinyas and Sqoras. The major problems of the tribes of this zone are economic backwardness, exploitation by forest officials and contractors, land alienation, prevalence of disease and displacement due to industrial projects.

6. Western Zone

Rajasthan and Gujarat are included in this zone. Tribes which are found here are Bhils, Garasiya and Meenas. Meenas are a very advanced and well educated tribe. Indian Social Structure Notes

Indian Culture and Heritage Secondary Course

Social Structure

7. Island Region

Andaman and Nicobar islands, Lakshadweep and Daman and Diu included in this zone. Great Andamanese, Santinelese, Jarwas, Onges, Nicobaris and Shampen are tribes of this region. Some of these tribes are extremely backward and are struggling to come out of the stone age mode of livelihood. Most of these tribes are classified as minor tribes which face the threat of extinction. Apart from the problem of survival, prevalence of disease and malnutrition are some other problems of the tribes of this region. The basic strategy of the government for the tribal region is aimed at providing protection to the tribals and bringing about their economic development. The tribal sub plan strategy was initiated during the Fifth five year plan. This is a comprehensive, well-knit and integrated programme. Its objective is, elimination of exploitation of tribals, socio-economic development, bridging the gap in development vis-a-vis other areas, improvement of quality of life.

Chapter 7

Basic Institutions of Indian society

Caste, marriage, religion, class, joint , family and democracy.

Text source: Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches, Vol. 1. Bombay: Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1979, pp. 3-22. Edited by Frances W. Pritchett. Editing has consisted only of numbering the paragraphs and fixing a few typographical errors.

CASTES IN INDIA:

Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development by B. R. Ambedkar

Columbia University

9th May 1916

Many of us, I dare say, have witnessed local, national or international expositions of material objects that make up the sum total of human civilization. But few can entertain the idea of there being such a thing as an exposition of human institutions. Exhibition of human institutions is a strange idea; some might call it the wildest of ideas. But as students of Ethnology I hope you will not be hard on this innovation, for it is not so, and to you at least it should not be strange.

You all have visited, I believe, some historic place like the ruins of Pompeii, and listened with curiosity to the history of the remains as it flowed from the glib tongue of the guide. In my opinion a student of Ethnology, in one sense at least, is much like the guide. Like his prototype, he holds up (perhaps with more seriousness and desire of self-instruction) the social institutions to view, with all the objectiveness humanly possible, and inquires into their origin and function.

Most of our fellow students in this Seminar, which concerns itself with primitive versus modern society, have ably acquitted themselves along these lines by giving lucid expositions of the various institutions, modern or primitive, in which they are interested. It is my turn now, this evening, to entertain you, as best I can, with a paper on "Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development."

I need hardly remind you of the complexity of the subject I intend to handle. Subtler minds and abler pens than mine have been brought to the task of unravelling the mysteries of Caste; but unfortunately it still remains in the domain of the "unexplained," not to say of the "un-understood." I am quite alive to the complex intricacies of a hoary institution like Caste, but I am not so pessimistic as to relegate it to the region of the unknowable, for I believe it can be known. The caste problem is a vast one, both theoretically and practically. Practically, it is an institution that portends tremendous consequences. It is a local problem, but one capable of much wider mischief, for "as long as caste in India does exist, Hindus will hardly intermarry or have any social intercourse with outsiders; and if Hindus migrate to other regions on earth, Indian caste would become a world problem." Theoretically, it has defied a great many

scholars who have taken upon themselves, as a labour of love, to dig into its origin. Such being the case, I cannot treat the problem in its entirety. Time, space and acumen, I am afraid, would all fail me, if I attempted to do otherwise than limit myself to a phase of it, namely, the genesis, mechanism and spread of the caste system. I will strictly observe this rule, and will dwell on extraneous matters only when it is necessary to clarify or support a point in my thesis.

To proceed with the subject. According to well-known ethnologists, the population of India is a mixture of Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians and Scythians. All these stocks of people came into India from various directions and with various cultures, centuries ago, when they were in a tribal state. They all in turn elbowed their entry into the country by fighting with their predecessors, and after a stomachful of it settled down as peaceful neighbours. Through constant contact and mutual intercourse they evolved a common culture that superseded their distinctive cultures. It may be granted that there has not been a thorough amalgamation of the various stocks that make up the peoples of India, and to a traveller from within the boundaries of India the East presents a marked contrast in physique and even in colour to the West, as does the South to the North. But amalgamation can never be the sole criterion of homogeneity as predicated of any people. Ethnically all people are heterogeneous. It is the unity of culture that is the basis of homogeneity. Taking this for granted, I venture to say that there is no country that can rival the Indian Peninsula with respect to the unity of its culture. It has not only a geographic unity, but it has over and above all a deeper and a much more fundamental unity—the indubitable cultural unity that covers the land from end to end. But it is because of this homogeneity that Caste becomes a problem so difficult to be explained. If the Hindu Society were a mere federation of mutually exclusive units, the matter would be simple enough. But Caste is a parcelling of an already homogeneous unit, and the explanation of the genesis of Caste is the explanation of this process of parcelling.

Before launching into our field of enquiry, it is better to advise ourselves regarding the nature of a caste. I will therefore draw upon a few of the best students of caste for their definitions of it :

(1) Mr. Senart, a French authority, defines a caste as "a close corporation, in theory at any rate rigorously hereditary: equipped with a certain traditional and independent organisation, including a chief and a council, meeting on occasion in assemblies of more or less plenary authority and joining together at certain festivals: bound together by common occupations, which relate more particularly to marriage and to food and to questions of ceremonial pollution, and ruling its members by the exercise of jurisdiction, the extent of which varies, but which succeeds in making the authority of the community more felt by the sanction of certain penalties and, above all, by final irrevocable exclusion from the group."

(2) Mr. Nesfield defines a caste as "a class of the community which disowns any connection with any other class and can neither intermarry nor eat nor drink with any but persons of their own community."

(3) According to Sir H. Risley, "a caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with specific occupation, claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same professional callings and are regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community."

(4) Dr. Ketkar defines caste as "a social group having two characteristics: (i) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; (ii) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group."

To review these definitions is of great importance for our purpose. It will be noticed that taken individually the definitions of three of the writers include too much or too little: none is complete or correct by itself and all have missed the central point in the mechanism of the Caste system. Their mistake lies in trying to define caste as an isolated unit by itself, and not as a group within, and with definite relations to, the system of caste as a whole. Yet collectively all of them are complementary to one another, each one emphasising what has been obscured in the other. By way of criticism, therefore, I will take only those points common to all Castes in each of the above definitions which are regarded as peculiarities of Caste and evaluate them as such. To start with Mr. Senart. He draws attention to the "idea of pollution" as a characteristic of Caste. With regard to this point it may be safely said that it is by no means a peculiarity of Caste as such. It usually originates in priestly ceremonialism and is a particular case of the general belief in purity. Consequently its necessary connection with Caste may be completely denied without damaging the working of Caste. The "idea of pollution" has been attached to the institution of Caste, only because the Caste that enjoys the highest rank is the priestly Caste: while we know that priest and purity are old associates. We may therefore conclude that the "idea of pollution" is a characteristic of Caste only in so far as Caste has a religious flavour. Mr. Nesfield in his way dwells on the absence of messing with those outside the Caste as one of its characteristics. In spite of the newness of the point we must say that Mr. Nesfield has mistaken the effect for the cause. Caste, being a self-enclosed unit, naturally limits social intercourse, including messing etc., to members within it. Consequently this absence of messing with outsiders is not due to positive prohibition, but is a natural result of Caste, i.e. exclusiveness. No doubt this absence of messing, originally due to exclusiveness, acquired the prohibitory character of a religious injunction, but it may be regarded as a later growth. Sir H. Risley makes no new point deserving of special attention.

We now pass on to the definition of Dr. Ketkar who has done much for the elucidation of the subject. Not only is he a native, but he has also brought a critical acumen and an open mind to bear on his study of Caste. His definition merits consideration, for he has defined Caste in its relation to a system of Castes, and has concentrated his attention only on those characteristics which are absolutely necessary for the existence of a Caste within a system, rightly excluding all others as being secondary or derivative in character. With respect to his definition it must, however, be said that in it there is a slight confusion of thought, lucid and clear as otherwise it is. He speaks of Prohibition of Intermarriage and Membership by Autogeny as the two characteristics of Caste. I submit that these are but two aspects of one and the same thing, and not two different things as Dr. Ketkar supposes them to be. If you prohibit intermarriage the

result is that you limit membership. to those born within the group. Thus the two are the obverse and the reverse sides of the same medal.

This critical evaluation of the various characteristics of Caste leave no doubt that prohibition, or rather the absence of intermarriage—endogamy, to be concise—is the only one that can be called the essence of Caste when rightly understood. But some may deny this on abstract anthropological grounds, for there exist endogamous groups without giving rise to the problem of Caste. In a general way this may be true, as endogamous societies, culturally different, making their abode in localities more or less removed, and having little to do with each other are a physical reality. The Negroes and the Whites and the various tribal groups that go by name of American Indians in the United States may be cited as more or less appropriate illustrations in support of this view. But we must not confuse matters, for in India the situation is different. As pointed out before, the peoples of India form a homogeneous whole. The various races of India occupying definite territories have more or less fused into one another and do possess cultural unity, which is the only criterion of a homogeneous population. Given this homogeneity as a basis, Caste becomes a problem altogether new in character and wholly absent in the situation constituted by the mere propinquity of endogamous social or tribal groups. Caste in India means an artificial chopping off of the population into fixed and definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of endogamy. Thus the conclusion is inevitable that Endogamy is the only characteristic that is peculiar to caste, and if we succeed in showing how endogamy is maintained, we shall practically have proved the genesis and also the mechanism of Caste.

It may not be quite easy for you to anticipate why I regard endogamy as a key to the mystery of the Caste system. Not to strain your imagination too much, I will proceed to give you my reasons for it.

It may not also be out of place to emphasize at this moment that no civilized society of today presents more survivals of primitive times than does the Indian society. Its religion is essentially primitive and its tribal code, in spite of the advance of time and civilization, operates in all its pristine vigour even today. One of these primitive survivals, to which I wish particularly to draw your attention, is the Custom of Exogamy. The prevalence of exogamy in the primitive worlds is a fact too well-known to need any explanation. With the growth of history, however, exogamy has lost its efficacy, and excepting the nearest blood-kins, there is usually no social bar restricting the field of marriage. But regarding the peoples of India the law of exogamy is a positive injunction even today. Indian society still savours of the clan system, even though there are no clans; and this can be easily seen from the law of matrimony which centres round the principle of exogamy, for it is not that Sapindas (blood-kins) cannot marry, but a marriage even between Sagotras (of the same class) is regarded as a sacrilege.

Nothing is therefore more important for you to remember than the fact that endogamy is foreign to the people of India. The various Gotras of India are and have been exogamous: so are the other groups with totemic organization. It is no exaggeration to say that with the people of India exogamy is a creed and none dare infringe it, so much so that, in spite of the endogamy of the Castes within them, exogamy is strictly observed and that there are more rigorous penalties for violating exogamy than there are for violating endogamy. You will, therefore, readily see that with exogamy as the rule there could be no

Caste, for exogamy means fusion. But we have castes; consequently in the final analysis creation of Castes, so far as India is concerned, means the superposition of endogamy on exogamy. However, in an originally exogamous population an easy working out of endogamy (which is equivalent to the creation of Caste) is a grave problem, and it is in the consideration of the means utilized for the preservation of endogamy against exogamy that we may hope to find the solution of our problem.

Thus the superposition of endogamy on exogamy means the creation of caste. But this is not an easy affair. Let us take an imaginary group that desires to make itself into a Caste and analyse what means it will have to adopt to make itself endogamous. If a group desires to make itself endogamous a formal injunction against intermarriage with outside groups will be of no avail, especially if prior to the introduction of endogamy, exogamy had been the rule in all matrimonial relations. Again, there is a tendency in all groups lying in close contact with one another to assimilate and amalgamate, and thus consolidate into a homogeneous society. If this tendency is to be strongly counteracted in the interest of Caste formation, it is absolutely necessary to circumscribe a circle outside which people should not contract marriages.

Nevertheless, this encircling to prevent marriages from without creates problems from within which are not very easy of solution. Roughly speaking, in a normal group the two sexes are more or less evenly distributed, and generally speaking there is an equality between those of the same age. The equality is, however, never quite realized in actual societies. At the same time to the group that is desirous of making itself into a caste the maintenance of equality between the sexes becomes the ultimate goal, for without it endogamy can no longer subsist. In other words, if endogamy is to be preserved conjugal rights from within have to be provided for, otherwise members of the group will be driven out of the circle to take care of themselves in any way they can. But in order that the conjugal rights be provided for from within, it is absolutely necessary to maintain a numerical equality between the marriageable units of the two sexes within the group desirous of making itself into a Caste. It is only through the maintenance of such an equality that the necessary endogamy of the group can be kept intact, and a very large disparity is sure to break it.

The problem of Caste, then, ultimately resolves itself into one of repairing the disparity between the marriageable units of the two sexes within it. Left to nature, the much needed parity between the units can be realized only when a couple dies simultaneously. But this is a rare contingency. The husband may die before the wife and create a surplus woman, who must be disposed of, else through intermarriage she will violate the endogamy of the group. In like manner the husband may survive, his wife die and be a surplus man, whom the group, while it may sympathise with him for the sad bereavement, has to dispose of, else he will marry outside the Caste and will break the endogamy. Thus both the surplus man and the surplus woman constitute a menace to the Caste if not taken care of, for not finding suitable partners inside their prescribed circle (and left to themselves they cannot find any, for if the matter be not regulated there can only be just enough pairs to go round) very likely they will transgress the boundary, marry outside and import offspring that is foreign to the Caste. Let us see what our imaginary group is likely to do with this surplus man and surplus woman. We will first take up the case of the surplus woman. She can be disposed of in two different ways so as to preserve the endogamy of the Caste.

First: burn her on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband and get rid of her. This, however, is rather an impracticable way of solving the problem of sex disparity. In some cases it may work, in others it may not. Consequently every surplus woman cannot thus be disposed of, because it is an easy solution but a hard realization. And so the surplus woman (= widow), if not disposed of, remains in the group: but in her very existence lies a double danger. She may marry outside the Caste and violate endogamy, or she may marry within the Caste and through competition encroach upon the chances of marriage that must be reserved for the potential brides in the Caste. She is therefore a menace in any case, and something must be done to her if she cannot be burned along with her deceased husband.

The second remedy is to enforce widowhood on her for the rest of her life. So far as the objective results are concerned, burning is a better solution than enforcing widowhood. Burning the widow eliminates all the three evils that a surplus woman is fraught with. Being dead and gone she creates no problem of remarriage either inside or outside the Caste. But compulsory widowhood is superior to burning because it is more practicable. Besides being comparatively humane it also guards against the evils of remarriage as does burning; but it fails to guard the morals of the group. No doubt under compulsory widowhood the woman remains, and just because she is deprived of her natural right of being a legitimate wife in future, the incentive to immoral conduct is increased. But this is by no means an insuperable difficulty. She can be degraded to a condition in which she is no longer a source of allurements.

The problem of the surplus man (= widower) is much more important and much more difficult than that of the surplus woman in a group that desires to make itself into a Caste. From time immemorial man as compared with woman has had the upper hand. He is a dominant figure in every group and of the two sexes has greater prestige. With this traditional superiority of man over woman his wishes have always been consulted. Woman, on the other hand, has been an easy prey to all kinds of iniquitous injunctions, religious, social or economic. But man as a maker of injunctions is most often above them all. Such being the case, you cannot accord the same kind of treatment to a surplus man as you can to a surplus woman in a Caste.

The project of burning him with his deceased wife is hazardous in two ways: first of all it cannot be done, simply because he is a man. Secondly, if done, a sturdy soul is lost to the Caste. There remain then only two solutions which can conveniently dispose of him. I say conveniently, because he is an asset to the group.

Important as he is to the group, endogamy is still more important, and the solution must assure both these ends. Under these circumstances he may be forced or I should say induced, after the manner of the widow, to remain a widower for the rest of his life. This solution is not altogether difficult, for without any compulsion some are so disposed as to enjoy self-imposed celibacy, or even to take a further step of their own accord and renounce the world and its joys. But, given human nature as it is, this solution can hardly be expected to be realized. On the other hand, as is very likely to be the case, if the surplus man remains in the group as an active participator in group activities, he is a danger to the morals of the group. Looked at from a different point of view celibacy, though easy in cases where it succeeds, is not so advantageous even then to the material prospects of the Caste. If he observes genuine celibacy and renounces the world, he would not be a menace to the preservation of Caste endogamy or Caste morals as he undoubtedly would be if he remained a secular person. But as an ascetic celibate he is as good as

burned, so far as the material wellbeing of his Caste is concerned. A Caste, in order that it may be large enough to afford a vigorous communal life, must be maintained at a certain numerical strength. But to hope for this and to proclaim celibacy is the same as trying to cure atrophy by bleeding.

Imposing celibacy on the surplus man in the group, therefore, fails both theoretically and practically. It is in the interest of the Caste to keep him as a Grahastha (one who raises a family), to use a Sanskrit technical term. But the problem is to provide him with a wife from within the Caste. At the outset this is not possible, for the ruling ratio in a caste has to be one man to one woman and none can have two chances of marriage, for in a Caste thoroughly self-enclosed there are always just enough marriageable women to go round for the marriageable men. Under these circumstances the surplus man can be provided with a wife only by recruiting a bride from the ranks of those not yet marriageable in order to tie him down to the group. This is certainly the best of the possible solutions in the case of the surplus man. By this, he is kept within the Caste. By this means numerical depletion through constant outflow is guarded against, and by this endogamy and morals are preserved.

It will now be seen that the four means by which numerical disparity between the two sexes is conveniently maintained are: (1) burning the widow with her deceased husband; (2) compulsory widowhood—a milder form of burning; (3) imposing celibacy on the widower; and (4) wedding him to a girl not yet marriageable. Though, as I said above, burning the widow and imposing celibacy on the widower are of doubtful service to the group in its endeavour to preserve its endogamy, all of them operate as means. But means, as forces, when liberated or set in motion create an end. What then is the end that these means create? They create and perpetuate endogamy, while caste and endogamy, according to our analysis of the various definitions of caste, are one and the same thing. Thus the existence of these means is identical with caste and caste involves these means.

This, in my opinion, is the general mechanism of a caste in a system of castes. Let us now turn from these high generalities to the castes in Hindu Society and inquire into their mechanism. I need hardly premise that there are a great many pitfalls in the path of those who try to unfold the past, and caste in India to be sure is a very ancient institution. This is especially true where there exist no authentic or written records or where the people, like the Hindus, are so constituted that to them writing history is a folly, for the world is an illusion. But institutions do live, though for a long time they may remain unrecorded and as often as not customs and morals are like fossils that tell their own history. If this is true, our task will be amply rewarded if we scrutinize the solution the Hindus arrived at to meet the problems of the surplus man and surplus woman.

Complex though it be in its general working the Hindu Society, even to a superficial observer, presents three singular uxorial customs, namely:

- (i) Sati or the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband.
- (ii) Enforced widowhood by which a widow is not allowed to remarry.
- (iii) Girl marriage.

In addition, one also notes a great hankering after Sannyasa (renunciation) on the part of the widower, but this may in some cases be due purely to psychic disposition. So far as I know, no scientific explanation of the origin of these customs is forthcoming even today. We have plenty of philosophy to tell us why these customs were honoured, but nothing to tell us the causes of their origin and existence. Sati has been honoured (Cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Sati: A Defence of the Eastern Woman" in the *British Sociological Review*, Vol. VI, 1913) because it is a "proof of the perfect unity of body and soul" between husband and wife and of "devotion beyond the grave," because it embodied the ideal of wifeness, which is well expressed by Uma when she said, "Devotion to her Lord is woman's honour, it is her eternal heaven: and O Maheshvara," she adds with a most touching human cry, "I desire not paradise itself if thou are not satisfied with me!" Why compulsory widowhood is honoured I know not, nor have I yet met with any one who sang in praise of it, though there are a great many who adhere to it. The eulogy in honour of girl marriage is reported by Dr. Ketkar to be as follows: "A really faithful man or woman ought not to feel affection for a woman or a man other than the one with whom he or she is united. Such purity is compulsory not only after marriage, but even before marriage, for that is the only correct ideal of chastity. No maiden could be considered pure if she feels love for a man other than the one to whom she might be married. As she does not know to whom she is going to be married, she must not feel affection, for any man at all before marriage. If she does so, it is a sin. So it is better for a girl to know whom she has to love before any sexual consciousness has been awakened in her" (*History of Caste in India*, 1909, pp. 2-33.). Hence girl marriage.

This high-flown and ingenious sophistry indicates why these institutions were honoured, but does not tell us why they were practiced. My own interpretation is that they were honoured because they were practiced. Any one slightly acquainted with the rise of individualism in the 18th century will appreciate my remark. At all times, it is the movement that is most important; and the philosophies grow around it long afterwards to justify it and give it a moral support. In like manner I urge that the very fact that these customs were so highly eulogized proves that they needed eulogy for their prevalence. Regarding the question as to why they arose, I submit that they were needed to create the structure of caste and the philosophies in honour of them were intended to popularise them, or to gild the pill, as we might say, for they must have been so abominable and shocking to the moral sense of the unsophisticated that they needed a great deal of sweetening. These customs are essentially of the nature of means, though they are represented as ideals. But this should not blind us from understanding the results that flow from them. One might safely say that idealization of means is necessary and in this particular case was perhaps motivated to endow them with greater efficacy. Calling a means an end does no harm, except that it disguises its real character; but it does not deprive it of its real nature, that of a means. You may pass a law that all cats are dogs, just as you can call a means an end. But you can no more change the nature of means thereby than you can turn cats into dogs; consequently I am justified in holding that, whether regarded as ends or as means, Sati, enforced widowhood and girl marriage are customs that were primarily intended to solve the problem of the surplus man and surplus woman in a caste and to maintain its endogamy. Strict endogamy could not be preserved without these customs, while caste without endogamy is a fake.

Having explained the mechanism of the creation and preservation of Caste in India, the further question as to its genesis naturally arises. The question of origin is always an annoying question and in the study of Caste it is sadly neglected; some have connived at it, while others have dodged it. Some are puzzled as to whether there could be such a thing as the origin of caste and suggest that "if we cannot control our

fondness for the word 'origin,' we should better use the plural form, viz. 'origins of caste.'" As for myself I do not feel puzzled by the Origin of Caste in India for, as I have established before, endogamy is the only characteristic of Caste and when I say Origin of Caste I mean The Origin of the Mechanism for Endogamy.

The atomistic conception of individuals in a Society so greatly popularised— I was about to say vulgarised—in political orations is the greatest humbug. To say that individuals make up society is trivial; society is always composed of classes. It may be an exaggeration to assert the theory of class-conflict, but the existence of definite classes in a society is a fact. Their basis may differ. They may be economic or intellectual or social, but an individual in a society is always a member of a class. This is a universal fact and early Hindu society could not have been an exception to this rule, and, as a matter of fact, we know it was not. If we bear this generalization in mind, our study of the genesis of caste would be very much facilitated, for we have only to determine what was the class that first made itself into a caste, for class and caste, so to say, are next door neighbours, and it is only a span that separates the two. A Caste is an Enclosed Class.

The study of the origin of caste must furnish us with an answer to the question—what is the class that raised this "enclosure" around itself? The question may seem too inquisitorial, but it is pertinent, and an answer to this will serve us to elucidate the mystery of the growth and development of castes all over India. Unfortunately a direct answer to this question is not within my power. I can answer it only indirectly. I said just above that the customs in question were current in the Hindu society. To be true to facts it is necessary to qualify the statement, as it connotes universality of their prevalence. These customs in all their strictness are obtainable only in one caste, namely the Brahmins, who occupy the highest place in the social hierarchy of the Hindu society; and as their prevalence in non-Brahmin castes is derivative, their observance is neither strict nor complete. This important fact can serve as a basis of an important observation. If the prevalence of these customs in the non-Brahmin Castes is derivative, as can be shown very easily, then it needs no argument to prove what class is the father of the institution of caste. Why the Brahmin class should have enclosed itself into a caste is a different question, which may be left as an employment for another occasion. But the strict observance of these customs and the social superiority arrogated by the priestly class in all ancient civilizations are sufficient to prove that they were the originators of this "unnatural institution" founded and maintained through these unnatural means.

I now come to the third part of my paper regarding the question of the growth and spread of the caste system all over India. The question I have to answer is: How did the institution of caste spread among the rest of the non-Brahmin population of the country? The question of the spread of the castes all over India has suffered a worse fate than the question of genesis. And the main cause, as it seems to me, is that the two questions of spread and of origin are not separated. This is because of the common belief among scholars that the caste system has either been imposed upon the docile population of India by a law-giver as a divine dispensation, or that it has grown according to some law of social growth peculiar to the Indian people.

I first propose to handle the law-giver of India. Every country has its law-giver, who arises as an incarnation (avatar) in times of emergency to set right a sinning humanity and give it the laws of justice and morality. Manu, the law-giver of India, if he did exist, was certainly an audacious person. If the story that he gave the law of caste be credited, then Manu must have been a dare-devil fellow and the humanity

that accepted his dispensation must be a humanity quite different from the one we are acquainted with. It is unimaginable that the law of caste was given. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Manu could not have outlived his law, for what is that class that can submit to be degraded to the status of brutes by the pen of a man, and suffer him to raise another class to the pinnacle? Unless he was a tyrant who held all the population in subjection it cannot be imagined that he could have been allowed to dispense his patronage in this grossly unjust manner, as may be easily seen by a mere glance at his "Institutes." I may seem hard on Manu, but I am sure my force is not strong enough to kill his ghost. He lives like a disembodied spirit and is appealed to, and I am afraid will yet live long. One thing I want to impress upon you is that Manu did not give the law of Caste and that he could not do so. Caste existed long before Manu. He was an upholder of it and therefore philosophised about it, but certainly he did not and could not ordain the present order of Hindu Society. His work ended with the codification of existing caste rules and the preaching of Caste Dharma. The spread and growth of the Caste system is too gigantic a task to be achieved by the power or cunning of an individual or of a class. Similar in argument is the theory that the Brahmins created the Caste. After what I have said regarding Manu, I need hardly say anything more, except to point out that it is incorrect in thought and malicious in intent. The Brahmins may have been guilty of many things, and I dare say they were, but the imposing of the caste system on the non-Brahmin population was beyond their mettle. They may have helped the process by their glib philosophy, but they certainly could not have pushed their scheme beyond their own confines. To fashion society after one's own pattern! How glorious! How hard! One can take pleasure and eulogize its furtherance; but cannot further it very far. The vehemence of my attack may seem to be unnecessary; but I can assure you that it is not uncalled for. There is a strong belief in the mind of orthodox Hindus that the Hindu Society was somehow moulded into the framework of the Caste System and that it is an organization consciously created by the Shastras. Not only does this belief exist, but it is being justified on the ground that it cannot but be good, because it is ordained by the Shastras and the Shastras cannot be wrong. I have urged so much on the adverse side of this attitude, not because the religious sanctity is grounded on scientific basis, nor to help those reformers who are preaching against it. Preaching did not make the caste system; neither will it unmake it. My aim is to show the falsity of the attitude that has exalted religious sanction to the position of a scientific explanation.

Thus the great man theory does not help us very far in solving the spread of castes in India. Western scholars, probably not much given to hero-worship, have attempted other explanations. The nuclei, round which have "formed" the various castes in India, are, according to them:

- (1) Occupation;
- (2) Survivals of tribal organization etc.
- (3) The rise of new belief.
- (4) cross-breeding.
- (5) Migration.

The question may be asked whether these nuclei do not exist in other societies and whether they are peculiar to India. If they are not peculiar to India, but are common to the world, why is it that they did not

"form" caste on other parts of this planet? Is it because those parts are holier than the land of the Vedas, or that the professors are mistaken? I am afraid that the latter is the truth.

In spite of the high theoretic value claimed by the several authors for their respective theories based on one or other of the above nuclei, one regrets to say that on close examination they are nothing more than filling illustrations—what Matthew Arnold means by "the grand name without the grand thing in it." Such are the various theories of caste advanced by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Mr. Nesfield, Mr. Senart and Sir H. Risley. To criticise them in a lump would be to say that they are a disguised form of the *Petitio Principii* of formal logic. To illustrate: Mr. Nesfield says that "function and function only. . . was the foundation upon which the whole system of Castes in India was built up." But he may rightly be reminded that he does not very much advance our thought by making the above statement, which practically amounts to saying that castes in India are functional or occupational, which is a very poor discovery! We have yet to know from Mr. Nesfield why is it that an occupational group turned into an occupational caste? I would very cheerfully have undertaken the task of dwelling on the theories of other ethnologists, had it not been for the fact that Mr. Nesfield's is a typical one.

Without stopping to criticize those theories that explain the caste system as a natural phenomenon occurring in obedience to the law of disintegration, as explained by Herbert Spencer in his formula of evolution; or as natural as "the structural differentiation within an organism," to employ the phraseology of orthodox apologists; or as an early attempt to test the laws of eugenics—as all belonging to the same class of fallacy which regards the caste system as inevitable, or as being consciously imposed in anticipation of these laws on a helpless and humble population, I will now lay before you my own view on the subject.

We shall be well advised to recall at the outset that the Hindu society, in common with other societies, was composed of classes and the earliest known are (1) the Brahmins or the priestly class; (2) the Kshatriya, or the military class; (3) the Vaishya, or the merchant class; and (4) the Shudra, or the artisan and menial class. Particular attention has to be paid to the fact that this was essentially a class system, in which individuals, when qualified, could change their class, and therefore classes did change their personnel. At some time in the history of the Hindus, the priestly class socially detached itself from the rest of the body of people and through a closed-door policy became a caste by itself. The other classes being subject to the law of social division of labour underwent differentiation, some into large, others into very minute, groups. The Vaishya and Shudra classes were the original inchoate plasm, which formed the sources of the numerous castes of today. As the military occupation does not very easily lend itself to very minute sub-division, the Kshatriya class could have differentiated into soldiers and administrators.

This sub-division of a society is quite natural. But the unnatural thing about these sub-divisions is that they have lost the open-door character of the class system and have become self-enclosed units called castes. The question is: were they compelled to close their doors and become endogamous, or did they close them of their own accord? I submit that there is a double line of answer: Some closed the door: Others found it closed against them. The one is a psychological interpretation and the other is mechanistic, but they are complementary and both are necessary to explain the phenomena of caste-formation in its entirety.

I will first take up the psychological interpretation. The question we have to answer in this connection is: Why did these sub-divisions or classes, if you please, industrial, religious or otherwise, become self-

enclosed or endogamous? My answer is because the Brahmins were so. Endogamy or the closed-door system, was a fashion in the Hindu society, and as it had originated from the Brahmin caste it was wholeheartedly imitated by all the non-Brahmin sub-divisions or classes, who, in their turn, became endogamous castes. It is "the infection of imitation" that caught all these sub-divisions on their onward march of differentiation and has turned them into castes. The propensity to imitate is a deep-seated one in the human mind and need not be deemed an inadequate explanation for the formation of the various castes in India. It is so deep-seated that Walter Bagehot argues that, "We must not think of . . . imitation as voluntary, or even conscious. On the contrary it has its seat mainly in very obscure parts of the mind, whose notions, so far from being consciously produced, is hardly felt to exist; so far from being conceived beforehand, are not even felt at the time. The main seat of the imitative part of our nature is our belief, and the causes predisposing us to believe this or disinclining us to believe that are among the obscurest parts of our nature. But as to the imitative nature of credulity there can be no doubt" (Physics and Politics, 1915, p. 60). This propensity to imitate has been made the subject of a scientific study by Gabriel Tarde, who lays down three laws of imitation. One of his three laws is that imitation flows from the higher to the lower or, to quote his own words, "Given the opportunity, a nobility will always and everywhere imitate its leaders, its kings or sovereigns, and the people likewise, given the opportunity, its nobility" (Laws of Imitation, tr. by E. C. Parsons, 2nd edition, p. 217). Another of Tarde's laws of imitation is: that the extent or intensity of imitation varies inversely in proportion to distance, or in his own words "The thing that is most imitated is the most superior one of those that are nearest. In fact, the influence of the model's example is efficacious inversely to its distance as well as directly to its superiority. Distance is understood here in its sociological meaning. However distant in space a stranger may be, he is close by, from this point of view, if we have numerous and daily relations with him and if we have every facility to satisfy our desire to imitate him. This law of the imitation of the

Peculiar interest attaches to the problem of Caste in India today; as persistent attempts are being made to do away with this unnatural institution. Such attempts at reform, however, have aroused a great deal of controversy regarding its origin, as to whether it is due to the conscious command of a Supreme Authority, or is an unconscious growth in the life of a human society under peculiar circumstances. Those who hold the latter view will, I hope, find some food for thought in the standpoint adopted in this paper. Apart from its practical importance the subject of Caste is an all-absorbing problem and the interest aroused in me regarding its theoretic foundations has moved me to put before you some of the conclusions which seem to me well founded, and the grounds upon which they may be supported. I am not, however, so presumptuous as to think them in any way final, or anything more than a contribution to a discussion of the subject. It seems to me that the car has been shunted on wrong lines, and the primary object of the paper is to indicate what I regard to be the right path of investigation, with a view to arrive at a serviceable truth. We must, however, guard against approaching the subject with a bias. Sentiment must be outlawed from the domain of science and things should be judged from an objective standpoint. For myself I shall find as much pleasure in a positive destruction of my own ideology, as in a rational disagreement on a topic, which, notwithstanding many learned disquisitions, is likely to remain controversial forever. To conclude, while I am ambitious to advance a Theory of Caste, if it can be shown to be untenable I shall be equally willing to give it up.

Chapter 8

Social movement

Social movements are a type of group action. They are large, sometimes informal, groupings of individuals or organizations which focus on specific political or social issues. In other words, they carry out, resist or undo a social change.

Modern Western social movements became possible through education (the wider dissemination of literature), and increased mobility of labor due to the industrialization and urbanization of 19th century societies. It is sometimes argued that the freedom of expression, education and relative economic independence prevalent in the modern Western culture are responsible for the unprecedented number and scope of various contemporary social movements. However, others point out that many of the social movements of the last hundred years grew up, like the Mau Mau in Kenya, to oppose Western colonialism. Either way, social movements have been and continued to be closely connected with democratic political systems. Occasionally, social movements have been involved in democratizing nations, but more often they have flourished after democratization. Over the past 200 years, they have become part of a popular and global expression of dissent.

Modern movements often utilize technology and the internet to mobilize people globally. Adapting to communication trends is a common theme among successful movements. Research is beginning to explore how advocacy organizations linked to social movements in the U.S. and Canada use social media to facilitate civic engagement and collective action.

Political science and sociology have developed a variety of theories and empirical research on social movements. For example, some research in political science highlights the relation between popular movements and the formation of new political parties as well as discussing the function of social movements in relation to agenda setting and influence on politics.

Definitions

Charles Tilly defines social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others. For Tilly, social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics.[4] He argues that there are three major elements to a social movement:

1. Campaigns: a sustained, organized public effort making collective claims of target authorities;
2. Repertoire (repertoire of contention): employment of combinations from among the following forms of political action: creation of special-purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn processions, vigils, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media, and pamphleteering; and
3. WUNC Displays:

4. Participants'

5. Concerted public representation of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitments on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies.

Sidney Tarrow defines a social movement as collective challenges [to elites, authorities, other groups or cultural codes] by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities. He specifically distinguishes social movements from political parties and advocacy groups.

History

The early growth of social movements was connected to broad economic and political changes in England in the mid-18th century, including political representation, market capitalization, and proletarianization. The first mass social movement catalyzed around the controversial political figure, John Wilkes. As editor of the paper *The North Briton*, Wilkes vigorously attacked the new administration of Lord Bute and the peace terms that the new government accepted at the 1763 Treaty of Paris at the end of the Seven Years War. Charged with seditious libel, Wilkes was arrested after the issue of a general warrant, a move that Wilkes denounced as unlawful - the Lord Chief Justice eventually ruled in Wilkes favour. As a result of this episode, Wilkes became a figurehead to the growing movement for popular sovereignty among the middle classes - people began chanting, "Wilkes and Liberty" in the streets.

After a later period of exile, brought about by further charges of libel and obscenity, Wilkes stood for the Parliamentary seat at Middlesex, where most of his support was located. When Wilkes was imprisoned in the King's Bench Prison on 10 May 1768, a mass movement of support emerged, with large demonstrations in the streets under the slogan "No liberty, no King." [8] Stripped of the right to sit in Parliament, Wilkes became an Alderman of London in 1769, and an activist group called the Society for the Supporters of the Bill of Rights began aggressively promoting his policies. This was the first ever sustained social movement; -it involved public meetings, demonstrations, the distribution of pamphlets on an unprecedented scale and the mass petition march. However, the movement was careful not to cross the line into open rebellion; - it tried to rectify the faults in governance through appeals to existing legal precedents and was conceived of as an extra-Parliamentary form of agitation to arrive at a consensual and constitutional arrangement. [10] The force and influence of this social movement on the streets of London compelled the authorities to concede to the movement's demands. Wilkes was returned to Parliament, general warrants were declared as unconstitutional and press freedom was extended to the coverage of Parliamentary debates.

A much larger movement of anti-Catholic protest was triggered by the Papists Act 1778, which eliminated a number of the penalties and disabilities endured by Roman Catholics in England, and formed around Lord George Gordon, who became the President of the Protestant Association in 1779. The Association had the support of leading Calvinist religious figures, including Rowland Hill, Erasmus Middleton, and John Rippon. Gordon was an articulate propagandist and he inflamed the mob with fears of Papism and a return to absolute monarchical rule. The situation deteriorated rapidly, and in 1780, after a meeting of the Protestant Association, its member subsequently marched on the House of Commons to deliver a petition demanding the repeal of the Act, which the government refused to do. Soon, large riots broke out across London and embassies and Catholic owned businesses were attacked by angry mobs.

Other political movements that emerged in the late 18th century included the British abolitionist movement against slavery (becoming one between the sugar boycott of 1791 and the second great petition drive of 1806), and possibly the upheaval surrounding the French and American Revolutions. In the opinion of Eugene Black (1963), "...association made possible the extension of the politically effective public. Modern extra parliamentary political organization is a product of the late eighteenth century [and] the history of the age of reform cannot be written without it.

Growth and spread

The Great Chartist Meeting on Kennington Common, London in 1848.

From 1815, Britain after victory in the Napoleonic Wars entered a period of social upheaval characterised by the growing maturity of the use of social movements and special-interest associations. Chartism was the first mass movement of the growing working-class in the world. It campaigned for political reform between 1838 and 1848 with the People's Charter of 1838 as its manifesto - this called for universal suffrage and the implementation of the secret ballot, amongst other things. The term "social movements" was introduced in 1848 by the German Sociologist Lorenz von Stein in his book *Socialist and Communist Movements since the Third French Revolution* (1848) in which he introduced the term "social movement" into scholarly discussions- actually depicting in this way political movements fighting for the social rights understood as welfare rights.

Martin Luther King led the American Civil Rights Movement, one of the most famous social movements of the 20th century.

The labor movement and socialist movement of the late 19th century are seen as the prototypical social movements, leading to the formation of communist and social democratic parties and organisations. These tendencies were seen in poorer countries as pressure for reform continued, for example in Russia with the Russian Revolution of 1905 and of 1917, resulting in the collapse of the Czarist regime around the end of the First World War.

In 1945, Britain after victory in the Second World War entered a period of radical reform and change. In the post-war period, women's rights, gay rights, peace, civil rights, anti-nuclear and environmental movements emerged, often dubbed the New Social Movements [18] They led, among other things, to the formation of green parties and organisations influenced by the new left. Some find in the end of the 1990s the emergence of a new global social movement, the anti-globalization movement. Some social movement scholars posit that with the rapid pace of globalization, the potential for the emergence of new type of social movement is latent—they make the analogy to national movements of the past to describe what has been termed a global citizens movement.

Key processes

Several key processes lie behind the history of social movements. Urbanization led to larger settlements, where people of similar goals could find each other, gather and organize. This facilitated social interaction between scores of people, and it was in urban areas that those early social movements first appeared. Similarly, the process of industrialization which gathered large masses of workers in the same region explains why many of those early social movements addressed matters such as economic wellbeing, important to the worker class. Many other social movements were created at universities, where

the process of mass education brought many people together. With the development of communication technologies, creation and activities of social movements became easier - from printed pamphlets circulating in the 18th century coffeehouses to newspapers and Internet, all those tools became important factors in the growth of the social movements. Finally, the spread of democracy and political rights like the freedom of speech made the creation and functioning of social movements much easier.

Types of social movement

Types of social movements.

Sociologists distinguish between several types of social movement:

- Scope:
 - reform movement - movements advocating changing some norms or laws. Examples of such a movement would include a trade union with a goal of increasing workers rights, a green movement advocating a set of ecological laws, or a movement supporting introduction of a capital punishment or the right to abortion. Some reform movements may aim for a change in custom and moral norms, such as condemnation of pornography or proliferation of some religion.
 - radical movement - movements dedicated to changing value systems in a fundamental way. Examples would include the American Civil Rights Movement which demanded full civil rights and equality under the law to all Americans, regardless of race; the Polish Solidarity (Solidarność) movement which demanded the transformation of a Stalinist political and economic system into a democracy; or the South African shack dwellers' movement Abahlali baseMjondolo which demands the full inclusion of shack dwellers into the life of cities.
- Type of change:
 - innovation movement - movements which want to introduce or change particular norms, values, etc. The singularitarianism movement advocating deliberate action to effect and ensure the safety of the technological singularity is an example of an innovation movement.
 - conservative movement - movements which want to preserve existing norms, values, etc. For example, the anti-technology 19th century Luddites movement or the modern movement opposing the spread of the genetically modified food could be seen as conservative movements in that they aimed to fight specific technological changes.
- Targets:
 - group-focus movements - focused on affecting groups or society in general, for example, advocating the change of the political system. Some of these groups transform into or join a political party, but many remain outside the reformist party political system.
 - individual-focused movements - focused on affecting individuals. Most religious movements would fall under this category.

- Methods of work:
 - peaceful movements - various movements which use nonviolent means of protest as part of a campaign of nonviolent resistance, also often called civil resistance. The American Civil Rights movement, Polish Solidarity movement or the nonviolent, civil disobedience-orientated wing of the Indian independence movement would fall into this category.[20]
 - violent movements - various movements which resort to violence; they are usually armed and in extreme cases can take a form of a paramilitary or terrorist organization. Examples: the Rote Armeefraktion, Al-Qaida.
- Old and new:
 - old movements - movements for change have existed for many centuries. Most of the oldest recognized movements, dating to late 18th and 19th centuries, fought for specific social groups, such as the working class, peasants, whites, aristocrats, Protestants, men. They were usually centered around some materialistic goals like improving the standard of living or, for example, the political autonomy of the working class.
 - new movements - movements which became dominant from the second half of the 20th century - like the feminist movement, pro-choice movement, civil rights movement, environmental movement, free software movement, gay rights movement, peace movement, anti-nuclear movement, alter-globalization movement, etc. Sometimes they are known as new social movements. They are usually centered around issues that go beyond but are not separate from class.
- Range:
 - global movements - social movements with global (transnational) objectives and goals. Movements such as the first (where Marx and Bakunin met), second, third and fourth internationals, the World Social Forum, the Peoples' Global Action and the anarchist movement seek to change society at a global level.
 - local movements - most of the social movements have a local scope.[21] They are focused on local or regional objectives, such as protecting a specific natural area, lobbying for the lowering of tolls in a certain motorway, or preserving a building about to be demolished for gentrification and turning it into a social center.

Identification of supporters

A difficulty for scholarship of movements is that for most of them, neither insiders to a movement nor outsiders apply consistent labels or even descriptive phrases. Unless there is a single leader who does that, or a formal system of membership agreements, activists will typically use diverse labels and descriptive phrases that require scholars to discern when they are referring to the same or similar ideas, declare similar goals, adopt similar programs of action, and use similar methods. There can be great differences in the way that is done, to recognize who is and who is not a member or an allied group:

- **Insiders:** Often exaggerate the level of support by considering people supporters whose level of activity or support is weak, but also reject those that outsiders might consider supporters because they discredit the cause, or are even seen as adversaries.
- **Outsiders:** Those not supporters who may tend to either underestimate or overestimate the level of support or activity of elements of a movement, by including or excluding those that insiders would exclude or include.

It is often outsiders rather than insiders that apply the identifying labels for a movement, which the insiders then may or may not adopt and use to self-identify. For example, the label for the levellers political movement in 17th century England was applied to them by their antagonists, as a term of disparagement. Yet admirers of the movement and its aims later came to use the term, and it is the term by which they are known to history.

Caution must always be exercised in any discussion of amorphous phenomena such as movements to distinguish between the views of insiders and outsiders, supporters and antagonists, each of whom may have their own purposes and agendas in characterization or mischaracterization of it.

Dynamics of social movements

Stages of social movements.

Social movements are not eternal. They have a life cycle: they are created, they grow, they achieve successes or failures and eventually, they dissolve and cease to exist.

They are more likely to evolve in the time and place which is friendly to the social movements: hence their evident symbiosis with the 19th century proliferation of ideas like individual rights, freedom of speech and civil disobedience. Social movements occur in liberal and authoritarian societies but in different forms. However there must always be polarizing differences between groups of people: in case of 'old movements', they were the poverty and wealth gaps. In case of the 'new movements', they are more likely to be the differences in customs, ethics and values. Finally, the birth of a social movement needs what sociologist Neil Smelser calls an initiating event: a particular, individual event that will begin a chain reaction of events in the given society leading to the creation of a social movement. For example, American Civil Rights movement grew on the reaction to black woman, Rosa Parks, riding in the whites-only section of the bus (although she was not acting alone or spontaneously—typically activist leaders lay the groundwork behind the scenes of interventions designed to spark a movement). The Polish Solidarity movement, which eventually toppled the communist regimes of Eastern Europe, developed after trade union activist Anna was fired from work. The South African shack dwellers' movement Abahlali base Mjondolo grew out of a road blockade in response to the sudden selling off of a small piece of land promised for housing to a developer. Such an event is also described as a volcanic model - a social movement is often created after a large number of people realize that there are others sharing the same value and desire for a particular social change.

One of the main difficulties facing the emerging social movement is spreading the very knowledge that it exists. Second is overcoming the free rider problem - convincing people to join it, instead of following the

mentality 'why should I trouble myself when others can do it and I can just reap the benefits after their hard work'.

Many social movements are created around some charismatic leader, i.e. one possessing charismatic authority. After the social movement is created, there are two likely phases of recruitment. The first phase will gather the people deeply interested in the primary goal and ideal of the movement. The second phase, which will usually come after the given movement had some successes and is trendy; it would look good on a résumé. People who join in this second phase will likely be the first to leave when the movement suffers any setbacks and failures.

Eventually, the social crisis can be encouraged by outside elements, like opposition from government or other movements. However, many movements had survived a failure crisis, being revived by some hardcore activists even after several decades.

Social movement theories

Main article: Social movement theory

Sociologists have developed several theories related to social movements [Kendall, 2005]. Some of the better-known approaches are outlined below. Chronologically they include:

- collective behavior/collective action theories (1950s)
- relative deprivation theory (1960s)
- marxist theory (1880s)
- value-added theory (1960s)
- resource mobilization (1970s)
- political process theory (1980s)
- framing theory (1980s) (closely related to social constructionist theory)
- new social movement theory (1980s)

Deprivation theory

Deprivation theory argues that social movements have their foundations among people who feel deprived of some good(s) or resource(s). According to this approach, individuals who are lacking some good, service, or comfort are more likely to organize a social movement to improve (or defend) their conditions.

There are two significant problems with this theory. First, since most people feel deprived at one level or another almost all the time, the theory has a hard time explaining why the groups that form social movements do when other people are also deprived. Second, the reasoning behind this theory is circular - often the only evidence for deprivation is the social movement. If deprivation is claimed to be the cause but the only evidence for such is the movement, the reasoning is circular.

Marxist theory

Derived from Karl Marx, Marxism as an ideology and theory of social change has had an immense impact on the practice and the analysis of social movements. Marxism arose from an analysis of movements structured by conflicts between industrial workers and their capitalist employers in the 19th century. In the twentieth century a variety of neo-Marxist theories have been developed that have opened themselves to adding questions of race, gender, environment, and other issues to an analysis centered in (shifting) political economic conditions. Class-based movements, both revolutionary and labor-reformist, have always been stronger in Europe than in the US and so has Marxist theory as a tool for understanding social movements, but important Marxist movements and theories have also evolved in the US. Marxist approaches have been and remain influential ways of understanding the role of political economy and class differences as key forces in many historical and current social movements, and they continue to challenge approaches that are limited by their inability to imagine serious alternatives to consumer capitalist social structures.

Mass society theory

Mass society theory argues that social movements are made up of individuals in large societies who feel insignificant or socially detached. Social movements, according to this theory, provide a sense of empowerment and belonging that the movement members would otherwise not have.[25]

Very little support has been found for this theory. Aho (1990), in his study of Idaho Christian Patriotism, did not find that members of that movement were more likely to have been socially detached. In fact, the key to joining the movement was having a friend or associate who was a member of the movement.

Structural strain theory

Social strain theory, also known as value-added theory, proposes six factors that encourage social movement development:

1. structural conduciveness - people come to believe their society has problems
2. structural strain - people experience deprivation
3. growth and spread of a solution - a solution to the problems people are experiencing is proposed and spreads
4. precipitating factors - discontent usually requires a catalyst (often a specific event) to turn it into a social movement
5. lack of social control - the entity that is to be changed must be at least somewhat open to the change; if the social movement is quickly and powerfully repressed, it may never materialize
6. mobilization - this is the actual organizing and active component of the movement; people do what needs to be done

This theory is also subject to circular reasoning as it incorporates, at least in part, deprivation theory and relies upon it, and social/structural strain for the underlying motivation of social movement activism.

However, social movement activism is, like in the case of deprivation theory, often the only indication that there was strain or deprivation.

Resource mobilization theory

Resource mobilization theory emphasizes the importance of resources in social movement development and success. Resources are understood here to include: knowledge, money, media, labor, solidarity, legitimacy, and internal and external support from power elite. The theory argues that social movements develop when individuals with grievances are able to mobilize sufficient resources to take action. The emphasis on resources offers an explanation why some discontented/deprived individuals are able to organize while others are not.

Some of the assumptions of the theory include:

- there will always be grounds for protest in modern, politically pluralistic societies because there is constant discontent (i.e., grievances or deprivation); this de-emphasizes the importance of these factors as it makes them ubiquitous
- actors are rational; they weigh the costs and benefits from movement participation
- members are recruited through networks; commitment is maintained by building a collective identity and continuing to nurture interpersonal relationships
- movement organization is contingent upon the aggregation of resources
- social movement organizations require resources and continuity of leadership
- social movement entrepreneurs and protest organizations are the catalysts which transform collective discontent into social movements; social movement organizations form the backbone of social movements
- the form of the resources shapes the activities of the movement (e.g., access to a TV station will result in the extensive use TV media)
- movements develop in contingent opportunity structures that influence their efforts to mobilize; as each movement's response to the opportunity structures depends on the movement's organization and resources, there is no clear pattern of movement development nor are specific movement techniques or methods universal

Critics of this theory argue that there is too much of an emphasis on resources, especially financial resources. Some movements are effective without an influx of money and are more dependent upon the movement members for time and labor (e.g., the civil rights movement in the U.S.).

Political process theory

Political process theory is similar to resource mobilization in many regards, but tends to emphasize a different component of social structure that is important for social movement development: political opportunities. Political process theory argues that there are three vital components for movement formation: insurgent consciousness, organizational strength, and political opportunities.

Insurgent consciousness refers back to the ideas of deprivation and grievances. The idea is that certain members of society feel like they are being mistreated or that somehow the system is unjust. The insurgent consciousness is the collective sense of injustice that movement members (or potential movement members) feel and serves as the motivation for movement organization.

Organizational strength falls inline with resource-mobilization theory, arguing that in order for a social movement to organize it must have strong leadership and sufficient resources.

Political opportunity refers to the receptivity or vulnerability of the existing political system to challenge. This vulnerability can be the result of any of the following (or a combination thereof):

- growth of political pluralism
- decline in effectiveness of repression
- elite disunity; the leading factions are internally fragmented
- a broadening of access to institutional participation in political processes
- support of organized opposition by elites

One of the advantages of the political process theory is that it addresses the issue of timing or emergence of social movements. Some groups may have the insurgent consciousness and resources to mobilize, but because political opportunities are closed, they will not have any success. The theory, then, argues that all three of these components are important.

Critics of the political process theory and resource-mobilization theory point out that neither theory discusses movement culture to any great degree. This has presented culture theorists an opportunity to expound on the importance of culture.

One advance on the political process theory is the political mediation model, which outlines the way in which the political context facing movement actors intersects with the strategic choices that movements make. An additional strength of this model is that it can look at the outcomes of social movements not only in terms of success or failure but also in terms of consequences (whether intentional or unintentional, positive or negative) and in terms of collective benefits.

Framing perspective

Reflecting the cultural turn in the social sciences and humanities more broadly, recent strains of social movement theory and research add to the largely structural concerns seen in the resource mobilization and political process theories by emphasizing the cultural and psychological aspects of social movement processes, such as collectively shared interpretations and beliefs, ideologies, values and other meanings about the world. In doing so, this general cultural approach also attempts to address the free-rider problem. One particularly successful take on some such cultural dimensions is manifested in the framing perspective on social movements.

While both resource mobilization theory and political process theory include, or at least accept, the idea that certain shared understandings of, for example, perceived unjust societal conditions must exist for

mobilization to occur at all, this is not explicitly problematized within those approaches. The framing perspective has brought such shared understandings to the forefront of the attempt to understand movement creation and existence by, e.g., arguing that, in order for social movements to successfully mobilize individuals, they must develop an injustice frame. An injustice frame is a collection of ideas and symbols that illustrate both how significant the problem is as well as what the movement can do to alleviate it,

"Like a picture frame, an issue frame marks off some part of the world. Like a building frame, it holds things together. It provides coherence to an array of symbols, images, and arguments, linking them through an underlying organizing idea that suggests what is essential - what consequences and values are at stake. We do not see the frame directly, but infer its presence by its characteristic expressions and language. Each frame gives the advantage to certain ways of talking and thinking, while it places others out of the picture."

Important characteristics of the injustice frames include:

- Facts take on their meaning by being embedded in frames, which render them relevant and significant or irrelevant and trivial.
- People carry around multiple frames in their heads.
- Successful reframing involves the ability to enter into the worldview of our adversaries.
- All frames contain implicit or explicit appeals to moral principles.

In emphasizing the injustice frame, culture theory also addresses the free-rider problem. The free-rider problem refers to the idea that people will not be motivated to participate in a social movement that will use up their personal resources (e.g., time, money, etc.) if they can still receive the benefits without participating. In other words, if person X knows that movement Y is working to improve environmental conditions in his neighborhood, he is presented with a choice: join or not join the movement. If he believes the movement will succeed without him, he can avoid participation in the movement, save his resources, and still reap the benefits - this is free-riding. A significant problem for social movement theory has been to explain why people join movements if they believe the movement can/will succeed without their contribution. Culture theory argues that, in conjunction with social networks being an important contact tool, the injustice frame will provide the motivation for people to contribute to the movement.

Framing processes includes three separate components:

- Diagnostic frame: the movement organization frames what is the problem or what they are critiquing
- Prognostic frame: the movement organization frames what is the desirable solution to the problem
- Motivational frame: the movement organization frames a "call to arms" by suggesting and encouraging that people take action to solve the problem

Social movement and social networking

For more than ten years, social movement groups have been using the Internet to accomplish organizational goals. It has been argued that the Internet helps to increase the speed, reach and effectiveness of social movement-related communication as well as mobilization efforts, and as a result, it has been suggested that the Internet has had a positive impact on the social movements in general.

Many discussions have been generated recently on the topic of social networking and the effect it may play on the formation and mobilization of social movement. For example, the emergence of the Coffee Party first appeared on the social networking site, Facebook. The party has continued to gather membership and support through that site and file sharing sites, such as Flickr. The 2009–2010 Iranian election protests also demonstrated how social networking sites are making the mobilization of large numbers of people quicker and easier. Iranians were able to organize and speak out against the election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad by using sites such as Twitter and Facebook. This in turn prompted widespread government censorship of the web and social networking sites.

The sociological study of social movements is quite new. The traditional view of movements often perceived them as chaotic and disorganized, treating activism as a threat to the social order. The activism experienced in the 1960s and 1970s shuffled in a new world opinion about the subject. Models were now introduced to understand the organizational and structural powers embedded in social movements.

Chapter 9

Theories of Social Change

Demographic and Biological Theories: Evolutionary, Diffusionist and Marxist theory, Technological Determinist Theory, Linear and Cyclical theories of Social change. Toward a Demographic Theory of Societal Change with Predictive Power

Wolfgang Lutz

Basic idea: Societies change in important and measurable dimensions as a consequence of the changing composition of people characterized by certain properties which are often persistent along cohort lines. The degree of persistence of these properties (in terms of proportions of a cohort that maintain the property as they age) can be empirically assessed by the means of age-period-cohort (APC) analysis. This can provide the basis for making assumptions about future persistence versus transitions to other properties (states) using the tools of multi-state population dynamics. Based on these projections, future societal change in terms of a changing composition of the population by relevant properties can be predicted, tested and potentially falsified, which makes it qualify as a theory.

Preamble 1: The Explanandum This paper proposes a demographic theory of social change which implies that the inspiration and approach of the paper is demographic but its goal is not. The goal of this theory is to predict social change in its wider sense. In the same way that an economic theory of fertility tries to explain fertility changes using the tools of economics, this theory tries to explain social change using the tools of demography. But there should be no relativism with respect to the chosen approach. The demographic approach chosen here stands in open competition with all other possible approaches. There is a clear objective criterion for which is the better approach: it is the ability to better predict the phenomenon under consideration. **Preamble 2:** Predictive Power, Karl Popper and the Effect of Viennese Potato Goulash Every theory is to be judged by its explanatory and predictive power. While the assessment of its explanatory power greatly depends on subjective criteria (When do we accept a specific explanation to be good enough?), the assessment of its predictive power has more objective criteria: We can empirically assess whether or not a prediction based on the theory under consideration can accurately predict the event it tries to explain. In the natural sciences this can be usually done by carrying out experiments. In social sciences, where large scale experiments are difficult or impossible to conduct (although there are some “natural

Leader of the World Population Program at the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA), Laxenburg, Austria; Director of the Vienna Institute of Demography (VID) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences; Professor of Social and Economic Statistics at the Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU); and Professorial Research Fellow at Oxford University. experiments”), predictions of the evolution of social phenomena over time are the best way to test the predictive power.

Wikipedia (as of Sept 29, 2009) defines predictive power as follows: “The predictive power of a scientific theory refers to its ability to generate testable predictions. Theories with strong predictive power are highly valued, because the predictions can often encourage the falsification of the theory. The concept of

predictive power differs from explanatory and descriptive power (where phenomena that are already known are retrospectively explained by a given theory) in that it allows a prospective test of theoretical understanding. Scientific ideas that do not confer any predictive power are considered at best 'conjectures', or at worst 'pseudoscience'. Because they cannot be tested or falsified in any way, there is no way to determine whether they are true or false, and so they do not gain the status of 'scientific

theory'." The above-mentioned criterion of falsifiability is usually associated with Karl Popper, who introduced it as a defining element of theories. In his understanding the predictive power of a theory is a prerequisite of its falsifiability and hence of its status as a theory. To my knowledge, Karl Popper has never explicitly written about demographic theories, but thanks to his desire to eat his favorite dish (Wiener Erdäpfelgulasch = Viennese potato goulash), I had the opportunity to have a lengthy discussion with him about this topic in 1984, when I stayed in London for an internship with the World Fertility Survey and his private doctor in Vienna asked me to take his favorite dish to him. In return for this service, he talked to me at his private residence, patiently answering the questions of an eager young demographer with an interest in philosophy of science. In essence, what he told me about the role of theories in demography was: With respect to the validity of theories, demography is not different from all the other sciences. Through its quantitative nature it should be actually easier than in many other social sciences to define hypotheses and theories that are specific enough so that they can be tested, i.e. potentially falsified. He also asked what would be the most important theories with predictive power in demography. After some hard thinking I could only come up with the theory of demographic transition (the real one, not the so-called "second demographic transition" which has no predictive power) which predicts that all societies starting from pre-modern conditions will experience a fertility decline following the mortality decline. Despite its lack of precision about the time lags involved and the precise course of fertility decline, this theory has predictive power and as a consequence underlies all the population projections for developing countries where further fertility declines to at least replacement levels are being assumed. After listening to my explanations with interest, he then asked whether demographic models could be applied to forecast other social trends as well. Since I had never thought about it in this way, he encouraged me to do so. And it took me 25 years to take up the challenge. I remember well his last words as we waited for the taxi outside his house which would bring me back to the train: "As scientists we have to be like bats, sending out signals to an unknown world and based on the echoes we receive, build an image (theory) which is the basis for predictions where we can safely fly. And as we fly, we have to listen very carefully to be able to update our predictions". Looking back, I remember that he had particularly big ears. Antecedents: Karl Mannheim and the "Problem of Generations" The proposer of any new theory needs to be aware of what has already been proposed in the field. When searching through the social science literature, the one strain of writing that seems to come closest to the projection along cohort lines proposed here, is on the succession of generations which was prominent in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in history (and even history of art) for explaining the sequence of different historical epochs which, under this view, was driven by the replacement of old generations by new ones with new views of the world, new priorities and new styles. A comprehensive synthesis of this approach was offered by the sociologist, Karl Mannheim, in his 1927 essay on "The Problem of Generations". Karl Mannheim was of Hungarian origin and in 1930 became Professor of Sociology in Frankfurt before he left (like Karl Popper and many other intellectuals) for England, where he taught at London University. His writings are partly in German and partly in English. In his essay on generations, Mannheim starts out by contrasting two opposite views on generations: One that he calls "positivist" and

which is focused on measurement and studying the average periods of time taken for the older generation to be superseded by the new in public life (p. 278). He calls this approach as having a biological perspective which we could safely translate in terms of meaning demographic. The opposite approach, which he calls “romantic-historical”, is distinctly non-quantitative and associated with the writings of the German historian, Dilthey. Here the central notion is that of “entelechy” which is meant to be the expression of the “inner aim” or its “inborn way of experiencing life and the world” of one generation. Although Mannheim seems clearly more amenable to the first view, he also criticizes the positivists (whom he calls the French school going back to Comte) as being too narrow in their purely biological approach. In developing his own view, Mannheim starts out with the statement that the issue of generations is “one of the indispensable guides to an understanding of the structure of social and intellectual movements”. And he sees it as the “task of Formal Sociology to work out the simplest, but at the same time the most fundamental facts relating to the phenomenon of generations”. And he urges formal sociology to move from its dominating static approach to capturing social dynamism. This all reads like a nice introduction to the focus on population dynamics which the approach presented here is trying to advance. The only difference is that Mannheim, as well as the others he discusses, is only looking backwards, trying to understand the forces driving history, rather than looking into the future. Mannheim defines a generation as being determined by its “social location” (soziale Lagerung), something that the members of a generation all share. He compares it to the way one is a member of a specific social class, viewed not cross-sectionally but over time: both generation and class “endow the individuals sharing in them with a common location in the social and historical process, and thereby limit them to a specific range of potential experience, predisposing them for a certain characteristic mode of thought and experience, and a characteristic type of historically relevant action”. He goes on to discuss what produces generation units and under what conditions a new group of people growing up is sufficiently different from the previous one in order to be called a new generation. This is where Mannheim’s sociological approach, which is still to some extent trying to capture the qualitative inner spirit of a generation, is quite different from the more formal cohort approach proposed below, where inner values (entelechy) may be a consequence but not a defining criterion for membership in a generation. At the end Mannheim comes to the conclusion that “it must be admitted that biological data constitute the most basic stratum of factors determining generation phenomena; ... but we cannot observe the effect of biological factors directly; we must, instead, see how they are reflected through the medium of social and cultural forces.”. This conclusion is fully in line with the starting point of the demographic approach presented in the following. Membership in a demographic (biological) cohort is only a statistical place holder (dummy variable) for the changing social and cultural aspects that shall be analyzed and – unlike Mannheim – forecast. There is one other decisive difference in the proposed new approach to that of Mannheim: Members of a generation (cohort in our case) are not all required to have the same social location, i.e., be similar in key aspects. Quite the opposite, we will consider cohorts as being composed of groups of people with clearly distinguishable properties (social

locations) such as speaking different languages, having different levels of educational attainment or different national/European identities, just to mention the examples that will be given below. Hence, the basic idea is not that generations are homogeneous but rather the opposite, that they are heterogeneous in measurable ways, but that their properties are sticky (persistent) along cohort lines and the composition of the properties in the entire population changes as a consequence of the changing proportions of cohorts who are carriers of the relevant properties.

Main Elements and Definitions of the Theory

1. The starting point for this proposed comprehensive framework for studying and projecting all kinds of social change is that cultures, values, behavioral norms and even institutional arrangements do not exist independently of people. It is the people who are the carriers of all views of life, all norms, all reflection and all knowledge relevant for action (except for the one in books and computers). Without individuals (and their individual brains) interacting, none of the above exist. Much of sociological theory focuses on these interactions among people, but it is important to see that these interactions cannot have a life of their own. They do not exist without the people that carry them out. In the extreme, if all the people involved die, there is no culture, no institution and no interaction left.

2. In terms of terminology, in the following I will call all these views that people hold and things they do and everything that characterizes a person individual properties. Some of these properties never change over life (such as skin color); others tend to change over each individual life course (such as physical strength as a function of age); and other characteristics change as a consequence of interaction with other people (such as certain preferences and behavioral norms). It is a key element of this demographic theory of social change that these individual properties can be grouped into disjunctive categories and the rates of individual transitions from one category to another can be quantitatively described.

3. If these two assertions are accepted, then any change in the number and composition of

people who carry different properties changes the societies they form. This social change is more easily predictable if the characteristics are stable. For example, assume there are two groups with different mother tongues and different levels of fertility in one society. If there is little intermarriage or transition, then the laws of population dynamics can describe quite well how the linguistic balance will shift in favor of the higher fertility group. More generally, multi-dimensional population dynamics can model the changing spread of all kinds of individual properties and the associated behavioral patterns in society. This can also be done in a non-linear fashion with feedbacks and tipping points which may trigger a change in the dominating culture/pattern and in the extreme case even lead to the extinction of a culture or language group or group of carriers of any other relevant property, if the carriers of this culture disappear through death, lack of reproduction or transition to other properties.

4. The more stable the properties are in which one is interested, the more reliable this demographic approach is in terms of forecasting. It has so far been empirically applied to the changing composition of the population with respect to religious affiliation and to the educational attainment distribution of the population. It has also proven to be applicable for anticipating future trends in “softer” characteristics such as the spread of a European identity in addition to a national one. The approach has less predictive power if the properties studied are very volatile. It only becomes useless in the hypothetical extreme case of zero stability of characteristics over the life course combined with the absence of any clear age patterns of transition. It is hard to find an example of such complete volatility; even properties greatly influenced by fashions such as preference for a specific kind of music tend to show some age profiles combined with a certain degree of persistence along cohort lines.

5. Over the past decades demography has developed two potentially very powerful analytical tools which (for various reasons) have not yet been used to their full potentials: Age-PeriodCohort (short APC) analysis and multi-state demography (short MSD). These two tools for analyzing, modeling and

projecting changes in the composition of the population for people distinguished by certain well-specified properties become particularly powerful when they are combined. To my knowledge this has not yet been done in a more general form. This hybrid, which I call APC-MSD, provides a very powerful analytical handle to empirically quantify the forces along age, period and cohort dimensions that change the composition of the population and model the dynamics of the changing composition of the population considering different rates of attrition (deaths), reproduction/replacement (births) and transitions (migration) to another state with other properties. Unlike most other sociological theories and theories of social change, this approach has the potential to forecast social change on the basis of certain explicit assumptions. This makes it empirically testable.

6. APC (Age-Period-Cohort) analysis is the analytical tool to empirically assess the relative strengths of variations over age, across cohorts and over time (period) in explaining any change in the distribution of certain properties in a population. One needs at least two age profiles for the same population at two different points in time in order to be able to disentangle these effects. A cohort effect is something formed at some point (typically rather early) in life which then stays constant with this group who experience it throughout the rest of their lives (e.g., the people graduating from college in a certain year). An age effect is defined as some change in a property that affects all people (of different cohorts and at different periods) as they age (e.g., all women going through the sequence from menarche to menopause). A period effect, finally, is some force that affects all people of all ages and cohorts at a specific point in time (e.g., a war or a major political or cultural event that leaves its mark). Since mathematically each of these three effects can be expressed as the interaction of the other two (e.g., the combination of age and period defines cohort membership), much work has been done to deal with this problem of over-identification and satisfactory solutions for the empirical estimation exist.

7. MS (Multi-State) population dynamics is a generalization of the simple cohort-component model, the standard tool for doing population projections (taking birth cohorts and letting them become one year older every calendar year while exposing them to assumed levels of age-specific fertility, mortality and migration rates). In the multi-dimensional generalization the population is sub-divided into distinct groups (according to characteristics such as place of residence, marital status, religion, education, etc.) and differential fertility, mortality and migration schedules are applied to the groups in addition to considering the transition rates from one state to the others (e.g., moving from province A to B or from the single to the 6 married state). This multi-dimensional projection method is the tool for modeling and forecasting changes in the composition of the population based on certain assumed fertility, mortality, migration and transition rates.

8. One may of course argue that this concept is not a behavioral theory which tells us why people are doing certain things. It does not attempt to be a theory of individual behavior but rather, it focuses at societal-level change. It tells us about the forces that shape the composition of societies and therefore their nature. Age and period effects are, in a way, place holders for many kinds of forces that cause individuals to change over their life course or refer to the sum of external environmental events and influences at one particular point in time. But this lack of specificity with respect to the concrete forces that are shaping our individual life course patterns or shaping the course of external events from year to year can be seen as an advantage rather than a shortcoming. It makes the theory more flexible to very different kinds of applications. Also, we can apply the theory to forecasting without having to wait until we have a full understanding about all the substantive forces that shape changing individual behavior.

Actually there is reason to assume that we might never be in the position to fully explain human behavior in its extreme complexity because one can infinitely regress to deeper and deeper levels of causation. Limiting the analysis to the level of capturing age, period and cohort changes and making transparent assumptions about their possible future courses is a clean and defensible approach and it does not prevent the analyst from conducting deeper levels of causal and behavioral analysis. New behavioral insights, should they come up, can then be readily integrated into this model.

Empirical Examples:

The changing educational composition of the population: Here the property under consideration (highest educational attainment) is invaria

Evolutionary Theories

Evolutionary theories are based on the assumption that societies gradually change from simple beginnings into even more complex forms. Early sociologists beginning with Auguste Comte believed that human societies evolve in a unilinear way- that is in one line of development. According to them social change meant progress toward something better. They saw change as positive and beneficial. To them the evolutionary process implied that societies would necessarily reach new and higher levels of civilization. L.H Morgan believed that there were three basic stages in the process: savagery, barbarism and civilization. Auguste Comte's ideas relating to the three stages in the development of human thought and also of society namely- the theological, the metaphysical and the positive in a way represent the three basic stages of social change. This evolutionary view of social change was highly influenced by Charles Darwin's theory of Organic Evolution. Those who were fascinated by this theory applied it to the human society and argued that societies must have evolved from the simple and primitive to that of too complex and advanced such as the western society. Herbert Spencer a British sociologist carried this analogy to its extremity. He argued that society itself is an organism. He even applied Darwin's principle of the survival of the fittest to human societies. He said that society has been gradually progressing towards a better state. He argued that it has evolved from military society to the industrial society. He claimed that western races, classes or societies had survived and evolved because they were better adapted to face the conditions of life. This view known as social Darwinism got widespread popularity in the late 19th century. It survived even during the first phase of the 20th century. Emile Durkheim identified the cause of societal evolution as a society's increasing moral density. Durkheim viewed societies as changing in the direction of greater differentiation, interdependence and formal control under the pressure of increasing moral density. He advocated that societies have evolved from a relatively undifferentiated social structure with minimum of division of labor and with a kind of solidarity called mechanical solidarity to a more differentiated social structure with maximum division of labor giving rise to a kind of solidarity called organic solidarity.

Cyclical theories:

Cyclical theories of social change focus on the rise and fall of civilizations attempting to discover and account for these patterns of growth and decay. Spengler, Toynbee and Sorokin can be regarded as the champions of this theory. Spengler pointed out that the fate of civilizations was a matter of destiny. Each civilization is like a biological organism and has a similar life-cycle, birth, maturity, old-age and death. After making a study of eight major civilizations including the west he said that the modern western

society is in the last stage i.e. old age. He concluded that the western societies were entering a period of decay as evidenced by wars, conflicts and social breakdown that heralded their doom.

Toynbee:

Arnold Toynbee's famous book 'A study of History' (1946) focus on the key concepts of challenge and response. Every society faces challenges at first, challenges posed by the environment and later challenges from internal and external enemies. The nature of responses determines the society's fate. The achievements of a civilization consist of its successful responses to the challenges; if cannot mount an effective response it dies. He does not believe that all civilizations will inevitably decay. He has pointed out that history is a series of cycles of decay and growth. But each new civilization is able to learn from the mistakes and to borrow from cultures of others. It is therefore possible for each new cycle to offer higher level of achievement.

Sorokin:

Pitirin Sorokin in his book Social and Culture Dynamics - 1938 has offered another explanation of social change. Instead of viewing civilization into the terms of development and decline he proposed that they alternate of fluctuate between two cultural extremes: the sensate and the ideational. The sensate culture stresses those things which can be perceived directly by the senses. It is practical, hedonistic, sensual and materialistic. Ideational culture emphasizes those things which can be perceived only by the mind. It is abstract, religious concerned with faith and ultimate truth. It is the opposite of the sensate culture. Both represent pure types of culture. Hence no society ever fully conforms to either type. As the culture of a society develops towards one pure type, it is countered by the opposing cultural force. Cultural development is then reversed moving towards the opposite type of culture. Too much emphasis on one type of culture leads to a reaction towards the other. Societies contain both these impulses in varying degrees and the tension between them creates long-term instability. Between these types lies a third type 'idealistic' culture. This is a desirable blend of other two but no society ever seems to have achieved it as a stable condition.

Functionalist or Dynamic theories:

In the middle decades of the 20th century a number of American sociologists shifted their attention from social dynamics to social static or from social change to social stability. Talcott Parsons stressed the importance of cultural patterns in controlling the stability of a society. According to him society has the ability to absorb disruptive forces while maintaining overall stability. Change is not as something that disturbs the social equilibrium but as something that alters the state of equilibrium so that a qualitatively new equilibrium results. He has stated that changes may arise from two sources. They may come from outside the society through contact with other societies. They may also come from inside the society through adjustment that must be made to resolve strains within the system. Parsons speaks of two processes that are at work in social change. In simple societies institutions are undifferentiated that is a single institution serves many functions. The family performs reproductive, educational, socializing, economic, recreational and other functions. A process of differentiation takes place when the society becomes more and more complex. Different institutions such as school, factory may take over some of the functions of a family. The new institutions must be linked together in a proper way by the process of integration. New norms must be established in order to govern the relationship between the school and the

home. Further bridging institutions such as law courts must resolve conflicts between other components in the system.

Conflict theories:

Whereas the equilibrium theories emphasize the stabilizing processes at work in social systems the so-called conflict theories highlight the forces producing instability, struggle and social disorganization. According to Ralf Dahrendorf the conflict theories assume that - every society is subjected at every moment to change, hence social change is ubiquitous. Every society experiences at every moment social conflict, hence social conflict is ubiquitous. Every element in society contributes to change. Every society rests on constraint of some of its members by others. The most famous and influential of the conflict theories is the one put forward by Karl Marx who along with Engel wrote in Communist Manifesto 'all history is the history of class conflict.' Individuals and groups with opposing interests are bound to be at conflict. Since the two major social classes the rich and poor or capitalists and the proletariat have mutually hostile interests they are at conflict. History is the story of conflict between the exploiter and the exploited. This conflict repeats itself off and on until capitalism is overthrown by the workers and a socialist state is created. What is to be stressed here is that Marx and other conflict theorists deem society as basically dynamic and not static. They consider conflict as a normal process. They also believe that the existing conditions in any society contain the seeds of future social changes. Like Karl Marx George Simmel too stressed the importance of conflict in social change. According to him conflict is a permanent feature of society and not just a temporary event. It is a process that binds people together in interaction. Further conflict encourages people of similar interests to unite together to achieve their objectives. Continuous conflict in this way keeps society dynamic and ever changing.

Chapter 10

Social Control

Definition, Need and Importance of Social Control,

Type Of Social Control, Theories of Social control

Social control refers generally to societal and political mechanisms or processes that regulate individual and group behavior in an attempt to gain conformity and compliance to the rules of a given society, state, or social group. Sociologists identify two basic forms of social control:

Informal means of control - Internalization of norms and values by a process known as socialization, which is defined as "the process by which an individual, born with behavioral potentialities of enormously wide range, is led to develop actual behavior which is confined to the narrower range of what is acceptable for him by the group standards." Formal means of social control - External sanctions enforced by government to prevent the establishment of chaos or anomie in society. Some theorists, such as Émile Durkheim, refer to this form of control as regulation. While the concept of social control has been around since the formation of organized sociology, the meaning has been altered over time and has been given both positive and negative connotations. Originally, the concept simply referred to society's ability to regulate itself. However, in the 1930s, the term took on its more modern meaning of an individual's conversion to conformit

Social control theory began to be studied as a separate field in the early 20th century. As briefly defined above, the means to enforce social control can be either informal or formal. Sociologist Edward A. Ross argues that belief systems exert a greater control on human behavior than laws imposed by government, no matter what form the beliefs take.

Contents

1 Informal

2 Formal

Informal

The social values present in individuals are products of informal social control, exercised implicitly by a society through particular customs, norms, and mores. Individuals internalize the values of their society, whether conscious or not of the indoctrination. Traditional society relies mostly on informal social control embedded in its customary culture to socialize its members. Informal sanctions may include shame, ridicule, sarcasm, criticism, and disapproval, which can cause an individual to stray towards the social norms of the society. In extreme cases sanctions may include social discrimination and exclusion.

Informal social control usually has more effect on individuals because the social values become internalized, thus becoming an aspect of the individual's personality. Informal sanctions check 'deviant' behavior. An example of a negative sanction comes from a scene in the Pink Floyd film 'The Wall,' whereby the young protagonist is ridiculed and verbally abused by a high school teacher for writing poetry in a mathematics class. Another example from the movie 'About a Boy', when a young boy hesitates to jump from a high springboard and is ridiculed for his fear. Though he eventually jumps, his behaviour is controlled by shame.

Informal controls reward or punish acceptable or unacceptable behaviour (i.e., deviance) and are varied from individual to individual, group to group, and society to society. For example, at a Women's Institute meeting, a disapproving look might convey the message that it is inappropriate to flirt with the minister. In a criminal gang, on the other hand, a stronger sanction applies in the case of someone threatening to inform to the police of illegal activity.

Theorists such as Noam Chomsky have argued that systemic bias exists in the modern media. The marketing, advertising, and public relations industries have thus been said to utilize mass communications to aid the interests of certain political and business elites. Powerful ideological, economic and religious lobbyists have often used school systems and centralised electronic communications to influence public opinion.

Formal

Historically, rulers have legitimately used torture as a means of mind control as well as murder, imprisonment and exile to remove from public space anyone the state authorities deemed to be undesirable. During the Age of Enlightenment harsh penalties for crimes and civil disobedience were criticised by philosophers such as Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham whose work inspired reform movements which eventually led to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 which informs most western jurisdictions and the similar Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam in 1990.

In the USA, early societies were able to easily expel individuals deemed undesirable from public space through vagrancy laws and other forms of banishment. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, these exclusion orders were denounced as unconstitutional in America and consequentially were rejected by the US Supreme Court

The introduction of Broken Windows Theory in the 1980s generated a dramatic transformation in the concepts used in forming policies in order to circumvent the previous issue of unconstitutionality

According to the theory, the environment of a particular space signals its health to the public, including to potential vandals. By maintaining an organized environment, individuals are dissuaded from causing disarray in that particular location. However, environments filled with disorder, such as broken windows or graffiti, indicate an inability for the neighborhood to supervise itself, therefore leading to an increase in criminal activity

Instead of focusing on the built environment, policies substantiated by the Broken Windows Theory overwhelmingly emphasize undesirable human behavior as the environmental disorder prompting further crime.

The civility laws, originating in the late 1980s and early 1990s, provide an example of the usage of this latter aspect of the Broken Windows Theory as legitimization for discriminating against individuals considered disorderly in order to increase the sense of security in urban spaces

These civility laws effectively criminalize activities considered undesirable, such as sitting or lying on sidewalks, sleeping in parks, urinating or drinking in public, and begging, in an attempt to force the individuals doing these and other activities to relocate to the margins of society

Not surprisingly then, these restrictions disproportionately affect the homeless.

Individuals are deemed undesirable in urban space because they do not fit into social norms, which causes unease for many residents of certain neighborhoods

This fear has been deepened by the Broken Windows Theory and exploited in policies seeking to remove undesirables from visible areas of society

In the post-industrial city, concerned primarily with retail, tourism, and the service sector, the increasing pressure to create the image of a livable and orderly city has no doubt aided in the most recent forms of social control

These new techniques involve even more intense attempts to spatially expel certain individuals from urban space since the police are entrusted with considerably more power to investigate individuals, based on suspicion rather than on definite evidence of illicit actions

Park exclusion orders (prohibiting individuals from frequenting one, some, or all of the parks in a city for an extended period of time due to a previous infraction), trespass laws (privatizing areas generally thought of as public in order for the police to choose which individuals to interrogate), and off-limit orders (Stay Out of Drug Areas (SODA) and Stay Out of Areas of Prostitution (SOAP) which obstructs access to these spaces) are just a few of the new social control techniques employed by cities to displace certain individuals to the margins of society

Several common themes are apparent in each of these control mechanisms. The first is the ability to spatially constrain individuals in their own city. Defying any of the above statutes is a criminal offense resulting in possible incarceration

Although not all individuals subjected to an exclusion order will abide to it, these individuals are, at the very least, spatially hindered through decreased mobility and freedom throughout the city

This spatial constrain on individuals leads to a serious disruption and interference of their lives. Homeless individuals generally frequent parks since the area provides benches for sleeping, public washrooms, occasional public services, and an overall sense of security by being near others in similar conditions. Privatizing areas such as libraries, public transportation systems, college campuses, and commercial

establishments that are generally public gives the police permission to remove individuals as they see fit, even if the individual has ethical intent in the space. Off-limit orders attempting to keep drug addicts, prostitutes, and others out of concentrated areas of drug and sex crimes commonly restricts these individuals' ability to seek social services beneficial to rehabilitation, since these services are often located within the SODA and SOAP territories. By prohibiting their access to important public aspects of the city, undesirable individuals are increasingly outlawed to the periphery of society. Despite the need to address the social issues inherently devastating these individuals, pushing these individuals further out of sight only pushes them further out of mind.

What is the importance of Social Control in society?

Social control is very essential for every society. Without social control, society as well as individual cannot exist. Therefore, the need of social control is very essential. Social control is necessary for the following reasons.

1. To maintain the old order: It is necessary for every society or group to maintain its social order and this is possible only when its members behave in accordance with that social order. An important objective of social control is not to maintain the old order. Family helps in the realization of this objective. The aged members of the family enforce their ideas over the children.

2. To establish social unity:

Without social control, social unity would be a mere dream. Social control regulates behavior in accordance with established norms, which brings uniformity of behavior and leads to unity among the individuals. The family maintains its unity because its members behave in similar manner in accordance with family norms.

3. To regulate or control individual behavior:

No two men are alike in their attitudes, ideas, interests and habits. Even the children of the same parents do not have the same attitudes, habits and interests. Men believe in different religions, dress differently, eat different food, marry in different ways and have different ideologies. There are so much differences in the ways of living of the people that at every movement there is the possibility of clash between them. In modern times, this possibility has all the more increased because man has become too self-centered. Social control is necessary to protect social interests and satisfy common need. If social control is removed and individual is left to behave freely, society would be reduced to state of jungle.

4. To provide social sanction:

Social control provides social sanction to the social ways of behavior. There are numerous folkways, modes and customs prevalent in society. Every individual has to follow them. If an individual violates the social norms, he is compelled through social control to observe them. Thus, social control provides sanction to social norms.

5. To check cultural mal-adjustment:

Society is subject to change. New invention, new discoveries and new philosophies continue to take birth in society. The individual has to adjust his behavior to the change-taking place in society. But all the individuals cannot adjust themselves to the new conditions. Some become progressive, others remain conservative. When a person from the village moves into the city, he comes across new cultural standards and it is possible that he may wrongly adjust himself to the new cultural environment. He may become a slave of passions, visit bar and pass nights in nightclubs. During this transitional period in his social control, it is very necessary lest he should become a deviant.

Need for Social Control

Social solidarity is essential for the existence of society. No two persons are alike in their nature, ideas, attitudes and interests. Every individual is a separate personality. There are cultural differences among the individuals. As a matter of fact society is a heterogeneous organization. If every individual is allowed unrestricted freedom to act and behave, it may create social disorder. For an orderly social life social control is necessary. The aims of social control are to bring out conformity, solidarity and continuity of a particular group or society.

Social control is necessary for maintaining order in the society. It is necessary for every society or group to maintain its social order and this is possible only when its members behave in accordance with that social order. An important objective of social control is to maintain the old order. Although enforcement of the old order in a changing society may hinder social progress, yet it is necessary to maintain continuity and uniformity in society.

Without social control social unity would be a mere dream. Social control regulates behavior in accordance with established norms which brings uniformity of behavior and leads to unity among the individuals. The family maintains its unity because its members behave in a similar manner in accordance with family norms.

No two men are alike in their attitudes, ideas, interests and habits. Even the children of same parents do not have the same attitudes, habits or interests. Men believe in different religions, dress, eat differently and have different ideologies. There are so many differences in the ways of living of the people that at every moment there is the possibility of clash between them. In modern times this possibility has all the more increased because man has become too self-centred. Social control is necessary to protect social interests and satisfy common needs. If social control is removed and every individual is left to behave freely society would be reduced to a state of lawlessness.

Social Control Theory

Introduction

Unlike most criminology theories that purport to explain why people offend, control theory offers the justification for why people obey rules. Control theory provides an explanation for how behavior conforms to that which is generally expected in society. Some control theories emphasize the

developmental processes during childhood by which internal constraints develop. Social control theories, however, focus primarily on external factors and the processes by which they become effective. Deviance and crime occur because of inadequate constraints. For social control theory, the underlying view of human nature includes the conception of free will, thereby giving offenders the capacity of choice, and responsibility for their behavior. As such, social control theory is aligned more with the classical school of criminology than with positivist or determinist perspectives. For the most part, social control theory postulates a shared value or belief in social norms. Even those who break laws or violate social norms are likely to share the general belief that those rules should be followed. Crime and deviance are considered predictable behaviors that society has not curtailed. Explaining conformity, particularly the process by which people are socialized to obey the rules, is the essence of social control theory. Thus, social control theory focuses on how the absence of close relationships with conventional others can free individuals from social constraints, thereby allowing them to engage in delinquency. Alternatively, other prominent criminological theories focus on how close relationships with delinquent peers or negative relationships with others can lead or compel individuals to commit delinquency.

Origins of the Theory

The first notions of social control theory may be found in the work of some of the Enlightenment thinkers and the classical school of criminology. One author, Thomas Hobbes, an English philosopher writing in the seventeenth century about the inherent tendency toward self-indulgence and evil that requires external restraint and the corresponding role of government, is frequently mentioned (see Hobbes 1957, first published in 1651). More often, the origin is connected to Emile Durkheim, the prolific French writer who many consider the founder of sociology and structural functionalism. In addition to explaining the condition of anomie that results from a breakdown in social norms, Durkheim also offered crime and deviance as social facts, present in all societies (Durkheim 1938, originally published in 1895). Durkheim said, "We are moral beings to the extent that we are social beings" (Durkheim 2002, p. 64). In his view, crime serves the function of identifying boundaries for behavior, which are recognized collectively in communities and reinforced by negative societal reactions. Social order is thereby maintained by the process of being socialized to avoid disapproval associated with deviant acts. This process also is the means by which boundaries are altered and social change occurs. Durkheim's view of social control is conveyed as follows: "The more weakened the groups to which [the individual] belongs, the less he depends on them, the more he consequently depends only on himself and recognizes no other rules of conduct than what are founded on his private interests" (Durkheim 1951, p. 209; originally published in 1897)

Chapter 11

The Emergence of sociology:

Transition from social philosophy to sociology

The intellectual context. Enlightenment- The social, economic and political forces :

The French and Industrial Revolutions.

THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE “TRANSITION”: ERNEST

GELLNER’S SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Amongst scholars of International Relations, Ernest Gellner is probably best known as one of the key theorists of nationalism and as a leading figure of the ‘modernist’ school of nationalism studies. However Gellner’s interests and contribution to knowledge extends considerably beyond the study of nationalism

The principal objective of this article is to set out Gellner’s extraordinarily ambitious and multidisciplinary vision of our modern condition which underpinned his lifetime’s work into a wide array of subjects. Gellner was one of that group of political exiles from the turmoil of fascism and communism in East Central Europe who contributed disproportionately to British academic life. Like others from this cohort, he was dismayed by the complacency he encountered in the intellectual climate of post-war British universities and was unwilling to remain silent for the sake of academic advancement. Gellner was never afraid and, in many ways, relished the role as iconoclast. His first major work, *Words and Things* (1959) was an excoriating attack on the intellectual provincialism and trivialisation of knowledge which he found in the philosophy studied at Oxford University in the 1950s, which was then in the midst of the ‘linguistic revolution’ associated in particular with the legacy of Ludwig Wittgenstein. For someone who had still not obtained tenure, it was a brave and potentially fool-hardy act of defiance. And might have brought his academic career to an untimely end if he had not obtained the support of Bertrand Russell, who approved of his critique, wrote to the *Times* in his favour against the Oxford philosophical establishment, and brought Gellner fame and the status of a young enfant terrible of British academia. 3

Gellner’s response to this early exposure to intellectual provincialism was to dedicate his subsequent life to crossing academic disciplines and to addressing an impressively wide array of topics and subjects. He was probably unique amongst British scholars in that, during his life, he held chairs in philosophy (LSE), sociology (LSE) and social anthropology (Cambridge). He contributed original and pathbreaking monographs and articles to all these academic disciplines. His works and range of interests included a detailed ethnographic study of the tribesmen of the High Atlas mountains in Morocco (1969); the sociology of Islam (1981); Soviet anthropology and social thought (1980; 1988); issues of social philosophy (1974), the philosophy of science and the philosophical problems of relativism (1985a), critiques of post-modernism (1992); the sociology of nationalism (1983; 1997a); politics of modern

society and role of civil society (1994); an analysis of psychoanalysis (1985b); as well as a general grand theory of history (1964; 1991). He wrote over 25 books and his full bibliography runs into the hundreds.

Despite his diverse and prolific output, Gellner's essential message and the intellectual focus of his work was relatively simple, even stark. He sought in his many endeavours to bring out what he saw as the single most important development of human history: the 'transition' or, as he sometimes calls it, the crossing of the 'ditch' from agrarian society, characterised by Malthusian scarcity, a violent and coercive ruling class, and closed non-cumulative cognitive framework imposed by a self-perpetuating revelation-holding clerisy, to industrial society, characterised by affluence, dynamic and cumulative cognitive growth and the prospect, if not the guarantee, of liberty. Gellner's world vision is one of a 'world in which one style of knowledge, though born of one culture, is being adapted by all of them, with enormous speed and eagerness, and is disrupting many of them, and is totally transforming the milieu in which men live' (1992: 78). Gellner treats this as the 'fact' of our present condition and sees it the central task of all the social sciences – philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and politics – to work out its implications. Gellner was unashamedly a modernist, a defender of Western empiricism and the positivist tradition, and a political liberal but someone also deeply beset by fears that this 'miraculous' discovery of an incredibly powerful cognitive style, and the technological economic advances it promotes, might result in the extinction rather than the consolidation of liberty. It is, at least in part, these tensions in his admirably unified and parsimonious model of historical development which makes his work so rewarding. At the present time, Gellner's intellectual contribution is accorded a surprisingly marginal role in the various disciplines to which he belonged. Ever since his confrontation with Oxford philosophy, he has been ignored by mainstream analytical philosophy. A similar fate has befallen his work in social anthropology, despite holding the Cambridge Chair in Social Anthropology from 1982 onwards. In sociology, his work has a greater recognition but has become increasingly marginalised in the post-modernist shift in sociological conceptualizations of modernity and its meanings. Gellner's relative marginality to IR is perhaps more understandable since he had only a limited interest in the role of geopolitics, an omission which he did note was problematic.

In this article, we argue that Gellner has much to offer those whose academic interests lie in IR, despite his disinterest in a number of the core concerns of IR. The argument has four parts. First, it is suggested that Gellner's political sociology, though relatively marginal in contemporary sociology, offers more to IR than other leading sociologists. Gellner's biography and sociology is contrasted with Zygmunt

Bauman and Ralf Dahrendorf, two fellow central Europeans who have contributed enormously to British sociology. Second, it is argued that the overarching social philosophy and theory of history behind Gellner's intellectual contribution provides a powerful tool for approaching some of the core contemporary concerns of IR. The third and fourth sections examine Gellner's original contributions to two specific areas of such concern – the dynamic of nationalism and the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism.

BIOGRAPHY AND SOCIOLOGY IN CONTEXT

A central concern for sociology, particularly historical sociology, is the delineation of what is distinctive about modernity. Its description necessarily affects our understanding of our contemporary world. This section seeks to place Gellner among his leading contemporaries within British sociology and their contrasting views of modernity, and in doing so it seeks to highlight the contours of Gellner's

distinctive approach. It does so by contrasting his historical sociology with that of two other (east) central European-origin academics who made a significant impact on British sociology: Ralf Dahrendorf and Zygmunt Bauman. There is an immediate contrast that should be noted: in terms of academic popularity Gellner is perhaps the least celebrated. In the 1960s and 1970s, a period in which 'Marx-Weber sociology' was dominant, Dahrendorf's views on social stratification and conflict were widely discussed and cited, while Bauman's views on the social conditions of 'postmodernity' have become celebrated following the post-structuralist/cultural turn in British sociology through the 1990s. Gellner's sociology never quite captured the British sociological zeitgeist, and yet for all that, we maintain that it is his sociology that remains the most prescient and the most relevant to contemporary international relations, offering as it does an 'international political sociology'. Gellner remained something of an 'outsider' in British academia (Hall, 1981:197). His social background partly explains this. He was Czech in origin; his parents were German-speaking Jews who switched to using Czech under the 'liberal nationalist' regime of Jan Masaryk's interwar Czechoslovakia. Gellner's immediate family fled to Britain following the Nazi invasion of 1939; those that remained perished. In Britain he attended Oxford University before joining the Czech Brigade and taking part in the victory parade in Prague in 1945. Unable to re-settle in Prague he returned to Britain (Hall, 1998: 1-2).

Iv These were formative experiences which influenced much of his theorising on modernity and its concomitant ideologies of nationalism and Marxism. Academically, Gellner was genuinely a polymath. As already noted, his work embraced philosophy, sociology and anthropology, and was notable for its willingness to take unpopular yet strongly held positions. Yet despite the range of his work, there was coherence to it. An attachment to empiricism was a unifying theme. This, Gellner shares with Ralf Dahrendorf and together they share an admiration for Karl Popper, both his empiricism and his liberalism. Popper's insistence on the verification of knowledge marked both thinkers as did his promotion of the 'open society' as the optimal outcome. Dahrendorf's passion for liberty derives from his youth in Germany, marked by anti-Nazi activity for which he was sent to a concentration camp (Hall, 1981: 121). Yet while Dahrendorf's admiration for Popper led to a rather crude 'evolutionism' in which the emergence of an 'open society' was itself viewed as the 'end of history' which had to be defended at all costs (Hall, 1981), Gellner's liberalism was rather more hard-nosed. Liberalism was a desirable yet historically rare outcome, continually vulnerable to competing ideologies. The conditions under which it prospered had to be understood. Lessnoff (2002: 59) offers this observation: 'The difference between Popper and Gellner is that what Popper simply advocates as the most rational politics, Gellner claims to be the only possible democratic politics'. The difference is telling, for Popper 'rational politics' is justified philosophically for Gellner it is justified on sociological grounds, as the only social option available to foster democracy. Both Gellner and Dahrendorf draw on Popper's model of social change. For Dahrendorf (1972) conflict is part and parcel of human society, and is presented as a social good, a necessary instrument of social change. Dahrendorf is theorizing Popper's 'warrior ethic' that suggests that humans are naturally contentious. Conflict arises in response to the differential access to power. However there is a rather naïve optimism to the theory since there is a belief that it will inevitably result in a civilised society (Hall, 1981: 123-32). While Popper advocated only incremental change, Gellner suggests that a more fundamental revolution had to take place in order to allow for the very existence of reform-orientated societies. It was an analysis of this that Gellner devoted his intellectual life. It is the resulting sociology that has greatest significance for IR. Gellner presents a 'trinitarian' view of human history in which revolution has played a pivotal role: the Neolithic and industrial revolutions are

identified as seismic ruptures in human history. The first heralded the transition from hunter/gatherer society ('forgia') to settled agrarian society ('agraria'); the second marked the transition to modern industrial society ('industria'). It is this latter transition which provides the central focus of Gellner's oeuvre, and through which topics as diverse as nationalism, Islam, psychoanalysis and postmodernism are understood. These are 'episodes' in human history thereby conveying the contingency of these events; they are not inevitable developments (Hall, 1981: 201-2). There is an abiding conviction running through Gellner's work that modernity is an achievement, the material benefits that it produces are real and continue to be experienced across the globe. The contrast with Zygmunt Bauman could not be more stark. Bauman's continuing intellectual development is characterised by a growing disillusionment with modernity and the embrace of a series of 'emancipatory projects', notably Marxism, post-modernity and most recently his own formulation, 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000), which seek to transcend our present social conditions. These projects, in Gellnerian terms are 're-enchantment' projects (a description Bauman himself adopts, see below), theories characterised by the replacement of analysis with hope; as a result they provide only 'false trails'. They fail to adopt the necessary empirical rigor. Bauman's sociology must in part be understood by examining his biography. He shares with Gellner a Jewish background, yet his family gravitated toward communism rather than liberalism. Jozef Pilsudski's Poland was more conservative and nationalist than Masaryk's Czechoslovakia, and Bauman's family experienced anti-Semitism directly. In this context the universalist and salvatory aspects of communism were particularly appealing to those, notably Jews, with 'liminal identities' (Riga, 2006; cf. Gellner, 1998). At the outbreak of war in 1939 Bauman's family fled to the Soviet Union, there Bauman joined the Polish army in Soviet Russia (mirroring Gellner's own military service) and was part of the Soviet push westwards in 1945. Bauman continued to serve as an officer in the military as an idealistic Communist Party member, while undertaking graduate studies. He grew only gradually disillusioned with 'state socialism', in part the result of anti-Semitic purges: he was dismissed from the military in 1953 and from his academic post in 1968. He secured an academic post in Britain in 1971 (Smith, 1999: 38-41). Bauman's chief concern has been to theorize ways in which the human cost of modernity can be overcome. According to Bauman modernity is characterised by the drive for order imposed by the modern state and its agents; human beings suffer since they are denied the freedom to realise their own identities (Smith, 1999: 142-3) As a Marxist he speculated that capitalist modernity could be circumvented altogether. Notably he argued that the communal values and organisation of Polish peasants were conducive to the economic organisation of Communist Poland (Smith, 1999: 70-4). Interestingly an earlier generation of sociologists had found these same characteristics entirely compatible with early 20th century capitalist Chicago (Thomas and Znaniecki, [1918-20] 1984). As a postmodernist Bauman suggests that the attempt to impose order has failed, and it is that failure which has ushered in a postmodern era in which individuals can rediscover their moral nature and bring about the 're-enchantment of the world' (Smith, 1999: 147-50). Gellner's response to this sort of theorising is stoic: drawing on Weber he insists that the disenchanting costs of modernity cannot be wished away, they need to be borne; they are the price to be paid for the very real benefits that modernity, in particular science provides. In other words 'science destroys but cannot create' (Hall, 1981: 212-5). In our view Gellner's conceptualisation of the transition retains all its explanatory power, and has much to offer IR. Gellner's emphasis on the transition to modernity and its continuing repercussions acts as a necessary corrective to Westerncentric theorising which ignores the fundamental fact that much of the world is still grappling with the transition to modernity and its immediate consequences. Moreover Gellner was particularly prescient in his view that the issue of liberalisation rather than the traditional concern with

revolution would occupy us as more societies became industrialized (Hall, 1981: 230). It is now necessary to flesh out its philosophical foundations.

WHAT WERE THE NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE 18TH CENTURY?

The Enlightenment, an intellectual movement in 18th century Europe, was stimulated by the scientific revolution. Stunning successes in understanding the physical world through processes of logic and observation encouraged the belief that similar progress might be made in the area of political economy and social relations. Like the scientific revolution, the Enlightenment involved an application of the natural, humanistic attitudes typical of the Renaissance. The Enlightenment or the Age of Reason is names given to the predominant intellectual movement of the eighteenth century. It was an intellectual movement among the upper and middle class elites. It involved a new world view which explained the world and looked for answers in terms of reason rather than faith, and in terms of an optimistic, natural, humanistic approach rather than a fatalistic, supernatural one. These are characteristics which it shared with the earlier intellectual movement known as the Renaissance. Indeed, the Enlightenment may be understood as a logical continuation of the Renaissance. There is, however, an important difference. While the Renaissance was closely related to a search for the accumulation of past knowledge, the Enlightenment clearly involved a conscious effort to break with the past.

This statement must, however, be qualified by saying that the period of the High Renaissance also broke new ground, , in particular, in art and literature. It must also be said that, in spite of the optimistic, future-oriented view of the Enlightenment, the rejection of the value of the past is selective.

The comparatively recent medieval past was thoroughly condemned, but the classical past of the ancient Greeks and Romans was venerated. A major cause for the Enlightenment was the Scientific Revolution which, because of its many achievements in science, gave rise to the expectation that similar breakthroughs might be achieved in the social and political arena if only the same methods were applied. Among the new political philosophies associated with the Enlightenment was that of the Englishman, John Locke, who expressed the contract theory of government. He said that there existed a contract between the people and the government; that the people were ultimately sovereign and had created government in order to meet certain political needs. So long as the government served those needs, it deserved the support of the people. However, when and if the government ceased to fulfill its part of the bargain, then the people were no longer obligated to support the government, indeed, the people should then replace that government with a better one. Locke expressed these ideas following the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The philosophy appears to be a justification for those political actions. Similarly, political circumstances in France motivated Montesquieu to write the "Spirit of the Laws" in which he advocated a separation of powers as a means of preventing the abuse of power. Montesquieu was an aristocrat who saw the power exercised by the regional parliaments as a means of limiting the power of the monarchy. The most outstanding of all the representatives of the Enlightenment was the French aristocrat Voltaire. His political philosophy was in support of the absolute monarchy, although he wrote in favor of an "enlightened" version of absolutism. He was also recognized for his advocacy of tolerance for different groups of people and for dissident ideas. He was a strong advocate of religious freedom and freedom of expression. Voltaire, however, is only the most famous spokesman of new ideas which gained quite a widespread following among the elite groups. A group of intellectuals, led by Diderot, produced

the first encyclopaedia of knowledge. The dissemination of ideas was encouraged in salons which were usually the homes of wealthy aristocrats, hosted by women of the aristocracy. In the later stages of the Enlightenment, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, different views emerged to challenge the consensus. David Hume's skepticism went so far as to question the enlightenment faith in reason as the means to progress, rather suggesting that people were too driven by their needs and desires to be able to exercise reason. The most radical departure from the "enlightened" point of view was that made by Jean Jacques Rousseau, who viewed civilization as essentially corrupting. This is a direct contradiction to the optimism of the Enlightenment and introduces a challenge to the very foundations of the movement. It is for this reason that Rousseau is often considered the harbinger of the next philosophical ethic, known as Romanticism.

Rousseau's political idea of the "general will" is an example of an amorphous, vaguely-defined concept which defies the "enlightened" effort to define and produce order in nature. The "general will" of the people was not developed in a reasonable, planned way; rather it was an outgrowth of the historical experiences and traditions of the people. This denied one of the basic concepts of the Enlightenment, which rejected tradition in favor of the Cartesian idea that all preconceived ideas and practices should be discarded and society organized from the beginning through a rational process. What began, therefore, as an attempt to extend the Scientific Revolution and its methodology to the solution of political and social questions, concluded with skepticism and differences of opinion. The circumstances of the forthcoming political revolutions and the development of the industrial revolution disillusioned a generation of the privileged elite of Europe, and stimulated a reversal of many of the ideas of the Enlightenment.

Chapter 12

Development of Sociological Thought in India.

Development of Sociology in India

Today, Indian Sociology is facing many challenges. It is still dominated by the changing paradigms of Western Sociology and inspired by their Methodologies. It has not yet succeeded in making its contributions to Social Theory and Conceptual development. Reasons for such a state of affairs are too far wide and deep and to understand its reasons it is necessary to analyze the socio-historical and political conditions in which Sociology in India emerged as a formal discipline. The Contribution of the British administrators-cum-sociologists was reasonably important. Related to studies of the various aspects of Indian social structure, customs and traditions it was not without ideological biases in the selection of themes and sociological paradigms. The Conceptual problems of caste, tribe and village community, reflected in their observations served consciously or unconsciously to amplify the elements of segmentary cleavages in Indian society to the exclusion of the principles of organic association and societal harmony. This bias was rooted in a range of ideological positions that Western sociologists and scholars held while analyzing Indian social reality. The 'Missionaries' derived their paradigm from their own version of the normative principles of Christianity and judged most Indian social and cultural institutions negatively. Their solution to India's problem was, therefore, its Christianization. The view of social reality that it offered was mechanistic, segmentary and instrumental in nature. It constituted a typical 'colonial paradigm' for social analysis and offered a deeply fractured picture of Indian society and as such of Indian reality. In the context of globalization diversify the Indian society that change also notice by contemporary Indian Sociologist.

Introduction

Both Indian and Western face with several critical phases of history. The scars of the First World War (1914-17) were still so unforgettable the mankind. Post-war reconstruction events were underway everywhere. This societal condition indirectly inspired the pioneering sociologist to study Indian society from the structural functional paradigm. "Sociological researches in India had already been initiated much before the initiation of formal Sociology by British administrators. Absence of proper grasp and positive reception of Indian social realities as also the inadequate, and often inaccurate, understanding of local customs and traditions and misjudgments about different institutional arrangements led the colonial administrators to make use of Sociology and social anthropology to run the colonial administration efficiently" (Dhanagare, 1993:33) In this paper, we argue that development of sociology would be in three phases. First is Impact of colonial ruler and administrators, Second is Early Indian Thinkers and third one is Post Independence Indian Scholars.

Impact of colonial ruler and administrators

Sociology, as a discipline, came much after the contributions made by social thinkers, philosophers, administrators who worked at understanding the Indian society, in general, as well as studying some specific aspects of Indian society, such as law, family, religion, caste system. It is the contributions made by the Ideologists, such as, Henry Maine, Alfred Lyell give contribution to the development of Sociology in India. They emphasized the need to preserve the indigenous social institutions found in Indian society rather than destroying them and imposing an alien way of life on her people. They recognized the past beauty of Indian cultural and literary tradition. Besides ideologists, there were British administrators who made wide-ranging study of Indian people, their races and cultures. Most of these studies helped generate a body of knowledge, preserved in such as Census Reports, Imperial Gazetteers, and District Gazetteers and as well as in books and monographs, which are referred by social anthropologists and sociologists even today. Sociology was better established on the continent such as European countries like France, Germany and England.

When Sociology was established in Indian Universities in the developing phase of discipline it was dominated by the Structural Functional perspective, which is based on Positivistic ideology of the discipline in the Indian context. Generally, Sociology has studied urban-industrial groups. Now an account of academic language is developed in the discipline of Sociology, which covers the study area of Anthropology, which is partially related to tribes, castes and communities from the emancipator view point. Thus, in the Indian academic studies, we find that tribe, caste and region have been linked with each other in a variety of ways. Both Sociology and anthropology in India have one thing in common: they are mainly based on empirical data, but now a day's sociologist develop the methodology for using qualitative data in research and use it on large scale.

Development of Sociology in early Indian thinkers

The Early Indian Thinkers phase was essentially a phase of multi-level fusion. It is not without significance that the twin disciplines of Sociology and social Anthropology had their beginnings in the two cities of Bombay and Calcutta, which typically represented colonialism. These beginnings were more or less simultaneous in the second decade of the last century. Initially, more established and 'grown-up' social science partners treated Sociology and social anthropology as a 'left behind category' and as such these disciplines were relegated to a subordinate position in the organizational structure of Indian Universities. Most departments of Sociology in their premature phases began their journey with economics. Contributions of B.N. Seal, G.S. Ghurye, B.K. Sarkar, Radhakamal Mukherjee, D.P. Mukerji and K.P. Chattopadhyay during the pre-Independence period are particularly remarkable. Their intellectual interests, methods of data collection, and their interpretations of the Indian social system and social institutions were strongly influenced by the ethnographic works produced by scholar-administrators throughout the colonial period. Studies on caste, family, marriage and kinship, social stratification, tribal communities, rural and urban society figured prominently in this period.

It would be no overstatement to mention that Ghurye introduced the down-to-earth empiricism in Indian Sociology. His diversified interests are also reflected in his works e.g. family, kinship structures, marriage, religious sects, and ethnic groups – castes. Whereas Seal and Sarkar were products of the Bangali renaissance and were inspired by the Indian National Movement, and had pioneered studies on ethnicity, religion and culture (Mukherjee, 1977b: , Chattopadhyay (social Anthropologist) conducted

large scale social surveys which exposed the conditions of the peasantry and the working class as well as of the tribals in Bengal and away. The only other major centre, which contributed considerably to the growth of Sociology in the country during the pre-Independence period, was Lucknow. As in case of Calcutta, the pioneers of Sociology in Lucknow particularly Radhakamal Mukherjee focused on the issues of rural economy and land problems (1926, 1927), deteriorating agrarian relations and conditions of the peasantry in Oudh (1929), population problems (1938), and problems of the Indian working class (1945), being initially trained in economics.

Development of Sociology in post independence Indian scholars

The phase of expansion of Sociology began in 1952, with several factors account in its growth. The policy makers of independent India pursued objectives of economic regeneration and social development, and they recognized the role of the social sciences in attaining the objectives of national reconstruction and development (Dhanagre, 1993:45). They defined the new task of Sociology as social engineering and social policy science. It meant increased participation by social scientists, particularly economists and sociologists, in research and social and economic development (Singh 1986:8-9).

At the same time heavy funding from Ford Foundation to save India from sliding into the revolutionary communist path of development led many sociologists in India to undertake researches in the field of community development also in the process of strengthening the policy relevant researches. A major reason that contributed to the growth of Sociology in the post-independence period can also be attributed to the policy of administration followed by Indian state declared the practice of untouchability in any form an offence, and with the introduction of reservation for Scheduled Castes and Tribes (SCs and STs) in the legislatures and jobs in the government and the public sector, a new field was opened up for study to sociologists, though very few were aware of this fact (Srinivas, 1994:12). Indian society has a mosaic structure of agriculture and industries. This kind of complex structure raises economical and social inequalities. These inequalities are based on the ground of caste, class, and gender. The Indian society is facing change from agriculture to market based capitalism.

The contradictions in society emerge new subjects like Sociology of gender, Dalit studies, Sociology of tribe such as. In this period India have nearly half of the total population illiterate and poor. This situation help to growth of urban slums point up this process. The larger the city, the larger is the problem of urban poverty and its ghettoization. Urban slum dwellers face with miserable condition. The dissatisfaction in the urban life is enlarged leading to continued conflicts between urban middle classes and the slum dwelling poor. The liberalization and opening of the economy have now added a new class of the 'super-rich' to the urban social circumstances. This creates among urban middle classes as well as the urban poor very complex forms of cultural and social tensions. Indian sociologists are yet to devote their serious consideration to these issues if they have to follow the goal of equality and to justify their relevance to the society at large. The result of social forces operating in our society since independence, have led us to face with many unforeseen question. These influence both our society as well as the profession of Sociology. As such there is need to reflect extremely on these problems and to organize us to meet with these challenges since challenge is inbuilt in the process of change. It influences both individuals and societies.

We have to examine as to how far the forces of transformation that are global, and also bring about beneficial cost to society. A serious assessment of this situation is yet to be made. Recent development in the Sociology is inclusion of Sociology of Development and then the Sociology of Globalization, some scholars also develop the new academic branches of Sociology e.g. Sexuality and Reproductive health, Social Theory, Collective actions in Urban Arena. After the independence period there was improvement in the theoretical understanding of the discipline. Before independence the views of Indian thinkers such as Dr.B.R.Ambedkar and Mahatma Phule; did not understand as a socio thinkers, now in this days these thinkers known as social thinkers in Dalit Studies which is body of understanding developed by Indian Sociologists. They understand the society from the viewpoints of Indian thinkers like Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, Mahatma Phule such as. The Indian Sociological works have often drawn upon these early books and documents written by British officials or observer

Conclusion

Today, Indian sociologists are becoming more aware of the ruthless inequalities operating at national and international levels. Contemporary young sociologists are working to understand the new trends like social exclusion, Ethnicity, culture in the broader context of social justice. The problems of language, publication and funding continue to continue. Sociologists are either working in regional languages and suffer from scantiness of vernacular journals or even if they are writing their reports in English there is very little chance of getting them published, particularly in limited English language journals. As a result what is being done hardly ever comes to the knowledge of the international community and good works may never see the light of day. To rescue from this situation the Indian Sociological Society has taken concrete steps to support regional associations by organizing special symposia on regional issues and in this way encourage sociologies from below.

Many challenges that Sociology is facing in India, like pertaining to the quality of students, concerned to the paucity of faculties and Funding because of neglect and failure on the part of state governments. Indian Sociological Society is making every possible effort to make stronger the reach and extent of Sociology in India. The fast growing NGO sector is also contributing significantly to the growth and development of applied and action Sociology in India. This sector is also trying hard to grapple with and bringing to light the problems of the backward and the marginalized groups in the country. While academic Sociology in India is losing ground in terms of providing jobs, the NGO sector has emerged in a big way to help the young sociology entrants since they are considered well equipped and trained in field research and research methodologies.

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